A SOCIOLOGICAL MANUAL
FOR EXTENSION WORKERS
IN THE CARIBBEAN

by

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CARIBBEAN AFFAIRS SERIES
The Extra-Mural Department
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE WEST INDIES
1957
FOREWORD

Development is the child of knowledge. This means training. Today, more than at any time in its history, the West Indies needs educated men and women, aware of the problems and difficulties of the present, responsive to the needs of their community, trained for the task of developing our human and natural resources.

This training should be relevant, and should illustrate fundamental principles from Caribbean experience. This manual seeks to do this especially for those persons who are engaged in extension work in the British Caribbean. It will be of interest to readers in many parts of the world but, as the authors point out, it deals with the problems which now face the people of this region in their effort to improve their standards of living and to reconstruct their societies on modern lines. It forms one of a number of works published in the series "Caribbean Affairs", and it represents a substantial contribution to the training of those who are concerned with economic and social development.

Dr. Michael Smith joins with me in thanking all who helped with this book; Captain Arthur Thelwell of the Christiana Area Land Authority and UNESCO who financed a sociological study of this development area for permitting the inclusion of a substantial body of materials collected by Dr. G. J. Kruijer in the present manual; Dr. Sidney Collins of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Edinburgh who contributes a note on the changing position of the elementary school teacher in Jamaica; Mr. Don Mills and Mr. David Edwards for reading the manuscript in draft form; and the Institute of Social and Economic Research for allowing Dr. Smith time to work on this manual.

I take this opportunity also of expressing my sincere appreciation of the interest of the Department of Agricul-
ture of the Government of Jamaica and the Central Coordinating Committee of the Extension Services, and in putting on record our thanks for the grant made by the Government of Jamaica towards the cost of publication.

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ERRATA
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3 — Last Paragraph, 4th line — delete one.
5 — 5th line from bottom — “worker”, to read “workers”.
7 — 2nd Paragraph, line 8 — “market”, to read “markets”.
31 — 3rd Paragraph, 1st line — “These”, to read “There”.
4th “ 4th line — “Jamaica”, to read “Jamaican”.
3rd line — Fullstop at end of line.
8th line — “or”, to read “of”.
32 — last Paragraph, 3rd line — delete “and”.
37 — 2nd Paragraph, 7th line — “finding” to read “fending”.
38 — 3rd Paragraph, 2nd line — “small” to read “rural”.
69 — 3rd Paragraph, 11th line — “belief”, to read “beliefs”.
77 — 1st Paragraph, 12th line — “around”, to read “round”.
144 — 2nd Paragraph, 9th line — “tions”, to read “questions”.
147 — 2nd line — delete “thus”.
155 — top Diagram — add “Ira Joseph, 9” below unnamed sex symbol inside household of John Smith.
157 — 2nd line — “types” to read “type”.
163 — 2nd Paragraph, last line — “adequary” to read “adequacy”.
178 — 2nd Paragraph, 9th line — delete “as”.
179 — 2nd Paragraph, 2nd line — “procedure” to read “procedure”.
183 — Note to diagram, 1st line — “marked” to read “ranked”.
197 — 2nd Paragraph, 3rd line — “±” to read “±”.
209 — 1st Paragraph, last line — “feasible” to read “feasable”.
216 — last line — Add . . . “direct question of the bank’s responsibility for recovering” . . .
226 — 3rd Paragraph, 10th line — close bracket after “materials”.
229 — 2nd Paragraph, last line — delete “?”.
Chapter I:

INTRODUCTION

This little book deals with problems which face the people of the British Caribbean in their current efforts to improve their standards of living, and to reconstruct their societies on modern lines. As such it springs directly out of the contemporary trends of Caribbean society, and reflects current aspirations as well as realities.

The peoples of the British Caribbean are now facing the difficult tasks of increasing their standards of living, increasing their average and gross productivity; reducing unemployment, under-employment, and uneconomic employment, reducing illiteracy and disease; improving housing, education, public facilities, agriculture. The aim is to change every major field of social action for the better, to improve the quality of output and to increase the quantity and to do so within an orderly framework which will ensure the greatest and most rapid improvement for the lowest cost. The task is one of overall social and economic reconstruction through intensive development of local resources, material and human. In this task, the Caribbean peoples are expecting and receiving the sympathetic interest and assistance of richer countries overseas.

These present efforts to improve the lot of the Caribbean peoples owe much to foreign interest, help, and advice; but they are the direct expression of local leadership and local determination to set aside the low standards of the past and to start afresh on the long uphill road to a broader and brighter future. The history of these societies has been one long record of irresponsible exploitation. The territories on account of which the nations of Europe waged so many wars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were never regarded as valuable for their own sake, but as places where sugar could grow, and where wealth could be amassed. The European powers which then controlled these lands cared little about Caribbean social conditions, except insofar as commerce and
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production were involved. This era of British Caribbean history came to an end in 1838, with the abolition of slavery and its epilogue came in 1846, when the British Government dealt a crippling blow to Caribbean sugar interests by abolishing the system of tariffs which kept foreign sugar out of the British home market.

Shortly after Emancipation it was observed that the abolition of slavery had freed a race but failed to create a society. Indeed, the Abolition Act made no provision for the future of the ex-slaves. Those who could or wished to do so left their former masters' estates and homes; many remained where they were. Often the deciding factor between remaining on the estate or moving away was the availability of land for purchase or squatting. Following emancipation, the Caribbean territories developed a peasant agriculture along-side of the old plantation system; but for many years the growth of this peasantry took place without any assistance from the Caribbean governments. Indeed throughout this period the governments of these colonies in no wise represented the people. These governments were representatives of oversea interests, and of the propertied classes in the territories themselves.

One hundred years after the emancipation of slaves this colonial system began to crumble. The disturbances and riots of 1937 and 1938 in various Caribbean colonies focussed the attention of the British Parliament and the world at large on the deplorable conditions of these islands. Shortly after this came the second World War; and this hastened on profound changes in the climate of world opinion on many matters, including colonialism and political laissez-faire. During the war the British Government gave Jamaica a new constitution based on universal adult suffrage, the herald of a new day, not only for Jamaica, but for all the other British colonies of the Caribbean. It is since the riots of 1938 and since the constitutional move towards responsible government that a sense of challenge has replaced the complacency about Caribbean conditions, and that serious attempts to build up the country for its present and future inhabitants began. This is the present exciting phase of Caribbean history,

out of which this little book springs, and to which it seeks to contribute. Like so many other aspects of contemporary endeavour in these areas, this manual combines foreign and local effort. One of the writers is Dutch, the other is Jamaican.

The introduction of adult suffrage is the most important development in Caribbean political history since the abolition of slavery; and it places the ultimate control of local affairs in the hands of local populations who are themselves directly affected by the policies and organisations of their own governments. One direct consequence of this transfer of power to the Caribbean peoples is the current preoccupation with local problems, and the determination to do something positive to improve local conditions.

In this movement of social and economic reconstruction, interest naturally focusses on agriculture, since this is the major Caribbean industry, and the only one directly controllable by the people themselves, with the resources at their disposal. The natural heirs to this interest in developing local agriculture and improving rural conditions are the peasants and small farmers, since the plantations are highly capitalised and efficient, and since plantation labour in islands like Jamaica and Trinidad is organised in effective trade union movements. Moreover, in countries such as Jamaica, peasant production covers a large area and supports a large part of the population, and is both in need of capital and technical assistance, and is capable of increased outputs. The logic of local development and welfare alike places priority on the development of peasant agriculture, while exploring other avenues of change and prosperity, notably, industrialisation, mining, tourism, fishing, building, and the like.

It is reasonable to believe that the current effort in Jamaica will be duplicated in many of the other Caribbean territories; and that the experiences gained in this Jamaican programme will be of some use there also. For this reason, although this manual is principally concerned with the problem facing extension workers engaged on agricultural development and rural welfare programmes in Jamaica, the writers hope that it will be of some use to all
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persons who are concerned with similar programmes throughout the British Caribbean. Because the field experiences on which the manual is based took place in Jamaica, the conditions to which it refers are mainly Jamaican; but it is likely that these conditions and the problems they present are paralleled in other Caribbean territories also.

Attempts to improve the quality and outputs of peasant farmers depend for their success firstly on the knowledge of the things these farmers do and want, of their present levels of output and modes of farming; secondly on the ability to influence and assist them with information, materials, finance, organisation, and other essentials of a better agricultural system. To deal with these problems, an agricultural extension service is necessary. But the effectiveness of such a service depends a great deal on its understanding of the reasons and conditions which lead small farmers to do things in the ways that they do. Without such knowledge, attempts to change peasant methods and farming practices are not wholly rational, and may very well fail. Often enough, particular farming practices are adjusted to other conditions of the small farmers' environment, such as family organisation, credit opportunities, marketing, labour patterns, land tenure, and the like. Some knowledge of these conditions is therefore necessary if the basis of small farmers' practice is to be understood, and improvements are to be effected. But often enough these background conditions and factors fall outside the special interests or competence of the agricultural extension worker, and within the field of social welfare. This means that rural welfare forms an integral part of the present effort to improve peasant farming in Jamaica; and it is for this reason that we address this little book to welfare and agricultural extension workers alike.

Our purpose here is to inform extension workers briefly about the relevant social and cultural conditions which influence the local reception of their work, and indeed create the demand for it. We shall also give a brief account of techniques of fact-finding, recording, and analysis; and we shall also say something about the problems of interpreting, selecting and evaluating data. Since an extension service, whether agricultural or welfare, is an agency for the communication of information and motivation, and for the translation of these into coordinated action, we shall also discuss these matters, and say something about some of the problems which are involved.

Extension workers are busy people dealing with a wide range of pressing practical problems. Their efforts depend for effectiveness on appropriate information, it is true; but this is not the place in which to belabour the extension workers with masses of specialised fact, or with theory of purely academic interest. We are mainly concerned to provide a certain minimum level of conceptual equipment, which provides a framework for the organisation and interpretation of experience; and a certain knowledge of fact-finding and analytic techniques, which may facilitate survey work by extension workers. Clearly the concepts and methods described below are neither exhaustive, nor infallible. Both will require some modification or adaptation to fit the facts in any particular field. But these summaries are useful as a starting point in the work of changing rural Caribbean communities. Without some idea of what makes these communities function as they do, or of how to find out more about them and to use this information for planning their change, it is not going to be easy to reorganise and develop them. On the other hand, the writers are well aware that this manual is capable of much improvement to increase its value to extension workers in the Caribbean; and they hope that shortcomings of the present edition which will become evident through its practical use will lead to its revision along more fruitful lines. Our aim is to provide agricultural and extension workers with information about West Indian folk organisation, and about survey and communication techniques and problems. Our effort has value only insofar as it is of use to welfare or agricultural extension worker dealing with development and reconstruction problems in the field. If it is helpful to these people, it has served its purpose. To the extent that it does not service them with appropriate information about local conditions or fact-find-
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ing techniques, it is in need of revision and improvement. The limitations of the manual should now be quite clear. It is neither a complete nor a definitive account of Jamaican society. Nor is it a systematic treatise on methods or problems of social research, communications and the like. It simply seeks to summarise data on these points which may be of direct and immediate use to fieldworkers, as a manual should. In short, it is conceived as a sort of simple reference book, certainly not something which should be read from cover to cover, such as a novel or monograph; but a practical aid in field work, special points or problems of which can be looked up as occasion requires. Moreover, the writers have made no special effort to harmonise their points of view, in the belief that different emphases or interpretations will be of value to the field-worker and will encourage him to think about these and other topics independently.

Chapter II

EXTENSION WORK

Agriculture is one of mankind’s oldest industries; and even today there are millions of people whose farming tools are of the simplest kind, whose farming practices are of a customary character, and who are mainly concerned to grow crops for household consumption. In such societies people are not concerned to make the best use of these resources or to seek better, but to live as their forefathers did. They aim to maintain the traditional standard of living, rather than to improve and increase it. And since in such societies, households farm mainly for their own subsistence, there is little to force such farmers to change their customs, except weather, or pests, famine and the like. Subsistence farmers are free to pursue their old customs to the degree that they only farm for their own household subsistence, and are content with traditional standards of living and ways of life.

With farming for exchange and sale, the situation of the farmer is sharply different. In a competitive market, the man who grows crops for sale can only succeed by virtue of his efficiency or good luck. He cannot afford to go his own sweet way as does the subsistence farmer, not even if he is content with his existing standard of living, since this depends on his ability to produce and sell his crops in competitive market at rates which will yield much the same real income as he is accustomed to. The subsistence farmer can afford to be inefficient, since he is competing with no one. The man who farms for a market cannot afford to lag behind his competitors, and must often indeed plan his production in anticipation of changes in the market at which he deals. He is far more vulnerable than is the subsistence farmer, and is to that extent more in need of up-to-date information of all sorts, and of organisation to protect his interests.

In countries such as the United States or Britain, with long experience of commercial agriculture, farmers have organisations which keep them informed about the latest
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scientific discoveries and developments in their fields, and about market prospects or legislation which may affect them. They take part in schemes to insure their crops, or market them co-operatively, or purchase their supplies as a group; and they have a host of other organisations which serve to keep them well informed on all matters that affect their interests as farmers. The idea behind these organisations and activities is a simple one, namely, to develop as efficient and productive a farming community as circumstances permit, by organising the farmers into active bodies to pursue their interests, and by keeping them well-supplied with up-to-date information of value to them.

This is the function of an agricultural extension service. Its tasks are simpler in countries with long experience of commercial farming, educated populations, prosperous farmers, and a cultural pattern which leads people to work continuously to increase their standard of living and their material welfare. In countries, with poor populations, traditions of subsistence farming, little capital, and traditional satisfaction with low standards of living, the task of an agricultural extension service is far more difficult. The agricultural extension worker in these underdeveloped countries must try to get people to want change, and to become willing to take the risks and make the effort without which such changes cannot develop. Often enough, attempts to communicate these unfamiliar desires and to improve the efficiency of these farmers involve wide reorganisation of social life, programmes of community or fundamental education, as well as rural welfare schemes. In such conditions the extension service typically finds that the battle for higher productivity and a higher standard of living must be won or lost on several fronts at the same time. Before farmers can make use of printed information, records and the like, illiteracy must be fought. Before slash-and-burn land-clearing techniques, or shifting cultivation can be changed, land tenure and family organisation must be taken account of. Before co-operative crop marketing can be organised efficiently, a good deal of information has to be gathered from the individual farmers, and about their community life.

In such countries as the United States where farmers are now highly organised and are keen for the latest information affecting their interests, the extension worker's job is mainly to service them with information, to find out what it is they wish to know or have done, and to organise this information or action. In countries such as those of the British Caribbean, where farmers are less well organised, and are often quite conservative about their practices, the extension worker has to promote an interest in new information, in change, and in better organisation. He can only succeed if he knows in detail the factors which cause farmers to cling to their old habits, and can fit the new motivations and aspirations into the old.

Extension work seeks to effect improvement by giving people new ideas, motives, and knowledge, and by organising or assisting them in the organisation of action. Time is saved and costs are reduced, where such work is based on groups; and there are many types of project which are only possible with a group. But group work is not an end to itself. The goal or aim of extension work is to increase efficiency, output and material wellbeing. Individual contacts are often essential to achieve these ends. Often enough groups have a character of their own which governs their responses to extension work. Where the groups are local groups, the members usually know one another quite well in advance, and there may be animosities, divisions, jealousies and other sources of tension which defeat the chances of unified group action or acceptance of any proposed change. On the other hand, such local groups may be most effective instruments of change where the members are friendly with one another, and have loyal intelligent leaders. In other words, groups vary in their character as well as individuals.

The extension service seeks to pass on information and desire for improvement by a variety of methods, by individual contacts, group contacts, or mass contacts; by the written or spoken word, by actual demonstrations, or by various visual techniques. The content of the extension message varies. It may deal with home economics, agriculture, credit, handicrafts, co-operatives, community development, health or other matters. Each of the methods listed above includes a variety of techniques or devices;
mass communication is carried out by radio, films, exhibitions, newspapers, circulars, platform addresses, posters, and the like. Individual contacts include visits by and to the extension agent, personal letters, roadside conversations, and so forth. Group contacts involve formal meetings, demonstrations, conferences, tours, and action-programmes.

By whatever name it is known in tropical or underdeveloped countries, the main emphasis of extension work is to promote, initiate, and guide change, and the types of change with which it is concerned are improvements in living conditions, in farming, housing, sanitation, literacy, marketing, and the like; the immediate aim is to increase economic production, the ultimate goal is to create more satisfying conditions of life. Community development, fundamental education, and extension work are all approaches to these common ends.

But before people will accept innovations, they must usually want them; and before they want them, they must know about them. The response to extension work is largely determined by the practical value which it possesses, as this is evaluated by the people at whom it is addressed. It must often have happened that projects of outstanding value have failed for lack of support, simply because the people for whom they were devised have not appreciated their significance. Any individuals or groups will have an idea of what they need. These consciously realised needs are the most easily expressed. But the same persons or groups may have other and more fundamental needs which are not easily formulated; and these needs may well involve changes of a widely ranging character, if they are to be dealt with adequately. For example, during the early 1930s, the workmen of Britain and other Western countries needed employment; but before this scourge of unemployment was removed, a great deal of political and economic change had to occur.

The extension worker seeks to promote changes of various kinds; changes of attitude, interest, and skill; changes in the individual and the group; changes of a long-term or short-term character; simple changes of technique, more complex changes of organisation, need, and goal. Some of these changes are easily and quickly brought about. Others require great patience, and determination on the part of extension workers and community alike. Some changes can be made by individuals acting on their own; others cannot develop except through concerted group action. Some changes deal with trivial problems; others with matters of a fundamental character, which may well ramify through every branch of social life. Some changes are instrumental means to further changes, which are ends in themselves. These end-changes generally consist in changes of disposition, attitude, organisation and outlook; and yet, funny enough, changes in these variables are preconditions of many instrumental, economic changes. Thus there is a logic inherent in the system of changes, and the method of producing these changes must conform to this logic if it is to give the best results. But the discovery of this logic, and the integration of projects which reflect the consciously felt needs of a community with its other, unformulated needs can only be laid bare by a searching enquiry into the character and potential of the unit concerned. The extension worker in other words must be able to make a diagnosis, as a physician does; and he must be able to interpret the facts which such an examination yields, to decipher the unexpressed problems of the population with whom he is dealing. Finally, he must be able to marshal such information as is available or necessary, to construct a coherent and workable programme of action, and one which will enlist their support and reward it. Let it be plainly recognised that this is never an easy task, and is often a thankless one.

Apart from religious organisations, there are two main fields or forms of extension work now current in Jamaica, namely, agricultural extension, and social welfare. The interrelation of these two efforts has been pointed out above. Agricultural extension work in Jamaica is carried out by the Extension Service of the Agricultural Department along with the Jamaica Agricultural Society, by the Land Settlement Officers, and by the extension or field services of a variety of commodity organisations, such as
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the Citrus or Banana Growers' Associations. The Four-H Clubs prepare young people to take advantage of the services and to participate effectively in the development of their communities. The very multiplicity of these organisations engaged in Agricultural extension work is evidence of the gradual and piecemeal spread of this idea in Jamaica; but the organisation of agricultural extension does not concern us here. We are mainly concerned with the character of extension service, and the character of its context.

Apart from religious bodies, welfare work is carried out as an extension activity in Jamaica by government sponsored bodies, such as the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, the Sugar Welfare Labour Board, and the Lands Department. These Welfare organisations employ a variety of techniques, and emphasise a variety of conditions, such as nutrition, literacy, village and community development, handicraft production, home economics, and the like. These approaches are not mutually exclusive, but are all focussed on the common goal of improving the living and home conditions of the rural population by stimulating and organising desires for such improvement, and by giving the necessary technical guidance to translate these desires into achievement. As with agricultural extension, so too with welfare programmes, our interest in the following pages is to describe the social and cultural contexts and conditions of these activities, and the types of fact-finding and analysis on which they depend. We shall also try to indicate, by the following description of rural Jamaica conditions, what sort of needs are most likely to find prompt popular expression, and what types of needs are not.

Chapter III

MAN AND SOCIETY IN RURAL JAMAICA

(a) Some Concepts

Human beings have various kinds of relations with each other. Most of these relations are called social relations because they are organised into social systems, which are the basis of certain activities. Examples of social relations are parent-child relations, teacher-child relations, farmer-extension officer relations, relations between adherents to the same religion. Examples of social systems are the family, the school, administrative organizations, a religious group.

In this manual we will not use the term social system frequently but will talk of group, social grouping or social units instead. These social groupings consist of persons who interact more with each other than with non-members, when operating to obtain the group's objectives. Social interaction is an event by which one party (a person, for example) tangibly influences the overt actions or state of mind of another.

In this chapter we will discuss various types of social groupings. Distinctions will be made between intimate, utilitarian, informal and formal groups. Intimate groups such as the family and neighbourhood groups are based on intimate, face-to-face interaction, and are characterised by bonds of affection as distinct from purely utilitarian motives. The characteristics of utilitarian groups are superficiality of social relations, indirectness and casualness of conduct. Informal groups or cliques have no explicit rules of entry of membership and often have no specific membership behaviour. Formal groups, on the other hand, have a more definite structure, with rules governing the relationship between the members of the group. It is useful to distinguish formal groups of localistic orientation (such as a local cricket club) and formal groups of an island-wide orientation (such as the J.A.S., A.I.B.G.A., etc.)
Thus, grouping consist of social interaction. A result of continuous interaction is that the groups become structured. The most important elements, necessary to the persistence of the group as a structure are: roles, status, authority and norms.

A role is a kind of behaviour which is expected of individuals in given situations. We expect a woman to behave differently when playing different roles such as mother, wife, child, office-clerk or president of a woman's club. Her behaviour in these different social positions is more or less predictable, as we know how people are supposed to behave in these positions.

Status is the ranking of given individuals, based upon the consensus of group members as to what traits and qualities are to be rated high and low.

Authority is the right and power to influence others. No extension worker can do his work efficiently without knowing who (in a community) are in a position to initiate action by others.

Norms are the rules which govern the individual's conduct. They are socially sanctioned modes of behaviour; they state how somebody in a certain position "should", "ought to" behave in order not to be ridiculed by his group members.

The term "farmer" is used by us to designate a large category of persons who direct the operation of a farm. A farmer may hire labour or work as a labourer himself. He may be the proprietor of the land he uses or a tenant operator. The operators of large scale agricultural units known as plantations or estates are included in the concept of a farmer, but we shall not deal with this category of farmers. When we speak of farmers, therefore, we do not include estate owners.

A farm labourer is a person who is regularly or casually employed by a farmer to assist with the farm work. In rural Jamaica a farm labourer usually operates a (small) farm himself.


(b) The Impact of Poverty on Man and Society

In their endeavour to answer the question: "Why do the people (West Indian farmers for example) behave as they do?" social psychologists have a tendency to look for causes in the past of the individuals under consideration. Albert A. Campbell, for example, states in the conclusion of his study of Saint Thomas negroes, that he has made an effort to analyse the most important aspects of the childhood experience typically present in St. Thomas in order to provide the best possible explanation of the origins of the adult behaviour of the individual St. Thomian. Madeline Kerr, who studied the personality of the Jamaican peasant also deals with the effect of childhood experiences on the adult personality; and she pays considerable attention to what she calls: (1), dichotomy of concepts over parental roles, and (2), lack of patterned learning in childhood.

This psychological approach is a genetic one: it asks how have certain particular needs and certain goals come into being in a given situation? This "historical" approach may result in the discovery of interesting relationships, and is no doubt required for a comprehensive explanation of the behaviour of certain categories of individuals, but it is in some cases sufficient and even more useful to explain the behaviour of a person or a category of individuals by reference to the immediate psychological situations of these people. We shall try to do this in this section by concentrating on the psychological effects of poverty and undernourishment.

Although no exact figures are available it is very likely that a high percentage of Jamaican small cultivators with less than three acres are undernourished. They consume only small quantities of such foodstuffs as milk, meat, chicken and fish, although they like to eat them. Among this category of farmers, there is a relatively high incidence of various diseases such as venereal diseases, hookworm,


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avitaminosis, anaemia; and many of their children suffer from what is locally called kwashiorkor, a hunger disease.

A still larger percentage of the rural population suffers from poverty, that is, they do not receive sufficient income in cash or kind to maintain the level of living which the community regards as a decent minimum. Not all poor people are undernourished, but most undernourished people are, as a matter of fact, included in the poverty stricken segment of the population.

One effect of widespread undernourishment and poverty is that, for large groups of the population, certain foodstuffs and/or small amounts of money become overriding goals. The achievement of these goals is often partly blocked by various obstacles, so that frustration often results. Ultimately these blockages arise from (1) the material resources e.g., shortage of good land; (2) the character of the traditional system of small farming; and (3) the social environment. As regards the material resources of the small holders it can be said that a large percentage of them have less than three acres. The incomes of these very small farmers are low; a survey revealed that 40% of the small holders' households in four areas in Jamaica have an annual income of less than £50. It is also safe to say that holdings of less than three acres of hill lands, even those which are extensively cultivated, rarely provide physical conditions which rule out undernourishment and poverty.

The traditional character of Jamaican small farming also acts as a barrier in the way of progress. Many farmers still have a 'tenant mentality' towards farming. Tenants without security of tenancy (and also small landowners with a tenant mentality) are disinclined to invest money in their farms, and are very keen to get a quick return for the money and labour put into the farms. Small farmers do not usually like to spend much money at one time. Even those who have sufficient ready cash usually prefer to hire one or two men intermittently to do a job piecemeal, rather than to invest enough capital to have it done at once. The economic goal of backward, impoverished tenant farmers who have no security of hold-

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ing is to reap a quick crop without much effort and investment, and without bestowing much care on the land. This tenant mentality is a barrier both to the proper management of the farms, and to the realisation of the major goals of these farmers, which are sufficient food and money.

The social environment is another source of frustration. Society sets up a social class system which is so important to the members of a population that they are strongly motivated to preserve or improve their position in the class structure. For this reason the small farmer is often so afraid of 'falling down' in a lower class that he carefully protects what he has and does not dare to take the risk of losing his little money all at once. Thus he proceeds to spend money on his farm in a piecemeal way, and this often retards his progress.

