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SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN JAMAICA
A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
(1655 - 1970)

by

© June E. Eyton

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

October, 1982

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October 14, 1982

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to analyse and assess socio-structural theories that are traditionally employed in the study of Caribbean societies in general, and for their social stratification system in particular. Historical data of socio-structural and attitudinal changes over a period of more than three hundred years for the selected case study (Jamaica), have been used. These data suggest that the contemporary system of social inequality in which individuals are assigned social status on two criteria:

- (a) objective (economic)
- (b) subjective (colour)

has its origins in the island's history of colonial domination and plantation slavery, and must therefore be understood in that context. It was found that no single theory can adequately explain the historical changes that the island has undergone over time; but that three different theories the plural, status group and elite, were of importance at different historical periods and may be applied developmentally over the period under study.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER TWO HISTORICAL OVERVIEW	8
CHAPTER THREE THE PLURAL SOCIETY THEORY	10
CHAPTER FOUR THE "STRATIFICATIONIST" THEORY	28
Status Group Theory	37
Elite Theory	40
CHAPTER FIVE THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AND SLAVERY (1655-1838)	44
a) Late Eighteenth Century Onwards	57
b) Table 1 Education 1814-1837	64
CHAPTER SIX POST-EMANCIPATION PERIOD (1938-1962)	72
a) The years 1838-1938	72
b) 1938-1962	78
c) Table 2 Ethnic Composition of Population (1943)	83
d) Table 3 Education by Colour (1943)	86
e) Table 4 Ethnic Identity and Colour of Doctors and Lawyers (1950-1951)	90
f) Table 5 Wage Earnings by Colour (1943)	92
g) Table 6 Percentage Members of House of Representatives by Colour (1951, 1958)	94
CHAPTER SEVEN THE POST INDEPENDENCE PERIOD (1962-1970)	100
a) Table 7 Social Class and Success in Exams	111
b) Tables 8 and 9 Skin Colour and Attitudes to Blacks and Whites	115
c) Table 10 Perceptions of Conflict with Racial Minorities and Occupational Class	121
CHAPTER EIGHT CONCLUSION	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY	129
APPENDIX A: DEFINITIONS OF RACE, COLOUR, ETHNIC	
APPENDIX B: ESTIMATES OF POPULATION, 1658-1861	
APPENDIX C: DEFINITION OF CONCEPT ELITE	
APPENDIX D: ECONOMIC/OCCUPATIONAL GROUPINGS	

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This study seeks to analyse and assess socio-structural theories that are traditionally employed in the study of Caribbean societies in general, and for their social stratification system in particular. A review of the literature reveals that these theories have been misleading. They have been misleading in their explanation of the way in which the structure of these societies determines their system of social status ascription based on criteria peculiar to their historical development.

The stratification theories traditionally advanced for the understanding of these multiethnic societies are:

- a) The plural model (M.G. Smith, 1960, 1965a, 1965b, 1974; Després, 1964; Kuper and Smith (eds.), 1969);

This theory assumes institutional diversity, in societies which are integrated explicitly or implicitly through force.

- b) The stratification ¹ model (R.T. Smith, 1956, 1961, 1970; Braithwaite, 1960, 1975; Henriques, 1961, 1976);

The model suggests integration around a shared value system.

Institutions are shared and there is a commonly agreed upon scale of ranking.

¹ Henceforth, this tradition is to be called 'Stratificationist'.

The empirical evidence suggests that neither of these theories individually can be used to analyse adequately the changing social structure and the development of social status placement in contemporary Caribbean societies.

The thesis will attempt to demonstrate that the contemporary system of social inequality has its origins in the historical period of Colonial domination and plantation slavery.

The development in which race and colour are symbols of socio-economic status (although to a much diminished extent than was previously the case), has to be analysed therefore in a historical context.

It was during the period of slavery that racial symbols were used to differentiate the social status of individuals and groups. The economic, political and social dominance of whites over black slaves was of paramount importance in this respect. A situation was created that ensured all things European, such as white skin, physical features, culture, behaviour and values, would be highly valued by society at large. Those things perceived to be African, such as black skin, physical features, African culture, customs were denigrated.

This was the beginning of the racial-colour stratification system in Caribbean societies. Individuals were categorically ranked, firstly, by ascriptive colour/physique criteria, and secondly, by criteria such as their objective economic position, their occupation, education and lifestyle. All other things being equal, the closer the individual was to being white, the higher the social status.

Jamaica exhibits all of the features and challenges that are present in multiethnic Caribbean Societies. Lowenthal (1972) gives a useful breakdown of different types of multiethnic segmented Caribbean societies. He groups them from least to most complex.

These are:

- Type (1): Homogeneous societies without distinctions of class and colour; [Barbuda, Caicos Islands]
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4

institutional and cultural completeness. Type (1) societies, in contrast to those just discussed, include a few islands in the region which are undifferentiated by colour and class. Type (2) societies are differentiated by colour such as the islands of Saba and Anguilla. Racial ² groups live apart in Saba. There are clear white/non-white groupings, and strict endogamy is the norm.

It follows that in segmented social systems based on ethnicity and colour, the social ranking of individuals will be influenced by the social value placed on skin colour as one of the criteria considered.

The aim is to demonstrate that an adequate explanation of the development and process of social stratification in Caribbean societies must take account of the structural changes which have occurred over time. The history of this development corresponds to various types of stratification theories. Consequently, it could be argued that none of the suggested theories individually can provide an adequate explanation in the analysis of such societies.

The following chapter will include a brief outline of the three historical periods to be covered, namely the period of British Colonial domination and slavery; the post-emancipation period, and the post-independence period. It is against this background that the theories will be discussed and evaluated. First, however, a description of Jamaica, its people and its economy is necessary.

² See Appendix A for definition of race, colour, and ethnic.

The Setting:

Jamaica is one of the larger islands of the Caribbean, located 90 miles to the south of the eastern end of Cuba. It covers an area of over four thousand square miles.

The current population is estimated at 2.1 million. The present ethnic composition reflects particular episodes in the historical development of Jamaica. Its seventeenth century plantation economy gave rise to the importation of large numbers of Africans. They now constitute the largest segment of the population and together with the whites may be considered as the "charter groups". The Jewish population is the result of religious persecutions in Europe, and are the second oldest group in the country. They were later followed by Syrians, Lebanese and Germans. Emancipation gave rise to another large scale population shift, with Chinese and Indian indentured laborers arriving in large numbers. As a result of various inter-racial unions, there developed a new indigenous social category -- the "coloured creoles". Their significance lies mainly in their definition on the basis of colour, which became one of the critical indices in social stratification.

RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION SHOWING PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS FOR CENSUS 1970

Census Years	All Races	Negro/Black	East Indian	Chinese	White
1970	100.0	90.9	1.7	0.7	0.7
		Other Races ³	Not Stated		
		5.9	0.1		

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica, 1978: Table 17.

³ The category includes Afro admixtures, e.g. Afro-Indian, Afro-Chinese.

The Economy:

Agriculture is the backbone of the Jamaican economy, with an emphasis on sugar and banana cultivation. Relatively newer and more profitable economic pursuits are the tourist industry and bauxite mining. Bauxite is Jamaica's largest foreign exchange earner followed by tourism, with the agricultural sector being the least lucrative in terms of exports and earnings (Globe and Mail, Sept. 28, 1981; B7). The relatively fragile open economy is susceptible to world economic conditions. In recent years the tripling of oil prices in the international market, and perceived socialist policies by the Government in power ⁴, created much uncertainty in the business sector. There was evidence of economic disruption. Emigration to the U.S.A. and Canada of large numbers drawn from the better educated and financially buoyant class, left gaps in the local economy and deprived it of some of its most skilled individuals (World Bank, May 2, 1979: Lloyd's Bank report, May, 1980).⁵ At the same time rural-urban migration ⁵ was heightened and unemployment rates rose to over 35%.

The historical background of the island's contemporary socio-economic and pattern of social development, will be briefly reviewed in Chapter 2.

⁴ A reference to the P.N.P. under Michael Manley's leadership.

⁵ In 1960, 34% of the population was urban compared to 50% in 1980. (World Development Report, 1980; Table 20: 149) Apart from natural increase in the urban sector, some of this 16% increase is due to a rural-urban shift.

CHAPTER TWO

Brief historical overview

All Caribbean societies share a common history of plantation slavery and colonial domination. This historical process may be divided into three distinct but interrelated periods. First, there was the period of plantation slavery (1655 - 1838); second, the post-emancipation period (1838 - 1962); and third, the contemporary post-independence period (1962 - 1970) (Black, 1958; Murray, 1971).

The period of slavery was characterized by an economy run largely by white resident owners, or by white managers on behalf of absentee landlords. Slaves had been forcibly shipped from Africa to work in the sugarcane fields, the main crop of the region. Sugar required intensive labour input, hence slavery, and the lucrative sugar plantation economy required total control of the plantation by the dominant planter minority (Black, 1958; Williams, 1961; Patterson, 1967; Dunn, 1972). Important consequences flowed from slavery for the people of the Caribbean in general. Prime among them has been the superordinate British economic, political, legal and social dominance. British values were imposed on the entire population. This was easily accomplished as slaves were subordinated to the proportionately small dominant white segment⁶, and unlike the British had no further contact with their native land.

⁶ Please refer to Appendix B for some of the statistics on population estimates.

This fact was fully recognized by a Royal Commission appointed to investigate into the unrest throughout the islands in 1938 (Cmd. 6607, 1945). In its preamble to the report it clearly stated that African slaves uprooted, from their homeland, literally experienced a process of deculturation, a reflection of the economic and social dominance under which they lived.

In the island context, in a slave situation there was no choice but to absorb the basic institutions of the white British minority, modified over time by contact with the Africans ⁷ (Murray, 1971; Lowenthal, 1972: 26 - 45; Henriques and Manyoni, 1977). Thus white colour came to symbolise political and socio-economic dominance, and its converse (blackness), symbolised political and socio-economic subordination.

In time there developed a 'creole' ⁸ culture. E. Braithwaite in his scholarly study of the development of creole society in the eighteenth to nineteenth century, states precisely what is meant by 'creole culture'. He argues: "that the people, mainly from Britain and West Africa, who settled, lived, worked and were born in Jamaica contributed to the formation of a society which developed, or was developing, its own distinctive character or culture which, insofar as it was neither purely British nor West African is called 'creole';" (E. Braithwaite, 1971; xiii).

The system of concubinage (white planter liaisons with black slave women) created a new racial category of brown-skinned "mulattoes" or

⁷ This is particularly true in the case of language. English is the language of Jamaica, but spoken in a dialect or 'patois' by the majority of Jamaicans. Others have a distinct inflection that is different from standard English.

⁸ Derived from the Spanish 'criollo' - meaning native. Creole refers to what is indigenously Jamaican.

"coloureds". This factor along with manumission (a system of freeing slaves), produced a new racial and economic stratum which was more privileged than the black slaves (Broom, 1954; Patterson, 1967; Campbell, 1976).

Post-emancipation saw the emergence of a three tiered ethnic⁹ strata, consisting of a white dominant minority at the top, a large brown minority in the middle, and the black masses at the bottom. Despite the absence of legal impediments based on racial identity, the structure has remained largely intact, but it is changing. At the upper levels the strata are becoming more heterogeneous, as blacks and browns now participate in all areas of social and economic activity. The top stratum is still disproportionately light skinned, the lowest preponderantly black. White economic control and black political control under brown leadership is the norm (Lowenthal, 1972; Stone, 1973).

With this brief historical review, we may now examine the theoretical frameworks traditionally applied in Caribbean social analysis.

9 I am using the term ethnic in the way that the census used it, which reflects local custom. For example "the coloureds" have always been treated as an ethnic group.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PLURAL SOCIETY THEORY

This chapter is an attempt to analyse critically the notion of social and cultural pluralism, one of the theories traditionally advanced in the explanation and analysis of Caribbean societies. It will be shown that inconsistencies exist in the very philosophical formulation of the hypothesis, rendering it a questionable theoretical model in its application in general, and particularly as it relates to Jamaica.

The plural society model, was originally conceived of by Furnivall (1948), an economist who applied the concept to colonial, multiracial, multiethnic societies in Asia. In describing the many ethnic groups in Java and Burma he stated:

They mix but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet but only in the market place, in buying and selling. There is a plural society with different sections of the community living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere, there is a division of labour along racial lines (Furnivall, 1948: 304).

It is apparent from the above quotation and from the various works of Furnivall, that in its original conception, the plural society had certain attributes. They may be categorized in the following way:

A plural society is:

- 1) An ethnically and racially segmented society;

- 2) Each ethnic group expresses and maintains its own distinct and separate cultural identity in having its own religion, language and values;
- 3) The plurality of groups live side by side, but share little in common besides economic interdependence;
- 4) The plural society is a political unit. The whole structure is inherently conflictual, and is regulated politically through coercive external colonial domination;
- 5) Conceptually speaking, a plural society comprises several incompatible micro-pyramids along ethnic lines. Integration is through force.

Many scholars in studying multiethnic societies in the Caribbean and Africa have been influenced by the work of Furnivall. M.G. Smith (1960, 1965a, 1965b, 1974), Després (1964) Kuper and Smith (1969), and Van den Berghe (1978) are among those who follow in the Furnivallian tradition. Each of these scholars has expanded on and refined in their own ways the plural concept as it was originally conceived. The plural theory ought not to be embraced without careful scrutiny. One must ask, first of all, does the plural hypothesis contain certain internal inconsistencies and conceptual and methodological weaknesses? Secondly, how well does it portray what it sets out to do, and particularly how well can it be applied as an explanatory model of the Jamaican social structure over time? The limitations of the plural hypothesis to be discussed in greater detail may be briefly stated as follows:

- a) Societies are conceptualized as political units. There is therefore some difficulty in identifying societal boundaries;
- b) Analysis of plural structures tend to be partial. They focus on one ethno-cultural section to the exclusion of others;
- c) Racial diversity is subsumed by cultural diversity;
- d) The theory is static, it lacks a sense of history.

The rest of this chapter will be a discussion of the various limitations outlined above.

Plural Societies are Conceptualized as Political Units:

Like Furnivall, all pluralists assume the lack of shared values in multiethnic segmented societies. They may differ in what they claim to be the most important cleavages. Furnivall's economic background led him to emphasize economic pluralism as an aspect of social pluralism. M.G. Smith (1960, 1965a, 1965b, 1974), Després (1964), Kuper and Smith (1969), and Van den Berghe (1978), on the other hand, emphasize cultural pluralism which is itself a correlate of social pluralism. Smith, a noted Caribbean scholar, ascribes plural features to analyses of multiracial, multiethnic Caribbean societies. He states his position as follows: "I hold that the core of a culture is its institutional system. Each institution involves set forms of activity, grouping, rules, ideas and values . . . [and furthermore] the institutions of a people's culture form the matrix of their social structure, simply because the institutional system defines and sanctions the persistent forms of social life" (M.G. Smith, 1960: 767).

Smith stresses cultural pluralism as the key determinant of a plural society, and that the methodological focus of the analyst in determining the social structures should be at the level of society and its institutions. (Institutions embody "Social and cultural aspects equally") (ibid).

Kuper (Kuper and Smith, 1969: 14 - 20) shares Furnivall's and Smith's general position. He extends the idea to say that not only does pluralism determine political domination, but the reverse can also occur, that is, pluralism may be determined by political dominance. Kuper claims that:

Smith assigns a significant role to the theory of law or the dominant power. He argues that the common law tradition in the British system and the acceptance of the ruler's discretion as a legitimate source of law in Islam contributed to a flexible recognition of African traditional systems of authority and law, whereas the French emphasis on the imperium of the French state as the source of law impeded the administrative and legal acceptance of African cultural pluralism. If there is validity to these comments, then cultural pluralism may be seen not only as a cause but also as a consequence of political domination (1969; 16).

The case of South Africa exemplifies this latter statement. In that country, direct political intervention has created plural institutions and cleavages along racial and ethnic lines.

For Furnivall, Burmese and Indonesian plural structures were integrated through external political (colonial) domination. In contrast, in Smith's view (1960) the closed plural ethno-institutional sections of the Caribbean are integrated through the internal domination of a cultural minority. They may differ on the source of domination, but what is clear is that pluralists, (social anthropologists in general), conceive of or define society as a political unit. The problem arises as to how one may know when

one is faced with a society qua society? If all that integrates the plural society is political dominance, where should the societal boundaries be drawn? This is the dilemma which R.T. Smith articulates: "how does one determine when one is dealing with a "society" and not simply a mechanical aggregate of distinct groups? and, if a society is more than a mechanical aggregate of groups, then what is it?" (R.T. Smith, 1970: 44).

Smith's criticism arises out of his historical analysis of Caribbean societies. These plantation systems have implanted a common culture and shared institutions. In Jamaica, our case study, the language is standard English. The major religions are Christian, the education system is British. Jamaican society is not just defined by its political framework. Most people share in a common culture and common institutions.

Burton Benedict (1970: 3 - 41) is a confessed detractor of pluralism and specifically the notion of cultural pluralism. He claims in similar vein that pluralists ought to examine the institutional linkages within the economic system. To him social pluralism may be a viable mode of analysis for determining variation within a system, but one has to analyse the way in which those cultural variants are incorporated within a system which is bound to have some "common understandings" (Benedict, 1970: 37).

In contrast to Benedict, pluralists assume the incompatibility of ethno-cultural institutions which leads them therefore to conceptualise multiethnic systems as political units. This view in turn feeds in to the assumption that social change nearly always involves cultural conflict and violence. Després (1964) is in fundamental agreement with pluralists on

this subject. He used data from a case study of British Guiana to test the predictive value of conflict of the "reticulated model" (what we refer to as "stratificationist") versus the plural model. The former analysis suggests that heterogeneous societies are integrated into the total social system, which Després assumes leads to harmonious expressions of social relations. In contrast plural structures are thought to be inherently conflictual and violent.

Després used voting behaviour as his index of "competitive power relations". He found that between 1961 and 1963, political violence erupted several times between the two major cultural sections, the Africans and the Indians. He concluded therefore that the plural model had a higher predictive value than the "reticulated model". "The plural model predicts that changes in the power relationships between cultural sections usually, but not always, have a violent form. The reticulated model on the other hand, suggests that the cultural sections of a society are integrated by an overall institutional system which is capable of containing the differences between them within the framework of its political order". (Després, 1964: 1072).

His analysis suggests that where there is conflict, there we have plural structures and vice versa. But plural structures do not have a monopoly on violence and do not provide the sole conditions for conflict. In the early slave period of Jamaica's history which most approximated plural criteria, slaves frequently resorted to individual acts of suicide, and plantation rebellion. These were not acts of cultural conflict, but were

isolated attempts to escape from harsh enslavement. More notably the 1938 disturbances it will be shown were not designed to overthrow the status quo, but had a strong economic focus. Workers demanded better wages, and a more equitable economic distribution. The 1865 rebellion is the only instance in Jamaica's history to date which expressed a semblance of cultural conflict, and a serious attempt by blacks to overturn the white plantocracy. This leads to a discussion of the second limitation.

The Plural Analysis is Partial:

There is a tendency among pluralists to analyse cultural and social sections deemed to be discrete cultural entities, which pointedly ignores the intersectional relationships within the wider society. Those who implicitly or explicitly employ the plural analysis in their studies therefore emerge with findings which are partial. They emphasize discrete sections to the exclusion of the interaction between sections. For example the theoretical work of Rex Nettleford (1970, 1979), described Jamaican white-black cultural relations as expressing the "melody of Europe" and the "rhythm of Africa". For Nettleford Caribbean cultural identity and that of Jamaica is differentiated into deep ethno-cultural cleavages. He describes what these concepts mean to him: "The melody of Europe and the Rhythm of Africa, for with Europe determining the ethos it is melody (following the canons of Western musical aesthetics) which 'makes the music' while rhythm merely provides the atavistic underpinnings" (Nettleford, 1979: 4).

He then proceeds to outline the cultural path which Jamaica should follow in art, dance and literature, with emphasis on the African heritage. In that way the yoke of the Colonial legacy of Eurocentrism would be broken. (Nettleford, 1979: 3 - 13). It seems clear in the pluralist literature that there is a tendency to single out the so called "folk" (African) forms of family, religion, educational and cultural practices as the major point of analysis, to the exclusion of the "elite"¹⁰ (European) forms with which they are in contact. Sectional analysis such as this can only be partial, as mere sections of systems are treated as though they were institutional wholes. The result is a static synchronic analysis at the intersectional level.

