The realities of West Indian rural life include acute shortages of arable land and severely limited opportunities for employment. The following article describes a Jamaican milieu in which sheer survival obliges those on the lowest economic levels to pursue several occupations at one time. A comparative study of fishing communities shows that the great majority of fishermen combine fishing with farming and wage employment. People in rural Jamaica keep up multiple and often intertwined pursuits as a necessary adaptation to a meager environment.

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Occupational Multiplicity in Rural Jamaica
Lambros Comitas

Although it has not been completely neglected, an entire socio-economic stratum of rural Jamaican society is not easily accounted for in any of the taxonomic formulations presently available for the Caribbean area. Characteristic of this population segment is occupational multiplicity or plurality, wherein the modal adult is systematically engaged in a number of gainful activities, which for him form an integrated economic complex. This occupational multiplicity is the nexus of a socio-economic type significantly different from that of either the peasant, farmer, or plantation types in the West Indies.

Anthropology in the Caribbean during the past three decades has developed with at least five major concerns: a) ethnohistory and Afro-American studies, b) culture and personality, c) social anthropology, d) cultural ecology, and e) the community study. These have not been mutually exclusive categories, but they do delineate the principal theoretical and methodological orientations. However, for the description of the non-localized socio-economic type which follows, only the research of the cultural ecological school is generally applicable and comparable.

The work of this school is represented by Julian Steward and his associates, in an analysis of contemporary Puerto Rapado.

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Rico which concentrated on several of the main variants of the island’s culture.

... Each rural region has a distinctive environment and therefore particular crop potentials. In each region the productive arrangement—the kind of crop, mechanization in field production or in processing, land tenure, capitalization and credit, and the nature of labor and of owner–worker relations—has created distinctive subcultures among the people involved.²

Initial field research in Puerto Rico yielded descriptions and analyses; later study, by several in the group, led to broader statements which were based more on structural arrangements than on cultural content and which were not limited to a particular island. For the Caribbean as a whole, Padilla isolated three such contemporary social-rural types:

... In terms of a typology of rural subcultures, the most important groups in the Caribbean today, from a numerical and sociological point of view, are peasants, farmers, and plantation workers involved within the corporate system.³

Wolf has written extensively on the peasant and Mintz has contributed to our knowledge of both plantation and peasant organizations. Each of these types can be defined as follows: the term plantation worker is applied to a landless wage employee who is attached to a large-scale agricultural organization geared to the production and marketing of an export crop for profit;⁴ that of farmer is applied to an agricultural entrepreneur who owns land, hires wage labor or depends on sharecroppers or tenants for the cul-

tivation of commercial crops; a peasant is designated as an agricultural producer, distinct from fishermen, strip miners, rubber gatherers and livestock keepers, who retains effective control of land and who aims at subsistence not at reinvestment. Each of these three economic types is accompanied by different social structural arrangements. The issue raised here is—to what extent do these types cover the socio-economic realities of rural Jamaica?

Approximately a quarter of the island’s population of about 1,600,000 live in the rapidly growing urban areas such as Kingston and Montego Bay; another quarter either reside in the sugar belt parishes of Westmoreland, Clarendon or St. Catherine or depend economically on these areas; and almost all of the remaining half eke out an existence in the mountainous interior or in circumscribed pockets of land along the coastlines. All are significantly different ecological areas. It is not very difficult to perceive structural homologies between plantation workers and systems in rural Jamaica and those in Puerto Rico, and in other parts of the West Indies. The 25 per cent of the Jamaican population which lives in areas dominated by plantations exhibits social characteristics markedly similar to those found among parallel groups throughout the Caribbean region. Moreover, the historical and synchronic influence of the plantation on the total Jamaican society is of major significance, as it is in much of the general area. Difficulties arise, however, when the concepts of farmer and peasant, as defined are used to categorize

7 Padilla (op. cit., p. 25), specifying the three types, puts it this way: “Thus, with particular reference to the Caribbean, the following types of local subcultures can be formulated at this moment. These types represent structural arrangements, not cultural content—they are likely to be modified in the light of further conceptual refinements and more empirical knowledge.”
that half of the Jamaican population which is rural, but not directly involved in a plantation economy. Most members of this rural population segment fit into neither the farmer nor the peasant category.