Another aspect of the social organisation which the farmer may find frustrating is the marketing system. The small farmer feels himself powerless in the hands of the big produce dealers and the government, both of whom he mistrusts. Although the prices of the export crops are fixed by his own organisations, he nevertheless feels that he has no control over the prices of these products. For locally marketed crops he is in the hands of higglers, who sell his products in many different markets where the prices fluctuate with supply and demand. Being, until recently, exploited by a few big produce dealers, who have enriched themselves at his expense, the small farmer still fears that he may only recover the cost of his production, that is, the cost of his own labour; and he often believes that the profit from his crops is absorbed by some "big shots", or by government.

The normal reaction of people who are frustrated in the achievement of a certain goal is to mobilize all their energies. Difficult conditions in life create in people, as a survival mechanism, a toughness and stubbornness often very difficult to circumvent. In the Netherlands during the starvation period (1944-5), the undernourished citizens of Amsterdam and other big cities made tremendous efforts to satisfy their immediate wants, often by walking surprising distances to obtain a little food. A similar phenomenon
can be observed in the country parts of Jamaica. When going to market or to a buying station, the farmers and their wives sometimes cover surprisingly long distances on foot in the hope of getting some small profit. This “profit” is often really spurious, only representing a “wage” for portage of the goods. On their farms, Jamaican farmers prove themselves tough and stubborn workers, not minding the hot sun and not counting all the hours they spend to get a small profit.

Often to avoid hunger they must reap the crops before they are matured. Either these fruits are prematurely gathered for home consumption, or they are sold, in which case the farmer makes less money than, with a little patience, he could have made by waiting.

Some farmers reap part of their yams, ripe or not, before the 25th of December to get money to spend in “the Christmas”. They often reap their bananas before the fruit are properly fit, and as a result get less money on buying day. Some small farmers cannot wait to deliver their coffee to the J.A.S. group. They gather some of the berries and take them to a shop where they are sold or exchanged for groceries, whereupon the shopkeepers in turn supply these berries to the J.A.S. at a profit.

Such behaviour indicates that the farmer’s mind is so much dominated by present needs that future needs or returns are over-looked. When hunger is checked, relaxation follows, and neither the past nor the future then seems important. So many Jamaican country people have for generations had these psychological experiences that they are reflected in Jamaica proverbs; e.g. “When man belly full, jaw mus’ top” (relaxation) and “When man belly full, him bruk pot” (he forgets about the future).

If his concentration on farm work, his strenuous efforts and keenness to get quick results (“the quick bread mentality”) do not solve the problem, the farmer may look for other ways by which to reach his goals (food and money). At that stage, feeling himself powerless, he will complain of being weak and tired. He will beg for help and say that he cannot do hard work: “You neber see empty bag ‘tan’ up’. Not being able to help himself, he is looking for somebody to help him; and nowadays he increasingly turns to government for that help. “What we need, sir, is a little help”, is an exclamation often heard by the sociologist during field work. Another way out is slyness. In folk tales, Anancy is a symbol of the powerless black man who gets the better of the powerful noisy tiger by guile. Anancy’s behaviour emphasizes the “every man for himself” concept (Kerr, 1952, p. 173).

So far, we have been dealing with the efforts of individuals to overcome the barriers which prevent them from reaching their major goals in life. When these efforts are not successful frustration increases and may eventually lead to disturbing consequences. Aggression, withdrawal and sublimation are such maladjusted consequences. Aggressive acts, which seem to allay, at least temporarily, the frustrated state, may take the form of verbal or physical violence, or magical practices such as obeah. Frustration may also lead to withdrawal from the frustrating experience. Many farmers pack their belongings and leave the countryside, or would like their children to withdraw from small farming. Those who are not able to leave the scene of frustration physically, escape psychologically to another environment; the Ras Tafari cult, pocomania and revivalism may be regarded as escapist actions. Sublimation is the un-
conscious process by which the tension associated with repressed needs is deflected to new objects, new goals, and new activities apparently unconnected with the original drives. Concentration on goals of a religious nature may sometimes be a consequence of frustration. The longing to become “revived” and to have very close contacts with the supernatural may in part be explained as sublimation of earthly needs.

Having discussed some psychological effects of undernourishment and poverty, we now propose to deal with some of their sociological consequences.

Poverty generally has a harassing effect on human relations; it fosters attitudes of egoism and also promotes disproportionate envy and hostility towards people who prosper. In short, it emphasises negative attitudes and minimises positive ones.

In cases of calamity there is often a certain isolationism, a tendency to keep to oneself. The demands of the biological self are sometimes so pressing that the individual is forced to concentrate all his efforts on self-preservation. The idea of one’s “self” generally includes close relatives in the immediate family, whereas the extended family falls into second place. Outsiders (non-family) are considered to be competitors, and are the objects of feelings of hostility, so that there is only a weak affiliation to group life other than the family. In many poverty stricken rural districts in Jamaica it can be observed that the farmers find it difficult to regard co-operative undertakings as their own.

With regard to feelings of envy, hostility towards those who succeed in “building themselves up” can become so strong that the less lucky ones will try to “keep down” the persons they envy by means of black magic (obeah). This creates a good deal of emotional strain since fear of being obeahed is acute.

Severe emotional strains, often engendered by frustration, may have a disintegrating effect on an individual’s personality, and may develop through obeah, envy and anxiety. However, highly emotional people are easily swayed from one extreme to another, so that different circumstances sometimes have an integrating effect on the very people so set apart. Our country people, for example, are often generous in time of trouble. In situations which appeal to their protective instincts, such as an accident, illness, the birth of a child, or a death, the Jamaican peasant is sometimes very helpful. When a poor person dies everybody in the district tries to help: by supplying board for a coffin, by digging the grave, by supplying food and rum for the death ceremonies, and so on. Many people, too, are willing to help a child who is in need. This cooperation is, however, only temporary and has familial goals. Co-operation in an organised form does not usually evolve among the farmers themselves. There are many revivalist and pomomania groups in the country parts, but for the most part they are shortlived. The very fact that there are so many of these groups with practically the same ritual and theology demonstrates the strength of the disintegrating forces.

As long as poverty is widespread or intense, utilitarian groupings (i.e. formal associations) will not, as a rule, function satisfactorily. For this reason, most of the energy devoted to organising the farmers into voluntary groups is lost energy. When some form of organisation is imperative, a compulsory or semi-compulsory form may have to be adopted, as is actually done in the cases of such commodity organisations as the A.I.B.G.A., the Citrus Growers Association, etc.

The social and psychological situation of the poverty-stricken countryside of Jamaica bears a marked resemblance to that prevailing in the Netherlands during the Hunger winter of 1944-45. During this struggle for food the citizen of Holland withdrew into the stronghold of his family. The severe fight for self-preservation forced people to look after their own interests exclusively. As far as food was concerned, other people, who were not members of the family, were regarded as competitors, and were mistrusted accordingly. Extreme feelings of jealousy developed towards people who were doing better, towards those who were still eating thick slices of bread and carrying
bigger bags of rye and potatoes along the routes where the thousands of hunger-trekkers passed by. In this borderland between life and death, the people were excitable and highly aggressive, and they were strongly motivated by egoistic impulses.

The effect of hunger on social life has also been studied among an Indian tribe in Bolivia, — the Siriono. These people, who live more or less continuously at a starvation level, are characterised by aggressiveness, individualism and by weakly developed tendencies to cooperate with their fellow men. The acquisition of food is one of the major activities of the members of this tribe, among whom food is always scarce. Among the Siriono status and prestige are based chiefly on hunting prowess and food-gathering skills.

A society living under poverty and/or starvation conditions does not dissolve into complete chaos. Man has to relate himself to his fellow men and to nature around him in some sort of established order. Among the Siriono Indians, the tribe was not a very important social unit, but the family was the fundamental grouping.

Social engineers who want to build a new social order should seek out those factors which are responsible for specific undesirable features of the existing order. In this discussion we have tried to explain how undernourishment and poverty may prevent the successful organisation of utilitarian groups.

(c) Locality Groups

The concept of community furnished the starting point of a survey of 40 communities in central Jamaica. A community was defined as an area of common living. This includes a common awareness among the people of sharing a common territory, a feeling of belonging to a certain well-defined area, and with the inhabitants of that area. People belonging to the same community have more relations with each other than with outsiders.

When this particular concept of community was discussed with many local persons, it appeared that the minds of the interviewees were directed towards the territorial groups which the rural people describe as “districts”. In the Jamaican countryside the people identify themselves with the districts where they live and to which they have a feeling of belonging. When asked to delineate the various districts, the interviewees were always able to give definite boundaries, although those districts were not official administrative units. Each such district has a name, often the name of a former property. Some districts, however, do not fall within this definition of community. There are, for example, districts where the lives of the inhabitants are so closely linked up with those of another district (usually a village, see typology below) that there is not sufficient reason for describing such a district as a separate community. In most cases, however, the districts appear to be separate communities, because they constitute definite areas to which the people have a feeling of belonging, and because social contacts take place more frequently inside than outside these areas.

Rural communities are sometimes considered to be closed social units with very limited social interaction outside the units. However, this is not the case with Jamaican rural communities. When our interviewees were asked whether the people of other districts joined in festivals and celebrations which took place in their district, nearly all of them said “yes”. Death ceremonies, “set-ups” and “nine-nights”, are often attended by parties from districts far away. Although there is a tendency to marry within the district, which in some cases even leads to inbreeding, no social stigma is attached to marrying outsiders.

From information gathered in these 40 districts spread over central Jamaica, it was possible to distinguish 3 types of settlement; these are:

1. Market towns, which have a market, a post office, a school, one or more churches and Justices of the Peace.
2. Villages, which have a school, a post office, a church, and are characterised by compact settlement. They normally have no market.
3. Open country districts, which have no school, no post office, no church, no Justice of the Peace, and where the settlement pattern is dispersed.

Most shopping, i.e. buying of groceries, is done within the district; only a few districts have no shop at all. For buying clothes, shoes, hardware and so on ("going to store"), people visit the villages, and even more commonly, the townships. On Saturday, thousands of people visit the townships. These townships could be used by the Agricultural Extension Service for shop window displays of educational posters, photographs and other visual aids. A relatively informal channel of communication between the Extension Service and the farmers could be established by having an agricultural officer in attendance at these displays, where leaflets and other literature could also be distributed.

This community survey also showed that illiteracy is highest in the open country districts, and that the percentage of children regularly going to school and the percentage of people attending church regularly is also lowest in these relatively isolated districts. The towns and villages with their schools and churches are the centres of utilitarian social groupings. The market towns of the area studied appeared to have an average of 14 associations located at each, while the villages averaged 9 associations a piece. The meetings of these associations are usually held in the local school house. Although the farmers who live in the open country districts are also members of the various associations (they may even form the majority of the members), the chairmen of these associations for the most part live in the towns and villages. With regards to leadership in the field of folk religion (the leaders of revivalist groups, healers and tablemen, i.e. masters of ceremonies at death ceremonies) the difference between towns and villages on the one hand, and open country districts on the other, is considerably less.

These enquiries may be summarised as follows:

1. More persons who live in the villages identify themselves with islandwide movements, which are reflect-ed in associations such as savings unions, credit societies, J.A.S., A.I.B.G.A., etc.

2. The inhabitants of the open country districts are not to any considerable degree integrated with these associations. They visit such meetings less regularly than do the villagers, and they seldom act as members of the local boards of these associations.

3. The supra-familial group life centres around the small religious meeting houses, the small Churches of God, revivalist and pocomania groups.

One conclusion of some importance from the point of view of regional development which may be drawn from these data is that places selected as regional centres must be equipped with a school, a church, a post office, and should also have a Justice of the Peace.

In the rural Middle East the coffee house, and in the United States of some decades ago the country store, served as a local meeting place. In Jamaica today the rum shop, usually attached to a grocery, is the place where the people, especially men, meet in the evening hours to have a chat and a drink. It appears, however, that this institution is not generally accepted among the people. There is a tendency among the better-off farmers to consider visiting the rum shop as below their standing. One local proverb says that "Rum shop no de place fi find good spirit"; and it is commonly held that people who work hard on their farms have no time to visit rum shops.

None the less, the rum shop can offer the extension officer a useful opportunity for establishing informal relations with farmers. Banana Buying Stations may serve the same purpose. There is always a large crowd gathered around these places on buying days. Extension officers could make good use of these situations by spending an hour or so with farmers there, developing informal social contacts, which would help them to gain the confidence of the people. On such occasions officers could also make appointments for their routine work.
Almost every three to five miles (road distance), there is a village along the roads of Jamaica. Apparently there has been a tendency to place schools, churches, post offices and produce buying stations in these villages. Most of the villages are very small, containing on a rough estimate 200 to 500 inhabitants a piece, which is actually too small a population to enable the village to offer satisfactory economic and social services to the surrounding countryside.

The most important function of these rural villages is trade; they contain the local shops and stores, and farm produce is often sold in these villages. They are nuclei for organisational activities (J.A.S., A.I.B.G.A., etc.), and for such cultural, educational and recreational activities as the countryside has to offer.

Most villages also contain some small farmers, but most of the farmers live outside the villages on their farms. This dispersed type of settlement is the prevalent one in Jamaica, and it is also found in the United States and in some parts of Western Europe; but most of the world's peasant peoples live in villages, with their houses located some distance from their farms.

In some recent land settlement schemes in Spain, farmers were settled in compact villages, a pattern which is also found in many Latin-American countries. In Mexico, only 0.8% of the population live on isolated farmsteads; 9.4% live in hamlets with a population of under 100; 54.7% live in villages with a population of between 101 and 2,500, and the remainder live in even larger settlements.

It is not impossible that historic reasons (defence for example) have outweighed economic considerations in some of these cases, as the dispersed settlement has many advantages for farm management. The advantages of concentrated settlement are mainly of a social character.

Following are the main factors in favour of concentrated settlement:

1. A village facilitates social interaction. It gives the women more opportunities for social contact, it permits more visiting, more mutual aid and companionship than does the dispersed settlement. For children also, the village facilitates social interactions; there are more playgroups of children (informal social groups), and more youth clubs than in the open country districts.

2. Village life facilitates shopping for the women, and school-going for the children.

3. Schools, churches and farmers' organisations function more effectively in villages than in areas of dispersed settlement. In a village, the people can be more easily brought together in meetings, so that agricultural extension work and adult education have greater opportunities of success in the compact settlements. Village life makes rapid advances in their cultural level possible for the people.

4. Water, electricity, telephone, medical and other services are more easily and economically provided in the compact type of settlement.

Factors in favour of settlement on isolated holdings include:

1. More efficient use of family labour of the land and in tending livestock. A farmer who lives in a village loses much time and energy travelling from home to farm and back.

2. The family which lives on the farm can bestow more care on their crops, livestock and land than the family which lives away from the land. There is a tendency to neglect parcels which are far from the homestead.

3. Living on the farm gives better protection against praedial larceny.

4. When livestock is kept in the village, forage has to be carried to the village, but the manure is seldom or never spread on the land. Keeping of cattle in a village, moreover, creates insanitary conditions (e.g. flies).

From the above it can be seen that both types of
settlements have their advantages and disadvantages. The “line-village” pattern is a kind of compromise. It consists of holdings in the form of long, narrow, rectangular strips laid out on either side of a road. The houses face the road, and, in the centre of the “line”, church, school, square, shops and offices are erected.

In a mountainous country, however, this pattern is often very difficult to lay down.

(e) Associations

Farmers’ associations can be very important channels of communication for extension purposes and also allow farmers to make their economic and social needs felt. The existing associations, the J.A.S. branches and the Commodity Organisations, certainly serve this purpose; but as long as poverty persists these associations are unlikely to flourish as centres of local social contact.

Meetings are poorly attended, and it appears that the organisers have to do their utmost to get the people to the meetings, and to keep them there. Field studies in Jamaica revealed that a meeting can be made successful by

1. contacting the members before the meeting and inviting them in person.
2. preparing an attractive programme with important and relevant topics. By means of refreshments, games and songs (when ladies meet), meetings can be made enjoyable. The members like something new, for example, a stranger as a speaker. They like to be amused with jokes.

Strong incentives are often necessary in order to keep small farmers together in utilitarian social systems. This is not surprising when we remember (as was shown in the discussion on the impact of poverty on man and society) that undernourishment and poverty are serious obstacles to the functioning of social groupings other than the family. However, when farmers expect financial or other help their interest is aroused, and when they have grievances they turn out in force. When these inducements do not exist, many farmers are just plain disinterested in the meetings of the associations under discussion; moreover, according to some, many people do not feel at ease in meetings held in the schoolroom. Such people suffer from a lack of confidence, and may fear that they are not sufficiently well dressed. If this is the case, the chairman of the meeting himself could make the people feel more at ease by informal behaviour, by not emphasizing his own importance, and by dressing informally.

Some of the less educated farmers have a tendency to identify the J.A.S. and the Commodity organisations with government; They do not regard them as their own associations, and think that the chairman and secretaries of the J.A.S. branches are paid by government. Some of these farmers have, however, no objection to joining all these associations, because they do not want to displease government, from whom they expect some help. The more advanced farmers have, without doubt, a different outlook towards these utilitarian organisations, and especially towards the sixty year old J.A.S. They love their Agricultural Society; and they know that through their J.A.S., they have a strong voice to demand support from government, and can put government on the mat if necessary.

Associations of a purely local character are relatively rare. Some districts have a cricket club (for example, the unconquerable “8th Army Lower Cascade Cricket Club”); but in general these and similar groups do not enjoy a long life. During our interviews many groups of a local character (sports clubs, savings unions, social clubs) were mentioned, as having formerly existed but as now defunct.

There are a number of organisations which service Jamaican farming, apart from the Government Department of Agriculture; and these organisations can be classified as follows:

1. Boards; such as the Coconut Industry Board, Coffee Industry Board, etc;
2. Commodity Associations; such as the Bee-Farmers’ Association, the Livestock Association, the Citrus Growers’ Association, All-Island Cane Farmers’ Association, Rice-Growers’ Association, etc;
3. Authorities; such as the Coconut Control Authority,
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the Citrus Authority, the Yallahs Valley Land Authority, the Christiana Area Land Authority;

4. Committees; such as the Milk Committee, the Parish Farm Development or Farm Improvement Committees, etc;

5. Cooperatives; such as the Grove Farm Cooperative, the Ginger Cooperative, Jamaica Vegetables Ltd;

6. Manufacturer’s organisations; such as the Sugar Manufacturer’s Association, etc.;

7. Special-purpose commodity organisations; such as the Banana Industry Insurance Board, the Citrus Loan Development Board, and the like;

8. General development organisations; such as the Agricultural Development Corporation, and the two land authorities mentioned above;

9. General farmer’s associations; such as the Jamaica Agricultural Society, and the 4-H movement;

10. Credit organisations; such as the Agricultural Loan Societies Board.

This list is formidable, but not exhaustive.

Most of these organisations have been established since 1939, many of the commodity associations having been organised by the Jamaica Agricultural Society, which was the only Agricultural extension agency in Jamaica until 1951. The combination of different types of organisation within the same commodity grouping illustrates the experimental and hurried character of this recent development of agricultural service organisations. Thus, the coconut industry has a producer’s association; a Coconut Industry Board, which is concerned with the marketing of coconut products; a Coconut Products Board, which controls the manufacture of copra and edible oils from coconuts; and a Coconut Control Authority, which is intended to supervise and control the Coconut Industry Board. Similarly, the sugar-cane industry has its Control Board, its Cane Farmers and Manufacturers’ Associations, its Sugar Industry Capital Rehabilitation Board, Price Stabilization Board, and Sugar Welfare Boards. The Coffee Industry also has its Board and producers’ Association.

Large-scale industrial enterprises such as the sugar industry may genuinely need a number of special purpose organisations; it is doubtful whether smaller industries such as the coffee, livestock or coconut industry benefit commensurably from the cost of such super-structures of boards and organisations. The history and budgets of the All-Island Banana Growers’ Association, which serves the largest of these industrial groups except for the sugar industry, illustrates this point, despite the great abilities and goodwill of its leading men. The organisation of commodity production in countries such as Jamaica, where small farmers handle a number of crops together, is a ticklish problem indeed; and the present writers do not claim to have any simple answer. But the formidable list of commodity service organisations which are already established in Jamaica certainly suggests that this aspect of local agriculture needs immediate attention.

Apart from the commodity or cooperative units in Jamaica, there are various other organisations dealing with agriculture. These other organisations can be classified broadly as:

1. National associations, such as the J.A.S. and the 4-H movement;

2. Local units, such as the two Land Authorities, or the Parish Farm Development Committees; and

3. General development enterprises, such as the Agricultural Development Corporation.

These are overlaps of function between these development agencies and the commodity organisations listed above. These overlaps illustrate one of the contemporary problems of Jamaica agricultural development.

The cocoa expansion scheme may conflict with policies or decisions of the Land Authorities, or with the Farm Development programmes of different parishes. Coffee and cocoa expansion may compete. These possible conflicts can be ironed out or avoided by the organisations themselves; but inevitably such issues raise problems of precedence and priority. Alternatively, the policy-forming units or each organisation may contain members of related bodies; but this leads to a situation in which a very small number of persons dominate the executives of...
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a large number of farmers’ organisations. In such a structure, the small farmers are inevitably underrepresented, and may very well feel little interest. These are some of the difficult problems which face the organisation of small-scale agriculture in many tropical countries besides Jamaica.

Essentially, these difficulties arise because of the number of crops and types of farm units which have to be catered for; because of the complexity of modern commercial agriculture; and because of the unequal educational character of the farming community. The large farmers are obviously best equipped by education and information to cope with the organisational problems which face the farm community as a whole; the illiterate, uninformed peasant who is struggling to maintain a bare subsistence level for his family is hardly fitted for such organisational tasks. But in Jamaica the majority of people who produce almost every single agricultural commodity belong to this second type. Moreover, well-informed and well-intentioned men who are charged with organisation of the industry on behalf of its producers cannot always appreciate the problems and considerations which face these small farmers; perhaps, because they are preoccupied with the future health of the industry as a unit, these directors may have to overlook the small man’s desire for present gains in order to secure some future benefit. Often enough, the peasant objects to this, since the immediate need of cash for ‘home-use’ dominates his life.

The first commodity organisations to be set up in Jamaica reveal the influence of these factors in their organisation and most directly. Thus the Banana Growers’ Association and the Coconut Industry Board recruited members on a quasi-compulsory basis, and were established by statutory action, rather than by voluntary organisation by the farmers. The executives of some of these organisations are neither elective, nor subject to direct influence by the producers whom they represent. Recently, this model of commodity organisation has been liberalised, and small holders have been given greater control over their policies.

(f) Informal Groupings

In rural communities some informal social groupings centre around rum shops, and some consist of people who work together in the fields (“day for day”). There are also little “bands”, gathered around revivalist leaders. Apart from these, there are friendship cliques, sometimes with an informal leader who is often approached for advice, and in whom the members of the group have confidence. In general, the country people prefer informal groupings. Many labourers dislike working alone. It is often said that they may refuse wage work when they have to work alone in the fields. In some districts a number of people (10 to 20) sometimes form a savings group. They pay a weekly contribution, collected by a treasurer, whose duty it is to hand the amount collected every week to another member of the club. This so-called “partner saving” is particularly to be found among wage earners and among higglers. Farmers can only join these groups rarely, as their incomes are so irregular.

On special occasions, groups may develop for recreational purposes; for example, groups of people may go by truck to another parish to spend the day together. They have a picnic and enjoy themselves with music and dancing.

Extension officers should try to find out about these informal groupings. They can use the leading persons of these groups in the activities of their extension organisation; and it is also important to know which people mix frequently together, and which do not.

Moreover, these informal groups are sometimes centres of suspicion and hostility towards extension work; hence they can be channels for the communication of obstructionism. It is in informal groups that clever schemes for misleading government officials are sometimes circulated; this does not imply, however, that informal groups are usually anti-government.
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It is also through informal groups that new techniques can be related to traditional farming practices. In one development area where the farmers are very much attached to trenches running straight-down the hillside, official policy in favour of contour trenches is often discussed. The result is a kind of compromise; “contour-trenches” which slope downwards, and which still serve the traditional purpose of getting rid of the water as quickly as possible.

It is of the utmost importance for the extension officer to avoid any kind of open conflict between his ideas and those of the people with whom he has to deal. That is why he should discuss his plans carefully with the leaders of the informal groups in his area. Certain techniques of social investigation for the discovery of these groups and their leaders may not be suitable for extension officers; other techniques are; but the main thing the extension worker can do is to keep his eyes and ears open, and to pay attention to what is going on in the district where he does his work. It is not sufficient for the extension worker to know individual persons, although this is important; he must also know and be able to recognise social configurations within his communities.

(g) Social Stratification

Social stratification is a general term describing the ranking of individuals and groups in a series of social classes within a community or nation. In societies which are characteristically class organised, it is necessary to know something about the bases, forms and functions of this ranking in order to operate effectively. This is important enough for visitors, but it is crucial for natives who are engaged in promotional work, and whose misinterpretation of field realities consequent on the ambiguities of their promotional relationship might seem unpardonable to the group whose interest they are trying to stimulate.

Class organisation at a national level tells us about the ranking and the determinants, the characteristics and the functions of social classes at this national level; but there may be important differences between these features of national stratification and the corresponding aspects of classes as they are to be found in rural localities. For example, Yehudi Cohen studied a small village in rural Jamaica, and found that it contained four or five classes. But he points out also that the entire population of his village would rank as lower class in national Jamaican terms. The converse is also important. The extension worker might be quite subordinate in his departmental ranking, and may be placed within the middling classes in urban society, but frequently he finds himself regarded as one of the leading people in the rural area where he works. These instances show that a person's class position is fluid, and tends to change with the social situation. Unless an individual understands this, he may take into a new situation behaviour appropriate to quite dissimilar contexts.