For example among Caribbean pluralists, the white, brown and black sections are thought to express high (European), middle and low (African) cultures respectively in their differentiated institutions. Family studies in the region generally assume that kinship and marriage practices of the high culture approximate Western European monogamous marriages with a high rate of divorces. The middle culture follows a creolized type of marriage in which there are legal and illegitimate offspring. The low culture is characterized by concubinage and illegitimate progeny (M.G. Smith, 1965a: 164 - 175). This conceptualization which is assumed to reflect incompatible cultural patterns is one on which much attention has been focused. Schlesinger (1968: 137 - 148) provides a neat summary of the ten studies for

¹⁰ Redfield Tradition

Jamaica then existing on the subject. All of them have tended to emphasize the rural (low culture) or lower socio-economic forms of concubinage. He states that these findings demonstrate a range of attitudes towards marriage.

For Clarke (1947-1949), women expected more from marriage, than if they were in concubinal relationships. She claimed that her rural study revealed: "A man is expected to support his wife in a higher status than that which is accepted for a concubine. Marriage is expected to bring the woman a change of life and to transform her 'from a common woman to a lady'" (Schlesinger, 1968: 138).

Blake's rural and urban study (1953), as well as that of Stykos and Back (1956) showed that there is an association between marriage and high socio-economic status. Thus marriage is a symbol of social status for the low socio-economic group. Marriage remains an ideal. One of Blake's informants summed it up: "Married life is best whether poor or rich, I believe man get more service out of the woman, she is more interested and more settled. What she will satisfy with when married she will not if not married" (Schlesinger, 1968: 139).

Manyoni (1977: 417 - 426; 1980: 86 - 118), in critiques of the supposed African derivation of mating patterns for an explanation of folk forms of concubinage, argues that these marital patterns must be examined within the social and historical contexts from which they have evolved. Using archival data, census material and results of field observations, he concludes that Christian marriage in the plantation system was legally denied

to the slave population so that common law unions became the practice even in post-emancipation. Indeed economic and demographic factors perpetuated this pattern in the post-war years as male emigration has "created an exceedingly high sex imbalance in favour of women since emigrants were mostly males, the scarcity value of men gives them greater advantage for making sexual demands from a surplus female population resulting in a high frequency of serial matings, extramarital births, and multiple fatherhood of children from individual women" (Manyoni, 1977: 422).

Manyoni concludes that concubinage was not only practised by the lower segments of the population but by all sections of the society (Manyoni, 1980: 99). Marriage and concubinage coexist in Caribbean societies, both marital forms being socially acceptable. He makes a strong point that marriage and concubinage ought not to be considered as incompatible institutions. These forms existed side by side and were engaged in by members of all segments. Concubinage should not be thought of as African practice, but as a direct consequence of local historical factors.

Pluralists Assume Cultural Diversity from Racial Diversity:

To pluralists in general, race is not as important a feature of plural structures as is culture. Caribbean historical evidence appears to support the view, however, that race and its symbol colour play a significant role in the social stratification system and social status in Caribbean societies. M.G. Smith (1960, 1965a), unlike Després (1964), specifically denies that pluralism and cultural diversity can be understood in terms of race relations. In his words: "It is a major error to conceive the

conditions and problems of pluralism directly in terms of race relations. To do so is to mistake the social myth for reality, and thus to miss the structure that underlies it and gives it both force and form" (M.G. Smith, 1965a: 89).

The above statement demands close attention and is of particular importance to the subject matter of this thesis. It implicates any analysis undertaken in the Caribbean region, where race and its symbol colour cannot be ignored. Even in the economistic works of Williams (1961) and Genovese (1969), there is an admission that race was an important legitimation to the slave economy. Rex (1981) is particularly illuminating on this point. He successfully combines the notion that historical colonial attitudes of racist ideology may residually operate along with changes in the social structures, to shape the stratification system of the post-colonial phase. To quote Rex:

The supersession of the colonial system by one in which one of the former dominated groups takes political power by no means implies the endings of such ideologies. True, there may be an emphasis for a time on universalism in reaction to the racism of the colonial period, but so long as there are group and class conflicts to be explained and rationalized something like racist ideology is certain to survive (Rex, 1981: 17).

The statement is relevant to the case study for the period 1944 to 1970. During this time there was adult suffrage, followed by independence in 1962. Political leadership was drawn from the brown segment, a once dominated group. Universalistic criteria of achievement were theoretically in place. Yet the structures still relegated blacks to low status occupations, and attitudes to colour were imbued to a modified extent with

old colonial values. The preferred phenotype more nearly approximated the dominant white than that of the low status black. Rex' position is similar to Hoetink's (1962).

In Hoetink's view the potency of racial categories, as semi-permanent stigmatizing sociological and psychological influences, are amply demonstrated in any proper analysis of Caribbean social structure.¹¹ For Hoetink "much attention should be paid to the 'underlying myth' which supports the structure ideologically" (H. Hoetink, 1962: 96). Historical evidence can be employed to substantiate Hoetink's and Rex' position. A cultural analysis of Caribbean social stratification patterns is inadequate. It assumes that mere cultural similarity between different racial groups is a sufficient condition for dampening racial differences. In Jamaica the free coloured embraced the cultural heritage of the superordinate white segment. In spite of this, whites persistently excluded them legally and socially from equal participation in the society.¹²

Racist ideology was a powerful and expedient differentiating mechanism which legitimated the existing order. Legal sanctions relating to the inequality of white-black relations were in place and covered all aspects of life. Southey ([1827], 1968) and Patterson (1967) make reference to the

¹¹ Frantz Fanon (1963) a Freudian Marxist addressed himself to this problem. A love-hate relationship exists between the coloniser and the colonised. The colonised hate the dominant power but at the same time wish nothing more than to be in the coloniser's shoes.

¹² Please see Chapter 5 the case study which deals with the historical facts relating to coloureds.

relatively mild charges which would be laid against whites if they were to kill a black. In contrast assault by blacks on whites resulted in the death penalty. Not only were there behavioral laws differentiating between the two races, but marriage was legally prohibited to blacks. The crux of inequality in the system however was that slave evidence could not be given against whites (Edwards, 1793; Vol 2: 19; Patterson, 1967; Dunn, 1972). Racist laws and practices imbued Jamaican society with racist attitudes even in the post-emancipation period, yielding structures of differential unequal access by ethnic category. The lack of emphasis on colour in plural analysis leads to a consideration of another problem.

The Plural Hypothesis is Static:

Pluralists emphasize ethno-cultural differentiation. In a fairly recent work of M.G. Smith's (1974), 'poor whites' are said to be "socially equated with negro peasants, though socially and racially distinct" (Smith, 1974: 345). His explanation is that they lack the "social and cultural attributes" necessary for their inclusion with more elite whites. It would seem that there is a more plausible explanation than one of mere cultural difference. The real difference between elite whites and 'poor whites' is one of status and economic difference. Given a higher standard of living, the 'poor whites' could acquire the 'cultural capital' necessary for advancing their status. Vera Rubin (1960), Adam Kuper (1977), and Stuart Hall (1977) agree that Caribbean societies such as Jamaica are stratified by a hierarchy of socio-economic statuses. In Hall's view, in these societies:

... the race-colour element combines with the usual elements of non-ethnic stratification systems (education, wealth, occupation, income, life-style, values) to compose the stratification matrix.

We would argue that this is not, usefully, considered as an ethnic or race-based or even race-colour based social system, but a social class stratification system in which the race-colour elements in the stratification matrix constitute the visible index of a more complex structure (Hall, 1977: 171).

Differentiation in Caribbean societies is one of life style and opportunity, not one of culture.

Pluralists overlook the possibility of "the convergence of values and shared culture collective goals" (Rubin, 1960: 784). In any given society there is a dominant cultural ethos. Political dominance is not enough to unify a society. There has to be an aspect of legitimate social dominance (Hall, 1977). For Henriques (1961), in the Caribbean, social dominance is expressed in the convergence of opinion around a 'white bias', which is accepted by all segments. This is what Hoetink (1962) terms a "dominant somatic norm image."

A society may have manifested a plurality of cultures early on in its history, but over time as these various ethno-cultural entities interact, a common set of values will be created and the society will develop into a socio-economically stratified one. Hoetink's view of the plural segmented system exemplifies the point; he states: "By a 'segmented society' I understand a society which at its moment of origin consists of at least two groups of people of different races and culture, and having its own social institutions and social structure; each of these groups which I call segment, having its own rank in the social structure; and society as a whole being governed by one of the segments" (Hoetink, 1962: 97).

Hoetink takes account of historical social change, and this fact is particularly pertinent to this study. A society is segmented or plural at its moment of origin. Once there is mingling across the segments, a cultural and racial mixture or 'hybrid' (like the coloureds in Jamaica) results. From then on the social structure develops into a stratified one along a single status continuum. (Hoetink, 1962: 99 - 109).

P. Van den Berghe (1978: 132 - 149) a pluralist himself, takes a position similar to Hoetink's. Pluralism in his view is to be seen as a variable, varying by degree. Plural societies vary along a continuum somewhere between the extremes of 'maximal' pluralism and 'minimal' pluralism (homogeneous). An example of 'minimal' pluralism is Mexico which expresses minimal racial stratification. Its converse is South Africa, where there is rigid racial-caste segmentation. The U.S.A. which has a mixture of minimal and maximal race relations lies somewhere between.

His 'minimal' and 'maximal' pluralism correspond to the distinction which Kuper makes between pluralism as an "equilibrium model" and the plural society "conflict" models respectively. The "equilibrium" is characterized by multi-ethnic societies in which there are cross-cutting loyalties, and is most often associated with Democratic political systems. The "conflict" model is in the Furnivallian tradition with which this chapter is concerned. (Kuper and Smith, 1969: 7 - 22).

Van den Berghe's plural structures are unlike those of Smith's in that they are not "culture frozen" entities. His is not an "either" "or" plural position. In one of his essays he claims:

Clearly, pluralism is best conceived as a matter of degree rather than as an all-or-none phenomenon. A society is pluralistic to the extent that it is structurally segmented and culturally diverse. In more operational terms, pluralism is characterized by the relative absence of value consensus; the relative rigidity and clarity of group definition; the relative presence of conflict, or, at least, of lack of integration and complementarity between various parts of the social system; the segmentary and specific character of relationships, and the relative existence of sheer institutional duplication ... between the various segments of the society (Van den Berghe, 1970: 80 emphasis added).

His concept of the plural society is far less rigid in its formulation than Smith's and has a historical sense of process.

The case study will show how Jamaica's once plural structures of the early slave period were gradually transformed. The key to this change was the existence and growth of the free coloured population. By the mid nineteenth century the numbers of the free coloured exceeded that of whites.¹³ De juré segregation of whites and negroes did not transmit itself into de facto social segregation between white men and black women. The very existence of this category of brown skinned individuals puts the plural hypothesis on shaky ground. If in a plural system, movement across sections is precluded, how can one accommodate these people in the analysis? The free coloured (mulattoes), embraced white values, in their desire to set themselves apart legally and socially from black slaves. Their phenotypical proximity to whites, they felt, should make them share the same rights and privileges. For example early in the eighteenth century several individual Private Acts were passed in the Assembly; these were petitions primarily designed to share the social badge of honour of whiteness, rather than for the granting of full civil rights under the law. In a representative Act we find the following:

¹³ See attached Appendix B.

"Anno 2 Georgii iii

An act to Intitle John Elletson and Dorothy Elletson, free mulattoes, reputed children of John Elletson ... to the same rights and privileges with English subjects, born of white parents, under certain restriction" (The Laws of Jamaica, 1761).¹⁴

Coloureds obviously embraced the colour values of the dominant stratum. Public petitions which they made in 1813, 1823 and 1830¹⁵ were legally and constitutionally professed in order to gain political privileges equal with whites. It is instructive that the petitions were made on behalf of the free mulatto segment and not on behalf of the free blacks among them (J.H.A. 1823, Vol XIV: 179; Curtin, 1955; Black, 1958; Campbell, 1976). The tone of the private and public petitions showed that coloureds accepted the status quo. They became fully acculturated into the dominant European culture. They embraced their culture, yet towards the end of slavery, legal exclusion of coloured participation on juries and employment in public offices was the norm. Above all coloureds had to demonstrate proof of their legally free status (J.H.A. 1823, Vol XIV: 179). Colour differences were the prime source of societal cleavage, in spite of cultural assimilation.

The process and development of 'creolisation' by the early nineteenth century also makes a plural analysis appear untenable. The social and geographical contexts in which the European and African segments interacted allowed for the development of a 'creole' and distinctly Jamaican society. Reciprocal cultural influences transformed and modified the two original

¹⁴ The typography has been modernized.

¹⁵ They were finally given equal political rights with whites in 1830.

cultures (Henriques, 1961, 1976; Braithwaite, 1971; R.T. Smith, 1970). The once plural society was gradually changed into a stratification system in which ranking was assigned on the basis of occupation, wealth and colour attributes. The relatively privileged free coloureds were the prime bearers of 'creole' culture, and are crucial to this historical development. The best example of creolisation is the way in which standard English, the language of the dominant segment, became transformed in its interaction with African languages spoken by slaves. 'Pidgin' English was spoken and understood by whites, browns and blacks, as is the case today. In 1815 Lewis, an absentee planter on his first visit to the island, heard a white creole planter express the following opinion: "dedicating the negroes is the only way to make them 'appy; indeed in his umble hopinion dedication his hall in hall" (Lewis, 1834: 3). The cultural diversity explanation cannot be sustained in the face of historical developments in the late slave period. In Adam Kuper's view the activities of the freed people were of particular importance in this transformation:

Far from being isolated as a distinct caste, people of colour and blacks, when freed men, formed an ambiguous and apparently permeable category; and when they were relieved of their legal disabilities (partly in the hope that they would bolster the establishment against the imminently to be freed masses) their situation became even less comparable to that of a distinct segment of a plural society (Kuper, 1977: 118).

Towards the end of slavery, the island had shifted from a plural structure, to one stratified in a hierarchy of statuses along socio-economic and colour lines. These developments lead therefore to a consideration of those theorists who have taken them into account.

CHAPTER FOUR

"The Stratificationists"¹⁶

The stratification theorists to be discussed in this chapter are in general agreement on the social structure and system of ranking in most Caribbean societies. Their views may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Caribbean societies are conceptualized as a single truncated hierarchical pyramid cohering around a shared set of values;
- 2) Social stratification in the Caribbean is analysable both horizontally and vertically;
- 3) Horizontal demarcations relate to varying degrees of socio-economic status. Vertical mobility is possible upon individual acquisition of objectively valued high status occupations or the reverse;
- 4) Vertical boundaries demarcating colour and ethnic categories cross cut the horizontal ones;
- 5) The individual is ranked first according to objective criteria, and secondly according to ascribed or physical attributes.

The limitations of this theoretical viewpoint, and which are of particular importance to this study are:

¹⁶ The word has been coined to distinguish these theorists from other stratification theorists such as pluralists. "Stratificationists" analyse Caribbean societies in terms of strata differentiated by socio-economic status (SES) and race and colour.

- 1) The conceptual pyramid is sometimes viewed as a three tiered hierarchy, consisting of a white upper stratum, a coloured middle stratum and a black lower stratum. This simple categorization excludes categories such as 'poor whites', or 'rich blacks', which do not fit the pattern;
- 2) There is a lack of conceptual clarity in the use of the word "class". When 'stratificationists' speak of "classes", they are really referring to socio-economic strata (SES).

We may now turn to a discussion of each of these limitations in turn.

The Conceptual Problem of the Simple Three Tiered Social Pyramid:

'Stratificationsists' share the view that there are more "common understandings" in the society than pluralists allow. Many of them allow that one aspect of this is expressed in the social value placed on skin colour. The closer to the white phenotype the higher the social status. Since they claim that colour attributes and socio-economic status are linked if not correlated, it is instructive to begin with some of their conceptions of colour.

Henriques' study is of particular importance to an understanding of the shared values of Jamaicans. He expresses their "Eurocentrism" in his concept of the 'White bias' (Henriques, 1961, 1976). This is defined: "...as both a conscious and unconscious desire on the part of a majority of the people of the Caribbean of African descent to approximate as closely as possible to the European" (Henriques and Manyoni, 1977: 58; also Henriques

1976: 52, 57 - 59). These attitudes reflect those of the dominant stratum in the slave period, which came to be incorporated into the Jamaican way of life. Concubinage with its resultant hybrid coloured population is the key to the phenomenon. Coloureds especially, and blacks to a lesser extent, have historically sought to emulate European ways, values and behaviour (Henriques, 1961, 1976: 51 - 54).

Henriques' 'white bias' leads him to be especially illuminating on the question of colour, and the complexity of the notion as it is applied by the man on the street.

First of all the concept of colour is associated with socio-economic status. He noted in the 1950's that coloured children are often not allowed by their parents to play with black children. This behaviour is rationalized by claiming that one is more sure of the socio-economic origins of the brown child than that of the black child (Henriques, 1961: 120). These perceptions indicate a historical association between colour and objective status placement, where whites were owners and blacks were slaves.

Secondly, colour in its biological sense does not refer only to pigment, but is inclusive of physical features, shape of the nose, thickness of lips, "quality" of hair. All of these attributes are evaluated according to their approximation of the European ideal as opposed to the African. The features and the combination thereof are selectively perceived in status evaluation depending on the social situation, and on who is doing the defining (Henriques, 1961: 115). Colour symbolises beliefs and values; thus colour is more than a biological fact, it is a social fact.

The Mexican experience regarding race is similar. A review of the literature dealing with social stratification in that country leads Simpson to comment that:

Indians are discriminated against in Mexico, but Indian refers to language, self-identifications, community affiliations, and manner of living, that is, to social and cultural criteria rather than to race. A mestizo may have more Indian ancestry than a person who is regarded as an Indian. By a change of residence and occupation, an Indian, regardless of physical appearance of language, may change his classification (Simpson, 1962: 38).¹⁷

The 'white bias' expressly stated by Henriques, and which is inferred in Kerr's study entitled Personality and Conflict in Jamaica (1952), leads them both to conceive of the social structure as a simple three tiered pyramid. That is there is a white upper stratum, a brown middle stratum, and a black lower stratum. Kerr's study is rich with interview material dealing with 'class and colour'. The following quotation from the perception of a "light coloured middle class man" is one example:

The trouble is that in Jamaica whiteness is the symbol of good and blackness of bad. The whiter you are the better you are; the blacker you are the worse you are. The white people still have most of the money though a few light coloured men are rich. They don't want to part with it and we can't blame them for that. The tragedy is the snobbery between the different shades of colour (Kerr, 1952: 99).

For Kerr the above quotation among others demonstrates the correlation between whiteness and the 'class' structure. During the post-emancipation period (1940's), when her study took place, there was generally an association between colour and socio-economic standing. Kerr

¹⁷ Based on observations of Oscar Lewis, Beals among others.

therefore noted the strong association between these two variables. Not all whites were members of the upper stratum, conversely, not all blacks were in the low socio-economic stratum.

Henriques in a later study on Jamaican social structure explains the dual ranking employed by individuals in assigning status. That is that the individual may be ranked high on the objective scale, low on the subjective level and vice versa. In his words "colour is not the sole determinant of social position or status. The economic value and prestige value of the individuals' employment are factors of considerable importance" (Henriques, [1953], 1976: 59). In his view, (one which is shared by most stratificationists), the structural economic political changes which occurred in post-emancipation allowed for mobility of black and coloured individuals.

According to George Simpson, in a review of the literature covering "Social Stratification In The Caribbean", economic and political changes will affect the stratification in those countries in which colour has traditionally assumed a level of importance. He states: "Programs of economic development have provided some new job opportunities. These changes will continue and will tend to lessen the importance of colour within the community" (Simpson, 1962: 31). His statement is relevant as following on structural changes brought on by the act of emancipation, and political independence, colour as a valued social attribute has assumed less importance than during the slave period.

Henriques' theoretical position led him to present diagrammatically Jamaican's social structure in the following way.