To begin with, they do not own or control sufficient land to earn a living solely through agriculture. For example, 21.5 per cent of all farms in Jamaica are less than one acre; 48.2 per cent are between 1 and 5 acres; 17.5 per cent are 5 to 10 acres in size; and 9.3 per cent are between 10 and 25 acres. Only 3.5 per cent are over 25 acres, and these few farms and estates control 60.7 per cent of all productive acreage.⁰ We can conservatively estimate that over half the farms in Jamaica average less than three acres, are composed of several fragmented pieces of marginal land,¹⁰ and comprise somewhat less than one-tenth of the total available acreage. Often, the various fragments of a farm are held under different forms of land tenure thus complicating both the legal position and the efficient utilization of land.¹¹

It is the rare landholder, therefore, who can depend only on cultivation, either for subsistence or for profit, without exerting additional economic effort in other directions. In an extensive survey of labor supply in the country districts of the island, M. G. Smith had this to say:


¹⁰Jamaican small farms are very often composed of more than one land fragment: "... only one third of the small farms each consist of one piece of land, just over one third consist of two pieces and the remainder consist of more than two pieces" (D. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 29–30). As for the quality of land utilized by small farmers: "Typically, the large farm is situated on fairly flat naturally fertile land which is little eroded; but most of the small farms are to be found on hillside land where the soils of moderate natural fertility have been badly eroded" (ibid., p. 27).

... the occupational classifications of the population of the various districts studied over the past 12 months ... show quite clearly that except among the senior male age groups, farming is an occupation which is rarely carried out independently of other pursuits. Pure wage work is also relatively rare. The typical employment status and occupational combination for Jamaican small-farming populations involve own-account farming and ad hoc wage work.¹²

An agricultural economist, in an intensive study of eighty-seven farms in eight areas of Jamaica, makes the following observations about the non-farm activities of the individuals in his sample:

... Work outside the farm was responsible for depriving the farm of labour by the older as well as the younger adults living in the household. In some few cases the farmers' wives engaged in off-farm employment so that the income earned would encourage the farmers to retain them, or if they were ejected they would be able to live without support for at least a short time. But much of the work off the farms by the wives and all such work by the farmers was prompted by different motives. The farm people worked off their farms to supplement their farm incomes; usually they worked to meet their day to day living and farm expenses but occasionally the income was reserved for unusual expenditures such as buying a bed or a piece of land. Some of the off-farm work was undertaken in slack periods and so did not compete with farm work, but there were exceptional instances when the pressing need for cash forced the people to neglect their farms at critical times. Under those circumstances outside work was done because the people 'can't do better.' There were also situations intermediate between those where no farm work was required on the home farm and those where the need for immediate cash income was so great that the tasks on the home farms had to be left undone. These were situations where, although there was work to be done at home, the outside work (which appeared

more remunerative) was undertaken; either labour was hired to replace the farmer's own or the farm was simply given that much less labour.\textsuperscript{13}

We can deduce from the previous statistics and descriptions that own-account agriculture is rarely the sole economic activity of poor, rural Jamaicans. Since these people cannot hope to maintain a subsistence level through agricultural production even with effective control of their limited land, they do not easily fit into the peasant definition. Also, since they constitute the largest single element in the island's population, those who can be classified as peasants are few, if not altogether non-existent. It follows, then, that no viable peasant subculture exists in Jamaica. Nevertheless, in their general formulations on working people in the Caribbean, Wolf, Padilla, and Mintz have applied the term peasant to Jamaica, but in so doing have had to force or drastically adapt the concept. Wolf,\textsuperscript{14} for instance, in discussing adaptations to life on "new-style plantations,"\textsuperscript{15} presumes the existence of a peasantry and then hypothesizes the forms and directions of peasant change.

... The first kind of double adaptation—Involves the possession of at least two sets of cultural forms and thus two fields of manoeuvre for a better balance of chances and risks: this is discernible in areas where peasants work on plantations, and step with one foot into the plantation way of life, while keeping the other foot on the peasant holding. Jamaica seems to be an example of an area where this occurs.