It is common to think of Jamaican society as divided into three classes; a numerically small, light-skinned and wealthy upper class; a much larger, moderately prosperous brown-skinned middle class; and a far larger poor black lower class. Broadly speaking, these divisions are useful as guides; but they have to be modified severely to accommodate particular cases. There are many upper class persons who are not wealthy, and there are many wealthy persons who are not upper class. There are many fair skinned persons, as in South St. Elizabeth, who are not upper class, and there are many dark skinned persons, as in the city of Kingston, who are. Moreover, the colour terms in Jamaica do not refer solely to physical appearance, but also imply something about the behaviour, associations, influence, position, and family history of persons crudely classified as white, black or brown. Thus, physically black people are often financially, socially and culturally indistinguishable from upper class whites; and there are settlements of “poor white”, “red legs”, “brackra Johnnies” or “Germans”, which are socially almost identical with adjoining settlements of primarily black folk.

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In Jamaica, occupation, education and family position have been closely associated historically. Thus, persons born of poor parents receive little education, practise the most menial occupations, are poorly regarded for so doing, and tend to reproduce children whose life histories resemble their own. At the other extreme, the rich educate their children with care; and these in turn pursue relatively well-paid occupations which give them, although they represent a tiny minority, considerable influence, both personally and as a group.

In a community where the educational level is relatively uniform and low, other variables are important in the social classification of families and individuals. Although the townsman may not immediately appreciate the complexity and range of the social stratification current in rural communities, the success of his operations within these areas will depend to a very large extent on his sensitive manipulation of the local system of social class in which, whether he likes it or not, he also has been assigned his place.

Smith has recently given an account of a community stratification in rural Jamaica.\(^1\) Kruijer has done likewise for the Christiana Area\(^2\). Sydney Collins\(^3\) and Edward Seaga\(^4\), who have also written on this subject recently, describe patterns which are quite similar to those reported by Kruijer and Smith. These four accounts should be studied carefully, together with Collins' analysis of certain failures in welfare and development promotional work in a Jamaican village\(^5\).

Briefly, these writers describe rural communities which are class organised primarily in terms of wealth and occupation. Control of ready cash gives high prestige to the truly wealthy man such as the large land-owner and/or merchant. Below these come the salaried migrant personnel, such as school teachers, extension workers, medium-sized shop keepers, if creole, and similar groups. The Clergy, though relatively less well paid than other professionals, still enjoy a high ranking due to the prestige of their occupation.

Land-labour relationships, which are of such overwhelming importance in rural economies, provide an important basis for the classification of the majority of their personnel, and one which the populations studied by these workers themselves formulated readily and in fairly consistent terms. At the bottom of the rural stratification systems is the pauper, incapable of finding for himself, and dependent on the pittance which government contributes to his maintenance. Next comes the potential pauper, the landless labourer who manages to eke out a bare existence by taking what jobs are offered at the lowest local rates, and who, should health fail, would not be able for long to avoid applying for assistance as a pauper. Next comes the agricultural worker, the person whose cash income is obtained by agricultural work or other manual labour, but who also relies, to some extent, on home grown crops for keeping living costs down. These people can "manage", as the rural folks say, but they cannot "help others" by offering them employment. The farmer who is able to offer occasional employment to his neighbours occupies a higher position in the social class system and generally is also somewhat older. Above him comes the cultivators or small farmers proper, having 10 or 15 acres under cultivation, and consequently with a fairly strong demand for hired assistance. These people are really marginal to the groups formerly discussed, and in national terms would probably rank in the middle rather than the lower class. But they are a mixed body in many ways, and, while some are educationally up to national middle class standards, others are not; and these differences of deportment and orientation are carefully noted in the in-

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individual class placements which community members make.

Usually, the larger the farm the less directly or frequently is its operator engaged in manual agricultural tasks; and the less frequently he does this, the higher is his social class position. At this extreme one reaches the position in which estate owners operate their holdings by salaried overseers who control staffs of headmen and regular workers; but the level at which the community class system ceases to make careful differentiation is considerably below the level of the estate owner.

Masons, carpenters and other craftsmen, who, together with some small traders in these small areas, combine agriculture with other occupations in a manner permitting some degree of economic independence and consequent freedom of choice in their employment and social relationships, tend to occupy a position which it is not possible to reduce simply to the land-labour relationships governing other class placements. Moreover, variability occurs between one community and another in the country with respect to local levels of occupational differentiation; and this is especially related to increasing urbanisation, the penetration of the local unit by the organisation and general process of modern life. This variable degree of urbanisation in turn promotes corresponding difference in the criteria and range of social class organisations characteristic of these different communities. For example, in the Blue Mountain villages, occupational diversity is limited by terrain and opportunities, and the class system is a narrow one compared with that to be met in such areas as Christiana or along the North Coast. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the sugar belt has a somewhat different system of social classification from that found in the hill country.

We will now pay special attention to the status hierarchy in the town of Christiana and in the Christiana Area. An American sociologist, R. A. Ellis, made a detailed study of the characteristics and class position of some 40 inhabitants of Christiana to gain some insight into the social stratification of this market town. In the following state-
teachers, ministers of religion and highly placed government officials (at least when they live in large houses).

These upper class people are only very rarely to be found living in the rural areas away from market towns. At the top of the social hierarchy in the villages and open country districts are the ministers of religion, teachers, nurses, post mistresses, sergeants of police, government officials, and, perhaps, some better-off shopkeepers and farmers. The lower class in these areas consists mainly of farmers, but the differences in status among these farmers are so marked, that the lower class often has to be divided into five sub-classes.

Those who are locally described as "the bigger men" or "big shots" (often addressed as "Mass") are farmers who never hire themselves out, who do not work day-for-day, who employ labourers more or less regularly, and who are able to make a relatively decent living. They form the upper bracket of the lower class, and are called "farmers".

Below the bigger man is the "poor trying man", who owns a few acres, who cannot provide for his family properly from his land alone. He is called a "cultivator".

Between the "bigger man" and the "poor trying man" there may be a small class of people who are independent, who do not work for anybody else, and do not employ labourers.

Below the "poor trying men" are the labourers, who do not own any land, but may rent a few acres (the tenant class).

The lowest sub-class consists of beggars, invalids and other people who cannot work.

The three lowest sub-classes, the "poor trying men", the labourers and the paupers, constitute the majority. A survey in rural Jamaica carried out by one of the writers revealed that two-thirds of all males engaged in own-account farming (whether full time or part time) were looking for employment.

The reader will have noticed that the main criteria on which the preceding classification is based are: amount of land and relation to wage-work (being a wage-worker, or hiring labourers).

This is in accordance with the ideas of the people themselves. Interviewees in the Christiana Area were asked for what reasons they considered some farmers to be of higher status than others. Income, ownership of land, and financial position (which determines a person's dependence on wage work) were most often mentioned as determinants of social status.

It is, by the way, noteworthy that education is as often mentioned as a basis for social ranking as ownership of land. This is not surprising, for it is well known that the chance of becoming a school teacher is one of the very few opportunities available for the children of these farmers to climb up the social ladder. It appears that most of the rural school teachers are drawn from families of small farmers and tradesmen in rural areas. When a son or daughter becomes a school teacher, his or her parents gain in prestige, so it is not surprising that many of our interviewees mentioned education as a factor of prestige.

When we group all the factors which influence a person's social status it appears that personal attributes and achievements (education, character and personality, etc.) are important factors. So are authority or power (leadership). Acceptance of the values of the community must also be taken into consideration — a person of good general conduct, who acts decently, shows interest in church and religion and does not visit rum shops, normally has high prestige.

Relationship to a respectable family is also mentioned as a determinant of status; but our figures show that the individual possession of property is the most important factor defining a person's status in the community. A man of property, a man with a large income who has some capital or a good piece of land is regarded as a high class person, a big shot!

The preceding remarks summarise data presented in the following table:
## RUGAL JAMAICA

REASONS GIVEN BY 41 INTERVIEWEES FOR CONSIDERING SOME FARMERS TO BE OF HIGH SOCIAL STATUS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSION OF PROPERTY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Income and financial position 27; Ownership of land 15; Type of house 6; Being an employer 4; Size of cultivation 2; Owning cattle 1; Clothing 1)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSION OF PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES AND ACHIEVEMENTS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Education 13; Character and personality 3; Intelligence 1; Age 1; Qualification 1)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSESSION OF AUTHORITY OR POWER</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Leadership 11; Interest in communal efforts 3; having travelled abroad 1; social activities 1)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACCEPTANCE OF THE VALUES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(General conduct, acting decently, not going to rum shops 7; Interest in church and religion 4; Charity 1)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP RELATIONSHIP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Family connection 9; Having children who have risen socially 2)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Reasons</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is noteworthy that colour is completely absent from the preceding table; this omission is certainly not due to any inhibition which prevented the interviewees from discussing this subject.

Omission of any reference to colour is the more remarkable when we realise that in most social psychological studies of West Indian populations, colour receives special emphasis; for example, Fernando Henriques, Family and Colour in Jamaica, 1953, London.

However, the writers are not surprised at the outcome of this survey, because it is their impression that the significance of colour varies a good deal according to the situation. Some authors may have a tendency to project Jamaican urban middle class values onto the farmer. With urban middle class people, colour differences are closely linked up with class differences; but this is not necessarily so among the rural population. Our survey revealed that about 6.5 per cent of the folk culture leaders in the Area are light brown (none are white) whereas approximately 29% of the quasi-official leaders, who belong to a higher status, are either white or light brown. From these figures it may be deduced that by far the majority of the leaders of any kind in these rural communities are dark brown or black. Fifty per cent of the quasi-official leaders are black.

All the social classes to which the farmers attach clear meaning contain persons of different colours.

It is often said that influential men in Jamaica have a tendency to “raise” or “improve” the colour by marrying girls of lighter complexion. Our figures show that this tendency is very slight in the Christiana Area.

Of the male folk culture leaders, approximately 67% married girls of their own colour, whereas about 50% of the quasi-official leaders did the same. Of these last mentioned leaders approximately 16% are lighter than their wives, whereas about 27% are darker than their wives.

There are certain aspects of the class system which merit special attention by the extension officer.

In the first place he should know that in a stratified society there is a tendency for each stratum to imitate the behaviour of the stratum above. For this reason, it may be efficient policy to teach new farming practices first to the higher class of farmers.

In the second place he should be aware of the fact that the farmers are very sensitive to status placements. In such a social atmosphere, the extension officer may make good use of status symbols such as titles, awards, medals and certificates. In order to avoid strengthening the already strong feeling of jealousy, this should be done on a relatively non-competitive basis. This local sensitive-
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ness to status should also be taken into consideration when forming groups (see chapter VI, Section a).

Another consequence of a class system is that the people tend to choose as friends persons having a social status similar to their own. People have their most intimate social contacts as a rule within their own stratum. Extension officers should take this social phenomenon into consideration when organising farmers into work groups.

In any discussion of stratification a word or two must be said about mobility. In an article on social mobility in rural Jamaica, Collins shows that fragmentation of landholdings resulting from rapid increase in population promotes downward social mobility among the small farmers. The teaching profession, however, offers a channel of upward social mobility to these small farmers.

To get one or two children through the Teachers’ Training College, the small farmer often has to make great sacrifices, but as a reward his social status will rise with the prestige his children obtain from being teachers.

By way of summary, we repeat what has been said in the beginning of this section, viz., that Kingston gives a curiously one-sided picture of Jamaican stratification in that it contains a dense mixture of the entire class range with an unusually high proportion of middle status persons. Again, colour emphases, which are unmistakable in the urban situation and which rank high among the background factors to certain class placements, normally have far less significance in rural areas where the members of any community tend to be very largely of the same physical type. Consequently, the extension worker must recondition himself as he moves from city to country. The pre-suppositions, attitudes and expectations which are good working guides in the town are liable to be severely misleading in the country. For reasons which have been already set out, the extension worker needs to realise also that cleavages within the community population along class lines can influence acceptance of his message. If his contacts are primarily with the better off, the better educated or, as it is sometimes called, the "higher" or "opposite 'sex' (sects)”, then the people whom his work is pri-

THE TEACHER

arily designed to influence may feel that he does not want to have much to do with them, and may tend to practise discreet evasion. If, on the other hand, he directs himself wholeheartedly to the poorer folk, he must remember that this is also liable to be misinterpreted by others as well as by the people themselves.

An extension worker’s business is not to change the local class system, but to know it, to use it positively where possible to promote his work; and always to be aware of its possible influence on the response to his activities.

(h) THE TEACHER IN RURAL JAMAICA

by

Dr. Sydney Collins

(Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh).

(1) The Historical Setting

The history of the present system of education in Jamaica may be traced to the arrival of the first British colonists in the island after it had fallen to the English in 1665. It was a very faint beginning, however, since little interest was then shown in education and consequently only slight progress made. This was the period of slavery with two main social classes — the white masters and their black slaves — constituting the society, although later a significant though small middle group consisting of the 'mixed bloods' emerged. The colonists were for the most part of an inferior social category, and they had little or no regard for education. The few who had some interest, and who could afford it, sent their sons to schools in England, while their daughters were given local tuition of an inferior kind. A few 'free schools' existed and were attended by some 'mixed bloods' and children of poor whites, but these institutions were of poor educational quality. A number of bequests were made for the building of schools, but most of these were unscrupulously misappropriated.
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With the status of education so low, we are not surprised that the teacher was given such a poor position in the island. An eighteenth century historian writing at the time stated, "The office of a teacher is looked upon as contemptible, and no gentleman looks upon one of that character. . . . A man of any parts or learning that would employ himself in that business would be despised and starve."

It was not until about the eighteen-thirties that a remarkable new development in education began in Jamaica. This was the period of intensive missionary activity, and of apprenticeship and emancipation. For the first time, through the efforts of missionaries, elementary education became available to the Negro masses. This new revolution created the need for many more schools, and for the training of local teachers to supplement those being sent over from Britain.

The setting up of teacher training institutions such as Mico and Shortwood went a long way towards meeting this need. Nevertheless, there still remained far too many inadequately trained persons who were being used to teach the vastly expanding school population, with the consequence that the general standard of the teaching personnel and of the work in the schools was very low indeed. Another serious problem which was bound to affect educational progress was the depressed economic position into which the island had fallen. Agricultural output had lessened a great deal following the trek of the Negroes from the plantations. As a consequence of seasons of drought, there had been a fall in the staple produce of the island, sugar, which ushered in a new poverty and social discontent and came to a climax in the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865.

There were far reaching effects on the educational system as on other aspects of the social services arising out of this revolt. Grants-in-aid to schools were regulated and increased; assistant inspectors of schools were appointed; an Office of Education was established and the number of elementary schools increased. Despite these improvements the number of teachers remained inadequate, and the quality of their work was often poor. The Superintending Inspector of Schools writing at the time remarked; "the real explanation of the low character of the schools is that teachers are for the most part utterly incompetent, and men become teachers from courses with which their knowledge or aptitude to teach has nothing whatever to do." Marked improvements in the efficiency of the teacher were to follow. In 1882 pupil teachers were for the first time collectively examined; and two years later the first government examination of teachers and students in training colleges was held.

Towards the end of the century the Jamaican Union of Teachers was founded; this was one of the most important events in the history of education and the teaching profession in the island. Partly through its activities, the social and economic position of the teacher has been raised considerably, and educational facilities have enormously improved. Progress has continued and has reached a new peak with the turn of the second half of the present century. The considerably revised educational system with its greatly improved facilities has brought new advantages to the teacher. At the same time, rapid changes in the social, economic and political life of the country have brought fresh and disturbing challenges to the role that the teacher must now play in the new society.

(2) Recruitment and Social Mobility of Teachers

Most elementary schools teachers in Jamaica are recruited from the class of small peasant farmers and tradesmen. The teaching profession enjoys a measure of social prestige and also gives a position of economic security. Moreover, it is a channel of further mobility into positions of higher prestige and power. A high proportion of Jamaican politicians as well as a number of persons in a wide range of occupations are recruited from these teachers. The following tables, based on studies which I made in 1954 and 1956 illustrate these points:
| Table 1. Occupations of Fathers of 35 Mico students |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Cultivator    | Cultivator-Tradesman | Clerical or Business | Others |
| 16            | 12              | 5               | 1 Labourer |
|               |                 |                 | 1 Engineer |

| Table 2. Occupational Mobility of male students entering the training college, 1929-1949 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of students admitted to College | Emigrants or persons leaving College before qualifying | Clergy, Law and Medicine | Civil Service | Welfare and Agricultural Officer | College, Secondary or Tech. School Staff | Officer or Administrator in Education Department | Special | Total leaving Primary Schools for other occupations | No. remaining as Primary Teachers |
| 492 | 25 | 5 | 3 | 39 | 18 | 56 | 10 | 5 | 111 | 356 |

| Table 3. Educational Mobility of trained Male primary-school teachers, 1929-1949 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. of students admitted to Training College | No. passing Lon. Univ. Matriculation or Higher School Cert. after admission to College | No. at University | No. graduated from a University | Total |
| 492 | 72 | 21 | 26 | 119 |

| Table 4. Scale of Tenure of 155 Elementary School Teachers |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Teachers by Sex & Status | Number | No. of years taught in each School |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Head: Male | 40 | 1 | 53 | 32 | 16 | 12 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 1 |
| Female | 15 | 2 | 9 | 19 | 8 | 1 | - | 8 | 8 | 2 |
| Assistant: Female | 100 | 3 | 259 | 124 | 40 | 21 | 15 | 30 | 9 | 1 |
RURAL JAMAICA

Each year, of the 12,000 or so pupils from elementary schools who sit the Jamaica Local Examinations, less than 10% are successful, and only about 100 of these are admitted to the Teachers’ Training College. Until recently, competition to enter the teaching profession was keen; but more recently the male training college is finding it increasingly difficult to find suitable recruits owing to other occupational attractions and the heavy emigration to the United Kingdom.

On completing a training course the teacher seeks a school and community in which his skill will be most effectively employed and by which he may advance his personal status. As a result of this search, some teachers are exceedingly mobile, as the preceding table shows.

During the first quarter of the present century, a number of teachers sought promotion by emigrating to the United States of America, to teach or to further their training to become doctors, dentists, etc. With the subsequent closing of this channel of immigration, the tendency has been for some teachers to obtain leave to pursue further studies in the United Kingdom and then later to obtain promotion in the teaching profession or in some other branch of the educational system. At the same time, the economic rewards offered to the teacher have greatly improved. Over the last twenty-five years teachers’ salaries in all grades have nearly trebled. The system of grading teachers and schools has also been reorganised to the advantage of teachers. New types of schools, Senior and Vocational, as well as Secondary Schools, are offering higher prestige jobs to primary school teachers. An increasing number are also moving into the Extension Services which offer better economic and social rewards, with the result that the shortage of male teachers in the island threatens to become acute.

(3) The Quadrangle

The school may be considered as functioning within a quadrangle with the teacher, manager, Education Department and the community, each representing one of its angles. The teacher’s success often depends not only on his performance in the schoolroom, but also on his ability to comply with the requirements of his manager, the community and the Education Department, each of whom exercises some degree of control over him. Since most elementary schools are denominational, they usually fall under the management of a minister of religion. This situation has given rise to the anomaly whereby the minister employs the teacher whose salary is, nonetheless, paid by the Government. The manager has the power to dismiss the teacher, although, owing to the agitation and pressure exercised by the J.U.T., these powers of dismissal have been curtailed.

The relationship between teacher and clergyman-manager has been subjected to increasing stress due to the teacher’s resentment of religious duties which he has often been expected to perform. There is also the fact that the Church and clergy have lost much of their control over the society which has become more secular in outlook. Increases in teachers’ salaries have also placed a large number of teachers in a superior economic position to that of their managers, with consequent reluctance to accept the latter’s authority.

The teacher’s position vis-a-vis the Education Department has likewise changed considerably. Organisation of the Jamaica Union of Teachers was the first major move by teachers in a series of successful attempts to improve their positions with the Education Department. Their entry into politics as well as into improved positions in the Education Department has given them increasing control over the system that shapes the policies governing their profession.

As regards the teacher and the community, first there is the relationship between parents and teachers, and secondly, between teachers and the community at large. The Jamaica peasant does not consider the teacher’s work as confined to the school, but rather he is expected to operate in a unitary sphere including both school and community. His role as a teacher consists of differentiated tasks as leader of various community organisations, as well as tutor in the classroom. It follows that the teacher’s
achievement is measured only in part on the basis of his performance in the classroom. The rest depends on his activities in community organisations. In this position, the teacher is expected to behave according to the highest moral code.

Rapid changes in the structure of Jamaica are having profound effects on the status of the rural teacher. A number of new organisations, including those of the Extension Services and the political parties, have emerged, with many new leaders, some paid, others voluntary. Consequently, the teacher’s leadership is becoming increasingly less indispensable. However, the teacher’s services are no less needed by these organisations in rural areas. Whereas before he was leader of virtually all these organisations, now there is the tendency to ask him to train and supervise others for leadership. Through the redistribution of leadership roles in the community, the teacher who once monopolized these positions now tends to lose some of his prestige. He now deals with a community more informed as a result of the influence of the radio, travel and new organisations, so that the educational gap between himself and his community has been considerably lessened.

In this rapidly changing situation we are not surprised that the teacher is no longer certain of his status in the community. One result is the recent drift from the profession. The teacher must now redefine his role in his changing society. Sydney Collins.

(i) Family Organisation

In most agricultural areas of the world, the family is an intimate social unit, the members of which co-operate to make a living. This is also the case in Jamaica. The household is the fundamental unit in the rural economic system. A farmer needs a woman as an economic partner. She looks after his meals and assists in agricultural work and in marketing. “When crab no hab hole, him nebber get fat”.

A peculiar aspect of the Jamaican lower class family organisation, however, is that more than one type of family can be distinguished.

The constitution of household groups in rural Jamaica is partially a function of the division of economic labour between the sexes, and it is partially a reflection of social and cultural ideals about mating and family organisation. The degree to which these ideals are realised is reflected in the constitution of any particular household, and this in turn tends to reflect the economic and social circumstances of the adult members of the unit concerned. Stability in family organisation and mating patterns presumes a fair degree of stability in occupational pursuits and a reasonable level of income. Instability of mating, family organisation and residential patterns tends to reflect occupational instability and low income levels. It is a mistake to think that the family organisation can be reduced solely to economic factors; but economic conditions give a useful clue to their understanding.

Differences in the degree to which the ideal of the stable monogamous union is realised promote different types and levels of family organisation, and these in turn present different opportunities and problems for extension work.

We can consider two extreme types of family pattern to indicate the range of forms which will be found in any rural community, (1) the ideal monogamous unit, established before the birth of children and lasting till death; and (2) family forms in which one or more adult females live with children by a series of different progenitors, none of whom resides with them. The “disorganisation” of the second family pattern consists simply in its deviance from the ideal family form; but the ideal family form may not work well in the types of economic situation in which, as a norm, one finds children living with their mothers or mothers’ kin only. Similarly, this deviant type of grandmother or single-mother unit cannot normally function well in those conditions which require a monogamous family form; some evidence on this point is known to all in the case histories of different widowhoods or adjustments after divorce.
Between these two extreme types, the Christian family form and the “fatherless” family form, there are a host of intermediary forms which reflect the differing individual circumstances and economic situations which have promoted their development as adjustments. If we recognise that some range of possible family types is logically implicit in the notion of an ideal family type, then the family forms which confront us will cease to puzzle, and can be grouped into relatively intelligent patterns which allow classification and differential treatment by extension agencies.

The moral aspect of mating and kinship behaviour receives a special prominence in countries like Jamaica which contain a wide variety of family and mating patterns, all apparently in competition with one another. Deviation from an ideal is itself a condition promoting moralisation, since the ideal, if held, has obligatory implications.

The extension field worker must recognise these features of the rural family, and should explore their special significance for his or her work; but he or she would be wise to concentrate on the understanding of the elements of family organisation and the manipulation of conditions which may bring about changes of organisation; and should certainly avoid simple moralisation about field facts.

For instance, mating is permissive in rural areas where the notion of celibacy finds very little popular support; but the offspring of extra-legal mating cannot simply be classified as illegitimates in the literal sense of the word, since this notion also is marginal to the folk who practise pre-marital matings, often without cohabitation. The sort of attention which is usually devoted to mating and seeks to place it within proper religious or legal contexts might be more rewardingly directed to the improvement of household economic conditions, since in rural Jamaica, marriages tend to be postponed until favourable economic conditions permit their solemnization.

Country folk conceive of marriage as a status change marking maturity or ripeness, something appropriate to the late middle age rather than to early manhood or womanhood. The status transition which terminates adolescence for both sexes is parenthood; the status transition which marks maturity in social, economic and age contexts is, ideally, marriage. The achievement of marriage in itself indicates to these people a fair level of individual success in discharging one’s social and economic roles. For this reason country folk lay heavy stress on such status-symbolic features associated with marriage as the change of name, the address terms of Mr., Mrs., and the like; and this status differentiation ideally extends to the more or less total withdrawal of the wife from hired employment.

These uneconomic attributes of the marital status are sometimes wasteful or harmful for the individuals concerned. But the welfare or extension worker addressing his efforts towards such people is well advised to understand the inexplicit status bases and functions of these uneconomic patterns to which the people cling so tenaciously; more can be achieved if the officer addresses his efforts towards those opportunities which are permitted for female employment pursuits within the framework imposed by marriage.

In fact the subsistence and exchange economies which co-exist in our rural areas, and which are especially significant for the peasantry, necessitate cohabitation of male and female within common domestic units for economic reasons as much as any other. In order to cultivate his home plot and engage in cash earning activities, a man requires a help-mate who will look after him and his home; and who will also undertake the marketing of such provisions as are surplus to his domestic requirements. Simultaneously, the woman, during her child-bearing period especially, requires a cash and kind income larger than she can normally realise solely by her own efforts. Consequently, cohabitation is far more common among our peasant folk of 25 years and more than is the extra-residential type of mating which approximates to an affair. Instabilities of these common-law unions reflect personal incompatibilities, or changing economic and social conditions of household adults, or similar sets of factors. There is therefore nothing specially perplexing or difficult to un-
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understand in the form and functioning of these informal mating relations, or in the “deviant” types of family which arise from them. In each individual case the short cut to understanding is to relate the family to the changing economic and social conditions which provide its context, taking account of the age of the household members, the land available to them, their occupational pursuits, migrancy, income levels, numbers of children and the like.