Figure 1:

(Reproduced from Henriques, 1976: 50)

The diagram appears to reflect only the horizontal SES cleavages. Based on his own statements however and the facts as they present themselves the diagram should be amended as follows to reflect contemporary changes.

Figure 2:

Figure 2 shows that unlike that of Henriques' diagram, though whites preponderate in the upper stratum, with blacks at the lower stratum, this is not exclusively so. The second diagram therefore reflects the changing social structure, which has allowed for vertical mobility among the darker phenotypes.

R.T. Smith in a study of British Guiana (1956) and L. Braithwaite on Trinidad (1975) ¹⁸ are both critical of the simple three tiered colour - socio-economic status correlation. In Smith's words: "The model of a simple three-class structure correlated with a division of the population into three ethnic groups black, white and coloured is clearly unrealistic from an empirical point of view, there being many highly visible cases of individuals who do not 'fit' (Smith, 1956: 194).

He points out therefore that the strata are less colour homogeneous than the simple model will allow. One cannot speak of a homogeneous brown middle stratum, when there are Chinese, Indians, whites and blacks who share the same socio-economic standing. Both scholars are aware of historical developments in economic diversification, educational expansion, and the shift towards 'meritocratic' criteria of selection. As Van den Berghe puts it, the process of change from the period of slavery to the twentieth century, is a shift from "paternalistic race relations" to more "competitive race relations" (Van den Berghe, 1978).

In the process of "becoming" (R.T. Smith, 1970: 55 - 57), individual potential is evaluated on objective standards. The prime source of status is

¹⁸ British Guiana and Trinidad have populations almost equally divided between blacks and Indians. There are also a few Chinese in both countries as there are in Jamaica.

one's occupation. Vertical mobility (upward and downward) is possible, depending on the acquisition of valued occupational skills which L. Braithwaite refers to as "the ladder of occupational mobility" (Braithwaite, 1975: 43). At the same time institutions (economic, educational), are structured in such a way as to continue to exclude a large number of historically deprived blacks (Broom, 1954; M.G. Smith, 1960a, 1974). As a result differential access to some basic institutions still follows race-colour lines, albeit to a much modified degree compared to that which existed in the pre-independence period. The shift towards 'meritocratic' selection has not eliminated completely the "ascriptive base" of the society which remains in modified form (Braithwaite, 1975). Yet this too has been modified to such an extent that the 'white bias' may be darkening as the top stratum becomes more heterogeneous (Forsythe, 1975; Kuper, 1977).

Two important reasons have contributed to these changes:

- 1) The expansion of educational and economic areas, have allowed for mobility by darker individuals;
- 2) The local pro-black Rastafarian movement and the black power movement have been instrumental in changing Jamaican's attitudes and openly challenge the legitimacy of the 'white bias'.

The Problem with the use of the Class Concept in Stratification Studies:

R.T. Smith (1970: 50 - 59) is one scholar who advocates the need for conceptual clarity in analysing Caribbean societies as a hierarchy of 'status groups' rather than that of classes. Other "stratificationists" use the term

'class' in a loose, ill-defined manner. This section will critically evaluate the 'class' formulations of 'stratificationists' in general.

'Stratificationists' writing on the Caribbean frequently make reference to the race, colour class configuration of those societies. Classes for them describe a stratified hierarchy of social categories distinguished and differentiated by 'social honour' or social prestige.

In Kuper's words:

Social scientists writing on Jamaica have commonly failed to distinguish between the various senses of social 'class', confusing categories of people ranked with reference to life-style, status or income and occupation. The confusion may be defined in Marxian terms as a failure to distinguish between class in an objective sense, i.e. defined with reference to the structure of economic organization and class in the sense of discriminations made with reference to various other criteria by the actors themselves (Kuper, 1977: 129).

His concern is that in incorporating notions of colour, style and culture in the analysis, 'stratificationists' are not speaking strictly of objective economic criteria. They individually and collectively are identifying social categories within a hierarchy of strata. Each socio-economic stratum embraces members who are further ranked socially according to their physical attributes. The individual then is ranked along a multiplicity of status attributes.

Neither Kerr (1952) nor Henriques (1976: 50 - 69), defines the sense in which they use class. Kerr states: "Even before the slaves were freed a class system was started. Many of the planters had children by their slaves and these offspring were generally taken into the house as house slaves. These people thought themselves superior to the field workers both on account of white ancestry and of more refined upbringing and better job" (Kerr, 1952: 94).

The objective fact is, house slaves and field slaves shared the same position as an "economic class". The reference to a superior class among them is a reference to social rank and prestige accorded, firstly, on the basis of their possessing certain valued physical attributes, and secondly, on their occupational position.

The various criteria for ranking were defined by the dominant white planters during the slave period, and continued to structure and influence the stratification system of contemporary Jamaican society. That influence is one which regards colour as a 'visible symbol' of social status and one's position in the socio-economic system (Hall, 1977: 171).

For Henriques, "The class structure invites comparison with Britain. There is similar social stratification but with the important difference that class is determined not only by education and wealth, but by colour" (Henriques, 1976: 161). It is clear that his conception of 'classes' in Jamaica is similar to that of Kerr's (1952); both are describing a social structure based on "status differentia" in which status assignment is dependent upon both objective and subjective criteria that are incompatible with 'classes'.

Given the inadequacy of the "class model" in the analysis of social inequality in Jamaica, the Weberian model of "status groups" appears to be the most appropriate for this type of society.

Status Groups

In Weber's definition:

A "Status group" means a plurality of persons who, within a larger group, successfully claim

- a) a special social esteem, and possibly also
- b) status monopolies.

Status groups may come into being:

- a) in the first instance, by virtue of their own style of life, particularly the type of vocation: "self-styled" or occupational status groups,
- b) in the second instance, through hereditary charisma, by virtue of successful claims to higher-ranking descent: hereditary status groups, or
- c) through monopolistic appropriation of political or hierocratic powers: political or hierocratic status groups:

The development of hereditary status groups is generally a form of the (hereditary) appropriation of privileges by an organization or qualified individuals. Every definite appropriation of political powers and the corresponding economic opportunities tends to result in the rise of status groups, and vice versa (Weber, 1968: 306).

Weber's model suggests that within the social hierarchy of differentiated strata, certain individuals who possess positively evaluated attributes, rank higher than those who are not so endowed. In addition, vertical mobility (upward and downward) of status groups is possible upon the acquisition (or lack thereof) of self interested economic and political privileges. There are two senses then in which Weber treats status groups:

- 1) as a hierarchy of life styles incorporating social evaluations of prestige, esteem and honour; and
 - 2) in a dynamic sense i.e. the rise and fall of status groups
- (R.T. Smith, 1970: 57 - 58).

The appropriateness of Weber's model for the case study may be shown by using historical examples to illustrate the two senses outlined above.

First of all the activities of the free coloureds in the early to mid-nineteenth century, provide us with good examples of claims to differential prestige in the middle SES category. Public petitions for political and civil rights equality with whites were made on behalf of the lighter coloured among them to the exclusion of the blacks with whom they shared a common socio-economic stratum. They claimed commonalty with whites on the basis of the social honour of their inherited 'superior colour' and their cultural proximity to dominant whites (Hall, 1970; Campbell, 1976). As a privileged group within the broad category of 'free coloureds', the mulattoes claimed superior status vis-à-vis free blacks who by virtue of ascription were a negatively privileged group.

Secondly, historical examples may be proffered to illustrate the rise and fall of economic and political status groups. The mid-twentieth century ushered in a more diversified economy than that which existed in slavery. Up until the 1930's a few whites controlled both economic and political spheres. The arrival of other ethnic groups in post-emancipation notably Chinese and Syrians (Roberts, 1957) significantly modified entrenched white economic control. Individual Chinese and Syrians entered into the commercial and retail sectors becoming as wealthy as some of the whites (Broom, 1954; Patterson, 1975), making a rise in new economic status groups.

The 1938 disturbances were followed by the granting of adult suffrage without a property criterion. Union organization of blacks, and political party formation under brown educated leadership caused the decline of white political status groups and the rise of self-interested brown

skinned political status groups (Lowenthal, 1972; Post, 1978). These historical examples illustrate status group formation and the vertical mobility of such groups in Jamaica.

Weber's status group theory leads to a consideration of the "elite" model of social stratification to which attention is now turned.

The Elite Theory

V. Pareto (1968)¹⁹ and G. Mosca (1939) are two of the leading proponents of elitist theory. It is a theory which arose in opposition to the Marxian analysis that the single basis of social power is economic. For 'elitists', economic resource is only one of the many resources for power, others include social, cultural, religious, political (Olsen, (ed.), 1970: 106 - 107). Theorists in this tradition generally subscribe to the permanence of elites, whose legitimate survival depends largely on their level of organizational ability over and above the masses beneath them. This is in sharp contrast to Marx, whose doctrine of proletariat revolution²⁰ predicted the overthrow of the ruling classes, thereby issuing in a classless society. For Marx, ruling classes are dysfunctional and temporary, contrary to 'elitists', who see elites as a normal and permanent feature of any society.

Elite theorists overlap in their general approaches, but there are some distinctions to be drawn between them. Pareto (1968) constructs a

¹⁹ Originally published in Italian in 1901.

²⁰ For elitists this is an impossibility; they all assume that the masses could never be organized. e.g. Pareto, 1968: 51

general theory of elites out of existing empirical situations from diverse cultures. His propositional laws are then retested in the interpretation and prediction of other empirical situations. A basic sociological law of his is that elites are not only a permanent feature of any social system but that "...due to an important physiological law, elites do not last. Hence the history of man is the history of the continuous replacement of certain elites: As one ascends, another declines..." (Pareto, 1968: 36). This "circulation of elites" comes about when declining elites lose their level of efficiency and legitimacy through agitation from below by individuals who feel that they are in possession of the necessary qualifications for elite status. ²¹

Another sociological law of Pareto's is that the rising elites never honestly express their own political self interests: "...Instead it assumes the leadership of all the oppressed, declares that it will pursue not its own good but the good of the many; and it goes to battle, not for the rights of a restricted class, but for the rights of almost the entire citizenry" (Pareto, 1968: 36). All Jamaican leaders have done precisely that, declaring themselves to be acting on behalf of the masses in the 'council of a friend', declaring their demands for social justice and social reform for all (Post, 1978: 364 - 371).

²¹ The already mentioned rise of a new status group of educated brown skinned politicians in the 1940's is a classic example of the rise and fall of political elites. The Royal Commission (Cmd, 6607, 1939) had earlier made specific reference to the decreased legitimacy of white political control and strongly recommended the institution of adult suffrage.

Mosca and Marx differ from Pareto in that the latter constructs his conception of elites from existing empirical situations, while the former "assume a priori the existence of an elite as a social category" (Manyoni, 1973a: 201). To Mosca it is understood that 'in all societies from bare subsistence level to the highly industrialized there are two classes -- those that rule and those that are ruled. His 'ruling class' is a more narrowly conceived elite than that of Pareto, as it refers expressly to a political class. But like Pareto's 'circulation of elites', Mosca's 'ruling class' is continually challenged by new pretenders to elite status. In this aspect elite theory is an analysis of historical social change and may be usefully applied to the Jamaican case study.

Each society has its own criteria for evaluating elite status, which rests on individual rather than on group achievement.²² Hence it is fallacious to refer to the whites as elites as though all whites shared elite status.

The preceding chapters have covered two main stratification frameworks, the plural theory and what has been referred to as "stratificationist" theory. They differ^o in some important ways. The plural theory advocates that multi-ethnic social systems exhibit a minimum of shared values. The racial, cultural and ethnic conglomerate is depicted as several micro pyramids with each social section having its own discrete institutions. Each group defines its own criteria for status assignment and social

²² For the operational definition used in this study. See Appendix C attached.

mobility. The whole is integrated through force, hence any political change is accompanied by cultural conflict.

In contrast the "stratificationists" claim that in all social systems there is a dominant ethos of shared values and shared institutions. Multi-ethnic systems are conceptualized as a single hierarchical pyramid of horizontal (SES) and vertical (ethnic and colour) strata. There is general agreement on the criteria for status placement and ranking. The structure is not rigid, but fluid, allowing for vertical mobility on attainment of objectively valued positions, although colour and shading for historical reasons remains as a symbol of social status. Even though there are shared values, conflict is also possible in such systems.

In the selected case study, it is intended to apply three theoretical models, the pluralist, status group, and elite models, in a developmental process to demonstrate how the evolution of Jamaica's system of social stratification corresponded to each one of these models at different historical periods.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE PLANTATION SYSTEM AND SLAVERY 1655-1838

This chapter will demonstrate the origins of the contemporary social stratification system in Jamaica. The historical analysis to follow will show that:

- a) the manner in which the two original racial and cultural groups (white-Europe and negro-African) were unequally integrated in the institutions of slave society;
- b) the significant changes which occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century. These changes were instrumental in shifting the social relations between the component racial groups from a plural-segmented society to an "estate system", stratified along socio-economic and racial lines.

Like others in the West Indies, Jamaica was a colony, settled by the British from the Eastern Caribbean and from Great Britain. At first the economy consisted of small uneconomical plots of cocoa, pimento and sugar. A more lucrative mono-crop sugar economy was soon to develop, and was protected by sugar tariff duties (Black 1958: 97 - 99; Patterson, 1967: 1 - 24). Sugar required intensive monotonous labour input and slaves from Africa were imported for this purpose. Eric Williams' study on Capitalism and Slavery (1961) amply demonstrates the rise of industrial development of the United Kingdom based on this well known triangular trade. England supplied manufactured goods to Africa, in exchange for slaves to the colonies. Slaves

were traded at a profit in return for raw materials exported to the Motherland. The economic prosperity of the sugar colonies not only benefited the homeland, but also led to the acquisition of wealth by some individuals in their capacity as planters.

As was characteristic of plantation systems, Jamaica for the first one and a half centuries of colonisation had two distinct racial and cultural categories of people. White-Europeans were legally free and held dominance over a mass of enslaved black-Africans. The economic, political, legal and social basis of European power within the island was all pervasive. Economically speaking, not all whites were wealthy, although all of them, in contrast to blacks, were legally free. There was a distinct social hierarchy and a range of lifestyles to be found among whites. Edward Long (1774, Bk 2: 289), and Bryan Edwards (1793), planter-historians who wrote with a pro-slavery bias, have left a wealth of historical evidence of the socio-economic conditions of the period. Their observations are particularly instructive regarding white social hierarchy. Edwards observed that at the apex of white society were old soldiers who eventually became wealthy planters and merchants, some of whom were elected members of the local assembly. There was also a Governor, the Crown colony representative, and his nominated council. To quote Edwards in detail:

Next to these may be reckoned the mercantile part of the inhabitants, such as factors, storekeepers, bookkeepers and clerks; who are followed by tradesmen and artificers of various kinds, such as millwrights, carpenters, masons, coppersmiths, and others; most of whom, either through accident or necessity, after some years residence, become adventurers in the soil. Then come the husbandmen, or cultivators of the land, possessedly such; who are commonly distinguished by the appellation of managers, overseers, and plantation bookkeepers;... (Edwards, Vol 2; 1793: 7).

Edwards therefore identifies at least two successive socio-economic strata of whites beneath the wealthy planters. A few years before Edwards' writing, E. Long had observed (1774) that at the very bottom of the white social hierarchy, were the indentured²³ servants. Based on data from the Lords of Trade, he estimated that in Jamaica they constituted at least one third of the total white population.²⁴ Their conditions and terms of employment were deplorable. The pay for the menial tasks for which they were responsible was small and irregular (Long, 1774, Bk 2; Chapter 2, Section 3: 377). It was widely known and commented upon by contemporary observers that white servants in the West Indies were subjected to harsh treatment.²⁵ At least one observer remarked on their condition in the following way: "They are domineered over and used like dogs, and this in time will undoubtedly drive away all the commonalty of the white people and leave the island in a deplorable condition..." (Patterson, 1967: 47).²⁶ Further evidence of the wide range of lifestyles among whites may be drawn from Dunn's study of the rise of the planter class in the West Indies. In a

²³ Indentured because theirs was a contractual agreement made with higher status whites. Their period of work was limited (E. Williams, 1951: 9).

²⁴ Data from Lords of Trade in Long (1774: 377)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Servants</u>	<u>Negroes</u>
1739	10,080	5,360	99,239
1768	17,949	5,983	166,914

²⁵ Sometimes even worse than that accorded to Slaves Burn (1951: 20-21) also quotes Ligon (1657) a historian who in reference to Barbados tells of the shabby treatment of servants.

²⁶ Patterson seems to attribute this quotation to Beeston, a Lt. Governor of Jamaica: derived from CSP 1693-1696. It is a point of disagreement with Manyoni who states that the author of the quotation was Francis Russell, Governor of Barbados in a letter to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.

comparative inventory of the distribution of wealth in Jamaica and Maryland U.S.A. covering the late seventeenth to the early eighteenth century, it is obvious that whites in Maryland were either rich or poor, Jamaican whites however enjoyed a variety of life styles. The data suggest that 34.4 per cent of estate appraisals fell in the 1 to 99 pound category, 5.5 per cent were appraised at 2,000 pounds or more, the remaining 60 per cent were distributed between these two extreme financial brackets (Dunn, 1972: 266 - 267).

The wealthy planters lived lavishly, their "great houses" overflowed with mahogany and walnut furnishings, silver tankards graced their tables. The Price family (Craon and Walvin, 1970) and Samuel Long (Dunn, 1972: 268) were two examples of wealthy planter families of the eighteenth century. At the other end of the spectrum were individuals such as Ebenezer Hicks a school teacher who when he died left an estate valued at 3 pounds (Dunn, 1972: 267). In between these extremes were the middle income earners, the estate bookkeepers, overseers and attorneys. It is obvious that white society was socially stratified and exhibited differentiated lifestyles and life chances.

The slaves, the great labour component of the plantation, constituted the other racial category of the Jamaican society of this period. By definition slavery refers to "the status or condition of persons over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised" (Patterson, 1967: 72).²⁷ The slave therefore relinquished the right to be a person, in fact he was divested of all basic human rights and

²⁷ A quotation from "Anti-slavery Convention of the League of Nations" in 1926.

privileges. Jamaican slaves originated from different communities of West Africa; as such they were linguistically and tribally differentiated. The population increase over the years due to net importation, meant that by the early eighteenth century they outnumbered whites proportionately 10 to 1.²⁸ Compared to whites their social stratification was relatively minimal. It consisted of a hierarchy of tasks and corresponding rights and privileges which were defined according to criteria laid down by the planter class (Patterson, 1967). For example, house slaves were considered superior to field slaves who constituted the majority. Within the plantation economy, slave labour was coerced; and compensation consisted only of food and shelter.

In spite of the highly stratified white society that existed, observers declared that there was little social distinction practised among them. Long expressed the lack of social status awareness among them in the following way: "The whites are nearly on a level; and the lowest can find the way of bringing the highest to public justice for any injury of oppression" (Long, 1774: Vol I, Book III: 431). Later on Edwards observed this same feeling of oneness among the white population. In the following quotation he described the manner in which this expressed itself; he goes further than Long in that he was able to explain the rationale behind its existence: In describing the character of Jamaican whites, Edwards said:

Of this character it appears to me that the leveling feature is an independent spirit, and a display of conscious equality, throughout all ranks and conditions. The poorest white person

²⁸ See attached Appendix B

seems to consider himself nearly on a level with the richest, and, emboldened by the idea, approaches his employer with extended hand, and a freedom, which, in the countries of Europe, is seldom displayed by men in the lower orders of life towards their superiors. It is not difficult to trace the origin of this principle. It arises without doubt, from the preeminence and distinction which are necessarily attached even to the complexion of a white man, in a country where the complexion, generally speaking, distinguishes freedom from slavery (Edwards, 1793: Vol 2, Bk IV: 8).

Edwards' astute observation reveals a great deal about the relatively egalitarian social relations among whites, and the reasons for it. In Jamaican slave society, all whites were free and therefore were ranked socially higher than enslaved blacks. Skin colour too assumed symbolic importance in locating the individual's socio-economic standing. Blackness denoted slave labourer; whiteness assumed freedom. The sources of inequality in slavery were not only those of an economic nature, but there was an overlay of racist attitudes which attributed to whites a superior social standing over blacks. There was a social value placed on colour.