\textsuperscript{13} Edwards, op. cit., p. 75.
\textsuperscript{15} "... Increasingly in the New World, systems using external coercion to exact performance have tended to give way to systems utilizing the worker's own drive for subsistence. It is thus possible to refer to plantations using bound labor as old-style plantations, to plantations using free labor as new-style plantations" (ibid., p. 137).
While Wolf conceptualizes these individuals as peasants who do plantation work in order to broaden their economic base, Padilla includes in her taxonomy of social-rural types in the Caribbean a variant form of peasantry which depends on cash and wage employment and not necessarily within a plantation context. Pushing any standard definition of peasant to the extreme she characterizes this variety as,

... landholders who cultivate special food crops for local markets or plantations, who depend on cash to supplement their own food and other needs, and who also may sell their labour. ... They are likely to migrate for casual employment, or they may be tenants or sharecroppers. Examples can be found in St. Vincent, Jamaica, Puerto Rico.16

Mintz, specifying Jamaica among other cases, comes closest to reaching beyond the confines of the peasant-plantation worker-farmer triad by speculating that

... the plantation worker who is also a peasant appears to be straddling two kinds of socio-cultural adaptations and may represent a cultural type which is not necessarily transitional but in a kind of flux equilibrium.17

All three writers utilize the peasant and plantation constructs as the taxonomic point of departure for defining rural social types in the Caribbean. In categorizing Jamaica, their undue emphasis on the peasant concept, based perhaps on insufficient data, appears to be misleading and possibly counterproductive for research. As already indicated, a functioning peasantry, in any rigorous sense of the term, does not exist in contemporary Jamaica and perhaps never existed in the past. Over the years, following Emancipation, large numbers of poor, rural Jamaicans found it necessary to combine several economic activities in order to subsist. Affected by the insecurities of own-account cul-

16 Padilla, op. cit., p. 25.
17 Sidney W. Mintz, "The Plantation as a Socio-cultural Type," in Plantation Systems of the New World, p. 43.
tivation on minuscule, sub-standard fields, by the labor demands of plantations and large farms, and by the irregularity of other wage employment, these people developed a way of life based on a system of occupational multiplicity which maximizes as well as protects their limited economic opportunities and which in turn influences the nature of their social alignments and organization. They constitute a type qualitatively different from that of the peasant and plantation worker, which is characterized by its own set of structural arrangements and its own cultural distinctiveness, and as such, requires separate classification and analysis. What follows is an attempt to exemplify some limited dimensions of these occupational pluralists.

In 1958, the writer completed a study of five coastal settlements in rural Jamaica whose inhabitants were ostensibly fishermen. At least they were so considered by those branches or agencies of the Jamaican government most concerned with the fishing industry. The objectives of the study were to determine the effects of a government sponsored action program for the introduction of fishing cooperatives and to isolate the factors contributing to their success or failure in specific localities. Methodologically, the study took the form of a survey in depth which, aside from the stipulated objectives, established the following: that the groups did not warrant blanket categoriza-

18 Lambros Comitas, *Fishermen and Cooperation in Rural Jamaica* (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, N.Y., 1962). This study was made possible by a fellowship from the Research Institute for the Study of Man and by a Fulbright Grant from the United States Government.

19 The Jamaica Social Welfare Commission; Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture and Lands; the Beach Control Authority; etc.

20 A two-pronged approach, quantitative and qualitative, was employed in each of five settlements studied. Utilizing the first, I collected data on kinship, marital status, internal migration, schooling, literacy, house types, land tenure, cultivation, livestock, occupations, type of fishing, etc. Employing the second approach, I gathered material on fishing, agricultural and handicraft technology, conducted depth interviews and studied the cooperatives in detail, etc.
tion as fishermen; nor, in spite of the fact that they cultivated some land, could these rural Jamaicans be classified as peasants, farmers, or plantation workers.

Detailed occupational statistics collected indicate that, except for one specialized settlement, from 63 to 79 percent of all males gainfully occupied are engaged in more than one economic activity. For the most part, these individuals do not specialize in fishing but combine it with own-account work such as cultivation, or various forms of wage employment, or some combination of the three. Concentration on fishing varies primarily with the availability of land and sea resources, the possibilities for wage employment, the regional demand for skills, and such factors as age and familial responsibilities. Although each settlement exists within its own micro-ecological niche, the three settlements to be discussed share in common economic possibilities or alternatives which are extremely limited. In most cases, no one alternative is sufficiently lucrative for individual full-time specialization, and therefore occupational multiplicity can become a necessity.