In Jamaica the social role assigned to married women derives its content from the middle class West European Christian type of family of some generations ago. The wife is supposed to be dependent on the husband; she is not supposed to have any occupation other than that of a housewife. Marriage is certainly, in the eyes of the rural woman, a respectable status; but given the social and economic situation of the countryside, most wives cannot discharge this role properly. In the first place, the economic position of the lower class man is so unstable that a woman cannot depend too much on her husband’s earnings. It is often necessary for her to have some occupation of her own. The lower class woman, moreover, prefers to remain as independent as possible, and for reasons of self-protection, she keeps her own earnings, and has her own savings box.

This state of relative independence is most commonly found in common-Law marriage. When a woman is not legally married, her life is not so closely knit with that of her “sweetheart” as is the rule in a Christian marriage. Not only is there a difference of social role between the middle and upper class married woman, and the woman who lives “sweetheart life” but the wedding has also a different function, at different social levels. For one class, its function is to bind an obligation and give stability to a union; for the other, it is a means of status and prestige attainment.1

This is one reason why the institution of “Mass Weddings” sponsored by upper and middle class people was

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not very successful. In the “Mass Weddings”, the sponsors provide the ring, sometimes a dress for the bride, and also pay the marriage fee. So, materially, it was made rather easy to marry; but, socially, there still remained some difficulties, because couples whose financial means are considered to be insufficient are not expected to marry. If they do, they invite ridicule.

The simplest and most convenient classification of domestic family or household units is according to the sexes of the household heads, and the relationships which link dependent members to the household heads. Normally, but not always, when a man lives with a woman, she accords him formal headship of the household, and, often enough, attempts to interview the wife, without her husband or common-law husband having given his permission, may lead to frustrating experiences for the interviewer both then and thereafter. Another simple classification directs attention to the presence or absence of collateral kinsfolk of the household head or his spouse within the unit.

Where a woman brings her kinsfolk or issue by other males into the domestic unit, it is a clear indication of her importance and weight in the structure. This may be a good guide to the location of effective control in households containing a man and his wife or common law wife.

Family structure is a sociological condition which deserves the interest of extension workers. There is a tendency on the part of the Jamaican farmer’s wife to be independent. In many farm families in the Jamaican countryside, husband, wife and child each work a piece of land for his or her self. “Mother has, father has, happy the child that has his own” is a popular saying. In 33 out of 40 districts studied in mid-Jamaica, it was frequently observed that husband, wife and child each work a plot for themselves. There is a tendency for everybody to want to help himself. Housewives like to own some money themselves and to have their own savings. One of the ways by which a housewife obtains some money of her own is to keep part of the returns of produce sold for her husband.
Compared with the European farmer's family, the position of the father in rural Jamaica is weakly defined, even relatively uncertain. In many cases his wages are insufficient to support the family. All members of a small farmer's (labourer's) family have to work as soon as they can; and it appears that as soon as the wife or a child has an income of her or his own, their position in the family is strengthened. The social role of the father, that is, the behaviour which is expected from him in certain situations, is not a very clearly defined one in Jamaica. According to some old fashioned middle class norms, he tries to be a patriarchal head of the family, but in many families a woman (mother or granny) actually is the head of the family. The man's behaviour as a father is often characterised by uncertainty as to his paternal obligation and role. Preparation of the child for a future occupation is not ideally supposed to take place in the family, and a large percentage of farmers do not want their children to become farmers. The farmer (father) does not regard himself as a good example for his child, because he feels his life (at least, his economic occupation) to be a failure. He tries to compensate for his failure by being a hard ruler, with the result however that a relatively wide gap is built up between the generations, especially between father and son. His very authoritative behaviour is unacceptable to adolescents.

Generation differences between father and son are so heavily emphasized that they become status differences. This emphasis pushes the young men into a group of their own, away from home and from the group of their fathers, one of the results being that it is very difficult for the older men to recruit labour from the younger generation. This tension may also act as a barrier to the communication of farm practices, because under the given circumstances, it is very unlikely that a new idea taught to the youths will spread upward to the older men. Another consequence of harsh discipline towards children may be early rebellion or evasion of discipline on the part of the children, with the boys becoming morose, delinquent and withdrawn, and the girls becoming pregnant.

The extension officer who is also agricultural teacher in an elementary school may use the custom of allotting each child a small piece of land to cultivate in an educational way. When every school-boy has his own plot, where he does experiments, e.g. with fertilizers, and reports on his experiments in the agricultural lessons, a scientific, experimental outlook may be gradually developed in the minds of the coming generation.

It might also be quite effective if every country school had a plot of, say, 10 to 15 acres on which boys between the ages of 12 and 15 who are agriculturally minded could practise scientific agriculture under the guidance of the extension officer. This could be done in co-ordination with the head teacher of the school, who might himself learn a great deal from the extension officer.

Although family instability is probably not as great among Jamaican small farmers as is generally supposed, there are still many problems which face the members of the peasant family. That is why a consultation bureau on family problems might be useful. One of the most urgent tasks for such a bureau would be to enlighten the farmers' women on family planning.

One of the real human tragedies of rural life in the West Indies is that so many children are not wanted either by their parents or by government. Most young couples would probably like to limit the number of children in order to live at a higher level and to give their children more attention and a better education. However, after say six years of married life, women come to the conclusion that they are powerless to stop the regular flow of births, and often give expression to their feelings of powerlessness by such expressions as "it is God's Will"; "We should not interfere with nature"; "Having children is good for health"; and so on.

At the time when a woman is most powerless, that is, at the birth of her child, her best and dearest friend is the old Nana; and she believes the Nana when she says, after investigating the umbilical cord, that she "has to have her number". Consciously or unconsciously, these old Nanas encourage the women to bear children; indeed without the
task of caring for the mother and baby, their social role and accompanying prestige would be considerably reduced. If the social welfare village instructor or district nurse could take over the role of the Nana, could help the mother and cheer her up, she would become the farmwife’s help in time of trouble, and could therefore influence the mother effectively.

In the countryside, attitudes towards family planning vary from definite rejection to definite acceptance; but those who are in favour of family planning now probably form the majority. That is why the writers believe that family planning clinics in the townships and larger villages in the countryside would be well used and regularly consulted, especially if influential local folk were prepared to support the work of these clinics.

The greatest service which government, the Social Welfare Commission or any organisation can render the country woman of Jamaica at this moment is to assist her in controlling the number of children she bears to suit her own desires.

(j) Wider Kinship Groupings

We call a man’s household, his wife or mate and his children, his domestic or immediate family. His uncles, aunts, cousins and remote kin form his extended kin-group, his wider family. A man’s kinsfolk include his relatives through his mother and father; and in so far as either of his parents had children by other mates, these half-brothers and half-sisters are also his kin.

The kinship situation of adults becomes more specific and individual through mating, when a person’s kinship relations extend to include the closer kinsfolk of his or her spouse. At this stage, the extended kinsfolk may be different even for children whose parents are cohabiting; and these differences of personnel in the extended or wider kinship units of different individuals, even full brothers or sisters (siblings), are marked and underlined by differences in and emphases on individual obligations towards separate household units. Each man or woman is responsible for the separate subsistence of their own family, and the preoccupations which these over-riding claims impose tend to limit the economic effectiveness of relationships with brothers, cousins and other kin.

These collateral relationships with brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles and aunts are none the less important as safeguards against destitution in illness, and also for the alternative accommodation with which they may provide a person’s children. In favourable circumstances where no disputes between kinsfolk have occurred, assistance from such kin can be expected in farming, house-buildings and ceremonial activities such as marriage, at funerals, and so forth. But the emphasis which country folk attach to the discharge of these obligations of extended kinship cannot be entirely reduced to their insurance functions, important though these are. These obligations also reflect the communal character of rural society with its pressure against individual differentiation and social mobility.

Naturally enough, kinship effectiveness varies with proximity or distance. The most effective and intimately linked kin are those sharing common households. The least effective and intimately linked kin are those living at the greatest distance from one another. Within the community there are many strands of kinship linking and cutting across household units in a variety of directions and with various effects, some promoting conflict, others co-operation, yet other relationships being unpatterned or almost indifferent.

When one compares the strength of attachments to kinsfolk on the father’s side as against those on the mother’s side, it is immediately apparent that the more intimate categories of kinship are traced through one’s mother and through women only, although the father exercises formal authority within domestic unions. Especially where paternity obligations are not effectively discharged, kinship through women provides a wide range of alternative accommodations for children and their mothers. Sometimes women are found in households headed by husbands of their cousins; sometimes in house-
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holds headed by some woman who is a member of their mother’s family.

(k) Religion

In the following three sections, we shall discuss religion and what is generally called superstition together. Before proceeding, it seems relevant to ask ourselves whether religion and superstition are two things which are clearly distinct from each other. This depends, as a matter of fact, on how these concepts are defined.

If superstition is defined as religious beliefs or practices surviving from the past and lacking the sanction of the prevailing religious systems, it is very difficult to distinguish superstition from religion in the spiritual life of the Jamaican peasants. The Bible, the fundamental book of our Christian religion, takes sorcery, visions, prophesies and spirits for granted. The lower class Jamaican who believes in obeah has many biblical quotations at hand on which to base his belief. In the spiritual atmosphere of the country, magic, Christianity and faith-healing are all important and inter-related.

Advertisements in the papers, broadcasts and even news items, e.g., about H. M. Queen Juliana of the Netherlands consulting a faith healer, lend some support to the practice of faith healing in a variety of forms as carried on by various types of healers. For instance, there is spiritualism and astrology, and there are hundreds of churches which speak about supernatural things in a language which can only be partly understood by the churchgoers, and in which reasoning according to the rules of logic is more the exception than rule. Many farmers plant their crops on dates prescribed in McDonald’s Farmers Almanac, an astrological publication.

The religion of the lower class West Indian, the pocomania-obeah complex, is a mixture of West African and West European elements. The reader, who wishes detailed information on this West Indian folk religion is advised to consult the December 1956 issue of the journal “Social and Economic Studies”, in which Professor George E. Simpson published an interesting study on “Jamaican Revivalist Cults” (Vol. 5, No. 4).

The Moravian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Anglican, Congregational and other churches, which have been long and well established, are described in the country as the “recognised churches”. These churches are located in villages where they usually have a faithful crowd of followers from different social classes.

Generally speaking, among rural folk, church attendance is very irregular especially for males, but on special occasions, such as harvest thanksgiving, at Easter or on Christmas Day, large crowds gather at the recognised churches and this shows that these institutions occupy an important position in rural life. However, for reasons discussed above (see Section b), religious sects and cults are very common among the lower class farmers.

In Professor Simpson’s paper, quoted above, a distinction is made between sects and cults. Sects are said to emphasize individual regeneration. The Sect stresses literal obedience, individual perfection and asceticism, tends to be radical, has a small, voluntary membership which lacks continuity, is either hostile or indifferent to the state, is lay religion, and is usually associated with the lower classes. The Cult is characterised by small size, search for a mystical experience, presence of a charismatic leader, is short-lived and often local. Although some of the characteristics just mentioned in these definitions do not apply to sects and cults in Jamaica, this classification may be said to apply broadly to Jamaican conditions. The small local Churches of God in the country parts of the island, which are to be considered as sects, stress asceticism, whereas the revivalist and pocomania cults are more characterised by mystical experiences, by ecstasy.

In our discussion of the impact of poverty on man and society, we have tried to relate religious practices to social needs and frustrations. Whether such an explanation is satisfactory or not, it is a fact that the countryside is overrun with small religious groups, pocomania and revivalist groups and assemblies known as Churches of God. Only 7 of the 40 contiguous districts investigated in central Ja-
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maica had no local revivalist or pocomania group at all; while 18 of these districts had 2 or more of these small churches apiece. In more than half of these 40 districts 50% or more of the inhabitants attend revivalist and pocomania meetings every now and then, according to estimates given by at least three well informed interviewees in each district. In 26 out of the 40 districts the percentage of inhabitants attending pocomania meetings is probably higher than the percentage of inhabitants regularly going to the so called recognised churches. In two districts the percentages of churchgoers and cultists (based on the estimates of individuals living in these areas) were about equal.

All or at least the majority of these small churches provide their congregations with a much needed emotional outlet. They satisfy the longing of the people to band themselves into groups of an intimate nature and to have a feeling of belonging to some group of “sisters” and “brothers” led by a “mother” or “father”. Note here the use of these intimate family terms to emphasize the solidarity of group relations. Furthermore, these small churches provide opportunities and forms of recreation. Some “bands” even go for outings by truck all over the island, making visits to other revivalist groups.

We may deduce that improved economic conditions and social amenities will in time reduce the number of sects and cults and the number of followers of these small religious bodies. It is, at any rate, a fact that the Netherlands Antilles with their prosperity based on oil contain nothing like pocomania and very little obeah.

For a better understanding of the popularity of the revivalist churches the concept of social roles can be useful. When a person acts in a certain social position he plays, or is supposed to play, a certain role. This is very clear, for example, in the case of the behaviour of the shop assistant. When this young lady is chatting with her colleague behind the counter she acts quite differently from when she is addressing a customer. In relation to her superior she again behaves differently. The role she will play in each of these different situations is more or less predictable; otherwise she would lose her job. Such roles as employee, friend, saleslady and others such as chairman, father, policeman and the like, are social roles, because they are socially determined and obligatory patterns of behaviour.

In the countryside, the churchgoer regularly attending one of the recognised churches is expected to behave in a certain way, to be reserved, to dress up nicely, to wear shoes and to put some money in the collection plate; besides that, he or she should be able to read the hymns and follow the service in his prayer-book. All churchgoers try to fulfill these roles, but they do not always feel comfortable, as they are not all sure of playing their role well. As the proverb says, some feel like the fowl, which “caan’ go a pr’yer meeting cause him no hab no knee fe kneel down”.

The member’s role in the meeting houses of the revivalist groups is a completely different one from that required in churches. The meeting houses of these revivalist cults have a much more intimate and homely atmosphere than the churches. People go there barefooted and in their daily clothes. They are free to express themselves as they like. The small board and thatched meeting houses in the rural districts are often called “God’s Poor People’s Churches”.

George E. Simpson’s study on revivalist cults quoted above, contains an interesting functional analysis of these “poor people’s churches”. Simpson’s analysis, in which no sharp distinction is made between the religion and magic in revivalism, can be summarised as follows.

1. Revivalists find emotional release in magico-religious thoughts and rituals. Vigorous, and at times almost violent activity provides relief from the frustrations which go with economic and political inferiority, and this other-world compensation function has great adjustment value. Conjuring, whether effective or not, may serve as an outlet for some of the individual’s aggressive im-
pulses, and gives him the feeling that he is doing something about his troubles.

2. Revivalist ceremonies offer many opportunities for self-expression through singing, dancing, playing a drum, shaking a rattle, handclapping, praying aloud, reading a Bible "lesson" etc. Some individuals gain recognition through holding such offices as Leader, Mother, Elder etc.

3. Devotees receive advice and counsel from the leader, as well as friendship and affection from fellow members.

4. Although some healing practices are undoubtedly injurious, it may be that beneficial treatments are obtained from healers. The physical contact between leader and patient, the emotional stimulus given by the leader's presence, and the interest, encouragement and moral support of fellow believers are important elements in the "recovery" of the ill.

5. Mutual aid functions of revivalism are limited largely to providing assistance in serious emergencies.

6. The artistic aspects of revivalism are seen in the music (singing and drumming), in the arrangement of the "tables" (candles, flowers, fruits etc.), and in the decoration of the churches.

7. The recreational functions are mainly in the entertainment and enjoyment which the meetings themselves provide. Occasional outings are arranged.

8. Revivalism provides its devotees with a meaningful world view, that is, with explanations of the powerful natural phenomena of the universe, human origins, the nature of God and the spirits, the purpose of life, life after death, and other basic questions.

9. Mystic experiences, identification with archangels and other spirits through possession is regarded by many as the supreme religious experience.

10. Revivalist doctrines justify common-law marriage and temporary unions, the prevailing marital arrangements among lower-class Jamaicans. Revivalism, like all religions, functions to establish interaction within the family and the community following major life crises.
organise only for co-operative efforts in evangelism and missions”.

It is not surprising that some of these ideas appeal to the leaders and followers of the religious sects in Jamaica’s countryside. The “simplicity of the New Testament pattern of democratic brotherhood” rarely lacks appeal for people who worship in such a simple environment as a revivalist meeting house. People who find it difficult to act the role of church-goer properly will heartily accept the view that churchgoing is unnecessary or irrelevant to salvation. Salvation through faith is one of the goals of economically frustrated people, as we saw in discussing poverty (Section b, above).

Informal definition of membership must also appeal to people who are not inclined towards formal group life (see Section e, above).

These Churches of God, which give their congregations an opportunity to demonstrate their emotions by clapping and otherwise, are highly attractive to the lower class people. Such people often claim that the recognised churches (Anglican, Moravian and so on) “keep their members down”.

The growing influence of the Church of God movement may later have important social effects, in view of the fact that the Churches of God are very strict on marriages. It appears that they do not allow their followers to live the “sweetheart life”. Some Church of God people are ascetics: they do not smoke, do not drink, do not dance, and regard every form of worldly recreation as bad. This ascetic attitude may, after some time, have economic consequences, especially when it is combined with the idea that a hard working and sober life is a good thing in the eyes of the Lord. Another economic aspect of the Church of God movement is the custom of keeping fast days, preferably on week days (Monday or Thursday). These fast days are spent in the church and no work is done during the fast.

Those who are specially concerned with social and economic conditions in the country parts of Jamaica would do well to watch the development of the Church of God movement closely, and could perhaps try to support this movement without making it into another middle or upper class business.

Well-established local churches of God could, perhaps, be given the right to have a marriage officer attached to them.

(1) Magic

Magic is the belief that a human being can produce a certain effect by the coercion of supernatural forces, as through certain manipulations. An essential element of magic and one which differentiates it from religion is that magic claims to give man control over the supernatural. When the manipulations essential for the achievement of a certain end have been executed in the proper way, the magical effect must follow automatically. In some cases magic supports the belief that a human being is able by sheer act of will to change undesirable situations such as sickness; but it also supports belief which cause anxiety because of the constant danger of being obeahed. In fact obeah creates much trouble and hatred, much mistrust in the community. Sometimes family feuds of long duration are the result of obeah practices allegedly performed by one member of the one family against another. It is evident that extension officers who want to organise groups cannot ignore the existence of obeah (in the minds of the people) and should know which members of the community are on hostile terms.

Obeah is often attributed to and practised against people who have improved their economic status or condition and have begun to prosper. People who openly aspire to better themselves (“fly high”) are often condemned for doing so; popular feeling is against them and wants to see them brought back to earth: “Independent John Crow fly high, but neber min', one day him fedder will drop”. Many country folk believe this downfall can be effected by obeah. Obeah is commonly directed against persons of low status who are also envied. It appears that there is not much envy against people who belong
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to families which have been relatively well-to-do for a long time.

Envy is also the reason why many people take others to court for trivial reasons. Envy also gives rise to defamation and slander. The idea is that a fine and the payment of the costs of the lawsuit will set the other party a step back in life. Such litigation is very prevalent in places where people are always pulling against each other.

Too much of the poor man’s money disappears into the pockets of the obeah-man and the lawyer. Lawyers often accept trivial cases which apparently aim at “fixing somebody up”. Some lawyers have their agents in various districts and these agents may stimulate the people to go to court when it is not really necessary. “Lawyer look pon neyger with one yeye, but him look pon him pocket with two”.

An important unwitting co-worker of the obeahman is often the druggist who has high prestige and is addressed as “Doctor” or “doc”. The druggist sells the oils and powders prescribed by the obeahman, and he himself often has a profound knowledge of obeah. Druggists may easily deceive the people by selling worthless liquids for purposes of obeah.

Through the schools, education can make a frontal attack on obeah. The subject should be openly discussed with the children. But one difficulty is that many a teacher believes in obeah himself, for some religious beliefs of rural middle class people are much the same as those of the sects they despise; they may be fundamentalists and have a deep belief in miracles. Many middle class people turn to the faith-healer when the doctor’s medicine fails.

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Too much should not be expected from the measures just suggested. Obeah is, like so many other phenomena in these rural areas, closely linked up with poverty. Improvement of economic conditions is the only true “oil of turnback”, which will persuade those country people who are the obeahman’s real victims to turn their backs on this sort of thing.

(m) Healing

The term “healing” is used in this paragraph to contrast certain practices with the medical work of a trained physician. This healing is in many cases linked up with obeah, for if it is true that a man gets ill because a duppy has been set on him, then the obeahman or the ‘balmyard’ healer and not the doctor is the right person to give advice. This kind of healing has to be distinguished from faith healing. In case of illness, many people go back to their revival group, where the brothers and sisters pray for them in the name of the Lord Jesus. The elder lays his hands on the head and shoulders of the patient, prays, applies olive oil and asks Jesus to heal the patient. If no result is achieved, the elder “uses wisdom” and sends his patient to the doctor, as a general practitioner might send his patients to a specialist in some cases.

The proverb that “far-away fowl hab fine fedder” applies truly to the balmyard healer, since he is mostly visited by people from outside districts, whereas the people from his own district visit the balms in other places. The faith healer and local preacher is, however, a person of some authority in his own community. Leaders of revivalist groups have to win a certain level of popular confidence before they can successfully indulge in faith healing. All types of healers, however, both balmyard healers and faith healers or preachers, have influence on the rural population. The extension officer must be aware of these influences.

Jamaican law cannot forbid healing directly or simply; Government can only fight this danger to the health of the
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population effectively by providing adequate medical attention for the population at rates which the people can afford. The cost to Government for this service would be considerable indeed, but it may change the mental outlook of our countryfolk more effectively than is possible in any other way.

In Indonesia, the government made use of the influence of the local healers by giving them some medical training: in first aid, nutritional science and so on; it was hoped that these healers would be effective channels through which this information might spread to the population. The sanitary inspector could try to establish an informal relationship with the most outstanding healers which might, perhaps, lead to a more rapid spread of sanitary practices.

The most effective measure to diminish the influence of the healer would be to extend the medical service (more nurses and doctors). In one area studied, for example, the population was roughly 60,000, but there were only 5 medical doctors, who also serve people from other districts. This means that there are at least 12,000 people to one doctor, whereas on the average in Europe there is one doctor to about 950 people.

(n) Death Rituals

When a person has died and is not yet buried, members of the family and friends will spend the night in the house of the deceased. This is called a "wake" or "set-up". At a wake the people sing hymns, read the Bible and quiz each other on religious subjects, while in between food and refreshments are served. When there is sufficient rum, drunkenness is not uncommon. On the ninth night after burial, a big feast is given (the "nine night") sometimes followed by a "forty night". These death rituals serve various functions: they give friends of the family an opportunity to show their sympathy with the bereaved, they keep the ghosts from the house of mourning, they offer a form of entertainment, and promote as well as express solidarity.

DEATH RITUALS

These death rituals are very general among the lower class of our people. To the questions: "Are there, in many cases of death, a wake and ninth night with singing, coffee and rum?", in 37 out of the 40 districts mentioned above the answer was "Yes, frequently".

Middle class people do not consider that it is right for them to be seen at a set-up, but the extension worker can win the sympathy of the poor people through short visits to set-ups for the death of locally important persons or for those with whom he has had some contact.

The extension officer who is always trying to trace local leaders will, in some districts, discover that there are some persons who often act as M.C. at wakes. These persons, "tablemen" (sometimes called readers or captains) lead the singing and the reading of the Bible. They are sometimes nicknamed "nine night Bessie", "nine night Bishop", "Sankey man", or "Brother Mudie".

In concluding this short account of the magico-religious aspects of lower class Jamaican culture it must be stressed that the extension worker has to determine consciously and critically what attitude he will adopt towards these practices. Whatever may be his personal views on pocomania, healing, nine nights, etc., these things are undoubtedly important in the rural communities. Large crowds attend — at a ninth night people from far away districts sometimes come to the house of mourning in groups by trucks.

Pocomania, revivalism, ninth nights and healing are the institutions of a cultural section different from that from which the average extension worker is drawn. That is why the extension worker must self-consciously realise that his own outlook towards these things constitutes both a personal and a social problem.

An extension worker's attitude towards these lower class cultural practices might be that of the cultural missionary who wants to change folk beliefs. In general, however, the extension worker cannot afford to be a cultural missionary, he has to accept the cultural make-up of the people and to work with them through their institutions.
Especially if the reader agrees with what has been written above regarding the impact of poverty on man and society, it will be clear that there is no room for attitudes of superiority in extension activities, but that understanding, tolerance and patience are very much needed.

Illiteracy

The primary object of any agricultural extension service is not merely to construct conservation work, nor to increase the number of citrus plants, nor to improve the quality of bananas for export, but to educate farmers to be better farmers. This has to be done either by child or adult education. An extension service is primarily an educational institution.

Illiteracy falls into the scope of interest of an extension service, because the ability of the people to read and write is a prerequisite for the successful development of extension work.

In many parts of Jamaica, the ability to read and write is not very general. School attendance is also highly irregular. Although school attendance has improved with the introduction of meals for school children, there are still many children who do not go to school regularly, and some who do not go at all, especially in the isolated districts. It appears that some of the parents are unable to find even the few pennies necessary to pay for meals for children at school.

Compulsory education could be introduced, but it may be that such a measure would not be very effective unless certain other measures are taken as well. It might, for example, be necessary to make certain facilities available to those parents who cannot afford to send their children to school. In the meanwhile social workers could visit the homes of the very poor and could advise the authorities what help is necessary in each home. In some rural districts at present, Mothers’ Unions, supplied with cloth by the Jamaica Federation of Women, make clothes for the poorer children, so that they can go to school. Perhaps this and other forms of charity could be organised under a “School the Children” campaign.