The phenomenon by which certain categories of people on the basis of attributes, ascribed or otherwise which they possess, monopolize their position of dominance and exclude those who are without them is described conceptually by Weber as "social closure". The utility of this concept was demonstrated by Parkin (1979), in contemporary analyses of ethnically heterogeneous societies similar to those in the West Indies.²⁹ The historical data already presented indicate that poor whites in their capacity as servants, whose socio-economic position was closer to black slaves than to other whites, 'closed out' blacks, on the basis of the latter's assumed 'inferior colour'. Poor white discrimination against blacks in the U.S.A. is

29 For example South Africa.

analogous to the Jamaican example. Weber in reference to American white-black problems said that this discrimination was necessary "because the social honour of the 'poor whites' was dependent upon the social déclasserment of the blacks" (Weber, 1968: 391).

Economic power translated into full political power. Wealthy elite whites controlled all aspects of social and legal life of the island inhabitants, and particularly those in bondage. Whites successfully maintained and constructed their monopoly of the political realm, and the laws that were devised regarding slave treatment. In the system of representative Government which characterized the period, there was the Governor and his nominated 12 man council. Real legislative power however resided in the elected members of the Assembly. They passed all laws concerning economic and social life of the island (Black, 1958: 178 - 186; Braithwaite, 1971; Murray, 1971).³⁰ An examination of the highly restricted franchise and qualifications required for assembly membership explains how a few whites were able to maintain their preferred position at the apex of slave society. A wide range of criteria involving colour, religion, and wealth differentiated those who could hold political office from those who could not. Most sources concur with the following statement: "Assembly representatives had to be white Christians"³¹ and were chosen

³⁰ Assembly members numbered 41 in 1770
43 in 1774
45 after 1816
(Braithwaite, 1971: 44).

³¹ The reference to Christians automatically excluded Jews. Being white and wealthy was not enough. Jews did not get the franchise until 1826 (Black, 1958).

A peace treaty was signed between the two groups in 1739. In exchange for Crown lands, Maroons agreed to capture all runaway slaves: "to take, kill, suppress or destroy ... all rebels wheresoever they be unless they submit to the same terms" (J.H.A. Vol 3: 457). Thus whites coopted with one segment of negroes against another to ensure their complete control and maintenance of their legal position as social superiors to negroes.

The material presented thus far covers the first 150 years of slavery in Jamaica. It is clear that a small number of whites utilized every method at their disposal, to control the majority of the populace as their social subordinates, as a "negatively privileged status group."⁴² Throughout this period Jamaica was a plural society. Whites and negroes in the eyes of the law were unequal segments, linguistically and culturally distinct. The European and the African coexisted on an unequal basis. The system was dominated by a statistical cultural minority, regulated through force, a criterion which fulfills M.G. Smith's view of the plural society.

Each ethno-cultural segment adhered to discrete institutional patterns and there was no intersectional movement. However as stated in the theoretical section, the plural hypothesis lacks a sense of history. Two developments contributing to a change in the social relations and plural structure of the island warrant discussion.

By the late 18th century we find:

⁴² A concept taken from Parkin; he attributes it to Gertrud Neuwirth.

example there was a mass exodus of settlers and planters early in the development of the colony, due to a dispute with Governor Carlisle on one essential point on the framing of laws (Long, 1774: Vol 1: 19). More notable is the resistance of the local Assembly to demands by the Crown for abolition and eventual emancipation of the slaves. Emancipation had to be forced on them in 1838 (Ragatz, 1971: 408 - 457, 272 - 285).³⁴ The turbulent relationship between the local assembly and the home Government was really a tug of war for power. As Long expressly states, the local Assembly was constructed as an exact replica of the British House of Commons; as such it jealously guarded and controlled the legislation over their own community (Long, 1774: Vol 1: 11). Their geographic separation from Great Britain, the time it took for communication between the two countries, added to the difficulty in controlling the local Assembly. Long was right when he said: "Men entrusted with public offices so far from the mother-state, require a chain, instead of a thread to hold them within bounds" (Long, 1774; Vol 1: 3). His observation appropriately summarizes the thrust of the preceding discussion. The power of the Plantocracy to control and order their world according to their own needs was virtually absolute. This is particularly obvious when one examines the treatment of slaves in law and custom.

³⁴ Ragatz' study of the Fall of the Planter Class in the B.W.I at the end of slavery argues that emancipation came about for economic reasons.

- 1) Slavery was wasteful on the agricultural system;
- 2) There was competition from other sugar producing countries;
- 3) There was the lifting of sugar tariff protection duties.

Slave laws were overtly racist in their intent, even in the ameliorative period of the early 19th century.³⁵ The inequality of white-black relations were explicitly circumscribed within the law. The dominance economically, politically, legally and socially of whites in their attitudes, values, and culture over all things African was enforced through the elaborate set of slave laws passed during the period 1664 to 1834 (Patterson, 1967). A cursory examination of the journals of the Jamaica House of Assembly issued during the period reveals a common theme and gives an inkling of the coercion and force by which slave societies were maintained and integrated. The preamble to slave acts almost always stated: "The act for the better order and government of slaves, being brought in engrossed was read, and passed the third time" (J.H.A., Vol 1, 1696: 23). Written into the laws themselves were prescribed modes of treatment by white owners, managers and overseers of slave misdemeanours. All West Indian slave laws were similar in tone. In 1788 an Act was passed in Jamaica that stated:

That if any slave shall offer any violence, by striking or otherwise, to any white person, such slave upon due and proper proof, shall upon conviction, be punished with death, or confinement to hard labour for life, or otherwise, as the court in their discretion shall think proper to inflict; provided such striking or conflict be not by command of his or their owners, overseers, or persons intrusted over them, or in the lawful defence of their owners' persons or goods (Southey [1827], 1968, Vol 3: 17).³⁶

³⁵ A reference to humanitarian British period of abolition, and the passing of consolidated slave acts designed to ameliorate slave conditions circa 1801.

³⁶ In Southey (Vol 3: 17) there was an Act passed in Dominica in the same year which stated that if a white were to kill a slave and be convicted, he would be fined one hundred pounds, or be put in prison for a few months. Note that Southey was first published in 1827.

The inequality of white-black relations was legally sanctioned in all aspects of life. For Patterson (1967) and Southey (1968) make reference to the relatively mild charges which would be laid against whites in the case of their killing a black, as opposed to assault by blacks on whites which would result in the death penalty. Not only were there behavioral laws differentiating between the two races, but marriage was legally prohibited between blacks, and the crux of inequality in the system was that slave evidence could not be given against whites³⁷ (Edwards, 1793, Vol 2: 19; Patterson 1967; Dunn, 1972).

It is true that marriage was not widespread, even among whites.³⁸ The denial of marriage for slaves however was made on two grounds it appears. First of all, it would not have been economically feasible for planters to allow for marriage among slaves. Slaves had to be mobile; they had to be transferable from one plantation to another, a fact which would not be compatible with a settled married life. Secondly, local whites' perception of negroes as "savages" was that they could not be committed to any one individual. Edwards' view for instance reflects the Spencerian ideas of the period: "... Any attempt to restrain their present licentious and dissolute manners, by introducing the marriage ceremony among them, as is strenuously recommended by many persons in Great Britain, would be utterly impracticable to any good purpose" (Edwards, 1793, Vol 2: 76). Legal restraints against blacks extended to education and religious education. The established Church

37 Slave evidence admitted in court conditionally only in 1831 (Hall, 1962: 312; Patterson, 1967: 79).

38 For example regarding white plantation staff there was "An act that no person shall marry without the consent of their master or mistress upon forfeiture, & c" (J.H.A. 1663, Vol 1: 1 - 2).

ignored them; there was no attempt to Christianize them until the middle to late eighteenth century, when non-conformist sects took up the responsibility for doing so (Ragatz, 1971: 19, 28).

Slaves were thus integrated through force into the plantation system. Their labour was coerced and their inferior social status was ensured through powerful psychological reinforcement of racial myths confirming the social superiority of whites over negroes. Legal exclusion of negroes from participation in major institutions meant that they were not integrated into the society, not even at the public level. They could not own property, as they were treated as one of the three factors of production, -- land, labour and capital. They were not thought of as labour, but as inanimate non-human objects. They were in fact part of the capital equipment - like livestock, and were treated as such. In official documents slaves were accounted with heads of cattle. For example in an appendix in the J.H.A. we have the following:

YEAR	1734		1740		1745	
	Negroes	Cattle	Negroes	Cattle	Negroes	Cattle
	86,534	76,011	97,419	84,307	112,428	88,033

(Taken from Appendix to Vol 1. J.H.A.)

The legal perception and social status of slaves mirrored what had become customary in the island.³⁸ To paraphrase E. Williams regarding the property status of slaves, he said slaves were "instruments of production" (Williams, 1961: 203) As property they were bought and sold

³⁸ Long for instance tallied his stock on his estates in Middlesex, Cornwall and Surrey in the same way (Long, Vol I: 58).
Also see D. Hall (1962: 305 - 318) for other examples.

individually, indeed entire plantations inclusive of slaves were sold and inherited (Hall, 1962: Hurwitz and Hurwitz, 1971). The dilemma for the planter class was that slaves were not cattle, they were human. Outnumbered by negroes, and yet exploiting an enslaved labour force, whites necessarily (out of fear of uprisings) resorted to three main methods for maintaining the status quo:

- 1) They instituted excessive laws which were explicitly racist.

These operated as powerful psychological mechanisms of control over the negro masses. By the end of the seventeenth century, 50 years after the colony was formed, the term - "if any negro or other slave" was in common usage in official documents. The statement itself shows how dark colour was a symbol of low status occupations.

- 2) Deficiency laws³⁹ were instituted to maintain a higher ratio of whites to negroes on estates. Where the law was flaunted a financial penalty was levied.⁴⁰

- 3) The divide and rule method which was most obvious in white treatment of maroons.⁴¹ Maroons had a history of evading white capture, and made repeated attacks on white communities.

³⁹ The requirements were
 "1 white to every 30 slaves
 1 white to every 150 head of cattle
 1 to every tavern or shop"
 (Long, 1774: Book 2: Ch 2: 380 - 382).

⁴⁰ Actually the deficiency law was a failure. People preferred to pay the penalty which varied from 13 to 26 pounds per year for each white person deficient. This fee was less than the annual earnings of a hired white servant (Hall, 1962: 306), his footnote #2.

⁴¹ Runaway Spanish African Slaves whose volatile activities in slavery posed a threat to whites. Slave runaways frequently escaped to Maroon hideouts.

A peace treaty was signed between the two groups in 1739. In exchange for Crown lands, Maroons agreed to capture all runaway slaves: "to take, kill, suppress or destroy ... all rebels wheresoever they be unless they submit to the same terms" (J.H.A. Vol 3: 457). Thus whites coopted with one segment of negroes against another to ensure their complete control and maintenance of their legal position as social superiors to negroes.

The material presented thus far covers the first 150 years of slavery in Jamaica. It is clear that a small number of whites utilized every method at their disposal, to control the majority of the populace as their social subordinates, as a "negatively privileged status group."⁴² Throughout this period Jamaica was a plural society. Whites and negroes in the eyes of the law were unequal segments, linguistically and culturally distinct. The European and the African coexisted on an unequal basis. The system was dominated by a statistical cultural minority, regulated through force, a criterion which fulfills M.G. Smith's view of the plural society.

Each ethno-cultural segment adhered to discrete institutional patterns and there was no intersectional movement. However as stated in the theoretical section, the plural hypothesis lacks a sense of history. Two developments contributing to a change in the social relations and plural structure of the island warrant discussion.

By the late 18th century we find:

⁴² A concept taken from Parkin; he attributes it to Gertrud Neuwirth.

- 1) The emergence of a third category of people, the free coloured,⁴³ the result of concubinage and manumission⁴⁴ (Hall, 1972; Lowenthal, 1972; Campbell, 1976; Henriques and Manyoni, 1977). Coloureds unlike whites and negroes, were the true creoles in that their birthplace and homeland was not in Europe, not in Africa, but Jamaica.
- 2) Linked to the above is the development of a process of "creolization". That is the synthesis of European and African cultures, one that placed a higher value on its European component.

A discussion of the attitudes, values and socio-economic characteristics of the coloureds will give an insight into the social structure of the period between abolition (in 1801) and emancipation.

The attached Appendix B gives data of the three main colour categories in Jamaica from 1655 to 1861. It is obvious that there was an increase over time of this 'creole' coloured category, and by the mid-nineteenth century their numbers exceeded that of whites. M.G. Smith in a paper covering the social conditions of St. Vincent and Jamaica Circa 1820 concluded that: "In effect the population of a British West Indian colony at this period was culturally pluralistic - that is to say, contained sections which practiced different forms of the same institutions. Thus the

43 Unless otherwise stated free coloured includes mulattoes (brown skinned) and a few manumitted blacks (Roberts : Hall, 1962)

44 Concubinage refers to sexual cohabitation usually between white men and black slave women. Their progeny were "coloured". Manumission is a system of freeing slaves, usually for good behaviour. A costly process (90-100 pounds) (Campbell, 1976: 40 - 42).

population constituted a plural society; that is to say, a society divided into sections; each of which practiced different cultures" (Smith, 1953: 75 - 76). Smith's cultural explanation is not supported by historical evidence. As has been stated earlier, the existence of the coloured category is in itself a refutation of the plural hypothesis. Furthermore the activities of the coloureds indicate that they embraced the values of the dominant whites. They actively endorsed the status quo, and never did represent a separate cultural section. This is obvious for example in the similar attitudes that they shared with whites regarding colour.

Lewis, a benevolent planter who resided in England, but made two visits to his plantations in Jamaica in 1815 and in 1816, noted in his diary on January 15th 1815: "The offspring of a white man and a black woman is a mulatto; the mulatto and black produce a sambo; from the mulatto and white comes the quadroon; from the quadroon and white the mustee; the child of a mustee by a white man is called a musteefino; while the children of a musteefino are free by law, and rank as white persons to all intents and purposes" (Lewis, 1834: 106).⁴⁵ Legally the individual who was "three steps away from the negro venter" was declared white and entitled to all rights that this brought (Edwards, 1793: 18).

It is obvious that due to criteria laid down by whites, colour became a valued attribute. Degrees of racial admixture were legally identifiable, and the further away from the negro parent, the more highly valued the colour. Legal distinctions of shade mirrored social distinctions of shade.

⁴⁵ 20 years earlier Edwards had noticed the same colour distinctions (Vol 2, Book 4: 16 - 17).

The social distance between different colour ranges was quite evident and was of particular importance to mulattoes. For instance Lewis tells a story of Nicholas, a mulatto carpenter on one of his estates, who married a beautiful creole black lady. The child which they produced was phenotypically black. The carpenter felt ashamed and disgraced by the child's colour, and doubted his part in the paternity. In Lewis' view: "the difference of colour which had offended Nicholas so much in Psyche's child, is a fault which no mulatto will pardon; nor can the separation of castes in India be more rigidly observed, than that of complexional shades among the creoles" (Lewis, 1834: 79). The attitudes to colour expressed in this quotation, can only be attributed to an acceptance by coloureds of the value system laid down by dominant whites.

Not all coloureds were legally free, some whose white fathers did not manumit them were still slaves. Several sources detail the preferred positions which coloured slaves held in households. Brown women were often 'housekeepers'; as concubines to white men were euphemistically called. Being a 'housekeeper' was a highly valued position as its physical proximity to the white master or mistress brought prestige and social status on the incumbent. Their children were called 'Miss' by other slaves (Lewis, 1834). This fact shows first of all the social distance practised among slaves on the basis of possessing 'superior' physical attributes. Secondly, it shows the extent to which an imposed set of values regarding colour was accepted at all levels of society.

At the same time that coloureds enjoyed the social prestige of their phenotypical proximity to whites, they were also involved in a variety of

occupational activities. Mavis Campbell's (1976) study on the free coloured institutions and their activities covering the period 1800 to 1865, demonstrates how they sought to occupy and share positions equivalent to whites. They were fishermen, artisans, carpenters, some were wealthy proprietors and owners of slaves themselves. Those who were wealthy had become so through inheritance from their fathers. Lewis had noted in his diary in 1817: "When a white man dies, who happens to possess twenty negroes, he will divide them among his brown family, leaving (we may say) five to each of his four children" (Lewis, 1834: 402). Inevitably those who were left estates or portions thereof became slave owners themselves: "By 1826 the mulattos claimed to have owned 50,000 slaves, out of a slave population of 310,368" (Campbell, 1976: 62).⁴⁶ Mulatto wealth was acquired, even though a law was instituted severely restricting the amount of inheritance they could receive (Edwards 1793: Vol 2\ 18, Campbell, 1976: 131).⁴⁷ Wealthy mulattos were obviously seen as posing a threat to the social order. As slave owners, free coloureds were as cruel as whites to their slaves, Lewis remarked on the "wretched life of slaves of the free people" (Lewis, 1834). The free coloureds accepted easily the social hierarchy, and the valued attributes of colour and social standing. Their behaviour simply mimicked whites with whom they wished to share privileged positions.

Wealth alone did not inflate a coloured person's social status to that of any white man, as the following quotation will make clear: "It very

⁴⁶ Information derived from Anton Long's Jamaica and New Order, 1827-1847.

⁴⁷ The law was instituted in 1762 and not lifted until 1813.

frequently happens that the lowest white person, considering himself as greatly superior to the richest and best educated freeman of colour, will disdain to associate with a person of the latter description, treating him as the Egyptians treated the Israelites, with whom they held it an abomination to eat bread" (Edwards, 1774: 20). The stigma of his inferior colour remained with the freedman no matter how much wealth he attained. An economic analysis of the period would be hard pressed to explain this particular fact. The increasing similarity of attitudes of mulattoes and whites with their corresponding exclusion by whites may be expressed as a case of cultural assimilation and social segregation (Vallee et al., 1957: 540-549). "Where ethnic groups become more similar to one another in style of living, attitudes, speech and so forth, we speak of cultural or expressive assimilation" (Vallee et al., 1957: 543).

Whites feared the larger coloured community with their increasing wealth and relatively good education. As a result they applied economic, social and political restrictions against them. Yet coloureds embraced white values in their desire to set themselves apart legally and socially from black slaves. Like whites coloureds were opposed to emancipation, they advertised for slaves, and declared their interests to be united with their "white brethren" (Campbell, 1976: 141 - 142). By virtue of their colour they could not vote until 1830, when they were granted this privilege after putting forward three petitions. These legal petitions were phrased in a way that demonstrated embracing of European culture and values by the free

coloured. They declared themselves to be citizens of England, and on the basis of their "closer approximation to whites", they deserved full political quality (J.H.A. 1823: Vol XIV: 179).

The tone of free coloured petitions indicated that there was no attempt to overturn the existing status quo. They requested by constitutional means a sharing of white privileges. They attempted to modify the social structure to allow for their full participation in it, as indicated by their support of the British Empire, and the claim that they had always been good citizens.

In no sense could they be thought of as a separate cultural category from whites.

Free coloureds were often given good education at home or in England. Data for attendance at Wolmer's High School during the years 1814-1837 show a striking increase in coloured attendance.⁴⁸ For our purposes at this stage of the discussion these data indicate two things:

- 1) They show clearly the advancement of free coloureds over time, as a potential professional class, which put them in an ideal position for their political leadership role in later years.
- 2) They show that coloureds shared the educational values of the dominant whites, as a valued means to their own advancement.

⁴⁸ See Table I in this section

TABLE I

EDUCATION
Wolmer's Free School 1814-1837

<u>Year</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Coloured</u>
1814	87	0
1815	111	3
1816	129	25
1817	146	36
1818	155	38
1819	136	57
1820	116	78
1821	118	122
1822	93	167
1823	97	187
1824	94	196
1825	89	185
1826	93	176
1827	92	156
1828	88	152
1829	79	192
1830	88	194
1831	88	315
1832	90	360
1833	93	411
1834	81	420
1835	85	425
1836	78	428
1837	72	430

(Braithwaite, 1971: 174)

Coloureds obviously did not forge for themselves a distinct culture, separate from the European. Coloureds in fact demonstrated by their activities, a oneness of thought with whites in values and attitudes regarding the social, political and economic fabric of a white dominated society. Towards the end of slavery therefore, we would claim that social structural features of Jamaica, were not culturally plural. Coloureds with

their growing educational background and individual wealth were to occupy in fact, a middle socio-economic stratum between whites and blacks.