Because the available alternatives in each area are not the same, a somewhat distinctive modal form of vocational combination exists at each settlement. For example, in Long Hill the typical pattern is mixed cash and subsistence agriculture, night fishing, and occasional wage employment. In Whitehouse, the emphasis is on intensive day fishing, subsistence agriculture, and occasional wage employment. In Duncans, wage-employment, the primary economic activity, is interlocked with a particular form of early hour fishing and with little dependence on agriculture. For all three settlements, despite the dominance of one alternative, it is the obtained occupational balance which maximizes the possibility of individual and household security and from

21 Only one settlement in the study had a male population most of whom practiced only a single occupation. Special conditions account for this situation: contiguity to large markets related to one of the most extensive sugar areas of the island together with excellent fishing resources attract large numbers of migrants who come to fish. Since there is no available agricultural land they are limited to this pursuit, even if their financial situation should improve.
which significant structural relationships develop. Unlike the variations of “peasantry” in Jamaica, suggested by Wolf and Padilla, agriculture in this vocational complex need not be the principal element.

Long Hill is a small open country district on the southwestern coast of the island. The entire surrounding region is a zone of low labor demand. Large agricultural properties in the vicinity are committed to cattle rearing or to the cultivation of pimento, neither of which requires a large, steady labor force. Other lands nearby, in particular, one property of over 2000 acres, are not put to any economic use by their absentee landlords. Frome and similar great corporate sugar estates which require large labor forces during crop time are over 20 miles away and therefore of limited availability to the people of Long Hill.

This low level of labor demand is offset in part by the relatively large size of the average “fishing” household farm, which is three and a half acres, the highest figure for all settlements included in the study. Legal land tenure forms predominate here so that each household owns its house and house plot, each keeps a quantity of livestock, cultivates subsistence crops such as cassava, yams, and corn and produces cash crops of bananas, limes, pimento and coconuts. The economic advantage of such agricultural diversification is substantial. Nevertheless, two-thirds of all males gainfully occupied are engaged in more than one occupation. Modally, the Long Hill landowner combines cultivation with a particular form of night fishing which requires little capital investment and a

22 Since the study was concerned with fishing cooperatives, all households included in the five settlement samples and censuses contained at least one male or female member who either practiced fishing of some sort or was a fish vendor. Consequently, the study dealt only with a segment of any given locality. The size of this segment varied with the extent and number of alternative economic activities.


24 This takes the form of hook and line fishing in small canoes during the very dark hours of the night. Fish are at-
minimal consumption of valuable daylight time necessary for agricultural and wagework pursuits. Furthermore, since only two men are required for this type of fishing, the demands of an established crew relationship are not con- fining. Though night fishing might be secondary at Long Hill, it provides protein for the household’s diet and a cash profit when a part of the catch is sold.

Agricultural and fishing activities are combined with other part-time wage work such as carpentry, occasional wage labor on adjoining properties and shopkeeping. This mixed vocational pattern is clearly accepted by the local folk. An individual must “look lines all about,” as one Long Hill male put it to mean that a person cannot depend on one occupation to make a living.

Occupational multiplicity and age have a high correla- tion for all three settlements. The older the male, the greater the probability that he will have multiple occupa- tions. In Long Hill, for example, only 33 per cent of men between the ages of 15 and 24 have more than one occupation; for those between 25 and 39 the percentage is 78; while for those over 40, it is 88 per cent. This progression is even more pronounced for the other two settlements. Some knowledge of Jamaican culture helps to understand these statistics. Young men in rural Jamaica ordinarily do not maintain separate households. Consequently, their re- sponsibilities are few and their financial requirements low. These factors—combined with generally unrealistic voca- tional aspirations, inspired by the mass communication media, the schools and even the parents—keep the young in hope of high paying and prestigious wage employment. Compounding the situation are ambivalent-to-negative atti- tudes towards the land itself and towards manual labor, both heritages from slavery.

tracted by use of a strong light thrown by a lantern. Return to the beach is usually by dawn. On moonlit nights there is no fishing at all. Consequently, only about half the month is utilized for maritime activity.

Young adults, then, often find themselves unemployed or underemployed. When they are employed, it is in a single occupation, and in these three settlements, that occupation is most likely to be fishing. Given the low technological level of fishing in Jamaica, this pursuit calls for little formal commitment or capital investment on the part of the casual practitioner. However, when the young adult begins gradually to perceive the socio-economic realities around him, and he begins to assume the responsibility for supporting a new household, he finds he must turn to cultivation on his own, rented or "family" land. If he has no access to land, he must seek additional wage labor in order to meet the new demands upon him. As his years, responsibilities and commitments increase, his involvement in and dependence on multiple activities become complete.