Whether such a campaign would succeed depends to a large degree on the value attached to education by the lower classes. The lower class child has many tasks in the home. Girls look after their younger brothers and sisters, and both boys and girls have to do all kinds of small tasks; carrying water, running errands, etc. Many of these children cannot attend school beyond the early grades. Their parents cannot spare them from the home. It may also be that sending his child to school does not hold much attraction for a very small farmer or labourer, as reading and writing is not of much use to him in his daily struggle for life. If the small cultivator could feel sure that his children, if able and intelligent, would have the opportunity to acquire further education, i.e. secondary schooling or training at a Teacher’s College, he might, perhaps, be more interested in sending his children to school, as such higher education would give his children a chance to live a better life than he does himself. Perhaps more scholarships or other incentives are needed to make schoolgoing more attractive. Although something is known of the farmers’ values towards education, more study is wanted here.

Illiteracy cannot be fought successfully in the schools alone. A survey by Mr. Horace Gordon, Literacy Field Officer of the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission, came to the conclusion that part of the illiteracy in Jamaica is due to the fact that there is in existence only very little literature which a boy or girl of a low literacy level could use. The proposed cure includes the provision, within the parish libraries, of simply written reading matter, dealing with things within the living experience of local boys and girls, and also by establishing a system which encourages such persons to take and read this material. In addition, Mr. Gordon has advised that continuation reading classes, using the kind of material just described, should be held at all elementary schools.


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Every extension service is, by its nature, committed to an interest in child education. In areas where most of the children will eventually follow agricultural occupations, education should be permeated in all its phases by agriculture. It is to the advantage of the extension service if school children gain an understanding of plant and animal life and learn to love nature and to protect it. The school can open the eyes of the young people to the responsibilities of man towards nature and natural resources. In this respect the 4H movement, which is well established in many parts of Jamaica, is at present doing a wonderful job. Government is, of course, doing its utmost to bring about an extension and intensification of this 4H work.

The Economic Structure of Rural Communities

Farming is the main industry in rural Jamaica; but farming has many types, and includes many different sorts of activity, occupation, or employment. Sugar plantation, cattle pens, or small holders, or the people who farm with tractors and other mechanised tools are all engaged in agriculture, although their occupations differ. Similarly, some farmers work only for themselves; others sometimes hire themselves out; and there are many people in the country parts who have no farms of their own, even as tenants, but must earn their living by wage work alone.

Apart from farmers, there are many persons with different occupations in the country, shoemakers, shopkeepers, produce dealers, carpenters, masons and the like. Most of these people may also do a little farming for themselves, and occasionally you will find some small traders or craftsmen quite busy with their own specialties, and having little time to spare for their own or any one else’s farms. It is easy to discover the relative importance of these different traders and craftsmen, simply by measuring the time which they give to their own farms, or to other occupations besides these craft and trade specialties. Craft and trade production also falls into several categories, according to the commodities handled or made, and according to the character of employment in the specialty. Some people engage in craft and trade as full time pursuits, either as wage workers, or on their own account; others as part time workers, either on their own account or as wage or commission workers. Many craft and trade activities service agriculture directly, such as produce dealing, blacksmith work, and the like. Many others service the farmers or the community as a whole, such as road making and repair, tailoring, medicine, religion and the like. The number and quality of these non-agricultural specialists in any rural area is an important indicator of the wealth of the district, or its dependence on other activities besides farming. Thus the area around about Bog Walk and Linstead contains many people who earn their living, or part of it, from the factories in the neighbourhood; and the rural areas adjoining the North Coast are becoming increasingly affected by the tourist industry which has grown up there. In the Christiana and Mandeville areas bauxite operations attract many men. And throughout the country one can find districts which differ a great deal in their economic patterns and structure according to their local situation, climatically, in terms of land relief, and in many other ways. In dry areas such as South St. Elizabeth people must store water in tanks, and this in turn gives more employment to masons than in many other districts. Here also certain types of palms grow abundantly, and a straw goods industry has developed around this.

When we talk of the economic structure of a rural population, we do not mean only the numbers or percentages engaged in different types of work, or having land holdings of different size, although these and similar ratios are extremely important. We can discover that sort of data by surveys of the population concerned. But the distribution of the population among occupations of different types, or in terms of different employment statuses, does not itself tell how the economic activities are arranged, or how they affect one another or the population as a whole. The economic structure of a community or social group of any kind is simply the economic aspect of its social structure, that is to say, it is that part of aspect of the
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social system which has to do with the production, distribution, or consumption of economic goods and values.

A survey of eight rural areas in Jamaica in 1955 showed that about 3 in every 4 households were engaged in farming; but that people who farmed on their own account, that is, without taking any wages at all, accounted for less than half the populations. Also, in every four of these households there was one which did not depend directly on farming for its livelihood. The same survey showed that there was very little regular employment in these country districts, and most of the wage work to be had locally was manual farm labour, which is very poorly paid, whether by day work or task work. After agriculture, road repair and construction work offered the greatest amount of employment, followed by building, domestic service, clerical occupations, and in some areas by work with machines. The picture given by these facts is of a population primarily dependent on farming for subsistence and exchange. In plantation areas, we should expect a different picture. The survey mentioned above also deals with the role of women in these rural economies.

The economic activities of rural people are not randomly distributed. People of differing sex and age have different economic capacities, wants and resources of skill, land or capital. These factors are important determinants of the actual distributions of the population by occupation, employment status, income and similar variables. Young people just entering on their 'manship' or 'womanship' are not fully independent of their parents or kin; and this dependence is both economic and social. Until such young folk have found their feet economically, they are unable to purchase their own land, and may have to farm for themselves on rented land. To advance the day when they have their own plots, they naturally try to get jobs which pay relatively well, such as sugar estate work, mason or carpenter work, and the like.

In these rural areas, before a man may save sufficient to realize this end, he usually sets up some domestic unit of his own, with a woman whom he takes as his wife. In this way he reduces his dependence on his own kinfolk, and saves a certain amount by having someone to cook and keep house for him, and by growing food — that is, starches, such as yam, cassava, bananas for home use.

Many men in the country areas try in vain to save sufficient to purchase land of their own; many manage to buy their own house plot and home garden, but find that they cannot do much more; and in some areas of the island, quite a few persons are able to get their own land before they are 40 years old, and may then be ready to marry. The craftsman, the skilled or semi-skilled worker, or the small trader may be able to save money much more quickly, and will therefore become economically independent far sooner. But for most country folk, accidents of ill-health, unstable mating relations, or misfortune with land, cattle, or other major resources, may spell disaster for this quest.

Young people living in areas which offer inadequate employment or at unattractive rates may migrate to the sugar areas in the crop season, to earn money for investment in land, small stock, house building, or similar targets. The point here is that the economic activity, whether own account or wage employed, agricultural or otherwise, is motivated by social incentives, and seeks to realize social goals, either directly or indirectly, as preconditions for further achievements. These goals, however modest economically, are important to the people who pursue them. They are essentially bound up with ideas of social status and social maturity, with ideals of independence, age and sex. There is an ideal of what is appropriate for a man aged 25 or so, and of what is appropriate and fitting for a man aged 40 or so; people try to fulfill these standards. Their efforts to do so account for a good deal of their economic activities. And since ideals of what men and women should be and should do are extremely tenacious, and rarely change except when their material environment also changes sharply, it is well to understand these motivations, and their relation to the economic activities and targets of the rural population.

Shops and nearby properties are the main local
agencies which directly affect the rural population. Markets, both local and overseas, and government are remoter if more powerful influences. Shops provide credit in its most common local form; and often the people who take such credit repay the loan by selling their produce to the shopkeeper. Most of the locally available employment is controlled by the overseers or headmen on adjacent properties, and by foremen working on the parochial or government roads; more recently extension workers in agriculture also control work opportunities.

For various historical reasons, handicrafts are poorly developed in Jamaica, and the main male crafts in rural areas are building skills, such as carpentry or masonry. Young men frequently learn how to make shoes only to find later that this cannot support them, since the majority of the local people cannot afford to 'drudge' shoes, that is, to wear them regularly. In town, shoemakers have broader markets. Service and craft specialties are actually dependent on the economic levels of the local population which provides their main markets. In rural Jamaica, the economically depressed state of the people does not encourage much development in these directions. The result is that the population of most rural districts shows little occupational differentiation.

An important point to note is that the rural craftsman is often also a farmer. The converse is equally true. The small farmer is often a craftsman also; and many farmers are also wage workers. These combinations of occupational and employment status show how mistaken it may be to classify rural folk as having one occupation or one employment status. Such a classification can seriously mislead reconstruction programmes, since it gives a false picture of the conditions at which change is addressed.

Only those local craftsmen whose skill is in great demand can normally afford to neglect their farms. But with trade the position is different. Only the casual trader whose turnover is low can afford another occupation; his successful rival knows that part time trading involves serious loss of trade opportunities.

In the rural areas the principal patterns of employ-
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enough at the time when the part time labourer wants wage work, the small farmer does not need his help; and often enough, when the small farmer wants hired assistance, the men with whom he usually deals are fully engaged, on their own farms, or in those of other persons.

Women play a variety of important roles in this type of rural economy. They are the traditional marketing agents, selling the small surpluses from their own households, and also purchasing supplies for transport to other areas, as a type of small scale business activity. Some of these market women are wholesalers. Many more carry on a regular retail trade. Perhaps the majority are mainly concerned to market household surpluses. The markets to which these different classes of market women go are often different; the wholesaler will tend to seek a large market and often may come to Kingston; the housewife selling her family surplus is often also concerned to purchase some commodities of which she is in short supply, and is often in the market to purchase as well as to sell. Regularity in market attendance is important to the wholesaler, if she is to unload her stock quickly and profitably. Retailers and housewives who are engaged in marketing do not have quite the same reason for regular attendance as the specialist higgler.

Women are also charged with most of the decisions about household expenditure. They are the specialists in spending and in distributing the limited cash resources of these rural households. Often, they seek to supplement their husband's income from farm and other activities by some form of work on their own, whether in the market, or domestic service, or by farming or rearing small stock for themselves. These sources of personal income help to keep Jamaican housewives independent. Because they are also contributing to the household outlays, and in degrees which their husbands may not be able to specify, their control of household expenditure cannot easily be challenged.

Women also produce the children, which their menfolk must support. Since many men in rural Jamaica are hard put to it to support themselves alone, it is not surpris-
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local people organize their own internal relationships on the basis of unequal distributions of wealth, skill, and opportunity.

Only an adequate understanding of these facts can enable the technical skills of development agencies to bridge the gaps of education and interest between themselves and the rural community, or find the method of enlisting community support.

(q) The Conditions and Goals of Life in Rural Jamaica

Understanding the motivational system of any group is frequently a prerequisite of effective work with, among, or on behalf of the group concerned. In the present context where programmes of farm development are dependent for their success on the intelligent support of the rural population both as own-account workers and as wage workers, this understanding is extremely necessary. Negatively, such knowledge might indicate whether or how present efforts are somewhat mis-directed. Positively it may provide guidance both in relation to the evaluation of population response to the scheme, and in the organisation of communication and control.

During the Jamaica Rural Labour Survey, 1955, enquiries were made about the social and economic conditions of 1,015 households in 8 scattered districts. The number of households who employed labour to assist them was 258 or roughly 25%, and these employers were interviewed separately. Detailed information about the mating and occupational careers, the experience, plans, preferences and attitudes of about 140 of the thousand households were collected during the course of daily visits over a week each. These survey materials provide the background for my present discussion.

The age and sex distribution of the population in these rural areas is given in the table below. Other critical quantitative data such as the percentage distribution of households in terms of their annual incomes and available acreages are also tabulated, together with the percentage distribution of employers of farm labour according to the acreage each held on the one hand, and the total number of man days hired assistance which they used in the previous 12 months on the other. Finally, the percentage ratios of own-account farmers of all different categories who were willing to take wage work are also given. These data define the principal demographic and economic conditions of the group whose motivational system we shall discuss.

(1) Percent Distribution of Sample Population by Sex & Age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age in Years</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Both</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—14</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>43.4</td>
<td>42.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15+</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td>56.6</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15—24</td>
<td>18.3</td>
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<td>16.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>25—39</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>16.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40—54</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55—69</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70+</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Population in 4 Areas by

(a) Annual Income & (b) Acreage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>£</th>
<th>% of Households in 4 Areas</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>% of Households in 4 Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>— 25</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— 75</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—100</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—150</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—150+</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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(3) Employers by
(a) Man-Days hired per @ & (b) Acreage.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>%</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-10</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-20</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-40</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>-20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40+</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4) Farmers willing to take Wage Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Own-account Workers only:</th>
<th>Full Time Farmers</th>
<th>45.0%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part Time Farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td>59.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Farmers</td>
<td></td>
<td>46.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wage and Own-Account Workers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All Farmers</th>
<th>Wage &amp; Own-Account Farmers</th>
<th>80.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

To summarise these data, about 58% of the population are 15 years and over, and this group which we will treat as the adults are fairly well-balanced between the sexes. In terms of income 55% of the households studied have incomes of less than £75 per annum while only 15% have incomes of more than £150 per annum. As regards land distribution, 10% have no land available to them, either under tenancy or otherwise, and another 45% have less than 2 acres available. Only 9% have ten or more acres. As regards desire for employment among the male farming population, only 43% of the full-time farmers who work only on their own account were willing to take wage work as against 59% of the part time farmers who worked only on their own account. This gives an average of 46% willingness to take wage work for those farmers who work only on their own account, but the majority of the farmers in these areas work for wage as well as on their own account, and 80% of these were willing to take wage work. Thus two-thirds of all people engaged in own-account farming, full time, part time, or together with wage work, were looking for employment.

Among those who employed wage labour in these areas, 70% had between 2 and 20 acres of land and 13% had more than 20 acres.

The type of economic structure which is indicated for these populations by the figures just quoted is clearly of great importance to their goals and motivational patterns. The first thing to note from these figures is the considerable variation characteristic of the rural population. The goals of men and women can be expected to be dissimilar on biological grounds; but within each sex goals and preferences will also tend to differ according to age.

But apart from these biological bases, there are also significant economic bases of goal differentiation, primarily according to land distribution, employment facilities and levels of annual income.

We shall now discuss the less well-off section of the rural population irrespective of the economic condition of its wider kin group. This less well-off section includes some young people whose parents, though relatively well-off, require or use all their resources for themselves; but it also includes those old folk who have not been able to achieve economic independence. The reason for dealing with these groups is that in a short space there is not much to be gained by elaborating on the goal systems of that section of the population able to fend for itself, and recognised as not constituting any social problem. But there is a good deal to be learned about the goal systems of the poor from whom labour for the implementation of the farm development programme will be drawn, and who provide the greatest demand of assistance and problems of organisation and supervision for this programme.

If you ask rural folk how they classify one another, you get an answer something like this: "Well, first there is the big shots, the real big shots; and then the medium..."
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big shots, then the Civil Servants, and then independent men who can employ other people. After that you start to come down. Then you find the independent man who can manage on his own, and then there are the men who must work to get their dinner, and then you come to the paupers who cannot work". In terms of such a socio-economic scale, the present discussion is largely focussed on the three last strata.

Before proceeding, it is just as well to describe the general context within which the economy of these rural population has been developed in so far as this bears on the goal formulation and appeals of incentives of different types among these people. Recurrent hurricanes, widespread crop diseases such as Panama and Leaf-spot, unknown coconut diseases, Witches Broom, Black Pod and the like; sharp price fluctuations in overseas market, restrictive trade policies and quota arrangements and prevailingly low local employment opportunities of any type — these are characteristic of these areas and their economies. The individual can do little about these general conditions. He cannot stop the hurricane nor often the crop diseases; nor control the market prices or the international quota arrangement, nor expand local employment opportunities. The best he can do is to adjust himself to these conditions as far as his resources and circumstances permit. His resources of greatest importance for this adjustment are firstly health, and secondly land, which together permit own-account employment without expensive long-term training and apprenticeship.

Moreover at the individual level also the pre-requisites for formulation of any goals, long term or other, are the maintenance of good health by the individual and the immediate family for whom he or she is responsible; the cultivation of the bulk of the food needed by the household; and good fortune in keeping out of law courts. We have assumed an intention to remain within the area or community; but this intention will often itself promote migrancy by males during the cane-crop in search of work at nearby estates, and by females to Kingston or certain country towns in search of domestic or other weekly employment as money is needed. This migrancy reflects the need for cash incomes from wage employment which is not locally available. Seasonal migration is more common among young people than old, and among those young people whose parents are dead, absent, ill, or no longer managing for themselves. Often enough one finds a young woman or man committed to care for a sick parent, and with no freedom for choosing any other course.

The different sexes have different goal patterns, largely as a result of their biological and social roles. Girls tend to enter the employment field as domestics at an early age, normally taking their first job in or near their home area. Pregnancies reduce their employability quite soon, and unless they are able to leave the children in the care of some senior female, an aunt, mother or unrelated "foster parent", they must either remain at home and care for them alone or do so with the help of some man, the children's father or some other. Those girls whose parents are better off seek to be school teachers or nurses, and may also occupy themselves with dressmaking. But often enough pregnancy interrupts this dressmaking apprenticeship, and may cancel girls' hopes of becoming school teachers or nurses. Once a girl has borne a child, her primary goal is biologically and socially given as the care and rearing of that child. In this process she may often bear other children.

Women have steadily withdrawn from farm labour in Jamaica during the past 50 years or so. This withdrawal is greatest with regard to manual wage work such as weeding, and least with regard to harvesting and light work of that type. But even on their own cultivation the pattern of withdrawal is quite clear, and their men are primarily responsible for the farming of household food supplies. An fact, the only conditions under which women can seek to maintain themselves by manual labour in rural Jamaica are those which involve good health and lack of any dependent infants.

Women, beginning with their domestic wage work experiences and intermittent pregnancies or affairs, tend to move into co-residential liaisons with some man whose economic activities provide for their household needs. If he
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has sufficient land and crops, his mate may gradually emerge as a higgler in her own right; if he has not, and can not provide entirely for the household, his mate will take odd jobs as washer-woman, harvester, or may do a little stone breaking on the side; but she will tend to avoid job-employment as a floor cleaner unless economic conditions are really severe, by pretending to illness of various types, especially blood pressure. The real point is that the woman without a house of her own but with children has very little chance of clearly formulating or seeking any goals on her own account, although she is free to imagine all sorts of goals for her children; but the fact that she conceives her children’s future in terms which she never was herself able to realise leads firstly, to a harsher discipline and attitude towards these children than might otherwise have developed; and secondly, to an earlier rebellion or evasion of discipline on their part, with boys notably sulking and the girls becoming pregnant.

For a woman to have a house of her own in these areas she must normally either inherit it as a daughter or as a widow. Those who are able to build houses from their own earnings are better off than the group under immediate discussion. Celibacy as a prevention against pregnancy and unemployability is sought through dressmaker apprenticeship and in domestic work. But the moment that pregnancy develops the woman becomes correspondingly tied up and increasingly ceases to enjoy freedom for any other goals than those of self maintenance. Where a girl’s mother has her own house, the girl may leave her children with her mother, and, if the father of the children cannot or does not choose to assist in their maintenance, she may proceed to some area of higher employment such as Kingston, in search of work. But this search for work in urban areas often results in further pregnancy, which complicates and increases the burden of wage earner and her mother alike. The net result is that both these people become committed to the care and maintenance of the younger woman’s children as their over-riding goals. Where unemployment faces the younger woman she has little freedom to reject liaisons with men able to contribute to her children’s upkeep.

The situation which faces men is also highly restrictive of their freedom to formulate and choose between personal goals. The degree to which choice is restricted reflects their individual economic condition. Young men, on entering “manship”, that is, the condition of independent economic and social action, enjoy a relatively high degree of freedom since their economic obligations remain far lower than their opportunities for income so long as their parents continue to feed and house them. Often enough they are apprenticed to some local tradesmen to learn carpentry, mason work, tailoring or the like. If not apprenticed they combine a certain amount of farming for themselves and for their parents’ family, with as much wage work as is necessary to supply their immediate cash requirements. These cash requirements are always relatively small since the available employment does not permit any large accumulations nor would there be worthwhile scope for their investment in the local economic system. To buy a bicycle is about the maximum aim; but of course bicycles pre-suppose flat land which may not be near the area. If the young man wants to go to Kingston, he can get his bus fare by farm work, but if he wishes to go to Britain he will have to persuade his parents to sell or pledge some of the land, or a cow, if either of them has it. As he grows older and this initial period of sexual experiment comes to an end, the youth finds that to maintain his economic and social freedom, he has to set up his own house and not to continue living on his parents. To do this he requires a mate and will normally find the mother of his most recent children most suitable. They then seek to rent a room at the back of a shop or in some shed and establish their household there. The problem which the man now faces is that of maintaining and providing for this unit, and possibly of acquiring a house of his own. Here he comes up against local land-distribution conditions; tenancy of farm land or house spots is the only way open to him, but these tenancies do not permit him easily to rear sufficient livestock to accumulate the capital neces-
sary for house building or for the purchase of land on his own. He therefore supplements the growing of provisions in his own garden by wage work on nearby estates during crop, or on trucks, or around shop fronts, as best he can, hoping that the wage income he accumulates will be sufficient to permit the purchase of some cows or pigs; and that the successful rearing of the young from these will also permit the building of his own house whether on tenanted or purchased land. Meanwhile, his mate and himself subsist as best they can, both aware that the relationship may be impermanent, and that the new house, if and when it is built, may require another mistress. But there is a strong, little realised avoidance and dislike of marrying a woman without having a house of one’s own. Ideally you should have your house on your own land before you marry. This represents the essential basis of economic security for your family and your children, but if you cannot achieve this and if for religious or other reasons, marriage is desired, its immediate requirement and pre-condition is to have a house of one’s own on someone else’s rented or leased land. Until one has one’s own house, matings remain impermanent.

It is important to realise how absolutely necessary it is for a man in the rural parts to have his own mate living with him. The woman not only looks after his housekeeping requirements, but also assists him in garden work and by marketing his produce and also by contributing from her own earnings towards the household needs. However unstable these common-law unions may appear, the economic and social pressures towards cohabitation guarantee a high incidence of such domestic forms, since the household is the fundamental unit of the rural and social and economic system. Let us see how the countryman puts it in his own words: “the old man have their home to sustain, wife and pickney, so they have to hire out compulsory if they cannot manage. But the young man, at first they think they can get something better. Is only when they find their mistake that they settle down to work, compulsory”.

Thus the establishment of a domestic union compels men to economic activity of any type, so long as it can provide for the unit and its ever increasing population. As a result, the longer the maintenance of the unit the larger the family, the more a man works and must work until at some point in this process he finds that the distribution of his work time between wage work and own-account employment needs to be altered, if he is to be able to provide for this large number of dependents from his own subsistence production. At this stage, he shifts out of the less well paid employment fields towards government road-work or such other opportunities as headman for an abandoned property, regular employment on some estate, or the like which permit sufficient saving to enable the purchase of the land he needs. His goal remains the maintenance of his household. He always works, but economically he stands still as long as he depends primarily on wage work, and must therefore seek land room of his own, whether through government land settlement schemes or otherwise, to catch up with his obligations, and, if possible to increase his income beyond his immediate pressures.

In this context one can see how important are those pre-conditions for goal-formulation and pursuit already mentioned; namely, keeping out of trouble and unnecessary expense, maintenance of health, the growing of one’s own food; even an early apprenticeship to a carpenter or mason which reduces the house-building costs by increasing self-help. And when these pre-requisites are lacking, or when formulated goals cannot be achieved due to bad farming, unemployment, litigation over the damage which one’s livestock has done to one’s neighbour’s farm or the like, the goal seeker, if a male, falls back on debts which he does not really expect to repay or perhaps on praedial larceny as way of making present ends meet. If a woman, the seeker becomes open to men’s casual advances, or engages more actively in stone-breaking, higglering, and
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the like. Should one of the spouses die, the other is thrown back on the limited local employment market, and has to take whatever work is available, or if ill, to seek enrolment in the parochial pauper roll.

This account may seem fairly gloomy. Unfortunately it is based on a great deal of fact, and on as intensive an investigation as was possible in the time. There is no sense in pretending that comparable freedoms in the choice and implementation of goals exist in economic systems which pay 3/- or 4/- per day to a man on the one hand, or $1.00 (U.S.A.) or more per hour per man on the other. As regards the incentive values of current exchange systems in the rural areas, it is clear from this description that own-account employment in farming, whatever its relative difficulties, seems preferable to wage employment for limited times at relatively long intervals and low rates. For the rural wage-market to present incentives sufficient to overcome the attractions of own-account farming for the types of people we have been discussing, wage rates need to be higher, the systems of employment and labour relations need to be smoother, and the volume and regularities of employment need to be increased. There is nothing to prevent the realization of all these conditions through the farm development programme with which government is now pushing on.

Finally this account of the rural life-cycle shows that its conditions prevent many from formulating or pursuing complex, long-term goals which entail heavy risks or outlays of time and money. The mass of our folk can only see and pursue limited short-term goals, which are urgent and involve low risks. Extension programmes must adjust themselves to these facts. Although the goals at which extension aims are long-term, costly and complex, they must be restated in specific, short-time and urgent terms to win the interest of these rural people. It is no use approaching small farmers who also depend on wage-work with grand, expensive long-term plans. Their life conditions forbid planning.

LAND TENURE

Land tenure is a short hand term for the forms of land holding. Land can be held or occupied under a variety of arrangements. Even ownership has many different forms and limitations. Occupancy has even more, including rent, lease, caretaking, share-cropping, trusteeship and the like. Often the landowner is the occupant. But sometimes the owner and the occupant are different persons, and often enough land owned by one person is occupied by many. Co-ownership and combined occupancy must also be recognised. Share-cropping arrangements are cases of combined occupancy.

Systems of land tenure are very important economic and social institutions. They are really organized codes of the variety of locally recognized land rights; knowledge of the system will show how these rights are related, and how conflicts of right or claim are usually resolved. Knowledge of the system further involves information about the areas held under different types of right, viz, ownership, tenancy and the typical land-holding status of representative families. Information about the average sizes and numbers of units held under the different forms of tenure by household and other groups gives a good picture of the present distribution of land among the population under study; histories of land-plots or family lines will fill out this picture by telling about the past, about transfers of right through inheritance, sale or other practices; and they will show what processes of consolidation and fragmentation have developed with the growth of population, and how the replacement of one generation by another has produced the present distribution and patterns of tenure.