The theoretical justification of the limited advancement of coloureds in this period is proffered by Hoetink (1962). He identified 3 types of segmented systems, on the basis of their "intersegmentary social mobility". Types 1 and 3 societies, correspond to Van den Berghe's (1970, 1978) "maximal" and "minimal" segmentation. In the former the social structure is rigid, and intersegmentary social mobility is held to a minimum. South Africa and the southern U.S.A. are examples of type 1 societies. conversely the social relations of Brazil and the Spanish Caribbean exemplify type 3 societies. Here a once dominated racially mixed group, assumes the dominant social position, from which it was previously excluded. Type 2 societies fall somewhere in between these extremes and aptly describes the social position of coloureds in nineteenth century Jamaica. For Hoetink a type 2 society is one: "in which rise is only possible half-way towards the social position of the dominant segment on the basis of physical characteristics (for example, the British, French and Dutch parts of the Caribbean)" (Hoetink, 1962: 101). In spite of the evidence of cultural assimilation by free coloureds into the dominant value system, their social position regardless of their objective achievements was limited on the basis of their inherited negative physical attributes. Almost until emancipation they were legally excluded from places on the jury, and they had to show proof of their freedom (J.H.A. 1823: Vol XIV: 179)⁴⁹ which shows the extent to which dark colour was associated with low occupational status.

⁴⁹ Some observers claimed that a badge certifying legal status of freedom had to be worn by coloureds.

In their racial admixture, coloureds represented and were culturally influenced by two worlds, Europe and Africa. Within the plantation system in an island context a 'creole' culture developed. We will define 'creolization' as a process by which there was a reciprocal influence, which transformed and modified the two original cultures according to the exigencies of a plantation society (Henriques, 1961, 1976; Brathwaite, 1971, R.T. Smith, 1970). It is Patterson's opinion (1966: 151 - 164), that each of the original racial segments underwent a process of deculturation; which subsequently developed into a Euro-creole and Afro-creole culture. The evidence does not support his explanation of a dual creole culture. It was not logically possible for this to occur. Whites unlike black slaves, could draw on cultural support and reinforcement from Britain with whom there was constant contact. Their hold over blacks included a coercive psychological superiority. African culture and all that Africa symbolised was effectively denigrated. Maintenance of the slave status quo depended on powerful mechanisms of control, namely a racist ideology, ideological maintenance was the name of the game. Divested of their own cultural underpinnings, blacks had no recourse but to emulate in modified form the dominant ethos in all its aspects. Even in its creolised form however, the dominant (European) culture was emphasized, and more positively evaluated, than the subordinate (African) one. This is precisely what Henriques (1966, 1976) referred to as the structure of Jamaican society cohering around a 'white bias'.

As early as the mid-eighteenth century Long (1774) had noted and described in detail the distinctive style and manner of white creoles as

opposed to Europeans. Lewis (1834) later remarked several times in his diary on the dislike which creole slaves held for African slaves. One such instance was his head cook's indignation: "that massa ought to sell all the Eboes, and buy creoles instead" (Lewis, 1834: 190).

A key factor hastening the process of creolisation of slaves was the system of "seasoning", which was an assigned period during which the newly arrived slave was indoctrinated into the plantation system. These demands ultimately met the criteria and regulations which were enforced in the interests of dominant whites.

It was noted earlier how the creolisation process was expressed in a distinctive pattern of Jamaican speech spoken by creolised whites, browns and negroes (Lewis, 1834: 3). Several years before Lewis' visit, Edward Long wrote from his own biased position what he considered to be a problem with whites: "The constant intercourse from their birth with negroe domestics, whose drawling, dissonant gibberish they insensibly adopt, and with it no small tincture of their awkward carriage and vulgar manners; all which they do not easily get rid of, even after an English education unless sent away extremely young" (Braithwaite, 1971: 302).

It was inevitable that the two original groups would mutually influence each other, when "locked" together on a relatively small island. Integrated differentially (structurally and culturally) as they were into slave society, whites, browns and negroes nonetheless shared a common colonial experience. Out of this shared experience a creole culture developed. Jamaicans have common institutions, such as language, religion (Christianity), politics (Parliamentary Democratic system), and a British

styled education system. All of these institutions reflect her colonial origins and are expressed and manifested locally in modified forms.

It has been demonstrated in this chapter, that the once plural structure of Jamaica was significantly altered by the existence of the free coloureds and by the development of a creole culture. On the eve of emancipation social stratification in the island was expressed in a variety of forms. The social hierarchy was a three tiered pyramid of socio-economic strata, whites, coloureds and negroes were generally, but not exclusively upper, middle and lower socio-economic strata respectively. Wealth was not the only distinguishing criterion, as colour, education and occupation further stratified individuals. Rank and social prestige were accorded on the basis of economic and non-economic criteria, for as has been demonstrated there was an overriding preoccupation with valued physical attributes. Thus towards the end of slavery, a pattern of differential social integration existed between the three major 'ethnic' groups along these lines. Economically, wealthy whites held superior positions as planters and merchants. The free coloureds however were primarily involved in middle income occupations, although a few were wealthy. Negroes were predominantly slaves (although a few were freed); and therefore occupied the lowest socio-economic stratum. Politically, the Assembly consisted primarily of wealthy whites. Due to the lowering of restrictions on religious affiliation and colour,⁵⁰ non-Christians were given the vote in 1826 and free coloureds meeting the property qualification could vote and hold office in 1830. The

⁵⁰ 1826 and 1830 respectively.

local all white legislature admitted its first coloured member in 1831 and its second in 1832 (Campbell, 1976: 142). Education was an important indicator of the level of economic integration. Whites who could afford it sent their children to England for schooling. Negroes were generally denied formal schooling. Coloureds in their desire to elevate their own social status when they were finally permitted to, entered local free schools in droves.⁵¹ There was therefore minimal integration at the public level between whites, coloureds and blacks. Privately however, social contact was kept to a minimum, and existed primarily in the 'housekeeper' relations between white men and coloured women.

The social distance between the groups was based to a great extent on the differential ranking of the colour hierarchy, the most striking expression of which is to be found in the table dealing with secondary education. Only whites and coloureds are categorized which in itself indicates the social exclusion of blacks at this level. Secondly, as coloured participation increased annually, there was a corresponding decrease in white enrollment.⁵² White parents obviously did not wish to have their children associating with coloureds. It may be said that the inverse relationship existing between coloured and white educational participation, shows how whites actively valued their social prestige. Coloured participation immediately relegated local secondary schooling to being a second class education.

⁵¹ See attached Table I an educational attendance at Wolmer's.

⁵² The decrease in white participation exceeds the proportionate decrease in the white population covering this period.

For their part towards the end of slavery coloureds jealous of their new found freedoms sought to forestall wide-spread freedom of negro slaves. The period of apprenticeship from 1834-1838 when emancipation was achieved:

Was designed to ensure a peaceful transition from slavery to freedom as well as to provide a guaranteed labour force for the estates. Officials also hoped that it would train the ex-slaves to work regularly for wages. Although the intent of the system was to create the conditions for a free plantation economy, the result was to exacerbate the relations between masters and laborers and between the local legislature and the Crown (Heuman, 1981: 97).

According to Heuman in his recently published study on the political activity of the coloureds covering the period 1792-1865, elite coloureds foresaw the problems of apprenticeship and actively advocated immediate emancipation. This is a point of disagreement with Campbell (1976) who proffers evidence to the contrary. To the end of slavery, coloureds attitudes to slave emancipation paralleled that of whites in their mutual desire to forestall freedom of the negroes. In the end emancipation had to be enforced on the local plantocracy.

The historical data presented so far cover the entire period of slavery and show the development of the social stratification system. The once culturally pluralistic society, developed into one marked by socio-economic⁵³ strata and colour boundaries. Social rank and prestige

53 See attached Appendix D for definitions of socio-economic strata used in this study.

were accorded on the basis of objective attainments of occupation and wealth. The social value placed on colour pervaded the system. The possession of negatively valued physical attributes therefore impeded social prestige mobility for those possessing otherwise highly valued objective social positions. The social structure with its corresponding colour hierarchy at this stage more nearly reflected Rex's "colour estate system" (1981). By an "estate system" he means a society: "... in which there are not simply one class of citizens, but a number of groups with different legal rights or differing degrees of access to the law, then that term does describe what we see in all colonial societies in their constitutive period" (Rex, 1981: 10).

The differential access of rights and privileges enjoyed by the three major colour groups in slavery is a particularly good example of an "estate system" in this formulation. The "estate system" concept is similar to "stratificationist" theory which assumes that the society is structured around a common value system in a single truncated pyramid. It consists of a hierarchy of socio-economic strata, in which race and colour are socially valued attributes.

On the eve of emancipation, the island was stratified by achievement on the basis of education, occupation and wealth. Cross-cutting boundaries of race and colour were further elements of the social stratification system. It is in the period following the monumental act which would give legal freedom to slaves, that some major changes were brought about in the existing social structure.

CHAPTER SIX

Post-Emancipation Period 1838 - 1962

This chapter will concentrate on some of the crucial structural changes economically, politically and socially, which laid the foundation for the contemporary social order. They should be seen in light of the socio-economic and demographic conditions in the early part of this era (1830 - 1930's).

It was not however until the 1930's that significant changes in the political power structure were to occur, at that time brown skinned professionals mobilised a dissatisfied, predominantly negro labour force into political action. The result was the granting of universal suffrage in the 1940's. The associated changes in social stratification, and the persistent historically derived attitudes towards colour, will be analysed thereafter within the context of the socio-economic conditions of the time and the social climate which precipitated these events.

The period 1838 - 1938:

Very little has been written of the first one hundred years following emancipation. In part this reflects the minimal changes in the social structure and power relations established in slavery. The legal freedom of the black majority did not ensure their economic social mobility. It certainly did not guarantee them the right to political participation, except in the unlikely event that the property qualifications could be met.

Emancipation unleashed a mass of freed unskilled labour into an economy that was in a deep slump.

Jamaica's economic decline in this period is attributable to several causes. E. Genovese (1966) is justly critical of the lack of efficiency of slave labour in general. Locally the mono-crop economy was into a decline due to

- 1) dreadful management conditions;
- 2) the problem of absentee proprietorship, managers were a poor substitute;
- 3) competition from more industrialized nations, providing a cheaper product (e.g. beet substitution) (Eisner, 1961; Hurwitz and Hurwitz, 1971; Braithwaite, 1971).

The official stamp to the decline came about in 1846, when a law was passed in England to abolish protective sugar duties (Black, 1961; Williams, 1961). The islands no longer had preferential access to the British market.

Emancipation exacerbated the economic problems of plantation owners, as faced with a free labour force, they now had to offer competitive wages.

Gisela Eisner's study of Jamaica's economic growth 1830 - 1930 is a particularly useful one for outlining the problems. She demonstrates the inverse relationship between the decline of planter profits and rise in labour costs (Eisner, 1961: Table LXV: 322). Eisner states: "Plantation profits fell by more than four-fifths from 26.8 per cent to 5.5 per cent in 1850. This decline was the result of lower average profits which caused many estates to be abandoned." She adds further that planter inability to lower

the cost of labour also contributed to the abandonment of estates (Eisner, 1961: 322). The abandonment of estates by white planters marked the decline of the planter class. The desertion of estates by ex-slaves saw the beginnings and growth of a free peasantry (Eisner, 1961; Ragatz, 1971). Newly freed labour had a choice, either to set up a small peasant holding or work for pitiful wages on an estate. The choices were still limited as the basic structure of a white dominated plantation economy remained, though lacking its former lustre..

These socio-economic changes were to have a direct effect on the future racial composition of the island. With the flight from estate work by blacks, those in power imported indentured labour from China and India to work on the estates. Importation of indentures continued in spurts up until 1915, with highest figures recorded in 1870 - 1914 (Eisner, 1961: Table IX; 144).⁵⁴ In 1921 their proportions to the total population were Indians 2.2 per cent, and Chinese 0.4 per cent. They were therefore statistical minorities, and in both cases males greatly outnumbered females (Eisner, 1961: Table XII; 153).

The social adjustment of the new immigrants to the creole culture in which they found themselves will be discussed and analysed later on in this chapter.

As in slavery, so after emancipation, political participation was the prerogative of wealthy whites. Restrictions on the basis of colour had not long been removed from the law books, But the property criteria, the imposition of poll taxes and stamp taxes, meant that political power

⁵⁴ See Roberts for an in depth population study of Jamaica. (1957)

continued to be controlled by wealthy whites. Even considering the new franchise act in 1840 which on the surface appeared to meet universalistic criteria, negroes unlikely to afford the property demands, were (as in slavery) politically impotent (Hurwitz and Hurwitz, 1971; Campbell, 1976). The most significant political occurrence in the 1838 - 1938 period under discussion was the 1865 Morant Bay rebellion. The sad economic state of affairs saw ex-slaves become squatters and peasant farmers, rather than remain on estates where they had suffered harsh enslavement. Those remaining on estates, were subjected to low, irregular wages. Demands by negroes for crown land donations were denied. The Governor of the period was insensitive to negro workers and to the dreadful social conditions in jails and workhouses (Sewell, 1862: 169 - 191; Black, 1958; Carley, 1963: 52 - 56; Semmel, 1963; Craton and Walvin, 1970). Two key figures William Gordon, a mulatto member of the assembly, and Paul Bogle, a negro Baptist minister are crucial to an understanding of this period. Both advocated social change for the betterment of negro conditions. In the Assembly Gordon was to say: "...that if the law is to be disregarded it will lead to anarchy and bloodshed.....If we are to be governed by such a governor much longer, the people will have to fly to arms and become self-governing" (Semmel, 1963: 41). Although Semmel claims that such statements were merely political rhetoric, there is no doubt that this call to revolution represented on the one hand a threat to the white plantocracy, and the social order which they had created, and on the other was fodder for the newly emancipated blacks to take matters into their own hands. Bogle's organised secret societies were

directly aimed to overthrow entrenched white control. There followed mass killings of whites, among them some very prominent individuals (Black, 1958; Semmel, 1963: 50 - 53; Carley, 1963).⁵⁵ The political effect of this rebellion was that the local Assembly voted themselves out of existence, to be replaced by direct Crown colony administration. The rebellion was a violent reaction to cultural conflict, which issued in a new political order, thereby conforming to plural notions of violence.

In an earlier chapter it was asserted that the Assembly maintained its autonomy from Great Britain's authority. That relationship continued even under direct crown colony rule, in turn the social order remained virtually intact as was described in the material covering the end of slavery. The social and colour hierarchy continued to favour local whites.

In Gordon Lewis' analysis, the Governor and crown representative, generally shared the same social biases as local whites. The status-quo therefore was undisturbed as the Governor entered into: "a community where white men were social aristocrats merely by token of their skin colour, and where his official position gave him an importance unrelated to any personal merit. He discovered a local white society whose members were eager to welcome him as their ceremonial head and as their most prominent exhibit" (Lewis, 1968; 104). Sewell, a contemporary observer of conditions in the

⁵⁵ Both Gordon and Bogle were hanged for their part in the uprising and later elevated to national hero status in the post independence (1962) period. This is a reflection of the changing value system which the nation has undergone under self government and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Seven.

West Indies in the 1860's, remarked on the growth of a middle stratum⁵⁶ (Sewell, (1862), 1968; 244 - 246). It is most likely that the historically privileged free coloured contributed greatly to this category. Beneath them predominated the newly emancipated slaves, as peasants and low wage labour.

Emancipation in theory had ushered in more universalistic criteria of selection. The social structure was not rigid in that colour and socio-economic status did not correlate directly. Vertical mobility was therefore possible, even for those with negatively valued physical attributes, as legal impediments on the basis of ascription were no longer in place. In practice however, as the economy was in a shambles, and relatively undiversified, the mass of unskilled labour could not be absorbed except marginally so. The status quo and the social hierarchy established in slavery was relatively unchanged up to the early 1930's. Yet there were the stirrings of change, in terms of increased political participation on the part of coloureds and negroes. Elective elements were introduced into the political system in 1884 and 1895. That fact contributed in 1910, to five coloureds and one negro being elected, out of a total of 14 elected Assembly members (Munroe, 1971: 14). Compared to the all white Assembly of 1884, there was a distinct change in the level of political integration among coloureds. ⁵⁶ The change was minimal however as due to financial impediments only the economic elite could vote and be elected. The evidence suggests that not unexpectedly coloureds more so than negroes were thus

⁵⁶ Of course the old Assembly did have a few coloured members. (See Chapter 5).

favoured. The "estate colour system" established in the latter part of slavery was perpetuated even one hundred years after slavery was legally ended. That is there were de facto hierarchical rights and privileges accorded on the basis of valued phenotypical appearance. The economy was slowly becoming more diversified, for example, peasants were involved in banana and cocoa and sugar production. Significant political changes did not come about however until after the 1938 riots which rocked the entire Caribbean region (Black, 1958: Eisner, 1961).

These changes signalled Jamaica's gradual transformation, into a society founded on more universalistic rather than particularistic criteria of selection. The social stratification system which evolved was one which formed the basis for 'status group' formation.

Against this background the events and their subsequent results will now be discussed.

The period 1938 - 1962:

The economic malaise with which Jamaica was plagued since emancipation created serious labour disruptions one hundred years after emancipation. As an open dependent economy linked to the international capitalist system, the island was also subject to the vagaries of the world economy. A world depression along with local problems, had dire consequences for Jamaica and the entire Caribbean region.⁵⁷ The 1938 labour riots and strikes were a direct result of severe unemployment, layoffs, and wage

⁵⁷ With the exception of Barbados.

cuts (Phelps, 1960: 422 - 430; Munroe, 1972: 20 - 21; Post, 1978: 266 - 284). Historically, violence as an expression of labour frustration was not a new phenomenon on the island. Localized slave rebellions had occurred during slavery, but due to the coercive nature of integration at that time, they were easily quelled. The riots of 1938 were different, with freed labour, the balance of power had shifted somewhat. Labour could through disruptive activities bring the economy to a halt. The Royal Commission investigation into the disturbances in Jamaica attributed them to unfavourable economic conditions, and to the associated underlying racial feelings. It stated: "Where people of one colour are predominantly among employers and the workers are found almost wholly from those of another colour, it is perhaps inevitable in times of labour troubles that racial and economic issues should be confused" (Cmd 6607, 1945: 59).⁵⁸ Negroes tended to be overrepresented in low status manual work, while whites and those light in colour tended to be employers. To this day, conflicts in Jamaica arising out of economic issues are overlaid with racial and colour implications as the basic colour socio-economic hierarchy remains in place.

The 1938 occurrences paved the way for political ascendancy among members of the professional stratum of coloureds. Historically they were a privileged stratum vis-à-vis blacks as has already been demonstrated. At this time there were among them liberal thinkers drawn from a variety of professions. They were teachers, lawyers, social workers and civil servants

⁵⁸ The statement in itself is a refutation of the plural hypothesis - that conflict is explainable only in cultural terms.

by and large. Two key opposing leaders emerged in this period. On the one hand there was the British trained lawyer Norman Manley, on the other, his less educated cousin Alexander Bustamante. From its inception, Manley's People's National Party and its affiliated trade union the N.W.U., was ideologically different in its construction than Bustamante's Jamaican Labour Party and its union the B.I.T.U.⁵⁹ The leaders of both parties were brown skinned professionals.⁶⁰ But whereas the P.N.P. was known as the "brown man's party" which advocated Democratic Nationalism in the British tradition, the J.L.P. with Bustamante at its helm had a strong appeal for the negro labourer. His trade union overtly sanctioned collective action on the part of the workers (Lewis, 1968; Munroe, 1972; Eaton, 1975: 1 - 57; Post, 1978: 350 - 356).

Ken Post's study (1978) of the 1938 crisis employs a Marxist materialist interpretation of these historical events. It is an excellent source of documentation. His analysis reveals that brown professional mobilisation of negro labour was full of inherent contradictions. Colour or shading was of great importance as a socially valued attribute for these professionals. The lighter their hue the higher the social standing. So well did they internalize the colour values laid down by the dominant stratum, that their mobilisation of negroes was imbued with a mixture of "condescension" and "fear". In Post's words:

⁵⁹ Manley's political party was formed before his trade union was. The reverse was true for Bustamante. This marked the beginning of the peculiar party-trade union affiliation in Jamaica.