Contiguous to Long Hill is the small market town of Whitehouse. Its physical environment is almost identical with that of Long Hill, its sea resources are the same, social interaction between the two settlements is extensive, and the cultural inventories of both are quite similar. Land holdings, however, are severely limited for the majority of Whitehouse residents. Most of these people can only rent or squat on half-acre parcels of government land of marginal quality; the relatively more affluent may rent an additional quarter or half-acre plot for subsistence cultivation at some distance from Whitehouse.

With the agricultural sector of the local economy thus restricted, Whitehouse males have developed fishing patterns of intensity and specialization in marked contrast to those of their neighbors at Long Hill. Long established, three- and four-man crews operate large, well constructed cottonwood dugout canoes and employ a variety of gear and techniques. More significantly, their fishing schedule is radically different from that of Long Hill. Fishing is pursued from the early morning hours until the afternoon. Allocation of daylight hours to agricultural pursuits is much less necessary here than it is a mere two miles away.

However, Whitehouse men also combine fishing with other activities wherever possible. Almost all are involved,

to some degree, with subsistence or kitchen garden cultivation. Many actively seek wage employment at distances farther from home than do their Long Hill neighbors. Others, with less commitment to the land and with little investment in fishing equipment, travel to the sugar belts at harvest time or apply for contract labor overseas. The fewer the occupational commitments, the greater the individual mobility.

The general vocational pattern of Whitehouse can be substantially modified by individuals should their basic economic resources shift, although this is a rare occurrence in rural Jamaica. A Whitehouse fisherman, for example, who acquires additional cultivatable land through inheritance, purchase or affinal connection, will turn from intensive daylight fishing to night fishing similar to that practiced by neighbors in Long Hill.27 Such a person, generally, has insufficient capital to hire laborers to assist him; consequently, he must adjust his own work pattern to meet the new situation. Very rarely does he accumulate enough land to be able to concentrate completely on agriculture. Since fishing is more flexible than agriculture with regard to time and labor allocation, the changes necessary for a new economic equilibrium are made in that occupation.

In Duncans, a market town on the north coast of the island, wage employment is the dominant form of gainful labor for a group of occupational pluralists, for several reasons. Land is expensive and, given the narrowness of the coastal shelf in this region, fishing is not as productive as on the south coast. The town, however, has a key geographical position on the main coastal road, which is heavily plied by both tourist and commercial traffic. This has meant the development of facilities for repair work and ancillary services. Besides a relatively wide range of general and specialty stores, a market area and government offices, all of which provide opportunities for employment, Duncans is a regional administrative hub for parochial as well as national roadwork. In addition, the plateau above Duncans is partially occupied by two medium-size sugar estates. So, while the labor demand in Duncans is not

27 Comitas, op. cit., p. 67.
unmet, there is a wider range of possibilities for the average workman than at any of the other settlements studied.

Over a third of the heads of "fishing" households in Duncans come from different parts of Jamaica. This is indirectly reflected in the fact that over half of these households rent both their houses and their house plots. Consequently, this migrant group does almost no agriculture. Some agriculture is carried on by the non-migrant group, usually among older men who are more likely to control small portions of land. Fishing at Duncans, usually of a mixed cash and subsistence variety, is conducted in a highly individualistic manner, with almost no development of partnerships or crews. Fishermen utilize small, crude canoes and rudimentary gear, depending almost entirely on their own efforts. The schedule of fishing is significantly similar for all these men. Most put out along the coast just before daybreak and return by early morning in time to fulfill their other obligations. Several fishermen are employed by the island or parochial governments as Public Works personnel—one road headman must keep his fishing activities secret from his superiors. Some combine fishing with such semi-skilled work as shoe-repairing, masonry and carpentry, while others are employed as estate laborers or service station attendants. Several men combine fishing with two specific wage activities, such as tinsmithing and masonry. While fishing and cultivation are necessary pursuits, they must be practiced so as to cause the least interference with wage employment.