Since the use of land assumes its occupancy, and is heavily influenced by the form and conditions of such occupancy, its stability or individualism, it is obvious that detailed information about the prevalent patterns of land tenure is essential to an understanding or planned improvement of the local patterns of land use. Moreover, since agricultural extension work is concerned to promote
the most efficient use of land and other resources, it is essential for the extension worker to be familiar with the differing types of tenure which govern the actual land-use practices of the population among whom he works.

From medieval times, land has held a very important position in the development of the English Common Law. The reason for this is that relationships between the people and classes of medieval society were very generally expressed in terms of rights in land, rights of ownership, tenancy and use, and their corresponding obligations. When medieval society was breaking up, this medieval system of land tenure was directly involved, and the systematic development of the law of real property took place in this context of change as an instrument for the readjustment of the social organisation.

These historical processes have left their mark in the statutory and common law relating to rights in land, and on the legal forms by which rights may be transferred or transmitted. In Caribbean territories the entire body of these principles, procedures, forms, conditions and interpretations which have legal definition and status forms one system of land tenure, the legal system; while the informal practices of the majority of the population with regard to land-holding and transfer form another, the customary system of tenure. For the majority of our small-holders, the legal processes relating to land are too expensive, unfamiliar, and unpredictable. Small-holders therefore try to arrange their land dealings among themselves, and with as little recourse to the law-courts as possible. There are thus two systems of tenure under which land is held in many British-Caribbean territories, that which conforms to the procedures and forms of legal tenure being general for holdings of some commercial value; the other of a customary and extra-legal character being general for small holdings among the peasant population.

Edith Clarke has recently described this system of customary tenure in rural Jamaica, and its development on a Government land settlement in one of the Windward Islands has also been studied. The most common form of land-holding under this customary system is 'family land'. 'Family land' is land held jointly by members of a family, that is, by persons descended from its initial holder or occupier, descent being traced through both sexes and being interpreted to include legitimate and illegitimate issue alike in many areas, although not in all. Occupancy of such family land is an assertion of individual claim to the use of all or a portion of the land in question; but prescriptive rights cannot develop in such conditions; and when the former occupant ceases to use a particular plot, or when another member of the same family-group wishes to use a portion, changes of occupancy occur without any corresponding changes in the status of the claims on which this occupancy is based.

The principle that the family land should be available to all of the kin-group who wish to build their homes upon it is important in many ways. Occupancy of a house-site is normally regarded as permanent; and those members of the family who live on the family land are in the best position to assert their claims to other portions. Where several households are involved, this may lead to competition and disputes within the family, and some of them may be driven to leave the area, or the matter may go to court in one form or another. But if occupancy continues harmoniously over the generations, then kinsfolk living away from the family land find their opportunities for occupancy and use of plots progressively reduced without any formal redefinition of rights. These types of redistribution are specially important where the family land lies within or near expanding settlements. In such places, tiny plots with little agricultural value have considerable demand as housing sites for members of the descent line inheriting claims under customary convention.

Family land generally originates in inheritance. The inheritance process by which this customary tenure
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develops is extra-legal in the sense that testamentary disposition or other legal processes are not involved. Thus the inheritance cannot always be directly sanctioned or protected by law. None the less, these inheritance patterns are effective and widespread. Customary inheritance also proceeds by various forms, and thus gives rise to different types of tenure.

Sometimes a land-holder dies without subdividing his land. Where no disputes arise later to promote such subdivision, the land may be treated as a single unit until one or more of the direct heirs have died, after which the lapse into customary family tenure is rapid and cumulative.

It is an important condition of these inheritance patterns that alienation of the land cannot normally occur without all heirs consenting. Of course, there are considerable opportunities for alienation without consulting all heirs or claimants, and these are linked up with family dispersal through migration and other conditions. Such alienation is invalid at law, since the vendor has no attestable rights to the property alienated. Normally this system of familialistic tenure also inhibits rent, lease, subletting, share-cropping and similar temporary arrangements. These transactions also presuppose accord among the heirs, or some condition of trusteeship of the common property. Since sale and tenancy are ruled out in this particular system, the land is either occupied by persons with claims, or by their appointed 'caretakers', or it tends to remain unoccupied until some heir or his dependent chooses to assert such claim.

Sometimes a landholder subdivides his holding before death; or its subdivision among his issue may accompany the inheritance. Boundary marks are often set up at these subdivisions. Normally these subdivisions occur by private arrangement between the parties, without any recourse to law. For this reason, the future validity of these divisions depends on the continued agreement of all parties to the transaction. Since absent heirs cannot be expected to accept portions allotted to them without some bargaining or comment, subdivisions among heirs after the death of the landholder are rare except where all beneficiaries are present. Surveyors are rarely employed for such divisions, partly because of the cost, partly because there is no desire to secure legal registration of the partition.

This type of informal sub-division may take place at each generation, on one or more of the initial sub-sections of the holding; and although each occupant 'holds his own portion', as it were, by right, there is no simple or inexpensive legal process by which these individual rights may be defined or asserted, should disputes require this. Likewise, should anyone of the heirs seek to alienate portions of the unit over which other heirs claim ownership, there is no cheap legal process for settling the issue.

The system of tenure which this informal subdivision of land on inheritance promotes differs from that typical of undivided family land in that it does permit alienation, pledge, rent, lease, share-cropping, or other types of land transfer, on the basis of individual and restricted right. Some variation is found however in regard to the restriction of individual right to alienate these separately held sections. In some areas, the heirs may be free to alienate as they will. In others, alienation may be inadmissible, except to coheirs or their descendants; and these restrictions may also apply to rental or other forms of transfer.

In contrast to the rules of these two modes of customary tenure, an individual has no obligation to consult kinsfolk about 'buy' land, that is, land which he has bought independently. But 'buy' land may be land alienated without proper legal title, and it rapidly reverts to the customary mode of tenure, even when registered title has formalised the purchase. This reversion to customary tenure follows inevitably, if care is not taken to ensure that all transfers of right in the land, by inheritance or otherwise, take place according to the proper processes of law. But often enough, 'buy' land lacks registered title, and the vendor's right to occupy or alienate may be obscure at law.

The intimate relationships between these alternative forms of tenure and the structure of family groups will be
It is important to bear these family relations in mind when considering how these customary tenures may be changed or brought in to the context of contemporary development programmes. The recent Jamaican law which provides improved facilities for the registration of titles to land is important in this respect. Under this law, persons not previously able to secure title to land over which they have exercised undisputed possession for the past 7 years can secure such titles by obtaining a loan from a recognized credit agency of the government, upon the security of their land. The local lack of enthusiasm for this law illustrates some of the issues we have been discussing. This lack of enthusiasm is expressed by the small numbers who avail themselves of the facilities which this law provides, or who seek loans from the credit agencies on security of their land holdings. The reason for this is that undisputed possession confers no exclusive or prescriptive right under either of these systems of family tenure, except in so far as unrestricted control of inherited subdivisions is recognized among coheirs and their issue. Thus the individual long-term occupant is really acting as trustee for other claimants with equally valid titles to the land; and cannot seek an independent title to the plot solely on the basis of undisturbed occupancy. In fact, the occupancy of such persons is undisturbed only because they are generally recognized to be asserting no exclusive individual rights to the land, but to be acting as its caretaker, or as trustee for others with equivalent claim.

In any event, as we have seen, unless inheritance proceeds along the lines laid down by law, plots registered under such provisions as those of the Facilities for Titles Law, will rapidly revert to customary tenure.

The types of customary tenure which we have been discussing provide the individual with certain securities, both as regards land and as regards his or her kin. Because they hold land in common, the family is a distinct unit, the members of which keep informed about one another, having common interests in land. At the same time, individuals in need of land, and in a position to do so, may seek to use some of the family holdings. However these systems of family tenure limit the freedom of the individual to do as he wishes with the land; they may also reduce desires to conserve the land or otherwise to invest time and capital in its upkeep or improvement. One often hears complaints from people farming family land that other members of the family come and reap where they have not sown. These conditions may motivate people to acquire land for themselves by purchase, tenancy or other methods. With this is associated the dispersal of various individual holdings, and some waste of effort as well as inefficiencies of land use.

(s) Marketing

Marketing is the process by which goods reach the consumer, whether these goods are manufactured products or not, whether they pass through several hands or not, and whether they are material articles, services, or such imponderables as the patent for an invention, etc. Marketing is not limited only to markets; nor are all markets formally gazetted or controlled by governments.

Any marketing system tends to be highly organized to the extent that the units transferred regularly within it and the distances over which they are transferred involve considerable outlays and risks on the part of vendor and purchaser alike. To the extent that the units transferred are small, the frequency of transfer greater, and the distances or transport costs are not heavy risks, then the system of marketing will tend to be less highly organized and will contain a larger number of small operators, including a larger ratio of part-time sellers in relation to the full time specialists. Moreover, to the extent that a system of marketing is not highly organised, then the number of hands through which the commodity typically passes from producer to ultimate consumer tends to increase.

These last sentences give a brief description of the present pattern of internal marketing in Jamaica today. But, as Dr. Sidney Mintz has pointed out, the social aspects and implications of this marketing system in contemporary
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Jamaica may be least as important as are their economic features. Dr. Mintz' article repays careful study. He summarises the historical background of contemporary Jamaican marketing patterns, and he classifies vendors according to their role in the distributive process, and according to the regularity and extent of their involvements in marketing operations. Moreover he directs attention to the important functions of rural housewives as marketing agents, both part-time and specialist; and to the relationships between typical transfer values, transport costs, absence of vendors from home areas, and the geography of the Jamaican marketing system.

Where women lack craft occupations such as dress-making and also regular employment such as shopkeeping, teaching or domestic service, they still enjoy some opportunities for regular cash incomes with which to contribute to household needs through participation in marketing. Until alternative sources of income are created, they will remain dependent on this market activity.

Establishment of marketing co-operatives could result in higher profits for the farmers, but they might on the other hand prove to be a serious disadvantage for those women, either the specialist higgler or farmers' wives, who now have a key position in the marketing of foodstuffs and vegetables. It is an established tradition that housewives entrusted with marketing should withhold part of the money they make from their husbands. This gives these women an opportunity to obtain some funds of their own for personal expenditure and cash to spend for the family. For this reason a more efficient marketing system which excludes so many country women from participation might prove to be a genuine set-back to many housewives and to the families for whom they cater.

Going to market is for more than one reason attractive to the women. While many farmers look upon the rum shop as the place in which they can escape from the misery of a poverty stricken home, so too the farmer's wife may look forward to a weekly trip to the market, where she intermingles with other people. In the market towns, the women are also able to make little bargains which are not available in their own districts. Disruption of the traditional marketing system may isolate these women from social contacts outside their own households without providing alternative work-opportunities or sources of income. This is a problem.

(t) Exchange Labour Systems

In many parts of the West Indies one may come across two or more farmers who co-operate in working each other's fields. In the Leeward Islands this practice is called "lift system". On the Island of Saba in the Netherlands Antilles about 45% of the farmers were (in 1951) engaged in this system.

Another form of neighbour help in the Leeward Islands is the so-called "jollification". This is used in the replacement of houses and in certain phases of agricultural work (cleaning of a new plot, for example). The man who wants some work done invites his friends and neighbours, who are not paid for their assistance, but get a hot meal and one or two drinks on the job.

In Curacao, when it was still a very poor agricultural community instead of the prosperous industrial country of today, the people worked "simadan"; they reaped their crops together, singing in a language called "guenee" (from Guinea), a language full of African words. This link with Africa is not surprising, as the team of male workers is an economic institution from West Africa; the Dahomeans, for example, have a form of co-operation in reaping crops which they call "dokpwe".

All these systems, "lift", "jollification", "simadan", and "combite" (Haiti) may, however, be now dying out. They appear to persist only where the farmers lack sufficient money to permit the development of regular commercial relations. It is especially the poorest farmers who work "lift" or other labour exchanges; exchange of labour really belongs to a pre-capitalistic economy in which

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money is absent or scarce; in such conditions free exchange of commodities and/or labour is more prevalent than in the capitalistic economy; and this is one reason why it is still common in many rural areas. Most farmers who can afford to do so prefer a straight system of employment — often they complain about the actual working of the day-for-day system.

In central Jamaica day-for-day work (partnership) was more or less generally practised among the small farmers in 29 out of the 40 districts investigated. It occurs in a variety of forms. There is "lend day", an occasional exchange whereby one farmer lends himself (his labour) for a work day to another person, who returns the day "when he is called upon". Partnership is a more continuous reciprocal exchange of work between two or more individuals who take it in turn to cultivate each other’s holdings. Often, three, four or sometimes even more individuals work partnership together. Day-for-day or partner is also found among labourers who occasionally form work-groups of five to six persons. Sometimes, also, one of these will take a job of 5 days farm work and then take four partners with him to finish all the work off in one day. The labourer who arranged for the job keeps all the money paid for it but, in truth and in fact, he owes a day’s work to each of his friends for their help on this job.

In the country parts also, human labour is sometimes exchanged for animal labour. A big farmer, for example, may lend his draft animal for a day in exchange for a day’s labour to be performed by the borrower of his animal. Donkeys may sometimes be exchanged on a lend-day basis. In the cane season in some areas, farmers frequently pool their donkeys for transportation purposes. One day all the animals are working for farmer A, the next day for Mr. B, thereafter for C and so on. The unit of exchange is sometimes the donkey and a man. Similar patterns were current among the smaller farms of the American and Canadian prairies before mechanization made them obsolete. In some districts, money debts can be repaid by labour. When one small farmer borrows a pound from another who is more prosperous, he may pay off the debt by work days. When he keeps the money for a considerable time, he sometimes offers the lender a day now and then by way of interest.

A social institution is often simultaneously exposed to forces which undermine it and to forces which conserve and sometimes develop it. Some factors which tend to keep the exchange of labour systems alive are listed below.

1. The lack of money to employ labourers.
2. Shortage of labour, which in some areas is closely related to lack of money, since there is little shortage of labour among those who can afford to pay a reasonable wage. Farmers in the New Hope settlement near Troy told one of the writers that they have to work day-for-day because they cannot afford to hire labourers.
3. Physical weakness. Supported by four or five friends a man is able to do a considerable amount of work, which he could not do by working 4 or 5 days consecutively himself. If he had to do all this work himself, he would need more time and in certain phases of agriculture, this would make his efforts useless.
4. Partnership offers opportunities for developing wider social contacts. Many Jamaican farmers do not like to work alone. While working together they sometimes sing digging songs, or they discuss agricultural subjects and politics, or quiz each other on the scriptures, asking such questions as the following: "When Christ made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, who was there with him?"
5. Social psychological factors perhaps also play a role. It is the strong wish of many Jamaicans to have other people work for them. Although the small man who works day-for-day has often given up the hope of becoming "independent", when working day-for-day, he may imagine himself to be a planter and not a cultivator, as the small farmer is locally called. When he has a gang of friends on his farm, he acts in the role of a leader; it is he who gives instructions to his "labour force".
Factors which undermine the day-for-day system include:

1. Many farmers fear that when their day comes around to receive help, it might rain, in which case they lose work time; or they complain of the fact that the man with whom they exchange work does not give a "full day's work" in return. That is the reason why many farmers practise the system only with good friends and relatives. However, there are districts where friendship among the farmers appears to be a scarce commodity, and the day-for-day system is also of minor importance in these areas.

2. Frictions within the community, e.g. political controversies, are sometimes responsible for unwillingness to exchange labour. Jealousy or envy is in some cases also a retarding factor.

3. Social factors can sometimes be quite important. The relationship between partners is one of co-operation on the basis of equality and identical performance and treatment. A man expects to receive from his partner the same level of good treatment with which he provides him; and for that reason his partners are generally his peers in age and economic status. To the extent that economic and status differences are prominent between individuals, partnership cannot include them or continue successfully for long. Day-for-day is usually associated with low status in the community. A man who thinks himself "big" will not work day-for-day, and there are many small farmers who try to appear "big", who "put themselves in a barrel when match-box can hol' them". Sometimes farmers with 10 or 15 acres may use the day-for-day system, but without themselves going to work on another man's farm. They return their due by hired labour.

4. In the day-for-day system a good deal of time is often lost in fixing a date which suits everyone, and during the day at work, time is also wasted in social intercourse. A farmer who has a strong drive to make as much money as possible out of his farm cannot afford to lose his time in day-for-day. He often thinks that he can do much better by devoting all his time to his own farming, and by hiring somebody to help him occasionally.

In many contexts the factors which undermine these traditional systems of labour exchange outweigh those which conserve them, and this is especially true for larger and relatively progressive farmers. A farmer who regards himself as progressive rarely works by day-for-day. Neither is the system supported by "bigger" farmers with 5 to 8 acres or more. It is the tenants or landowners with a small acreage, locally referred to as labourers, and the younger people who are landless, who mainly practice the day-for-day system.

A sample survey of agriculture in central Jamaica, showed that so-called "free gang labour" was most popular amongst farmers with from one or two acres. Of the very small landowners, that is, persons with less than one acre, only approximately 4.5% themselves engaged in free gang labour. These people probably find it possible to do all the work themselves, supported by family labour. Of the entire population of farmers, whatever the size of their farms, roughly 22% engaged in this exchange of labour system.

For those farmers who primarily practise subsistence farming, day-for-day work is certainly an important means of helping them to get through their work; but for those whose farms are operated on a cash-exchange basis, day-for-day is rarely the most productive way of organizing farm work.

When the extension worker wants to organize farmers into groups for the co-operative execution of farm work, the following factors should be borne in mind; namely:

1. Nobody should be forced into an exchange of labour system. Farmers who do not themselves like to work in somebody else's field could be allowed to send hired labour.

2. The farmers should form the work groups themselves. Every farmer should be asked to mention the names of those persons with whom he is willing to work.
partners. The extension officer can thereupon form groups from the persons who have mutually chosen each other.

Slightly different from the day-for-day system is the morning sport. This institution differs from day-for-day in so far as it lacks explicit elements of exchange. A man who gives a morning sport, for example, to plant ginger, asks some of his friends, neighbours and relatives to help him on a specific morning. Sometimes large groups, up to 60, are gathered on the holding of the farmer who gives a morning sport. In return the host is supposed to give the best lunch and alcoholic refreshments he can provide. No wage is paid, but in many cases the cost of the “feed” is as much as if men had been employed to do the work for wages. Nevertheless, many farmers like to call a morning sport. In the first place, it is rather difficult to get so many labourers together on a specific day, but, besides that, the morning sport has some social significance. It is a display of generosity, and it gives the persons invited an opportunity to show that they are willing to lend a hand.

Many farmers who consider day-for-day work to be beneath them, have no objection to working for somebody at “morning sport”. They regard the morning sport as a social occasion to which they have been invited; you are not supposed to get the morning’s work back, it is partly a favour which you do for a friend or relation. Another name for morning sport is “digging” or “morning match”. There are also “day sports” or “day matches” which last a whole day, whereas a “night sport” from (6 o’clock onwards) is sometimes held by lamplight for such tasks as peeling ginger.

The extension worker can use the social implications of the morning sport system, and can try to develop the system between the members of some of his groups. His first task would be to sell this idea to informal leaders and to other influential local persons. Another possibility is the organisation of morning sports on demonstration plots. The Extension Service can serve a good meal and a drink at these meetings and can explain to

the farmers that, although they are asked to do some work, the main reason for the invitation is to demonstrate to them new practices while they work.

(u) Wage-Labour Systems

Strictly speaking agricultural labourers are landless people who may or may not be tenants. Sometimes, however, very small landowners also hire themselves out as labourers but normally they try very hard to avoid this, as such work is regarded as demeaning. The small farmer or small landowner does not like to be seen working on somebody else’s land, especially for hire. He does not want to “build up” his neighbour and likes to be “independent” or at least to appear so. Moreover, wage work for other small holders in the area has very little pecuniary attraction, as the wages are “very low”. Small holders who employ farm labour irregularly pay wages varying from 3/6 to 5/- per day with or without a meal. Indeed local labour (that is, work on a small farm of the district) and domestic work in these rural areas still provide incomes for wage workers in the country which do not differ much from the real incomes which slaves got 125 years ago. Under slavery, a worker received a place to sleep, food, clothing and even some primitive medical treatment, it being in the slave-owner’s interest to keep his slaves alive. Now-a-days the labourer is supposed to look after these wants for himself on a wage-rate varying from 3/6 to 5/- plus or minus a meal per day. This current wage rate can hardly allow a much higher level of living than that which the slaves had. Of course it must be stressed here that the writers are referring to the level of living only, and are not comparing the whole economic or social position of the slave with that of the labourer of today. The latter has the freedom to choose his employer and is more or less free to take his leisure how he wishes.

As regards domestic work: round about 1900 a domestic servant rarely received her wages in money but was usually paid in food, shelter, with a frock, handkerchief or some other piece of clothing each month or every two
months. Now-a-days most maids in private country homes have to work for very long hours, often more than 12 hours a day, and they very seldom have a day off. It is true that they receive wages which allow them to buy some clothes now and then, but it is quite clear from comparison with descriptions of domestic service under slavery that their material conditions have not improved over much since emancipation.

Being a labourer on small holdings is not a very attractive role, as a man in this position has no continuity of employment, and receives a low wage.

It is apparent that the small landowner does not object to wage earning as such. He is quite willing to do work on the road, which is much better paid than work on the farm, and some small holders go to the United States as farm hands. But the poor man is not willing to work for wages which, in his eyes, are not reasonable. Being usually himself a small farmer, he knows what a day’s labour in agriculture can produce, and that his wage is trivial in relation to the value of the final output. What he can earn for a day’s work is so little that it is not worthwhile wasting his time and energy, as he says. Only in case of emergency usually will he ask a farmer for wage work for a day or two. Moreover when working for wages he will only give his employer what is (among the labouring class) considered to be 3/6 or 5/- worth of work.

Although many small holders are reluctant to offer themselves as farm hands in their own communities something can be done to make farm labour more attractive. The large farmers could probably be persuaded to pay better wages and to employ regular labourers to whom they could allot a kitchen garden to plant their food crops—and/or a bonus when the financial results allow.

In some districts of Central Jamaica the farmers solve their labour problems by hiring one or more labourers co-operatively, and then planning a work schedule whereby the labourers can move from farm to farm. A similar solution has been suggested by one of the authors in his report on labour supply in rural Jamaica. The suggestion is that farmers who complain of shortage should be grouped together in small units, each of which would provide regular employment for a specific number of workers. An officer, for example, the J.A.S. Project Officer, could help in organizing these groups, but this officer should withdraw as soon as the group is functioning, for it may be that interference with the allocation of labour within each group may lead to difficulties, which in turn may undermine the position of the officer.

The farmers who join such a labour-employing group would have to plan their ploughing, planting, reaping and other agricultural work in such a way that they would not all need the services of the labourers at the same time. In the case of banana spraying this could be done very easily, as the only important thing is the regularity of the spraying cycle. In other phases of farming, however, many farmers might consider the proposed system as being impracticable, perhaps from fear that more than one farmer might need the labourers at the same time. Although farmers distinguish certain relatively short planting seasons they do not in fact stick to these seasons very closely. In the tropics, where climatic conditions vary only slightly in the various months, and where weather conditions are somewhat unpredictable, many traditional crops are not very sensitive to seasons. Most traditional planting seasons, moreover, cover a period of roughly 4 weeks per operation, and the acreage of land to be cultivated is, for the most part, so small that work schedules for labour teams servicing groups of small farmers could be easily arranged.

One apparently simple solution to the labour problem would be the introduction of mechanical devices. In this respect a significant start has already been made in one area by introducing heavy implements such as tractors, ploughs, and harrows in an effort to reduce dependence on the hoe and fork. Unfortunately such mechanization

Carmichael, Mrs: 1833: Domestic Manners and Social Conditions of the White, Coloured and Negro population of the West Indies, London.

will also meet with difficulties, and this solution may not work out at all.

(v) Housing

Ownership of his own house has always been an important goal for the Jamaican farmer. Having one’s own house on one’s own land gives everyone a sense of security, and this is especially true of our countryfolk, many of whom are without lands or homes of their own. Also, a man who is able to take his wife to a house of his own is in a fair position to marry legally, and this gives him a higher status in the community.

However, because the ownership of a piece of land is given first priority, and because the acquisition of land is in itself so difficult, most farmers have not been able to devote much attention or money to housing. Now that many former tenants have their own piece of land, and land is becoming less difficult to obtain, more farmers will soon become interested in having a better house.

As was previously mentioned, the type of house a person possesses is regarded by many interviewees as a determinant of social status. A good house (concrete) is a symbol of relative wealth. This preference for a concrete house shows that the farmer is implicitly adopting urban middle-class standards. Although a good timber house is more costly than a concrete house of similar size, the last mentioned type of house usually confers a higher social rating. Sometimes it even appears that a good board house is replaced by a concrete one (“conspicuous consumption”).

Those who are responsible for better housing conditions in the countryside can begin by stressing the appearance of houses.

Greater use of paint could well be encouraged. If the countryfolk could be persuaded to paint their houses in bright colours, at least the doors, or shutters and frames of windows and doors, the villages would have a more attractive appearance as, for instance, is already the case in the thriving parish of St. Elizabeth, where the thatch-roofed houses of Spanish wall are beautifully washed in bright colours. Perhaps the people of different districts could be persuaded to agree on set patterns of decoration, and to use of the same colours. This idea of standard colours and designs for certain areas is suggested not only by aesthetic but also for social reasons. In many rural areas abroad there are standard local patterns in house-building, decoration of houses, and in some cases even of clothing also. These patterns may be integrating factors, strengthening the community spirit, the feeling of belonging.
Chapter IV

FACT-FINDING AND ANALYSIS

(a) Introduction

(1) The Scope of this Chapter:

Extension and welfare workers are frequently occupied with fact-finding, either on their own hook or under some sort of specialist direction. Within a district, special problems may arise, which require special investigation, and in such cases, the local worker may have to design, carry out, and analyse a single-handed study. Often also, field projects are designed departmentally, in discussions with the departmental field staff, who may also be responsible for certain portions of the analysis. In addition, a welfare or extension department may occasionally be called on for assistance by other bodies specially skilled in the collection and analysis of fact; or, an extension agency may be able to call on such research specialists for assistance in greater or less degree.