⁶⁰ In fact Bustamante's appearance was phenotypically white.

Relatively speaking, the social status of this new leadership was high, for men like Manley or N.N. Nethersole very high. It was extremely difficult, therefore, for them to bridge the gap between themselves and the poor in such a way as to create an equal relationship. The liberal middle class notables were marked always by attitudes of condescension, by the feeling that they were coming down to the 'masses' as saviours from on high.....Behind middle class condescension, in fact, lay an even more basic emotion - fear of the black masses (Post, 1978: 317).

Inasmuch as whites jealously guarded their superior social position over coloureds, coloureds too desperately maintained their social distance from "negro savages". None of these brown political leaders sought revolution or a total change of the inherited unequal social system. On the contrary, they advocated social reform. They merely wished to modify the existing political structure to secure their places in it. They were in fact individual aspirants to elite political positions, once the domain of whites of high social standing.

Frantz Fanon, the famous leftist and analyst of the Colonial mentality was correct when he said: "The settlers' world is a hostile world, which spurns the native, but at the same time it is a world of which he is envious. We have seen that the native never ceases to dream of putting himself in the place of the settler but of substituting himself for the settler" (Fanon, 1963: 52)

The above statement cogently applied to the brown professional stratum, who so readily accepted the status quo, and internalised the existing power structure. The point is that in 1944 as a result of labour disturbances in Jamaica, universal adult suffrage was introduced. Everyone

over 21 years of age could vote, yet to this day political leadership is drawn from the brown or light skinned upper middle stratum. ⁶¹

In theoretical terms the new incumbents to politically elite positions, with the subsequent decline from these positions by the white plantocracy shows the rise and fall of political status groups in Jamaica. Whites had long since lost their political credibility, and their overwhelming concern was economic self interest. This fact was not lost on individual browns who for historical reasons possessed the necessary objective and subjective qualifications to take their place.

The new political elite inherited a social structure in which high socio-economic positions were disproportionately (in proportion to their actual numbers), allocated to white and light skinned individuals. The data to be presented here will demonstrate this fact. The heterogeneous multi-ethnic features of the Jamaican population is evident in Table 2.

⁶¹ Edward Seaga the present Prime Minister is socially defined as white. His predecessor Michael Manley was an Oxford educated brown skinned lawyer.

Table 2
Colour and Ethnic Identity of the
Population, Jamaica, 1943

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Cent</u>
Black	965,960	78.1
Coloured	216,348	17.5
White	12,550 ¹	1.0
Jewish	1,259	.1
Chinese	6,879	1.0
Chinese coloured	5,515	
East Indian	21,393	2.1
East Indian coloured	5,114	
Syrian	834	.1
Syrian coloured	171	
Others and unspecified	1,040	.1
Total	1,237,063	100.0

¹ Discrepancies for white figures, derive from detailed tables of census.

Source: Broom, 1954; Table 5: 121

The most notable fact is the categories of ethnic groups, in particular the coloured category. Census takers had always treated them as a separate ethnic category, which reflected the social customs of their treatment in daily life. Blacks are numerically superior to any other single category. The white population had by this time declined proportionately, in part due to emigration in the early post-independence period (Eisner, 1961).⁶² The multi-ethnic features of Jamaica however did not express

⁶² Note that these data were taken from Broom's paper "The Social Differentiation of Jamaica" (1954). He adapted these tables from census of Jamaica 1943.

Also see G. Roberts Population of Jamaica.

plural segmented structures. The Chinese, Indian and Syrian populations had significant numbers of racial admixtures among them. It is evident that these populations have cross-bred primarily with local black or coloured women. This was particularly true for the Chinese, whose coloured population nearly equalled that of the ethnic Chinese. As relatively new immigrants (predominantly male), they along with the Indians entered a social system which had already been stratified along a white-black continuum. Patterson's theoretical paper which compares the different responses of the Chinese in Jamaica with the Chinese in Guyana is of great interest (Patterson, 1975: 305 - 349). In Jamaica they filled a gap in the economy in the retail industry. Those indigenous to Jamaica, the brown and white 'creoles' who possessed the necessary qualifications ignored that area of the economy, they were too busy acquiring high status occupations in the civil service and other fields once occupied by whites. The original response of the Chinese was to practice cultural exclusiveness. Later in the post 1950's with the growth of the new generation, a gradual process of creolisation took place. For many, the Chinese language was lost as they adapted to Jamaican speech patterns. Jamaican Chinese today are culturally Jamaican. Their wealth, acquired through monopoly of a key sector of the economy, helped to move them into high objective status positions. In Patterson's view: "This rapid and near complete dismantlement of their culture was accompanied by radical intersocial as well as intrasocial changes. On the intersocial side, the Chinese chose to move both physically and interactionally into the middle and

uppermiddle classes. They found an elite who were happy to have them" (Patterson, 1975: 335).⁶³ In contrast, the Chinese in Guyana became assimilated into the host culture from the beginning. Their differing responses is directly attributable to the different social contexts which they encountered (Patterson, 1975: 339 - 349).

The heterogeneous features of Jamaica are further illustrated by the fact that the Sephardic Jews have also become assimilated into the local culture. They too have adapted and occupy elite social positions; on the basis of possessing objective and subjectively valued attributes (Merrill, 1964: 32 - 49; Schlesinger, 1967; Patterson, 1975).

The ways in which these ethnic groups were differentially allocated to positions of rank and social status may now be examined, starting with a discussion of education.

Education was once the prerogative of a privileged few. Even those who emerged with the minimum of an elementary education in the early post-emancipation era, were guaranteed placement in either the expanding civil service or in the teaching profession. Education then and the occupational choices which it assured, became an avenue to social mobility for all strata, and in particular the brown middle stratum. "Formal schooling, as mediocre as it was, became identified with upward social

⁶³ By way of interest, Jamaica must be one of the few countries which once had a Chinatown but no longer does. This in itself reflects their gradual cultural assimilation.

⁶⁴ Under the Manley Government all education to University level was made free.

mobility and access to positions of privilege and status in the social conglomerate" (Brown, 1979: 83).

Table 3
Literacy and Education by Colour
and Ethnic Identity, Jamaica, 1943

	Black	Coloured	White	Chinese & Chinese Coloured	East Indian & EI Coloured	Syrian & Syrian Coloured	Total ¹
Total Population 7 yrs. & older	794,574	179,532	12,477	9,234	21,378	857	1,018,955
Per cent illiterate	28.1	13.8	3.8	13.9	48.6	5.6	25.6
Per cent literate (schooling)	71.9	86.2	96.2	86.1	51.4	94.4	74.4
Pre-prof. and professional	.3	1.3	13.1	.4	.2	1.9	.6
Secondary or practical	1.1	9.8	48.1	12.0	2.1	46.4	3.4
Elementary	70.5	75.1	35.0	73.6	49.1	46.1	70.4

¹ "Includes not otherwise specified."

Source: Broom, 1954: Table 2; 119.

It is clear from the data in Table 3 that blacks were in a particularly inferior social position relative to whites. The Indians were the only other ethnic group who like blacks tended to be in the least favoured position. Blacks were proportionately more likely than whites and less likely than Indians to be illiterate. With free primary education at this time however, all ethnic groups could at least aspire to that level. Secondary schooling was another matter, the main deterrent was the fee

structure. Until 1973 ⁶⁴ all were grant-aided, fee paying British bastions of elitism. In other words secondary and post-secondary education were prerogatives of those in the upper strata possessing socially valued colour attributes. The only avenue open to secondary school for the poor black populace, was by way of the eleven plus exam, a British phenomenon, or the scholarship system. With more generous scholarships given towards the end of the 1950's and into the 1960's one can expect that more blacks would become upwardly mobile (M.G. Smith, 1960a; Cross, 1979). The data suggest however that there was still limited access to secondary schools. As is evident from table 3, higher education was biased in favour of those lighter in the colour spectrum. Whites were more likely than coloureds to have higher education. In turn coloureds were more likely than blacks to have secondary schooling. Coloureds more than any other ethnic category wished to emulate all that was British. They clearly internalised the values and legitimacy of British academia. The very content of the secondary education system was (and remains to a lesser extent), British. It was British in its orientation, and curriculum.

The typical private boarding girls' schools would have tennis courts, a lawn hockey field, a netball field and one for rounders.⁶⁵ Geography, history and literature taught were not of Jamaica but of Britain. The education system aped the British system and in turn was geared into the local university college of the West Indies and to pursuing education abroad.

⁶⁴ Under the Manley Government all education to University level was made free.

⁶⁵ A form of baseball played by English school girls.

In this way the legitimacy of British culture and British values was inculcated into the system. The historically privileged coloureds sought out and internalised these values. Secondary education with its British underpinning became a valid avenue to individual elite social status and in turn due to its differential ethnic access perpetuated the colour hierarchy. Local secondary schooling produced among coloureds a group of "Afro-Saxons", brown skins with white minds. The fact that these individuals were being trained and would one day assume elite positions in the political arena, or in the bureaucracy, simply demonstrates how the status quo was perpetuated.

The theoretical approach of Raymond Breton, "the individual competition approach", gives insights into an understanding of heterogeneous societies like this. Under perfect market conditions, the labour market is neutral. Individual employees move in and out of the occupational structure, according to their level of skills. Where skills are differentially allocated among ethnic groups, employees possessing the same ethnicity as employers, stand in a more favourable position than those who are of a different ethnic category. His hypothesis postulates that: "...members of the dominant ethnic group (the one to which most employers belong) would tend to make the most of that, while others would tend toward acculturation and structural assimilation - the adoption of the dominant culture and integration into networks connected with the dominant group" (Breton, 1979: 275). The strategy adopted by coloureds in their quest for higher education as a means to professional status advancement is a case in point. Their goal was always to become acculturated into the dominant British

culture. With education they attained the "cultural baggage" and lifestyle of higher status whites.

Education is (as everywhere) of objective value in Jamaica. It also brings with it a subtle and highly valued subjective racial component. In an earlier chapter it was stated that colour is evaluated according to selectively perceived visible and invisible attributes. An example of the latter is language. The language spoken by high status Jamaicans is closer to standard English, than the dialect spoken by the predominantly black low status individual. Secondary school teachers consciously taught students to change their Jamaican speech. Joyce Gladwell a brown middle stratum girl tells of her experience at an exclusive girl's school. She along with all the other students were taught to modify their speech she says: "It was one thing to find to my surprise that the English I had used before was different. But more than this, I also came to regard it as unacceptable, and this was painful. Scrupulously and sometimes unjustifiably I set to work to suppress the familiar phrases and pronunciation and to replace them with the new" (Gladwell, 1969: 34). 66

For coloureds these new speech patterns were a symbol of their proximity to whites, and widened the social distance between themselves and low status blacks. To acquire "proper English" was to downplay their inherited negative racial attributes.

66 She gives as examples: Seerious and Peeriod as pronounced by Jamaicans were to be pronounced in a British way Sayrious and Payriod.

The inequities of levels of education along ethnic lines, flowed into an equally differentiated professional participation and wage structure. Tables 4 and 5 reflect this pattern.

Table 4
Ethnic Identity and Colour of Jamaican Professionals

	Lawyers 1951 ¹		Doctors 1950 ²	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Chinese	3	3.1	...	...
East Indians	...	...	1	1.4
Jews	7	7.1	2	2.9
Syrians	...	...	2	2.9
White and light	38	38.8	18	25.7
Olive	10	10.2	7	10.0
Light brown	17	17.3	6	8.6
Dark brown	10	10.2	9	12.8
Black	5	5.1	10	14.3
Unknown	8	8.2	15	21.4
Total	98	100.0	70	100.0

- 1 Fifty per cent sample drawn from Handbook of Jamaica, 1951. p.p. 136-141. Sample includes only Barristers and Solicitors in residence and in practice.
- 2 Thirty-three per cent sample drawn from Handbook of Jamaica, 1950. p.p. 549 - 554. Sample reduced by two known dead and one known to be off the Island.

Source: Broom, 1954: Table 7; 124.

Close to 26 per cent of all doctors in 1950 were white and light skinned. Syrians and Jews were disproportionately (in proportion to their actual numbers), well represented in this profession. The light and dark browns combined amounted to 21 per cent. Next to whites theirs is the

22
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highest, while only 14 per cent were blacks. As with doctors, so too with lawyers in 1951, most of them were white. Again the light and dark brown categories followed relatively close behind, with blacks and Chinese having the lowest proportions. Although figures for 1950 and 1951 are not strictly comparable, it is interesting that Jews seemed to choose the legal over the medical profession.

The data strongly suggest that these professions were dominated by those lighter in the colour spectrum. This fact tended to attach to doctors and lawyers a social status and prestige which went beyond the actual qualifications themselves. Coloureds and blacks entered these professions in order to elevate their own social prestige. It became a means to "lightening up their colour".

Lowenthal's extensive study into West Indian societies, gives excellent examples of the ways in which the layman associates colour and occupations. He says:

Colour is very much a matter of culture. The saying that 'every rich Negro is a mulatto, every poor mulatto is a Negro' remains as true today as ever. Whatever their actual appearance, middle-class folk tend to be seen as 'coloured', lower-class folk as 'black'. ...a black Jamaican professor one night awaits a friend in vain because the black college porter refuses to admit a black man. 'That's a peculiar rule', the professor comments, 'but then why do you let me in?'. ...'You are not a black man, sir', he smiled; 'you are a professor' (Lowenthal, 1972: 99).⁶⁷

The quotation shows that in the absence of all other evidence colour has historically become a symbol of occupational status.

⁶⁷ Original quotation taken from Mikes, Not by Sun Alone.

Table 5
Wage Earnings by Colour
and Ethnic Identity, Jamaica, 1943

	Black	Coloured	White	Chinese & Chinese Coloured	East Indian & EI Coloured	Syrian & Syrian Coloured	Jewish	Total
Total wage earners	151,101	33,630	2,990	1,526	4,770	1,153	233	194,458 ¹
Per cent earning: more than 100 S/wk ²	.3	5.6	41.5	5.0	.5	15.0	33.5	1.9
Less than 10 S/wk	58.4	32.1	2.1	6.1	49.8	2.5	1.7	52.5

1 "Includes 'not otherwise specified'."

2 "The shilling was then valued at about 20 cents U.S."

Source: Broom, 1954: Table 3; 120.

The table covering wage earnings by colour and ethnic identity, demonstrates what must now be obvious. Whites, Syrians and Jews predominated as the highest wage earners in proportion to their population numbers. Conversely blacks were the least privileged, with coloureds somewhere between. Whites were in 1943 the top wage earners and the biggest landowners. Wage earnings for the urban population in 1960 reflected the same gross disparities between the three major colour categories (Cross, 1979: 116 - 117). At the same time almost one half of the white population, and proportionately more than half of the Jews owned over one hundred acres of land. Only 5 per cent coloured and less than 1 per cent blacks were in that category (Broom, 1954: Table 4; 120).

The data for the Chinese in 1943 do not reflect their actual economic power, relative to coloureds and blacks. They were to become extremely wealthy. By 1960 their average income was five times that of blacks, and three times higher than coloureds (Lowenthal. 1972: 204).

Whites, Syrians and Jews controlled positions of socio economic advantage, a pattern which continues today. With universal adult suffrage, political control shifted into the hands of the coloureds. The data presented in table 6 reflect this change, which was particularly evident in the elected body of the House of Representatives. The old assembly was almost always completely white. The House of Representatives however, more nearly represented the broad colour spectrum of the electorate, with members being predominantly brown. This shows that individuals who acquired the necessary credentials were able to achieve elite status in politics. The political arena became an avenue of social mobility, which favoured the historically privileged coloureds. Political leadership is consistently drawn from the brown middle SES, and economic power continues to be in the hands of a few privileged whites.⁶⁸ There is therefore a dual elite control over Jamaican affairs.

⁶⁸ See a study by Wendell Bell on Jamaican elites.

Table 6

Percentage of Members of the House of Representatives
and the Legislative Council According to
Colour, 1951 and 1958

Colour	House of Representatives		Legislative Council	
	1951 (Per cent)	1958 (Per cent)	1951 (Per cent)	1958 (Per cent)
White and light	11	9	86	47
Olive and light brown	36	41	7	29
Dark brown	42	28	7	18
Black	11	22	0	6
Total	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Number of cases	(28)	(32)	(15)	(17)

Data of House members in 1951 is available for only 28 out of 32 members. Thus percentage distribution is approximate data for 1958 includes all members.

Source: Bell, 1964: Table 9; 83

Bell adapted this table from Broom

The data which have been presented focus on ethnic stratification by objective indices. Vertical mobility was possible for individuals who acquired valued objective credentials. There was in addition a subjective component to social status mobility. 'Prejudice of shade'⁶⁹ was certainly a preoccupation of Jamaicans well into the 1960's. Kerr's study in the 1940's (1952), and Henriques' in the early 1950's (1953), established that there was a 'white bias' in Jamaicans' attitudes and values.

Colour was of particular importance to middle SES brown Jamaicans, many of whom during this period considered Britain to be the Mother land.

⁶⁹ A term which Lowenthal uses.

They occupied a strangely ambivalent position in the society by virtue of their having "white minds" and the taint of the mixture of black and white blood. They were the true Afro-Saxons who perpetuated the colour-SES hierarchical system even in the absence of a proportionately large white elite. For even in the absence of the reference group, as long as there is a convergence in values around the dominant somatic norm image, perpetuation of whitewardly mobile ideals will continue (Hoetink, 1962: 136 - 138).⁷⁰

Thus black and coloured Jamaicans downplayed their presumed disabling physical appearance by straightening their hair and some used to bleach their skins (Lowenthal, 1972; Henriques, (1953), 1976).

Social status mobility of shade was certainly possible through marriage. Joyce Gladwell a brown skinned girl very perceptively stated in an autobiographical sketch, the colour concerns of her family: "We had no doubt whatever that my mother expected us to choose a husband who was at least the same colouring as ourselves, if not lighter. To marry and produce children of lighter colour than oneself was to "raise" the colour of the family. To raise the colour of the family was to raise its social status" (Gladwell, 1969: 24).

The brown middle stratum family socialized children into these values, and the attitudes which developed served to perpetuate the existing social system, and their position in it. Gladwell's comments are perceptive

⁷⁰ See Hoetink re segmented societies which have been acculturated into the "dominant somatic norm image," then even with the elimination of the dominant segment, the values will still cohere around them.

because although these things were known, it normally was considered to be in bad taste to discuss them openly, so frequently they were submerged until someone, particularly if it happened in the family, deviated from the expected norm. A system of preferential endogamy was in place.

The evidence thus far suggests that in the post 1944 era, as Jamaica moved towards full self Government, it was a structurally and socially differentiated social system.

Data pertaining to indices of socio-economic well being, demonstrated unequal levels of integration by the main ethnic-colour categories. Inequality was particularly marked among the three main ethnic categories, white, coloured and black. The top stratum of the social hierarchical pyramid integrated around a common set of values, was more heterogeneous (in terms of colour and ethnicity), than ever before. High status whites still predominated at the apex, and blacks still predominated in low status positions. The social system was not rigidly stratified and colour bounded in the way that South Africa is, vertical mobility was possible through wealth, or higher education, even where the individual possessed disabling physical attributes. The ranking of objective statuses were nonetheless mediated by racial and or colour categories which were subject to social subjective definition. The objective placement of the lawyer was the same across all ethnic categories (pointing to a shared value on education); he was part of the upper middle SES. The social subjective perception of his colour and his subsequent placement depended on who was doing the defining and when, and what attributes would be selected as having priority. Given the historically derived colour values established in slavery the lawyer may

have been commonly defined as a superior white lawyer or a less superior black lawyer. It is appropriate to say that Jamaica was stratified by 'status groups'.⁷¹ Within each stratum, 'social status' and 'social esteem' were accorded on the basis of historically valued notions of colour and ethnicity.

For instance the top economic stratum embraced individuals who were 'similarly placed, such as wealthy whites (including Jews and Syrians), and relatively new immigrant Chinese who had acquired wealth through monopoly of the retail sector. Together they did not form an "economic class", as within the entrenched colour value system, wealthy whites were assigned a higher status than Chinese due to an inherited prestige which their phenotypical appearance and their superior 'charter group' status gave to them. There was a shared value on the objective criteria for placement in the socio-economic system. But colour and ethnic identity were also of social subjective value in assigning status. This latter is what Weber refers to as status based on "successful claims to higher-ranking descent" (Weber, 1968: 306).