The social organizational implications of occupational multiplicity have intrinsic significance. Complexity of individual economic activity leads to complexity of ordered relationships. A worker in one of these settlements, theoretically, can be involved in as many as six different economic statuses: subsistence cultivator, commercial agriculturalist, wage laborer, own-account artisan or tradesman, subsistence fisherman and commercial fisherman. In each status, he is interlocked with a distinct set of individuals who perform requisite roles in production, distribu-
tion and consumption. If, for example, a man is occupied with mixed farming and mixed fishing, he may well be structurally linked with neighbors for the exchange of free labor in the fields and with a finite number of "higglers" who distribute any surplus subsistence crops within the Jamaican market; and he will most likely be organizationally tied to the local branches of the all-island crop association which markets his cash produce. For his fishing operation, he requires a clearly defined relationship with one or more members of a fishing crew, as well as with one or more fish vendors who, in turn, will be linked to a complex market system. In many cases, more than one role is performed by a single individual. This requires decisions as to work priorities and work schedules and ties individuals to a convoluted set of social obligations. Such structural links or patterned relationships, established for economic gain, are essentially lateral ones connecting members of the same stratum into horizontal socio-economic segments. Partially for this reason, interaction between these segments and the superordinate strata of the total Jamaican society tends to remain minimal and fragmentary. This contrasts with Wolf's description of the "open" peasant community in other parts of the world in which peasants maintain vertical ties or "informal alliances" with urban elements.

The internal rationality of such a confined system is self-evident to its participants. A socio-economic balance is achieved which offers maximum security with minimum risk, in a basically limited environment. As the advantages are clear, so are the disadvantages: competition for scarce strategic resources within a finite area engenders tension and an emotionally disruptive atmosphere; social mobility is structurally hindered; capital accumulation is difficult; technological levels tend to remain rudimentary.


29 A Jamaican expression for itinerant food vendors, generally women.

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and communication with other segments in the society is incomplete and imprecise.

Certainly, from the perspective of the total society, such a vocationally heterogeneous and inwardly turned population segment creates problems in administration and development. Action programs, aimed at the socio-economic amelioration of such people but based on uni-occupational models developed in modern Western countries, start with limited chances for success. Occupational pluralists in Jamaica will not reject the material aid that often accompanies such schemes but they do reject, as evidenced by their behavior, the objectives and the intent of these programs. By their own logic, they find it impractical to develop fully one aspect of their economic life to the detriment of the others. The results of the action program, designed to improve the Jamaican fishing industry through technological and organizational assistance, are significant. In settlements such as Duncans, where fishing is balanced with or subordinated to other pursuits, newly introduced fishermen's cooperatives—one element in the development program—failed to provide economic cohesion and stimulus and, therefore, died stillborn. In settlements such as Whitehouse, where fishing is more important because of land scarcity, new cooperatives when adapted to local conditions proved more viable and performed relatively substantial services for its membership. The error made by the central authorities was that they introduced one cooperative model designed for full-time fishermen in other parts of the world to all varieties of Jamaican "fishermen." Agricultural development programs on a national scale sometimes suffer similar results for a very similar reason—an incorrect assessment of the pertinent conditions of rural life.

To sum up, taxonomic classifications of socio-economic types in the Caribbean region are not completely adequate for Jamaica. Stressing ecological and economic factors, the writer has attempted to delineate and define an additional type indicating particularly its multi-occupational basis and several of the structural ramifications that ensue. Clearly much more work and analysis is needed before a
reasonable level of comprehension is reached. For purposes of social scientific research in the Caribbean, however, the identification and understanding of such population segments in an area noted for a lack of extensive kin networks and relatively weak community organization is especially pertinent and should prove of heuristic value.
The drift from countryside to city is a fact of life in the West Indies, as in other parts of the world, but its effects have only begun to be systematically explored. This selection focuses on aspects of life among the poor—especially migrant newcomers—in Kingston, capital of Jamaica and reservoir of a quarter of that nation’s two million population. These excerpts from Social Structure and Social Change in Kingston, Jamaica depict the city’s high unemployment rates, overcrowded housing, swollen slums, and shanty towns—the most notorious of which have been bulldozed by the Jamaican government. The poorest Kingston residents adapt by “cotching” and “squatting” for a place to sleep and by “scuffling” or scraping for a living through handicrafts, pimping and prostitution, begging, stealing, and selling the scraps gleaned from garbage dumps.

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