The two specialist research bodies with whom Jamaican extension welfare workers are most likely to deal are the Department of Statistics, and the Division of Economics and Statistics of the Agricultural Department at Hope. These organisations contain research technicians, who are specially skilled in the design and analysis of field studies. Each organisation issues directives from its headquarters to field staff, concerning the research scheme underway, the approach to be used, the facts to be collected, methods of recording, and the like. In return, each Headquarters receives the information which its field staff have collected, together with any questions, or suggestions the staff may make. Often, in large investigations, field staff communicate with headquarters through a field supervisor, whose duty it is to check their work, and to assist them as much as possible.

Normally, when a specialised agency such as the Dept. of Statistics is responsible for a particular research, it will undertake to analyse the facts collected. In some cases, the analysis is carried out with the aid of machines in the Dept.; in other cases, hand-tabulation of the data may be all that is necessary. But when such a specialist research body as the Dept. of Statistics is not itself responsible for a particular study, it is unlikely to undertake either the analysis or the collection of the data. In such cases these tasks will fall to those persons who are directly interested in the project. In other words, formal fact-finding agencies are willing to advise on certain enquiries, especially perhaps, with regard to their design. But in such cases, the tasks of execution and analysis fall mainly on those who proposed the study. In such circumstances, it is essential that those who promote the enquiry should be familiar with certain principles governing research design, as well as with the methods of field enquiry, recording, tabulation, analysis, and presentation, since they will be thereby better able to understand the logic of any technical advice and instructions, which they may receive.

In this chapter, we shall be concerned as much with those workers who plan, execute, analyse, and report their own enquiries single-handedly, as with those who work under specialist direction or supervision. The general guide to fact-finding and interpretation which follows is thus intended for all field workers alike; but certain topics, such as sampling, which are of special interest only where research design is involved, are discussed separately at the end of this chapter.

(2) Why Bother?

When you are ill and go to a physician, you expect to be examined before medicine or surgery is prescribed. The mechanic who offers specific advice about how to repair motor-cars which he has not taken the trouble to examine is simply guessing. Lawyers take great pains to find out from their clients the exact nature and development of the events which form the issue at law. Social
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caseworkers must find out all the relevant facts about their cases before they are able to make assessments or plans of treatment. The extension or welfare worker also must make a careful study of the organisation and characteristics of the population to be serviced, in order to determine their needs and capacities, their resources and difficulties, and to draw up a practicable plan of work. Unless the facts are fully known and understood, and their relations to the general context are appreciated, remedial treatment of any kind is largely guess work. Planning without adequate information is self-defeating and illusory.

Fact-finding assists problem-solving and development planning in the following ways:

(1) it defines the nature of the problem more fully and clearly;
(2) it shows how the problem affects people or develops out of their actions and conditions;
(3) it identifies the various difficulties which must be met by remedial action;
(4) it identifies those persons or groups opposed to and interested in the solution of the problem;
(5) it suggests possible lines of remedial action and identifies the available resources;
(6) it suggests an order of march in the attack on the problem concerned;
(7) it defines other unsuspected problems in similar fashion;
(8) it is an instrument of social education, bringing together those people who are in a position to plan development and those who need assistance, increasing their mutual knowledge, and reducing mutual barriers.

(3) Orders of fact:

Disputes arise on two major grounds: different ideas about the facts in question, and different interpretations of these facts. Often enough differences of opinion about the facts in question involve reference to different bodies of fact. Different interpretations of facts are themselves facts to everyone including the disputants. For instance, in law, the judge has to regard a dispute as a fact in order to be able to deal with it at all. Similarly in many fields of enquiry or action, one has to treat different opinions and interpretations, theories and proposals of action as facts, the interrelations and significance of which can only be discovered by careful study. In other words, conflicting descriptions or proposals must be referred carefully to their contexts in order to understand how they have developed and what they represent.

The order of fact to which conflicting or concordant opinions belong is psychological in nature. There are many types of non-psychological fact, which differ in various ways. Historical fact is an accurate record of series of events. To the physicist, mass, motion, density and the like are important facts, which describe various conditions of material units and their behaviour. To the farmer, weather, pests, markets, costs and the like are important facts. To the social researcher, population size, composition, and change, its resources of land, capital, situation and skills belong to one order of fact, while the knowledge, aspirations, and social organisation, the beliefs and values of the people belong to other orders. All these orders of social fact have an equal importance, since people, unlike particles of matter or machines, do not usually act without thinking.

(4) The Inventory Approach:

Agricultural extension and welfare workers are concerned with human groupings, their constitution, conditions, and capacities for change. These are all social matters, and the welfare or extension worker has to use the methods of social research in collecting information on these and similar matters; he must therefore enquire into certain categories of fact which form the general setting of the particular problem he is concerned to study.

These general categories of fact can be listed simply.

A. GEOGRAPHIC.

1. Population. Size, density per square mile.
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Composition by age, sex, 'race'.
Growth, mortality and fertility.
Movement, migration in and out.

2. Area.
Name, extent, location, climate, relief, water, rain, soil, main crops, industries, communications, local centres.

B. ECONOMIC.

3. Land and Agriculture. Farms, number, size, type, scatter.
Land-use, by crop, farm, family, etc.
Tenure, types, rates, areas, etc.
Prices, crops, land, stock, labour, supplies, rent, etc.
Farm practice, tools, methods, cultivation schedule, beliefs, management.
Ancillary, storage, markets, farm associations, roads, transport.
Labour, co-operative, wage labour, family division of labour, hours worked, at different occupations, etc.
Stock, economic trees, fishing etc.

Composition by occupations, and combinations.
Composition by employment status.
Weekly hours worked, rates of pay or reward.
Labour organisation, rates, hours.
Migratory labour, seasons, directions.
Casual/regular employment.
Levels of skill.

5. Income. Per Household, per individual. Source, amount, regularity, variation, indebtedness.
Cash and kind incomes.

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Cash and kind outgoings. Investment expenditure, debts.

Operating costs. Overheads, e.g., tax, etc.
Character of unit, organisation.

8. Housing. Type, size, rooms, materials, sanitation, kitchen, tenure, age, population, furniture, water-supplies, value, location.

Dental condition. Local Facilities, costs.
Local Medicines. Epidemics, overcrowding, school meals.

10. Education. Literacy, incidence, types, use of radio, papers.
Schools, types, attendance, enrolment, teachers, curricula, exams, costs, etc.
Informal educational agencies, e.g., extension; membership, character, function, frequency of meetings, leadership, etc.

Mails, community buildings, land, forests, beaches, churches, credit, friendly societies, unions, etc.: local government agencies.

12. Miscellaneous. Mining, industry, tourist, commercial, administrative units in area, organisation, scale and character of operations, employment types, rates, numbers.
Forests, fishing, hunting, income from abroad, etc.

C. SOCIAL.

Position of women, children.
Mating-types, frequencies.
Roles of kin, parents, mates, children.
Rituals of kinship, birth, baptism, death, inheritance, the after-life, extended kin-groups.

Population, distribution of resources, communications.
Markets, shops, schools, churches, sects, properties, government agencies.
Local associations, membership, functions, leadership, frequency of meetings, etc.
Cliques, class, religious, political, economic neighbourhood divisions, etc.


Number and type of Govt. agencies operating in district, or supervising district from without.

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Relations between district members and Govt. personnel.
Local political organisation, leaders, strength, etc., unions.
J.P.'s Praedial Larceny Committees, agencies offering advice.

17. Informal Patterns. Wakes, morning-sport, savings groups, exchange labour, boycotts, arbitration, birth ceremonies, inheritance, land transfer, market and employment patterns, share-cropping, cricket clubs, gambling.

18. Religion, beliefs. Sects, membership, leadership, dogma, ritual, property, services, attendance, organisation, frequency, special events; beliefs about health, cures, birth, harvests, agriculture, fishing, people, sex, wealth, God, ghosts, etc.

Social Theory:

The temptation to ignore many topics when using inventories as guides to field enquiry will often be strong, especially where technical reorganisation is the purpose of the study. Economies of effort and cost certainly result from enquiries which are direct and specific to the subject or purpose of study. But too specific an enquiry may omit factors of the greatest importance for an understanding of the matter in hand; such omissions in turn may lead to the construction of programmes which are doomed from the start by insufficient information about the problem with which they deal.

It is exactly here that sociological training and insight is most important. The sociologically informed worker

1 This inventory is obviously not exhaustive. It is simply a starting-point for many sorts of enquiry. For other inventories consult: Essentials of Rural Welfare FAO, U.N. 1949.
Outline of Cultural Materials, Human Relations Area Files, Yale University, 1952.
knows from his study of other people’s work in similar and
different contexts some of the apparently irrelevant factors
which bear on the problem or topic in question, and which
must be studied, however cursorily, if a rounded view of
the field situation is to develop. He is therefore in a good
position to guess which factors must be included, and
which topics may be safely omitted from enquiries of differ­
ing type, range, and focus. It is therefore useful to consult
a sociologist about the frame of enquiry before proceeding
to the field; by discussion of these field problems the
extension or welfare worker may even occasionally find
that there is no need for the projected survey, or that its
-guiding ideas need to be revised.

The principal idea which guides the sociologist in his
selection of topics for any specific study is that of a system.
He sees the way of life of a people as forming a system,
in much the same way that a watch or a motor-car engine
forms a system. If the watch or the engine works efficiently,
it is because their many different parts are in harmony;
when one of these parts has a fault, the others are affected,
and the watch or engine will either work less efficiently
or it may come to a full stop. In a watch, each wheel or
cog is somehow related to every other wheel or cog in the
mechanism. The majority of these relationships are in­
direct; and only the springs and wheels actually in contact
are directly related. None the less, the indirect relation­
ships form a continuous chain of interconnections, and the
performance of the watch is simply evidence of this inter­
dependence.

In social life, the situation is essentially similar. Activities, ideas and social relationships are interconnected one with the other; and within each of these three
dimensions of social life, namely, action, idea, and social
relations, every important general pattern is related to
every other pattern in some way.

Some illustrations will show how this is so. War is a
neat case; war is a group activity, involving administration,
law, material production, economic arrangements, morality,
education, propaganda, manpower, political organisation,
and often religion.
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formation listed there can be classified under two broad headings:

1. Quantitative data: i.e. information involving measurement in terms of numbers, for instance, population size, composition by age and sex, etc.

2. Qualitative data: i.e., information of a descriptive rather than a numerical kind, for instance, an account of the context, organisation, ideas, and activities of a population.

Quantitative information attempts to describe the exact distribution of defined conditions or values, as they are called, by the use of numbers. It tells us how frequently particular conditions or values occur in the group under study. For instance of 40 households, 20 may have a weekly income of 31-40/-, there may be 5 with incomes of 41-50/- per week, another 10 with incomes of 51-60/- per week, and the remainder with incomes of between 61 and 70/- per week. These figures give the frequency with which differing levels of income are found in the sample of 40 households. This information is known as a frequency distribution.

It is possible to quantify qualitative information, that is, to express it in numbers. An example of this is given above in the discussion of local settlement types (Chapter 3, section c). But qualitative data can only be converted into numbers if they have been collected in a standard fashion from or about a number of units of similar type. Some qualitative information is of this type; other information differs considerably.

It is also possible to interpret quantitative data qualitatively. Such interpretation often consists in specifying the interrelations of different distributional patterns, or the implications of any of these distributions. There are also statistical devices for interpreting distributions.

In so far as qualitative information is quantifiable, it can be collected by the methods generally used for gathering numerical data. These methods are discussed below.

The point to grasp is that descriptions without distributions are rarely precise enough for practical planning; on the other hand frequency distributions without interpretations or descriptions of their context do not give sufficient detail to inform adequate planning. Numbers and descriptive interpretation belong together, and each has its own method and logic which must be scrupulously observed.

Data collected must be capable of concise summarisation. Masses of notes and records have no value of themselves. They are useful only when ordered and organised. Statistical and analytical techniques are methods by which masses of data are first put into order, and then examined for their significance.

(7) Qualitative Information: structure and function:

Two types of descriptive data which may be unique are the account of the context of the enquiry, and the context of the group under study. These accounts are inventories of the significant and relevant features of the area, such as in extent, location, climate, cropping patterns, history, population size, numbers of shops, industries, schools, churches, organisations, associations, etc. Together these informations give a full summary of the context of field work and its content.

The second type of qualitative data which cannot normally be reduced to figures consists in accounts of the organisation of social groups, their activities, ideas, and systems of interrelations. It is here that such concepts of structure and function, status and role, are most useful, and that the method of analysis known as structural-functional analysis is important.

The structure of a social group, activity, or thing is the arrangement of its parts, that is, the relations between its parts. Thus we can speak of the structure of government, meaning the relationships between the various departments, committees, offices, and territorial divisions of government; or the structure of the skeleton, meaning the various bones and their arrangement, that is, the relations in which they stand, one to the other. Similarly, a social group or institution has a structure. Thus the formal association has a structure consisting of officials, such as the president, treasurer, secretary and the like, together with members of various types. These different
positions are known as statuses. Status is simply the Latin word for position. To every status there corresponds an expected pattern of conduct or behaviour, a set of things which the occupant of the status in question is expected to do, and a set of things which he or she is expected not to do. Thus the treasurer is expected to keep an account of the funds of the association, and to present such accounts when required; but the treasurer is required to keep the association's funds separate from his own personal income. Similarly, paternity or priesthood are both statuses, and both the father and the priest have certain roles, or things to do. Roles are simply performances expected of people occupying particular positions. Essentially, roles consist of obligations and rights, obligations to do certain things, rights to the performance of certain other things by other people. The structure of a group or activity therefore consists in an arrangement of statuses and roles. The way in which this arrangement actually affects the lives of the people is its function. Thus the function of a social practice or form is the part which it plays in the whole round of social life; similarly, within a group, the function of a status is the part which it plays in the maintenance of the group as a whole.

Now the analysis of social practice in terms of structure and function, status and role, is a useful and often necessary thing. If you turn back to the account of rural Jamaican society, and re-examine that account with care, you will find many cases of this sort of analysis, and a study of these cases will show in what ways these methods and their conclusions differ in their character from statistical procedures, and in what ways they supplement and correspond to these distributional studies.

(8) An Example:

One example of some relevance to extension workers in Jamaica is the relationship between farming practices and family organisation. This has been touched upon at several points in the description of rural society. A structural-functional approach to this problem consists in an account of family and farm organisation and practise in structural terms, and a study of their mutual relations and implications. As a field problem, one begins such a study by making a detailed enquiry into the constitution of a representative number of households, that is, their membership and organisation in terms of relationships to the household head and to one another, the age and sex composition, and recent changes of membership, if any. Information is also collected about the growth of these households, and their relationships to other households in the area; about the household land, its location, area, use-patterns, yields, types of tenure, acquisition, and conditions of occupancy; about the occupational and employment status and careers, incomes, opportunities, and relations of the household personnel; and about their joint or individual enterprises, farm or other; about the authority and role structures of these domestic families, and the composition of any extended family units to which they belong; and about the stability of family and mating relationships, the education, training, and apprenticeship of children, care of the old, burial of the dead, and religious notions as far as these affect land or its inheritance.

Information of comparable detail is then collected from each of the families under study about its actual farming practices, by crop, field, and family member; about their activities off the farm, such as wage-work, carpentry, migration, and the like; about yields, tenure, use, employment, marketing and other means of distribution or disposal; about cultivation schedules, techniques, labour arrangements, costs, concepts of good and poor farming, land, weather, market, work, returns, and the like; and especially about rights and obligations as regards other members of the family, or persons who are not kin, insofar as these relations involve land, its use, or its product, or alternative sources of income and activity. Especially important in this account of farming is the context, and the conditions which govern farming, and farm practice as a series of activities. The annual agricultural cycle provides a recurrent frame, to which cultivation schedules adjust themselves as a system for distribution
of labour and land resources within seasonal time. This system of activities on the farm must be studied in relation to the system of family roles, to determine their mutual conflicts or consistencies. The actual use of family labour on the farms gives one set of indices on this point, while the equivalence of the farm and other income with family needs and aspirations gives another.

In actual fact, only some of the data mentioned above may be gathered in field surveys. This depends on the problem under investigation, the purpose of the investigation (e.g., exploratory, comparative, or other), the resources available to the survey-team, and the amount of knowledge desired or already available. None the less, it is well to emphasise from the outset that topics selected for investigation have many diverse and important relations with other areas of social life. This warns the investigator against narrowing the field of his enquiry too sharply.

Other dimensions of this type of analysis will suggest themselves. By relating differences of farm size, practice, income, and the organisation of different families and households to one another and to other differences such as social class or differences of structure, we can see how far these variations in farm organisation, education, income level, and family type are interrelated. Since it is unlikely that a single worker could study a sufficiently large sample of farm-families to allow the application of statistically sound procedures to all these covariations, case-studies of selected farm-families may have to be used to examine these problems. In such analyses, the depth and intensity of knowledge compensates for the lack of an extensive sample; but care must be taken to ensure that the families selected for study are representative, either as types of adjustment, or statistically, and that the information used in these case-studies is accurate and complete. This is especially important with regard to psychological data, that is, ideas about such matters as marriage, family relations, inheritance, good farming practice, and the like. How complex some of these concepts can be is suggested by the discussion of the characteristics of the good farmer in the following chapter.

(9) Types of conclusions:

What sort of conclusions do we generally get from such enquiries, and what are their values? We tend to get two types of conclusion, one comparative, the other analytic. Comparative statements summarise information about the relative variability of different types of conditions; as for instance, the statement that this type of farming practice or organisation is characteristic of this or that type of household group; or that marriage is the typical basis of family relations among households farming so many acres, or with such and such levels of income per annum; or that this pattern of inheritance is typical of this or the other type of family. Analytic statements are largely statements defining the types of unit concerned, their organisation, differences, functional qualities, and the like. Taken together, these two types of statement provide a systematic account of the various relations between different farming systems and family patterns. At the least such an account is suggestive of opportunities for change, and will indicate the obstacles to certain types of change.

If the typology developed by structural analysis is filled out by information on the frequencies of the different farm and family types, then a precise description of the existing situation is presented, together with a detailed account of the working relationships of its component parts. From such an account, planners can see what types of change are most likely to win acceptance, and how they will fit into the general existing pattern; or what types of revision are necessary if their plans are to have the widest or most intensive support. The essential idea in this sort of analysis is that the field situation forms a system of interrelated aspects and parts, every significant or relevant element of which must be defined and examined to discover its relationship to the rest of the whole.

(10) Quantitative Information: Surveys and Polls:

Precise information about the distribution of measurable conditions, such as income, age, or the like, (e.g., Vital Statistics, Income Tax or Trade Figures) is quantitative. Where such information is specially wanted it is often gathered by means of surveys.
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(11) Surveys and Censuses:

There are surveys of many kinds, but they are all concerned to measure or describe the character and distribution of given conditions within a given unit. Thus the census is a type of survey; in censuses attempts are made to enumerate populations fully.

Sample surveys study carefully selected portions or samples of a population or universe, as statisticians like to call it, and provide results which are then used to make estimates about the total number from which the sample was taken. There are many problems to be considered in regard to sample surveys, and we shall discuss some of these later. The point to note here is that both sample surveys and censuses may ask identical questions; thus the sample survey of population in Britain in 1951, or the sample survey of Agricultural production in Jamaica in 1950, gathered census-type data from selected samples. But restriction of the numbers studied in sample surveys also allows some increase in the number of questions to be covered, so that frequently sample surveys yield information of greater depth and accuracy than censuses. The sample survey is also less costly than the census to prepare, execute, tabulate, analyse, and publish. It can also be employed for a variety of purposes, such as budgetary studies, cost of living enquiries, market research, and the like, for which the census is inappropriate. As we shall see, techniques of sampling and census-taking can be combined under certain conditions; the census may be used to check on the sample survey results, or the sample survey may be used to forecast or substitute for a census, as in the Jamaican population survey of 1953.

(12) Polls:

Gallup polls are a good instance of sample surveys which forecast results and substitute for censuses. A poll is a sample survey of opinions held within a given population on particular issues. Gallup polls are often made before general elections to gauge the relative strengths of competing political candidates; they are then used to calculate the number of votes which each candidate is likely to receive at the coming election; such predictions have been shown to be very accurate indeed. Polls and other opinion surveys reveal something about the attitudes of the population concerned; but this is only indirect, and may often be obscure; opinions and attitudes are different things, although related. Surveys of attitudes and opinions ask different sorts of questions, although they have many common features of method.

(13) Objective and Subjective Data:

In contrast to polls and attitude surveys, social surveys deal mainly with objective conditions, some of which are observable, such as the number and size of the rooms in a house, acreage of holdings, etc., while other items such as annual household income, tenure of family plots, or age, are not observable, although they are equally objective and subject to verification or disproof. On the other hand, the subject-matter of opinion or attitude surveys, that is, the individually reported opinions or attitudes, does not report anything except the mental state of the interviewee. Thus attitudes or opinions cannot be true or false in the same sense as the statement that a man, X, has 2 cows. The attitude or opinion can be a true or false representation of the interviewee's feelings on the particular question at the moment of enquiry; or it may be right or wrong; but verifiability or disproof differ for objective and subjective statements. In consequence of this difference, questions about attitudes, opinions, beliefs and other subjective conditions are to be separated as strictly as possible from questions about matters of fact.

(14) Types of Survey:

Surveys are systematic enquiries into particular topics. They may be more or less comprehensive or exhaustive in regard to the depth and range of their enquiry; or they may be more or less complete in the coverage, on one hand a census, on the other, a sample. But all surveys need not be quantitative, either wholly or in part. For example the Survey of African Marriage and Family Life carried out by the International African Institute is a
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summary compilation of the anthropological literature on African Marriage and Family, of the laws relating to these institutions in the different countries of Africa, and of the past and present policies of Christian Missions on this matter. Quantitative data figure in this study where relevant and available; but the mass of the report is in narrative form. It is none the less a genuine survey, being a systematic coverage of a selected problem, namely, the impact of European institutions and organisations on African Marriage and Family life. Similarly, ethnographic surveys which seek to provide complete and systematic descriptions of the ways of life of a people are also mainly qualitative. In other surveys, such as Dr. Busia's social survey of Sekondi and Takoradi in the Gold Coast, the quantitative data illustrate and point up a lengthy description. Generally, a brief discussion accompanies and highlights the tables of figures which form the substance of the survey report. Figures must be related to their context, and their significance must be pointed out. Description gains precision from numerical measures of the frequencies with which different elements or conditions are actually found.

(b) Field Techniques — General

(1) Observation:

Apart from the information which a field researcher collects by survey methods and by the study of documents, published or other, there is a substantial amount to be gathered by direct observation. This direct observation may be systematic or haphazard. Systematic observations are made in uniform conditions, or about selected personnel or practices, or at set times or places, the aim being to gather detailed eye-witness accounts of clearly defined situations or units. Normally, there are special characteristics at which systematic observation is directed; and these may be kept by the observer on a schedule as an aid to precision, uniformity and completeness of record. The construction of these schedules or guides to observation is often preceded by preliminary observation of the practice or personnel under study, to decide what factors are specially important. The advantage of these schedules in field-work is that they focus the overseer's attention on special aspects of the data. Inventories, questionnaires, and similar lists of topics to be covered are useful in much the same way. By checking the information gathered through observation against these schedules, the researcher is able to spot omissions or weaknesses of field-work quickly, and to remedy them.

Random or Haphazard observation is more difficult to use and develop. Attention flags and personal sensitivities and interests vary; so do field situations and the opportunities for observation.

(2) Language:

Language is specially important, since it conveys concepts, ideas, beliefs, nuances, logical constructions, values, and other pointers which give important clues to the meaning and goals of social action. Language is also the chief mode of interpersonal communication, and the forms which are involved in these communications reveal or suggest a good deal about the types of social relation involved. Proverbs, figures of speech, terms of abuse, praise or indifference, personal names, nicknames and the like are all signposts about social relations, expectations and behaviour patterns. The observer should therefore train himself to notice every new term or usage or figure of speech promptly, and in its context, and should try to find its meaning or reference as soon as possible.

(3) Informal Activities:

Visual observation of activities or situations is of course mixed up with communication, description, commands, questions and social interaction. The observer may be trying to study a wake, to prepare a complete

description of it. He will find that the principal pattern of activities, the lay-out of the gathering, spatially, temporally, and in action, is fairly easily observed; but he will also find that much social interaction which proceeds within or across this framework has little to do directly with the matter in hand, but has many references to other situations and relationships which are worthy of notice. If such observations are to be useful, they must be recorded immediately, and precisely, the individuals to whom they refer being identified, and the details of time, place, speech, dress, or action set down. The field-worker must also note the quality, frequency, and nature of the relationships in which he is personally involved, his reactions to these relations, and the reactions of others to him.

(4) Observer roles:

In some studies, researchers attempt to make observations about a population as if they belonged to it. They seek to identify themselves fully with the group they are studying, by sharing in as many of the people's activities as they can. This technique is known as 'participant observation'. To be successful, it requires considerable patience and time, first to gain the confidence of the population under study, and then to observe a sufficient number of similar situations or events to allow regularity and irregularity of patterns to be discerned. Sometimes, it is possible to shortcut the process, by 'symbolic participation', that is, by taking part in one or two events which have symbolic value as regards identification with the group under study, and then proceeding with the routines of field study through non-participant methods.

The great problem which faces the field-worker making haphazard observations is to keep his attention from wandering from concrete observations to general ideas. Disciplined recording of concrete particulars is one guard against such interpretation of field facts; systematic observation of selected topics is another.

(5) Recording Observations:

Observations vary in character; so do their records. Interviews and questionnaires produce verbal observations, which are recorded either on questionnaire forms or in notebooks. Diaries, maps, photographs, diagrams, kinship charts and genealogies are other types of recording device.