The rise of wealthy Chinese as a new economic "status group" is indicative of the pattern of elite mobility into the top stratum.

The unequal levels of integration at the "public institutional level are a measure of the social distance between the groups. The relative isolation between all groups is best expressed in the following limerick in the local dialect taken from the perception of a low status black: "Wen red-kin hitch too much pon w'ite, w'ite people tun dem back, an dem fraid fe

⁷¹ As defined in Chapter 4.

talk to black people less people t'ink dem black" (Bennett, 1966: 21). In other words, brown skinned people who try to "raise their colour" by associating with whites, will only be rebuffed by whites for fear of lowering their own status to that of blacks through mere association. This particular saying indicates too the disdain which blacks have for coloureds.

There were no longer legal impediments on the basis of race or colour as there were in slavery, yet social distance was practiced privately. Clubs and hotels quietly discriminated against those whose shade was darker than white. The tennis club in Joyce Gladwell's town in the late 1960's was known to do so, as she puts it:

Of course I would not dream of going to the tennis club! Someone else suggested that I go and seek membership there as a test of this unwritten colour bar. I had been once to the club, once to a dance at night under subdued lights which are flattering to the complexion and where pleasure blurs the vision of the onlooker. But to go in the hard light of afternoon and face the scrutiny of my person and the challenge as to my antecedents was unpalatable (Gladwell, 1969: 61).

The social exclusiveness of prestigious clubs existed even in the early 1960's. Lowenthal observed that most clubs tended to have an all white membership. The situation was not unique to Jamaica, it was a practice throughout the Caribbean (Lowenthal, 1972: 131).⁷²

The patterns of Jamaican social life on the eve of independence, reflected a status hierarchy marked by differentiated rights to social rank and prestige. It was an inheritance which the brown political leaders sought

⁷² Lowenthal tells an amusing story of a black Trinidadian who visited one of these all-white clubs, it made him feel "like Alice in a South African Wonderland" (Lowenthal, 1972).

to rectify in the period immediately following independence. Lacking data comparable to those of the 1943 census, the next section will be devoted to a consideration of some of the new national symbols, and their possible effects on the social stratification system and the prevailing attitudes to colour.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1962 [INDEPENDENCE YEAR] - 1970

Jamaica's political leaders in the newly independent nation inherited a society steeped in structural imbalances. As has been shown in the preceding chapters, social and economic power rested with those who were phenotypically closer to the dominant somatic norm image, than those who were not. The social stratification system which developed, grew directly out of Jamaica's "Eurocentrism", established in slavery. The material to be presented in this chapter covers the first 8 years of Jamaica's nationhood. The economic, political and social trends will be discussed, in an effort to assess their effects on the changing social structure, and the attitudes which have historically played their part in social stratification to this point.

For 10 to 15 years prior to independence, Jamaica had been experiencing an economic boom. Bauxite and tourism were the two major reasons for this development. Jamaica was the world's prime producer of bauxite, which was and remains today the major foreign exchange earner. The tourist industry provided the second highest foreign exchange earnings. From 1950 to 1968, the GNP increased fivefold. Bauxite's contribution to this increase cannot be denied (Girvan, 1971).⁷³ Dependency analysts such as Norman Girvan who draws on several works in the field⁷⁴ are intensely

⁷³ See Girvan Chapter 8.

⁷⁴ See Girvan Chapter 8.

critical of bauxite's role in the Jamaican economy. Ownership and control of local subsidiaries rest with North American MNC's. The greatest profits accrue in the hands of the foreign shareholders of MNCs. Their oligopolistic control over bauxite subsidiaries serves to maintain Jamaica in a state of structural dependency, on foreign capital. The industry's impact on the economy is primarily as a provider of tax revenues for governmental redistribution. Compared to tourism, the bauxite industry employs relatively few people. Tourism provides employment for approximately four times as many people as bauxite does (Hawkins, 1976; World Bank, 1979). The decade 1960-1970 saw a decrease in agricultural output, the traditional sector, although this sector remained the "most important employer of labour" (World Development Report, 1980: Table 19).

Bauxite and tourism were visible signs of the continuing subordination of Jamaica to dominant foreign (white) influences. The economic growth generated by these two sectors did not stimulate a redistribution of income. In the year before independence (1961), Edward Seaga, then a member of the Legislative Council illustrated statistically that taxable income had increased so substantially over that of national income, that it could only have come from those who could ill afford it. The conclusion was that the rich were becoming richer at the expense of the poor (Norris, 1962: 42).

By the mid 1960's Jamaica was known to have the highest rate of income inequality in the world with: "The best-off five per cent of the

population getting thirty per cent of the national income, and the poorest twenty per cent getting only two per cent; the well-off make sixty times what the poor do" (Lowenthal, 1972: 298).

Given the historical inequities which mitigated against mobility among blacks, we may hypothesise, that there was relatively little change in their social position during this period. In spite of newly opened areas of mobility for blacks in skilled and unskilled work in the bauxite and tourist industries, the black majority continued to be underrepresented in high status socio-economic positions. The president of the local private sector organisation has always been white or near-white for instance. Until the early 1960's, black girls were never seen in visible occupations in foreign owned banks. The preferred recruitment was for Chinese or light skinned members of the community (Norris, 1962; Lowenthal, 1972). Clerical work in a bank has therefore in modern Jamaica assumed a social rank higher than one would expect. This phenomenon is not a new one. In slavery, being a housekeeper drew a prestige way and above that of field work. Similarly, in the post-emancipation period, medicine and law historically associated with high status whites, were professions widely sought out by coloureds for the prestige value of having 'white professions'. With continued white control of the economy, and the social value which Jamaicans placed on their linkage to Europe, Katrin Norris in the year of independence was moved to say of Jamaica:

Before she can be called a nation, more equitable economic and social conditions must be created for people of all classes, and the Negro must be given confidence and self-respect. The over-powering cultural image of Britain must be diluted and replaced by new ideas rooted in Jamaica herself. Only in these ways can the concept of being Jamaican come to have any true meaning and the people of Jamaica discover the many-sided physical and human potential they have at their command (Norris, 1962: 101).

The above notion is more forcefully expressed by Fanon. In his view, colonialists cannot rid themselves of their colonial chains, the adopted value system of an alien land, without violent revolution (Fanon, 1963). Needless to say the road towards Jamaican independence was a peaceful one. It formed part of a process of world wide decolonization.⁷⁵

Although it appears that the economic structure of dominance and subordination internationally and locally was little different than the experiences of the late 1950's, dramatic political changes accompanied the years following independence. The elected body of the bicameral legislature, more nearly reflected the colour range of the electorate than ever before. There was for the first time a black Governor General. Political and union leadership however continued throughout the period to be drawn from the brown professional stratum. Political leaders now consciously formulated a policy of "Jamaicanization". Economic reform and industrialization were their major concerns. Woven into the rhetoric was the call for economic equality for the deprived black populace. 'Practical' solutions to the problem took the form

⁷⁵ The independence of several nations in Africa and the West Indies took place at about the same time.

of symbolic linkages with the African heritage of the majority of Jamaicans. For the first time in history, the problems of race and colour were openly discussed by local politicians. The challenge to white economic supremacy took its most tangible form in 1965: "The Foreign Nationals and Commonwealth Citizens (Employment) Act, commonly called the Work Permits Act, came into force in Jamaica on April 1, 1965, limiting the employment of aliens only to those jobs which cannot be suitably filled by Jamaicans" (Nettleford, 1970: 35).

The way was therefore made clear for those individuals possessing the necessary qualifications to achieve greater mobility. Nettleford is quite correct in saying that, given their historical preferential position, coloureds were more likely than blacks to be the beneficiaries of these slots. Black integration into the economy was not to be facilitated by the passage of the Employment Act.

The overt assault on the internalised Eurocentric value system of the island took symbolic forms. The red, green, and black flag replaced the Union Jack, while the Jamaican national anthem replaced God Save the Queen. National orders of Jamaica took precedence over the annual honours conferred by Britain on prominent Jamaicans. National heroes were created, the very selection of these individuals is instructive. So far they are Marcus Garvey, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle, George William Gordon, Nanny, Alexander Bustamente and Norman Manley. The latter two individuals are credited with being at the political forefront of Jamaica's independence.⁷⁶ Both

⁷⁶ See Chapter 6 covering 1938-1962 period.

became Prime Ministers at different times in Jamaica's past. All of the other heroes are credited with playing a significant role in raising Jamaican's consciousness to taking pride in their African heritage. Sharpe, Bogle, Gordon and Nanny either resorted to rebellion against the white power structure, or were thought in their time to be inciting insurrection (Sammel, 1963, Mathurin-Mair, 1975; Post, 1978).⁷⁷ That Bogle and Gordon were hanged for their perceived roles in the 1865 rebellion, and were later in independence to be elevated to hero status, is a strong reflection of the changing public attitudes to the African Connection.⁷⁸ It is noteworthy too that Cudjoe, the other major maroon leader in the eighteenth century besides Nanny, has not been given hero status. In contrast to Nanny who rebelliously denounced white control to the end, he was the one who signed a peace treaty with the local whites in 1739. In return he pledged to support them in curtailing slave rebellions and to assist in the return of runaway slaves. It is clear that he is seen as having co-opted with the enemy in maintaining the system of white dominance. The white plantocracy thought of him as a friend of their cause. The newly independent nation, in their conscious call to the Africanization of Jamaicans did not feel that his activities promoted black solidarity.

⁷⁷ These texts provide information on Bogle and Gordon, Nanny - the only female hero and Sam Sharpe respectively.

⁷⁸ Note too that Garvey's Pan African ideology in the 1920's fell on deaf ears in the black and brown mass populace. He was later to leave Jamaica a thoroughly disappointed man.

The stamp of recognition to Jamaica's negritified multi-ethnic population was symbolically formulated by Norman Manley and his party.⁷⁹ In a speech delivered in 1969 he stated that it was adult suffrage: "which once and for all and finally put political power in the hands of the majority of this country, the black masses, after we had broken down some of the unholy barriers that colonialism had created, we were able to propose in 1962 our famous motto: 'out of many, one people'" (Nettleford, 1971: 372).

The motto in itself explicitly promoted the ideal of the black racial admixture, implicitly it contained the notion of the brown individual as the ideal type.

The legitimization by political elites of Jamaica's African heritage, was paradoxically perceived and reacted to by the island's people. Centuries of internalised British rule could not be erased immediately by legal means. Self abasement of visible and non-visible African attributes prevailed in black Jamaicans' attitudes throughout the decade, and unleashed a myriad of paradoxes. A statue erected to honour George William Gordon, a national hero was in 1967 denounced by a black writer: "If he wasn't a black man, they wouldn't have made him so black" (Lowenthal, 1972: 259).⁸⁰ Shortly after the Jamaican legislature abolished the British awards (1968), no less than the Jamaican Prime Minister accepted membership in the Queen's Privy Council. (Lowenthal, 1972: 277). It was clear that there was a wide gap between public expressions of nation building, and private acceptance of them.

79 In 1962 he was the leader of the opposition, and later became Prime Minister.

80 Original quotation from George Mikes Not by Sun alone.

There is little doubt that two ideological movements which came to the fore in this decade played their parts as antecedents to a new awareness and self-respect among disaffected blacks. Independence alone was not a panacea. Nationhood did not immediately invent on the society more equitable socio-economic conditions than had previously existed. Disturbances in the 1960's in Kingston alerted one and all to this fact. The Rastafarian and black power movements rooted Jamaica's ills in the history of white dominance, and the acceptance of the legitimacy of it by "Africans with white minds".

Rastafarianism is a Jamaican millinerian cult in whose doctrine, Haile Selassie is proclaimed as God, Ethiopia is the motherland. They openly advocated a change in the internalised white values of Jamaica, which was synonymously denounced as 'Babylon' the home of the oppressor. The gradual shift in their position from one of African repatriation to Jamaican rehabilitation, reflects a continuing process of rejection and mutual accommodation of the wider society. Once considered to be a criminal element and fringe members of society (a deviant subculture), they have gradually gained a legitimate place in the social fabric of the island (Norris, 1962; Nettleford, 1970). Their contribution to social change in racial attitudes was due primarily to two reasons:

- 1) Their rhetoric was one which embraced the concerns of the economically deprived whether or not they were Rastafarian.
- 2) They explicitly and correctly identified the origin of the inherited contradiction, which gave to Jamaica a social

stratification system in which blackness and low socioeconomic status were so intimately linked.

The University College of the West Indies' sociological study into the movement in 1960's reported the following: "We have no evidence that the Rastafarians as a group are being manipulated by non-Rastafarians with violent beliefs such as communists. Rastafarian doctrine is radical in the broad sense that it is against the oppression of the black race, much of which derives from the existing economic structure" (Norris, 1962: 52).

In 1963 a Rastafarian spokesman made the following statement which is central to their concerns and which has helped to shape the consciousness of black and deprived Jamaicans to their social reality:

The black man in this country and throughout the West has united with the heads of government in helping to build a better Jamaica, but we the black majority who has helped plow the soil, planted the vineyard and gather the fruits thereof, we are not the benefactors. Those who benefit are the protectors. They share the crops, they boss the work and own the shares ... the majority of Jamaicans are black - why then are not the black supreme here. We want no promises we want fulfillment now. Three hundred years of slavery in the Western World - what for? Jamaica's independence means a well without water, a treasury without money (Nettleford, 1970: 61).⁸¹

'The protective benefactors' of the colonial structures was a reference to the coloured elite, who were in independence the real beneficiaries of the new reigns of political power.

⁸¹ Original quotation by Bongo Dizzy 'voice of the interpreter' 1963.

Following on the heels of Rastafarianism, the black power movement also played its part in the Caribbean in raising the social conscience of the majority. "Black power protests like those which swept Jamaica in 1968 and Trinidad and Tobago in 1970 have an economic and social focus rather than a purely political or racial one" (Manyoni, 1973b: 105). Both of these ideologies were geared to a change in the attitudes and economic maldistribution, which placed the black man at the base of society. They set about to rearing the Eurocentric social pyramid on its head.

Imbued with these ideologies, a number of young Jamaicans, black and brown, began to take pride not in affiliation with British values, but in their own under a rhetoric of "black is beautiful" and "we shall overcome". These feelings found expression in the popular culture. In the mid 1960's disaffected youths (the 'rude boy' phenomenon), turned their violent anger against the white economic elite, the perceived oppressor. A more positive expression in music and dance, the ska, rock steady and reggae all invoke in their lyrics the social redemption of the disaffected mass (Nettleford, 1970).⁸² The universal appeal of this music and the subcultural language which evolved has been an integral aspect of the accommodation between the Rastafarians and the wider society. Social protest is more easily acceptable in songs than if it were invoked from a political platform. At the same time this form of musical expression operates as a "safety valve mechanism", a palliative for the deprived socio-economic stratum.

Political independence and symbolic courting of the once denigrated African past, were in fact attempts to create a more integrated social

⁸² See his essay "African Redemption" in Mirror Mirror.

system. They may be seen as efforts to redirect the value system away from the 'white bias', towards a 'black bias' never before experienced in the island. With suffrage and independence, full integration was achieved at the political level, although higher education was a major criterion for political 'elite membership' (Bell, 1964). This meant that preferential access to these positions, was biased towards the continued upward mobility for historically privileged individuals from the brown middle stratum. The resulting perception of many blacks in the low socio-economic stratum was that coloureds became the new villains, the defenders of the old white status quo.

Economically speaking Jamaica's dependent status in the world system put her at a disadvantage. Locally, leaders were faced with unemployment figures, ranging from 18 per cent to 21 per cent throughout the decade. Emigration provided an outlet for skilled labour only (Nettleford, 1972: 91). Expressed universalistic criteria for placement meant that anyone regardless of his creed or colour could achieve vertical mobility on acquiring the necessary credentials. This is in direct contrast to the slave conditions pertaining to the seventeenth to the mid nineteenth century, where social cleavages were on the basis of collectivist (particularistic) criteria of race and wealth. A gradual shift occurred in the pattern of social closure. By the post independence period closure was credentialist in expression with individualist criteria of selection (Parkin, 1979). Because of restrictive economic structures, vertical mobility however was fairly limited, this is evident when we assess the level of educational participation.

In 1967, out of a population of 375,000 high school age children, only 5.5 per cent had access to them, an increase of approximately 2 per cent over the 1943 census figures (Brown, 1979: 84). Given the fee structure which limited access to secondary schools, it is not surprising that in 1968-1969 only 1 per cent of all students were in post secondary education. Figures for the same year show that the majority of all students (89 per cent) were enrolled at the primary level (Kuper, 1976: 70). The adult literacy rate increased from 82 per cent to 86 per cent between 1960 and the early 1970's (World Development Report, 1980: Table 23). Even with the extension of government scholarships in 1970, higher education was highly selective and tended to favour those whose parents could afford it. The data presented in the following table show this clearly.

Table 7

Social Class and Success in Common Entrance Examination

Percentage of entry from each social class which won free places. 1970

Group		Percentage
1	Elite	66.3
2	Professional and Managerial	45.8
3	Teachers	16.4
4	Clerical	18.5
5	Skilled and semi-skilled	9.2
6	Unskilled workers	4.2
7	Farmers	2.8

Source: Kuper, 1976: Table 7b; 73

It is obvious that the higher the social status of the parent, the more likely the child was to gain free scholarships to the private secondary establishments. The data as they appear seem to guarantee the heredity of intelligence and relative success. In fact the findings are more a reflection of the inequitable quality of primary schooling. Many of the best urban schools are also fee paying institutions and therefore cater to the higher socio-economic strata. Other schools are faced with overcrowding, poorly trained teachers and a minimum of equipment (Kuper, 1976; Brown, 1979). Keeping in mind that secondary schools charged fees, it is obvious that higher education continued to be tilted in favour of the better off children. The data are not broken down according to colour ethnic categories as they were in the census of 1943. Based on the historical documentation presented so far, it is likely that higher education remained in relative terms a monopoly not only of the relatively well off, but also of those who were closer to white in the colour spectrum.

Education is believed to be the stepping stone to occupational achievement yet: "The failure of the poor, largely black population in the slums and countryside to succeed through educational channels not only gives some reinforcement to traditional racist attitudes, but, even more, it provides a new and independent justification for their deprived situation" (Kuper, 1976: 75).

The content of the curriculum remained British in its orientation. The persistence of the British oriented Jamaican education system simply served to produce individuals who fully internalised the British value system

and accepted the status quo. They in various capacities as teachers, professionals, civil servants and policy planners did little in the way of meaningful change in the years 1960-1970.

The meaninglessness of the education system is not lost on low status blacks, as implied in the lyrics from a popular reggae song by Bob Marley⁸³ entitled "Crazy Baldhead".⁸⁴ "We build your penitentiary, we build your schools, brain wash education to make us the fools, hatred your reward for our love, telling us of your God above --- We're going to chase those crazy baldheads out of town" (Marley, 1976).

The lyrics reflect the Africa-Europe juxtaposition, and represent a rejection of the Eurocentric value system through education.

We may now turn to an examination of some of the changes in prevailing racial attitudes, in light of the thrust towards the Africanization of Jamaica. The census categories of ethnic categories is a particularly useful place to start. In 1960 the racial categories and corresponding percentages were as follows:

<u>African</u>	<u>Afro-European</u>	<u>European</u>	<u>Chinese and Afro-Chinese</u>	<u>East Indian and Afro-East Indian</u>	<u>Other Races</u>
76.3%	15.1%	0.8%	1.2%	3.4%	3.2%

⁸³ Marley who was the most famous proponent of reggae music was a Rastafarian. He was posthumously awarded an Order of Jamaica,

⁸⁴ Refers to the oppressor.

In 1970 by comparison we have:

<u>Negro/Black</u>	<u>East Indian</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Mixed Races</u>	<u>Not Stated</u>
90.9%	1.7%	0.7%	0.7%	5.9%	0.1%

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica, 1978: Department of Statistics
Table 16-18

There are two main observations worth noting from the above information. One is that the ethnic categories have changed. It is evident that the imposed definition of "African" in 1960 while Jamaica was still under colonial rule, had been replaced by the term black. Blackness in 1960 connoted low social status, and feelings of low self esteem. By 1970 attitudes had changed to reflect the new and growing pride in asserting one's blackness. The second point is that when we compare the figures for Africans (1960) and blacks (1970), the latter show a 14 per cent increase over the former. The increase is not entirely explainable by population changes. The key to the problem lies in the mixed races category for 1970,⁸⁵ which shows a mere 5.9 per cent. It is obvious that many of those who previously had defined themselves as Afro-European, Chinese and Afro-Chinese or Afro-East Indian, were now more likely to identify with blacks, in keeping with the new orientation of the society.

The level of support for the emerging black somatic norm image is not explained by socio-economic level alone. Carl Stone's data reproduced here show that there was greater acceptance of Africanism, the closer the individual was to being phenotypically black.

⁸⁵ In 1970 there was a subjective definition of ethnicity in the census.

Table 8
Skin Colour and Attitudes Towards Black Power (B.P.)
and Rastafarians (1971)

	<u>% Antagonistic B.P. and Rastafarian</u>	<u>% Supportive of Either B.P. or Rastafarian</u>	<u>% Supportive of Both B.P. and Rastafarian</u>
<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>			
Brown	85	10	5
Black	<u>64</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>12</u>
% Difference	21	14	7
<u>BLUE COLLAR</u>			
Brown	75	19	6
Black	<u>59</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>14</u>
% Difference	16	8	8

Source: Stone, 1973: Table 8.2; 123

Brown skinned individuals regardless of their socio-economic standing were less accepting of symbols of blackness. Part of the validation of their social status was their historical linkage to their inherited physical attributes.

Table 9
Skin Colour and Attitudes Towards Whites (1971)

	<u>% Favourable to Whites</u>	<u>% Preferring to Relate to Blacks</u>	<u>% Preferring to Work for Blacks</u>	<u>% Against Whites Settling in Jamaica</u>	<u>% Hostile to Whites</u>
<u>WHITE COLLAR</u>					
Brown	55	45	30	16	3
Black	<u>48</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>8</u>
% Difference	7	7	7	5	5
<u>BLUE COLLAR</u>					
Brown	53	47	34	17	2
Black	<u>46</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>16</u>
% Difference	7	7	8	12	14

Source: Stone, 1973: Table 8.3; 124

Table 9 shows the same pattern, although socio-economic standing played a part in attitudes towards whites and blacks, brown people regardless of their occupation were much more favourably disposed to whites than blacks were. At the same time they were less likely than blacks to accept having a black boss. These data are highly indicative of the internalisation of white superiority prevalent among browns regardless of their occupational status. The social system which gave to them a social rank higher than blacks was one which they had completely accepted. The social distance between whites, browns and blacks on the basis of ascription is also evident in these tables.

Black symbols elevated to legitimate status in this period posed a threat to the myth of racial harmony. Specifically they threatened elements of the privileged white stratum, and the Afro-saxon brown creoles who saw themselves as the natural incumbents to the apex of the social pyramid. A letter to the editor in November 1969 gave the following view from the perspective of a white individual. The writer tells of how a white Jamaican youth was accosted with the remark: "You white people don't have no heroes. All the heroes are black man." Her complaint was that all of the national heroes were chosen on the basis of their black heritage and their rejection of the white status quo. She argued in favour of the multi-racial nature of the society, and ended with a plea for the selection of a white or Chinese hero (Nettleford, 1970: 197).

In the context of African awareness some whites were able to downplay their visible high status phenotype. Bustamante the first Prime Minister was

for all intents a phenotypical white, but his language - which was the language of the low status blacks, seemed to darken his complexion. Similarly, Edward Seaga the current Prime Minister, a Syrian, is socially defined as white. He married a brown skinned girl and his first child who was adopted is phenotypically black. Local cynics have in the past attributed his actions as purposeful attempts to be more closely identified with the black electorate. It is evident that colour for Jamaicans includes more than biological features; it is a cultural and social fact.

Gloria Cumper a brown skinned family lawyer voiced her dilemma with what she terms the identity crisis of people of her ilk. Black symbols created guilt feelings in those who did not display the proper lifestyles, language, dress and phenotypical appearance:

The first move is to make people feel guilty. For this anything at all will do - and there are a wide range of things from which to choose. Where one lives, the colour of one's skin, having or being a hard working parent wanting to give one's children whatever advantages were within their reach, speech, dress, recreation - the list is endless.... The penalties for being too obviously different were too great to be counted (Cumper, 1979: 5).

As she herself said it is paradoxical that the very people who controlled and were responsible for the new trends, were themselves drawn from the brown middle socio-economic stratum.

The views expressed by these two individuals were indicative of the ambivalent positions to which whites and browns were relegated in the new society. For brown skinned "creoles", the new perception of them as villains was a particular blow. Of all the ethnic groups they were the real Jamaicans. They were neither black nor white, in their minds neither African nor European although their attachment to British folkways and mores was strong.

Paradoxical attitudes relating to colour were still evident in the first decade of independence. On one level brown skinned individuals were made to feel unwelcome in a black man's country, their social rank was being challenged openly. On another level their phenotypical appearance was perceived as the aesthetic ideal type in a study conducted in 1969, and from their ranks political leaders were selected.

Beauty contests are a national pastime in many West Indian countries. It is no accident that given the attitudes which have traditionally equated whiteness with 'good', blackness with 'bad', that Jamaican beauty queens used to be white or nearly white.⁸⁶ Jamaicans are extremely proud of the fact that the "Miss World" contest has been won twice by them, both of whom were caucasian in appearance (Nettleford, 1970).

Errol Miller's studies (1969, 1973) into physical beauty and colour among Jamaican adolescents revealed that white, fair, brown, black and Chinese girls all conceived of beauty in the same way. In 1969 his 475 subjects were high school students between the ages of 11 and 15. Questions were asked regarding satisfaction with their body type, and what in their view was considered as beautiful and handsome. He divided the responses into several categories pertaining to physical features such as hair, eyes, nose, lips and so on. The result was that all respondents including the Chinese agreed that: "The stereotype of the beautiful girl is almost identical to that of the handsome boy in terms of facial features and colour. The beautiful girl has caucasian features and is fair or clear in colour, as is the case of the handsome boy" (Miller, 1969: 86). There was among all

⁸⁶ It is a fact which prompted an evening newspaper to sponsor a beauty contest of ten racial or shade types in 1955 (Nettleford, 1970).

subjects including the Chinese, a shared perception of what constitutes beauty. The beautiful person is not white as Kerr and Henriques had found in the 1940's and 1950's respectively and so Miller's findings may reflect a change in attitudes. Fair skin colour in the Jamaican frame of reference is a person who is light brown, tanned looking. That Chinese agree on this perception shows the extent of their acculturation into the wider society. That the average Jamaican phenotype does not match those physical attributes shows the continuing denigration of black physical traits (Miller, 1969).

Attitudes to colour are often expressed in music and theatre productions. A play written by Trevor Rhone in the early 1970's tells of a black mother who is extremely disapproving of her son's black girlfriend. She berates him by saying:

Where is your ambition?... After a struggle out mi soul to send you to big shot high school, you come home mix up with that little dry head gal? How much time a must tell you, don't mix up with the little dutty black gal dem in de district? How much time a must tell you anything black nuh good? When time come for you to have girlfriend, a have a nice girl pick out for you. Miss Margaret, Rev. Greaves daughter a nice brown girl with tall hair down to her back. She is advancement you hear me (Rhone, 1981: 14).

The feelings of this mother aptly summarises the perceived avenues of vertical mobility, through objective educational criteria, and through marrying light. An educated black man could aspire to raising his social status and the status of his family by having a brown wife. The fact that the mother made reference to the quality of the hair of both girls shows the selective perceptions relating to the social value of hair which is a symbol of colour and social status. 'Good' hair is still thought to approximate the lank caucasian type, while 'bad' hair is a reference to the kinky African type.

The social stratification system into the early 1970's was almost identical to the "status group" formation of the early independence period. With the opening up of the secondary school system there was some limited vertical mobility for blacks into high status occupations. The assault on Eurocentricism had not at this time done much to change the existing structures which relegated blacks to low status occupations. Yet there was some evidence of increasing heterogeneity within the top socio-economic strata. Economic concerns became crucial. When asked to give their perceptions of the main problems facing Jamaica, all occupational strata from big business (predominantly whites) to lower status (blacks) ranked economic problems first over crime and housing, and the areas of least relative concern were those regarding race and colour (Stone, 1973: Table 2.6).

Evidently Jamaicans during this decade had accepted the fact that the society was structured around universalistic criteria of achievement. The individual low status black could be vertically mobile, despite his disabling physical attributes if he were to acquire the necessary credentials.

It appears however that even under conditions of political independence, Jamaica's dependent status constrained local politicians in their attempts to effect meaningful economic reform. The social structure tended to favour the continuance of high status occupations among those lighter in the colour spectrum.

Table 10

Mass Perceptions of Conflict* with Racial Minorities
(Whites, Chinese and Brown) and Occupational Class

<u>Occupational Class</u>	<u>% Perceiving Conflict with Whites</u>	<u>% Perceiving Conflict with Chinese</u>	<u>% Perceiving Conflict with Browns</u>
Big Businessmen	14	0	0
Professionals	20	3	0
Small Businessmen	49	10	4
White Collar	44	16	7
Self-employed artisans	50	17	0
Blue Collar	54	31	8
Lower Class	61	50	29

* These responses were coded from the answers to the following question: Do you think that any of the following groups get ahead at the expense of people like yourself? (1) White people; (2) Brown people; (3) Chinese; (4) None. The multiple-choice nature of the question results in some row percentages exceeding 100%.

Source: Stone, 1973: Table 2.8; 20

The above table 10 suggests that the socio-economic structure was dominated in the early 1970's by the historically privileged component groups, whites, Chinese and browns. It is interesting that the researcher did not include a row category for blacks, reflecting apparently the persistence of blacks in low status occupations. With little exception group conflict increases the lower down the occupational ladder one goes. Perceptions of conflict are highest against whites, followed by Chinese and then browns. Since perceptions of group conflict are an aspect of the social distance between groups, these data adequately demonstrate that greatest antagonism is directed against whites and Chinese. These two groups with their high visibility control the economy and therefore are objects of resentment particularly from among the disprivileged blacks.

The social structure was changing but slowly. Historical attitudes to colour were also changing during this period. The effects of symbolic Africanization were expressed primarily in the conscious embracing of African values. Young Jamaicans wore Afro hairdos while their mothers still straightened their hair. The dashiki an African styled shirt, became an acceptable form of dress, replacing the tailored European suit. Residual Eurocentric attitudes persisted in some forms especially as has been shown in standards of beauty. The winds of change however were in the air. Carl Stone's data support this statement (Stone, 1973: 163 - 164). Data of generational changes in attitudes between the 1940's and the 1970's show a growing support for pro-black attitudes as reflected in the significant growth in "radicalism" operationalized by support for pro-black power and pro-rastafarian movements. The evidence points at this period to black homogeneity and solidarity consolidating around a new set of ideologies.

The historical data presented for the period 1962-1970 have shown that full political integration was achieved for all shades of colour and ethnic groups. This was clearly a period in which universalistic ideas were disseminated and accepted by all. Individuals could achieve mobility as members of the political élité as long as they acquired the necessary credentials, yet political and union leadership was still drawn from the brown middle stratum. Economically in spite of changing attitudes to colour, the social structure favoured the historically privileged of lighter hue in the colour hierarchy. Blacks were weakly but increasingly becoming integrated into the occupational hierarchy as avenues to higher education

for them were dependent on their acquiring scholarships. In no sense was this a rigid social structure. It was a fluid one as vertical mobility was possible for any individual with the necessary qualifications. The social stratification system as it stood at that time expressed "status group" formation. The primary mode of ranking was by objective occupational criteria. For historical reasons however, individuals sharing the same economic stratum were also assigned a social status on the basis of socially subjective and valued (colour) attributes. This was because "economic liberalisation" and "political independence", do not completely eradicate "preexisting colonial attitudes" (Rex, 1981: 17). In Rex' view:

The supersession of the colonial system by one in which one of the former dominated groups takes political power by no means implies the ending of such ideologies [racist]. True, there may be an emphasis for a time on universalism in reaction to the racism of the colonial period, but so long as there are group and class conflicts to be explained and rationalised something like racist ideology is certain to survive (Rex, 1981: 17).

The evidence of the survival of colonial values is no more obvious than in the continued selection of brown skinned middle stratum individuals as political and union leaders. By the same token the selection of a black Governor could be viewed as tokenism. It is no accident that this is so, just as in Canada, so too in Jamaica the position of Governor General is a less powerful one than that of the Prime Minister.

To summarize this section covering the first decade of independence, we have noted that attitudes regarding the self debasement of blacks were changing. Although these changes found themselves as public expressions of

blackness, the basic structural inequalities which favoured the light phenotype were not significantly removed. Conceptually therefore the social pyramid at this time was one in which "status groups" were formed out of each stratum. The top economic stratum was more heterogeneous than had existed twenty years earlier. Whites still dominated the economy, but this position was now shared by a new "economic status group" - the wealthy Chinese. A few wealthy browns too occupied the same stratum (Bell, 1964), and therefore also formed a new economic status group. Each colour-ethnic group was further assigned a ranking and social status according to the historically valued white-black colour continuum. The heterogeneity of the top stratum shows that the elite model of mobility was very much in place. The middle stratum of teachers, senior civil servants and so on also displayed 'status group' formation. As with the relative opening up of the education system, individual blacks could achieve mobility from low status ranks.

With political control in the hands of brown professionals, we would claim that Jamaica's social system was one of dual elite control, as whites still predominated in the economy.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion

The case study covering the period 1655 - 1970 in Jamaica's history has shown the development and process of social stratification, and the necessity for employing several theoretical frameworks in the analysis.

By linking economic factors to the changing social structure it was shown that the early plantation system of colonial domination consisted of two charter groups who were unequally integrated into the system. The small white dominant group held sway over the majority of African slaves, whose labour was coercively enforced. Racist ideology lent the legitimacy to the underpinnings of slavery. Divorced from a shared common language and culture, the tribally differentiated African slaves were forced into upholding British standards of values and norms as being valuable, while all things African were devalued and denigrated. The filtration of white so called superior values down from the white minority to the black African mass was an expression of power relations. Blacks had no choice as whites were their only reference group. From this period colour became a valued social attribute, one in which high status was assigned to those possessing European features. Conversely blackness was a symbol of inferiority and low status in the social hierarchy. Until the mid eighteenth century, Jamaica's stratification system was a plural structure, with 2 distinct and unequal racial and cultural groups. With colour differentiating the groups, the system assumed caste-like proportions.

Changes in the stratification system occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century with the growth of a new ethnic group, "the free coloureds". They came to occupy a middle stratum by virtue of their education, occupation and inherited wealth. Their very existence and their internalisation of the dominant values system led us to a consideration of 'stratificationist' theories. For the society just prior to emancipation was indicative of one structured around a dominant value system, 'the white bias', in which the component ethnic groups were differentially integrated into the system, and colour assumed overriding elements of social prestige.

It was not until one hundred years after emancipation that newly freed blacks were mobilised into political action for better working conditions. Unions were formed and political leadership was assumed by historically privileged individuals from the brown professional stratum. Universal adult suffrage was achieved in 1944, and this period signalled the decline of white political status groups with the corresponding rise of the new political status groups from among the coloured population. Whites however still dominated the economy. The period leading up to independence displayed significant changes in the population structure. Chinese and Indians had been brought in as indentured labour in the early nineteenth century. Their full acculturation into the existing social system was partly expressed in the racial admixtures which they subsequently produced.

Political independence in 1962 completed the full political integration of the Jamaican populace, with members of the House more nearly representative of the colour and ethnic groupings in the island. Increased

universalism however did not bring about dramatic changes in the economic social structure. Racial attitudes were changing however, as a new pride in the African connection was being generated throughout the society. This took the form of elevating once denigrated African symbols to a superior place in the system.

The first decade following on independence therefore yielded a social stratification system in which the individual was ranked first and foremost by objective, (educational, occupational, wealth) criteria. All things being equal, a second ranking occurred as for historical reasons, colour was an element of social status placement, although to a much less extent than the caste-like proportions which it assumed in slavery. The fluidity of the structure allowed for individual vertical mobility and therefore calls for an analysis using the elite model. This is because this model allows for individuals to rise from lower ranks to elite ranks, if they managed to acquire the necessary credentials. Furthermore there was a dual elite system in place, as browns controlled the political arena, while white control of the economy persisted. With the accumulation of wealth in Chinese hands the wealthy Chinese became a new economic status group, sharing the top socio-economic stratum of dominant whites. It is expected that wealthy browns would also constitute another status group.

Jamaica was then a nation stratified in terms of race, colour and socio-economic strata, as such it was a system that can be analysed as we have seen in terms of categories, both external ascriptive categories of race and colour, and internal categories of objective placement depending on level and type of occupation.

The historical data presented in the previous pages suggest that the contemporary system of social stratification may be best understood by adopting on the one hand, the static colour-related vertical model, and on the other, the dynamic occupational/status group model, each bisected by ethnic/colour boundaries.⁸⁷

This approach would show that the horizontal cleavages are now relatively permeable, allowing for mobility among individuals possessing historically denigrated phenotypical appearance.

With further expansion of economic opportunities in the post 1970's period, we can expect the stratification system to reflect the increasing importance of socio-economic criteria. This is particularly so as the evidence supports the view that changing attitudes to colour will increasingly become less important as a criterion of social status placement.

87 Refer to diagram (Figure 2) on page 33.

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APPENDIX A

Definition of Concepts:

The concept race means different things to different people, both academic and lay. In this study I shall use race as an ascriptive attribute which is symbolically interpreted on the socially subjective level in terms of certain selectively perceived non-visible attributes, and on which a value is placed. These attributes include visible phenotypical features such as skin colour, hair texture, thickness of lips by which individuals are at first categorically defined, and to which non-physical characteristics such as behaviour may be symbolically ascribed.

The concept colour is a subjective symbol of race. It is also ascriptive and is related to certain perceived "racial characteristics" and is thus valued accordingly in social interaction.

The concept ethnic has a multiplicity of definitions and poses a number of conceptual problems (Patterson, 1975: 305 - 309; Vallee, 1975: 162 - 202; Manyoni, 1978; Parsons, 1978: 53 - 83). As a working model for this study some aspects of Schermerhorn's definition of the concept "ethnic group" will be adopted.

By ethnic group is defined here as a collectivity within a larger society, having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood (1970: 12).

APPENDIX B

DOUGLAS HALL

TABLE 6-1. Estimates of Population in Jamaica, 1658-1861

<u>Year</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Free Colored</u>	<u>Slaves</u>	<u>Total</u>
1658	4,500	--	1,400	--
1675	8,600	--	9,500	--
1698	7,400	--	40,000	--
1722	7,100	800	80,000	87,900
1746	10,000	--	112,400	--
1768	17,900	3,500	176,900	198,300
1775	18,700	4,500	192,800	216,000
1800	30,000	10,000	300,000	340,000
1834	--	35,000	310,000	--
<u>Census</u>	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Colored</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	
1844	15,776	68,529	293,128	377,433
1861	13,816	81,065	346,374	441,255

Source: D. Hall (1972)

APPENDIX C

In this study the term elite will refer to:

...That category of persons in a society whose special characteristics are defined in relation to the influence they exert, and the power they wield politically, economically and socially over the masses by virtue of the positions they severally occupy in their respective spheres of operation. An elite is primarily a functional status-group rather than a mere social conglomerate, and though its members vary widely in their individual spheres of activity, their expertise constitutes the common factor from which their power derives. Achievement rather than ascription is the basis of elite membership (Manyoni, 1973a: 199).

APPENDIX D

Economic/occupational groupings:

- High Private enterprise owners and managers involving medium to large scale enterprises.
- Top civil servants, politicians, professionals such as some doctors. People "who administer and control the key public institutions and public services" (Stone, 1980: 20).
- Middle Middle level owners and managers of capital. e.g. Shopkeepers and small businessmen.
- White colour workers, professionals e.g. Teachers, skilled labour.
- Lower Unskilled labour, working class individuals, market women, small traders, contractors, manual labour, unemployed.

Source: Stone, 1980: 16 - 33

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