(6) On the spot recording:

The popular response to an open, immediate use of notebooks for field records is really conditioned by the general reaction to the investigation and the investigator. If the people accept the study in good faith, they will raise no eyebrows at an open use of notebooks for field records. If they are suspicious or resentful, they will often disguise their attitude to the investigation by directing critical glances at note-taking. The investigator should realise this, and adjust his recording practices to suit.

The most serviceable qualitative records are those made on the spot, cataloguing the details observed, reporting statements in the informant's own speech, and keeping the report as factual and brisk as possible. All such entries should be clearly dated, and the place, context, and persons present should be stated clearly. This is especially necessary for diaries. If on-the-spot recording is not practicable, then records should be made each day of the experiences, observations, and discussions of the day. A serviceable record of events and interviews frequently takes as much time to prepare as the events themselves. Much time is therefore saved by on-the-spot recording, and the record is also more faithful and detailed than otherwise. Weather records are often an important diary item.

Certain types of information cannot be remembered, and have in any event to be recorded instantly. Genealogical data, classified counts of people mapping information, market figures, budgetary information, and many other bodies of precise data belong in this class. It is therefore preferable if the field researcher from the beginning uses his notebooks openly and continuously, and familiarises the population among whom he is working with his curious and persistent literary habits. Many field-workers report
relaxed attitudes towards them when their roles as scribes have been firmly fixed in the popular mind.

Tape recordings of interviews, meetings, ceremonies and the like are worthwhile aids, where complete fidelity of the record is wanted. These records may be played back, while the discussions are written down in shorthand for later typing. Sometimes field-workers record their daily diaries on these machines.

(7) Indexing:

Qualitative records are only as useful as their indexes. Indexes must be systematic in their coverages of all entries in the field notebooks on the chosen topics, about informants, and about individuals mentioned in discussions or present at particular events. The items or subjects about which the index is constructed will naturally vary according to the main purpose of the research. A useful guide to the preparation of an index list is the index of one or more standard works covering the same field. But in preparing indexes of notebooks, space should be left for other entries, the significance of which may only become patent during the process of constructing the index itself. If several notebooks are employed, then a master-index integrating the references of the various books may be necessary.

Time spent on indexes is far from lost. An index organises the field-worker’s experience, provides a synopsis of the subject-matter, a review of the field-work itself, and develops many interrelations of the data which were formerly hidden. A good index provides the basis for a detailed report and an informative discussion; a poor index permits a poor report and slipshod thinking.

(8) Types of Interview:

From one point of view all social contacts between individuals are interviews of one type or another. Differences between casual conversation, communication of ideas, and the interview in social research are none the less important. In casual conversation the attention often wanders, and neither observation nor the course of talk may be systematic. In communicating ideas or attitudes the main effort is to ‘get something across’ to the interviewee. Thus, the social worker often seeks to influence people through the medium of the interview. In social research, however, interviews are used primarily to collect information from or about people.

The information provided by interviews consists of verbal behaviour, that is, the interviewee’s replies to particular questions or comments, and the interviewer’s direct observations. These observations form an important and necessary part of the interview record. They deal with the setting and organisation of the interview, its duration, interruptions, other people present, descriptions of the interviewee’s appearance, the place of the interview, and the interviewee’s reactions as the interview develops. Careful attention to the details of the interviewee’s manner often provides a useful clue to the reliability of the information supplied.

Interviews which are designed to influence people are quite dissimilar from interviews designed to elicit information. It is best to conduct these two types of interview separately. The attitudes which these different types of interview presuppose and the relationships which they create are quite different, and their combination may prevent either type of interview effect from being achieved satisfactorily. In either type of interview, it is important to recognise that direct and indirect effects develop and can be worked for.

(9) Reliability of Information:

In some situations and in replies to some questions a man is more likely or willing to tell the truth about other people than about himself. In other contexts and with reference to other questions, this is either unlikely or impossible, even although the interviewee makes forceful assertions to the contrary. Some interview statements refer to objective conditions, while others tell more about the individual’s personality or about the local beliefs and values than about objective events and conditions. In yet other cases interview statements tell more about how the
interviewee wishes to appear than about what he or she is really like. There is as much latitude with regard to the veracity or significance of interview information as there are different types of interviewee, interviewer, interview situation, and interview question or method. It is therefore especially important to check the statements given in interviews to determine the reliability of the information gathered.

(10) Checks on Reliability:

One useful technique is to ask about matters already investigated or known to the interviewer, to discover the margins of error or accuracy in the interviewee's replies. Another device is to cross-check interviews on the same questions with several people, and so to measure the consistencies or inconsistencies of their information. In some cases, where misleading statements are expected, it is useful to begin with an exhaustive record of the interviewee's family tree, extending it many generations backward, and including distant cousins. If the interviewee is prone to lie, the temptation to invent or misstate relationships may well prove irresistible. But if this genealogy is immediately rechecked, any misstatements it initially contained will at once be exposed, since it is virtually impossible for anyone to remember or control lies of this particular type and number accurately. The mendacious interviewee may then be dismissed, or he may be warned that further inaccuracies will be revealed by similar processes within the interview situation itself, and that he will therefore be advised to speak truthfully if he wishes the interview to continue at all. Hints are often sufficient for this purpose.

Another technique is to grade the interview on a 7-point reliability scale immediately on its conclusion, and to regrade it independently at a later date after all similar interviews have been completed in the area. In making this reliability ranking, weight is assigned to the interviewee's bearing, manner, and quality of response; but the interviewer must distribute the majority of the interviews within the five intermediate points. It is a mistake to place a large proportion of the interviews at either of the two extremes of the scale; and to do so really reflects on the interviewer's judgment, technique, and security. Thus in estimating the reliability of assistants, it is often a useful device to get them to rate their own interviews for reliability, and to note the dispersions which they report.

A Reliable Reliability Distribution

Confidential opinions of the veracity and knowledge of the battery of interviewees may be sought from four or five local folk whose opinions are respected, who know the persons concerned intimately, and whose understanding of the survey purpose and method is sufficient to permit a fair statement of opinion.

(11) Rapport:

The interviewee must always be right in relation to the interview situation, except insofar as false information is concerned; yet even where misleading information is given, it is wise to note its misleading character quietly and not to argue with the interviewee over details. Such arguments usually lead nowhere, and often worsen interviewer-interviewee relations. If the interview is designed either to influence the interviewee or to elicit information, the interviewer's business is to achieve his effect with the cooperation of the interviewee through the process of establishing a satisfactory contact or rapport, and by systematically manipulating this. The sort of rapport essential to a successful interview cannot be established by cursory questions of a general character, nor by talking down or by talking at the interviewee. Interview rap-
port develops from a mutual sympathy of interviewer and interviewee. Interviews are successful on the basis of an informal equality between the participants. The interviewer who stresses class difference, whether by expecting subservience, or by upsetting the class-expectations of the interviewees through the abandonment of such general class standards and patterns as language, is in both cases defeating the purposes of the interview by carrying elements into the interview which underwrite or underscore the social inequalities of interviewer and interviewee. Confidential information does not usually develop in such situations.

It is useful to distinguish between interviews and questionnaires, between group and individual interviews, and between qualitative and quantitative interviews.

The principal purposes of the fact-finding interview are:

1. The collection of objective information,
2. The collection of subjective information, i.e., information revealing attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, etc.,
3. Providing chances for systematic observations, and
4. To supplement other types of enquiry.

(12) Individual Interviews:

Individual interviews are best conducted in private; their duration varies according to the character, amount, type, and depth of information sought. Case studies carried out by means of individual interviews may involve series of long conversations between interviewer and interviewee, as in psycho-analysis. Privately conducted individual interviews based on satisfactory rapport provide the interviewee with favourable conditions in which to relax, and to discuss matters confidentially. An individual may be prepared to disclose information about his debts, love-affairs, income, history, etc., in private, which he may not otherwise do. In face-to-face discussions also, there is less chance of interview misunderstandings over language, and the interviewer can freely interpose to clarify particular points of enquiry or reply. The individual interview brings the interviewer into direct contact with the interviewee, and this contact once favourably established may have further values in other respects and situations, including return visits to repeat or check on the interview.

In the individual interview, the interviewer can vary the order of enquiry so that the interviewee is prepared in advance for the more sensitive questions; the interviewer can also observe the interviewee more systematically and deeply than otherwise, and can introduce a variety of checks on the reliability of the interview.

The difficulty referred to as 'interview bias' is the great drawback of the individual interview. Undue sympathy or antipathy towards the interviewee may give the interviewer's evaluation of the interview data an unfortunate twist. Within the interview itself also, the easy, conservational way in which it is usual to ask questions, allows the interviewer unawares to inject certain biases or assumptions into the questions which he asks, or to suggest certain replies or attitudes to the interviewee. Moreover, in the easy exchanges of individual interviews, attitudes, opinions, beliefs, and objective facts or misrepresentations are often much mixed up. The best check on these types of bias is to administer the interview to a sufficiently large number of persons, so that inconsistencies or regularities of the reports may become apparent, and the objective elements may be distinguished from the subjective.

(13) Group Interviews:

Group interviews sometimes occur willy-nilly. The investigator may find himself accosted by a number of persons asking for information about his work or some other matter. Or he may simply come up on a group already in being, unexpectedly. Alternatively he may himself arrange to call groups together to speed up the output and rate of information. Group discussions can be stimulated on certain points and may provide a wide variety of attitudes, ideas, and other social reactions which the interviewer is interested to know. But to collect information from individual members of a group as a group
calls for other approaches. If the information is personal or individual, it may have to be gathered by pencil and paper methods, each person writing down the answer to numbered questions, in silence. This form of interviewing is highly impersonal in character, and despite its quick turnout of information, or its reduction of interviewer bias, leaves much to be desired, especially where understanding of the questions or intentions are concerned. Moreover, if any member of a group has set opinions hostile to the fieldwork, and has communicated them to others, there may be a general misleading response, which the interviewer may not detect. On the other hand, if information about the locality or other relatively public matters is sought, the group interview or discussion may reduce the scope for individual misinformation, while informing several persons about the interviewer and about his work simultaneously, and also providing as full and accurate an account of local knowledge or norms as possible.

(14) Questionnaires:

In discussing group interviews, mention has been made of questionnaires. A questionnaire is simply a list of questions. The selection, phrasing, and organisation of this list of questions is decisive for the value of the questionnaire. The main rules in constructing questionnaires are to make the questions as few, as simple, as clear, and as directly related to the topic as possible. Even so, there are many different forms of questionnaire and questions. We can set aside the problems presented by different forms of question for a moment, and deal with those presented by different forms of questionnaire.

Some questionnaires are published in newspapers, or other mass communication media. Others are distributed by circular, such as income-tax forms. Others may be administered to groups by the pencil-and-paper methods just described. Others may be administered individually, the interviewee writing down the replies on the questionnaire schedule himself, or the interviewer asking the questions verbally, and entering the answers on his form. Some of these individually-administered questionnaires may be topical and quantitative in their reference, others may be qualitative, or less systematic and uniform in their contents, administration, and record.

In countries with high illiteracy rates, the room for choice in the form of questionnaires is somewhat limited. In the recent survey preceding Frequency Conversion in Jamaica, it was possible to advertise phases of the enquiry about the consumption of electricity in the newspapers; and to despatch circulars to electricity consumers, who were in the majority likely to be literate. This assumption of general literacy cannot normally be made in enquiries among our country folk; this means that, in the main, questionnaires among these rural populations have to be administered individually. Even the simple group method may be of little use.

(15) Controlled Interviews:

Individual administration of questionnaires really turns them into a kind of interview. The difference between these types of fact-finding interviews and the less rigidly scheduled or systematic kind is important none the less. Interview administration of questionnaires can tend to be a one-way procedure, the interviewer simply asking questions, the interviewer offering replies. This sort of interaction often defeats the purpose of the interview, and may produce significant misinformation. To reduce the chance of such misinformation, the interviewer must seek to cultivate rapport within the questionnaire framework, by comments, by some discursive discussion, by asking irrelevant questions for his own personal information, and by generally stimulating the interviewee to feel that the form of exchange is in fact a freer, more open and more equal one than it really is. At the same time, care must be taken first to translate the interview questions into a form easily understood by the interviewee, and then to rephrase them in the terms of the schedule so that uniformity in question-pattern is maintained over the number of interviews.

The interviewer must always keep in mind the fact
that an interview is a process of social interaction, and must therefore be a two-way exchange. It lies entirely within the interviewer's power to produce or prevent this exchange developing. Thus the real responsibility for the success or failure of the interview rests squarely upon the interviewer. "The interviewer should aim to make the interview the interviewee's moment", keep it there, and not allow it to shift to the interviewer! The role of the interviewee is that of the narrator telling the story in his own way, and any interruptions by the interviewer must be reduced to the minimum'. These quotations pinpoint the quality and condition of successful interviewing.

In preparing questionnaires for individual administration by interview methods, these factors should be borne in mind. For these and other reasons also, it is often rewarding to phrase the interview questions in an open-ended fashion, so that the interviewee may respond freely, and the interviewer may follow up with further enquiries to define the information more precisely or to clear up certain points which he did not expect. The supplementary questions or 'probes' which an interviewer puts in order to clarify replies to a preceding open-ended question may also serve to check on other statements of the informant which appear to be contradictory, or to date and place the events reported, discovering the informant's associations, biases, attitudes, and range of knowledge.

Interview administration is a technique which can only be learned by practice, and which one is never finished learning. Some suggestions about how to develop these practice experiences are made later in discussing the training of enumerators. In the West Indies, the "ignorance", suspiciousness, and diffidence of the rural folk are no obstacle to the development of satisfactory interview relations, as long as the interviewer is willing to be frank, democratic in manner, and sincere. Popular fears of increased taxation, or of other nefarious motives for fieldwork, should be openly discussed, and assurances of privacy offered the informant. The interview should end, as stressed before, on a friendly note, both interviewer and interviewee feeling pleased with meeting one another, and willing to do so again.

(16) The Use of Direct Questions:

Our previous discussion has stressed the danger of defining the range of enquiry too narrowly. A useful rule in designing questionnaires is to define the central topic or purpose of the enquiry, and to explore its relations to the context under study. Perhaps half the questions on the schedule may be devoted to the central topic, to define its nature and extent with precision and detail; the remainder would give information about its relations to other aspects of local life, such as the age and sex composition of the population, their economic differentiation, educational levels, religious affiliation and/or notions, class or political or occupational differences, etc. The inventory of topics given above is organised with such ideas in mind. In selecting topics for study, and in framing questions for field use, specificity is the quality to emphasise. Enquiries should be directed at individuals about their own, personal activities, selecting the individuals likely to pursue or participate in the activity under investigation. Ask when the action takes place, how it occurs, develops, is prepared for, or concludes; with whom; ask what the individuals present do, what are their roles and positions; who are they; get their names, ages, and sexes, kinship and other relations; ask what materials, costs, contexts are involved; what is the reason of the activity, the alternative forms of action, where does it take place; what is the frequency of its occurrence, etc.

If a general pattern such as a marriage celebration is under discussion, get a thorough description of the last marriage attended by the interviewee, and proceed as suggested above. If attitudes and opinions are the objects of enquiry, tie the discussion down to particulars as much
as possible; if some technique such as fishing or boat-building is being studied, the best course is clearly to take part in these processes and observe them in action; if this is not possible, get as detailed a description as possible of them from someone who has local prestige for these skills, and supplement, check, or correct this by accounts from other persons, until the principal alternative forms are known, and repetition indicates exhaustiveness of information.

(17) Types of Question:

Fact-finding interviews may be diffuse or specific, controlled or uncontrolled, comparable or otherwise, and the questions which compose them may be closed, open or somewhat in between. A closed question is one to which only the answer yes or no can be given. Do you like marmalade? Do you prefer guava jelly to marmalade? An open-ended question is one to which many answers are possible. What do you like to eat? How old are you? What is your name? The closed form of these last questions would be as follows: Are you John Smith? Do you like marmalade, or guava jelly? Are you 43? Sometimes closed and open-ended questions may be combined, by allowing a choice of answers, e.g., which do you prefer, guava jelly, strawberry jam, or marmalade? This type of question often gives misleading replies, since the informant may not really like any of these items at all, but none the less may dislike some more than others. In other words this form of question limits the respondent's freedom to report his reactions accurately and honestly.¹

It is possible to use the closed or multiple choice type of question as a leading question, as in the example just given. Lawyers make great use of leading questions for purposes of cross-examination, and occasionally interviewers may do the same. But it is generally preferable in interviews to avoid leading questions, and to use open-ended questions with follow-ups of a more specific character.


See also, Hsin-Pao Yang, 1955, Fact-finding with Rural People, FAO. Rome.
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clean up the place and handle the cow and when he had a truck, I used to work on the truck most of the time.

Q. What happen to the truck?
A. The truck break down, and he don't have the money to repair it.

Q. When did it break down?
A. It break down in December last.

Q. And it is since December that you have been working with him as yard-boy?
A. Yes.

Q. Tell me something now, when did you start to farm for yourself?
A. Well to tell you the truth sir, it is since May I find that I and the Chinaman did fall out, we had a little misunderstanding about something, I can't even remember what it was now, and I feel I better get a little bit of land, so I get around a square of share land, I say I better help myself instead of helping others, and see what I can do.

Q. Who gave you the share land?
A. This man, Mr. Jonas that I just talk about.

Q. And you rent the other from him too?
A. No, I rent that from the estate.

Q. About how much?
A. About a quarter acre, but most of it is bush.

Q. You clear it yet?
A. Lawd, no. I don't have the chance, too much troubles jumping about here and there trying to get the money to buy the shop goods, but I have the intention.

This imaginary dialogue illustrates various aspects of interview technique and form. Note how the pace and precision of the information increases as we proceed from the opening general self-description into the details of employment and occupational history over the preceding twelve months, and how easy it is to collect precise information about names, dates, and the like, by interjecting brief questions at appropriate points in the narrative; or by referring back to apparent inconsistencies of information to elicit further data on the assumption of good faith.

In handling such open-ended questions and fast flowing interviews the interviewer must learn to interpret and organise his data as it keeps coming in. The questionnaire or schedule which has to be filled in is the guide to this interpretation. Use of open-ended questions places a considerable strain on the intelligence and flexibility of the interviewer, who must know his subject and its field thoroughly, and should be capable of immediate interpretations of the interviewee's responses, together with instantaneous formulation of the specific but simple questions necessary to sharpen his information. The closed type of question leaves little scope for intelligent initiative on the part of interviewer and interviewee alike.

(18) Ethnographic Interviews:

Individually administered questionnaires and other quantitative interviews are designed to develop information of uniform character from units of a sample by the application of techniques which are as identical as the difference in individual interview rapport permits. It is the business of the qualitative, ethnographic type of interview to provide materials essential to inform the interviewee about general social conditions and practices, and to develop a sufficient background for a realistic appreciation of the local scene and its potentialities.

Ethnographic data may be collected systematically, and must always be checked; but different types of information may be sought from different people, or in an apparently casual form. For example, the subject of land value and land transfer may be of interest. This can be pursued initially by systematic inquiry into the dates of transactions known to sympathetic informants, the acreages, prices, places or parties involved; and these data may be supplemented or checked discursively. This information will not normally give a complete record of such transactions; but if it is accurate, the record will give a use-

ful idea about their frequency, form, modal values, and local significance or effects. Data collected in this way about such conditions as local class-structure, marketing patterns, etc., serve to deepen the researcher's knowledge of the local situation. These data provide useful supplements to the information collected in uniform fashion by questionnaire or survey methods.

(19) **Interpreting Generalisations:**

Finally, there is the problem of interpreting generalisations made by informants; for example, assertions that 60% or 90% of the population of a given area are illiterate, drunk, ganja smokers, thieves, etc., or are fellows of a superb character and performance. Such statements reveal a good deal about the attitudes of the people who make them and they are suggestive about the social relations in which the informants in question may be involved. But as regards factual reference, they must be handled with the greatest caution. It is a common source of error to accept statements by one person about another as a factual description, and this error is only multiplied when the statement is made about a group. If the truth about a population and its conditions is to be known in detail, there is no adequate shortcut or substitute for the collection of data from individuals about themselves and their individual situations.

(20) **Case Studies:**

Case-study is a method by which all information relevant to the understanding of a particular problem is collected about a selected individual or unit. The aim of the case-study is to produce as accurate, intimate and detailed a picture of a particular adjustment and its background as is possible. Psychoanalysis, which is a method for the treatment of mental disorders, presents the extreme instance of reliance on the case-study.

The unit of case-studies varies according to the problem involved. Normally, the unit is either an individual, a family, a household, or a community. But case-study methods can also be applied to schools, administrative organisations, firms, and other structures. In any circumstance, the approach is similar.

The study begins with the history of the unit under study, tracing its development within the given contexts, its career, and the problems of choice which faced it; its motivations or reasons for selecting certain goals rather than others; and all other information which increases and deepens understanding of those adjustments which form the case-history.

The unit's contemporary position is then examined against the background insights provided by case history; its resources, organisation, liabilities, strains, compensations, opportunities, frustrations, and similar qualities are catalogued for further study. Where some change in the subject's adjustment is intended, the material collected is then examined to reveal correspondences between the goals, capacities and resources of the subject, and positive opportunities within the present situation.

Although case history records may be lacking, case studies can be used to examine particular combinations of factors revealed by more extensive surveys; or case analysis may be used to illustrate relationships between certain conditions and factors.

Case-study methods applied to individuals stress the psychological factor strongly, and thus involve detailed knowledge of the subject's attitudes, aptitudes, temperament, personal relationships, etc. Some of these materials may be checked by information supplied by persons other than the subject. Much of the data to be used can only be supplied by the subject, and most of this will be autobiographical. The object here is to see how the subject views his situation, how he explains his experience to himself, or justifies his behaviour, what are his goals, motivations, and the like.

Case studies are especially helpful in describing such social processes as adjustment to city life, learning new roles, disorganization, conversion or the loss of faith. Such case studies give insight into far-reaching psychological changes and also illuminate the processes they describe by indications of causes and effects.
Farm units can also be studied by the case method to understand such matters as farm management, or conservatism with regard to the technical aspects of farming. Often such intensive studies of a small number of units produce information of greater consequence than can be gathered by more extensive surveys. Where conditions permit, it is wise to attempt to combine a small number of case studies with extensive surveys.

(c) Field Technique — Specific

(1) Some Special Problems:

Often the type of information required forms something of a special problem, in the sense that it cannot be verified by observation or be stated simply, but describes a complex pattern such as family organisation, budget constitution and size, etc. In this section we shall discuss four categories of data with which extension workers may have to deal, and which all have a complex character. These four types of data all create special survey or recording problems. They are family or household composition, household budgets, farm yields, and social stratification or differentiation. For studying each of these problems there are appropriate techniques, and the extension worker should be familiar with these, so that he is able to use them easily and effectively.

(2) Household and Family Studies:

Household composition refers to the membership of a domestic family. A domestic family is a unit which eats and sleeps together as a rule. Some ambiguity is involved in the phrase 'as a rule'. This may be interpreted for survey purposes as referring to four or more days in the week preceding the survey. Resident visitors may be included within the domestic families of the households in which they are found at the time of the survey, their status as visitors being underlined. Members of the unit who are away on visits at the time of the survey should be catalogued and their absence on visits should be noted also. As long as these temporary changes of household composition consequent on movements of members are treated uniformly, it does not matter very much how these movements are dealt with. But indefinite or long-term movements, that is, of two weeks or more, should be differentiated from short term visits; for instance, movements out can be treated as absences, while movements into the survey households of longer periods may be regarded as membership.

Another problem about the boundary or limits of household membership arises from the dual criteria of household definitions. Sometimes a person sleeps in one household, but has all his or her meals elsewhere. Such arrangements indicate marginal membership, and all such cases should be noted for later analysis. The condition which worries so many people, namely, that the various adults of a household may each pursue their own occupations independently, and may keep their own individual incomes for their own individual expenditures, is not a serious difficulty in regard to the study of household composition, but is important in studying household budgets, incomes, and the like. In relation to household membership, we simply wish to know the names, sex, age, and precise inter-relationship of all persons who habitually sleep and eat in the unit over the preceding week.

The person best equipped to furnish this information may be the household head. The household head, as mentioned above, may indeed object to this information being given by other members of the household. Such objections should be noted, accepted, and reserved for further enquiry since they often reflect instabilities within the household or its instability with regard to the community. Often however, there is a problem of who is the household head. Where a man and woman are cohabiting, it is general practice in Jamaica for both parties to declare that the man is the family head. But sometimes the cohabitation is recent, partial, or otherwise different from normal practice. For instance, the woman may own the home, or she may rent it; the land and other resources attached may be hers or in her control, and she may have her kinsfolk or her children by former unions living with her in sufficient numbers to indicate that she controls the
disposal of housing facilities within the unit. In such cases, the test really is quite simple. Who would move out, man or woman, in case of dispute and decision to separate? Another test is to ask, who, in the event of disputed decision, really has the right to permit or refuse accommodation to visitors, kin or other, within the household? The answer to these two questions really identifies the household head in most ambiguous situations. Almost all such ambiguous cases involve coresidence of man and woman, and in some of these instances, the two may even be married; more usually they are not.

In many surveys, the individual survey units are domestic families or households; hence it is usually necessary to take special care in collecting accurate and detailed information about the household group. Even where there is no doubt about the household headship, it is desirable to know which household members own or rent land, how much, how long, and where; and there are many other sorts of information which should be collected about each individual household member, such as occupation, employment status, literacy, marital or parental status, and the like.

Recording data on household organisation presents something of a problem. One way of doing so is illustrated below:

1. John Smith, male, 58, butcher, born here, household head, house-renter, rents 1 acre (50/- per annum at X, controls $1\frac{1}{2}$ acre family land at Y). Literate.
2. May West, female, 62, common-law wife of John, born at Z, here for past 30 years, housewife, higgler, no reading or writing.
3. Dora Hamilton, female, 28, daughter of 2 by another union, seamstress, straw-weaver, housewife, born at K, here since 1945, illiterate.
5. James Donald, male, 9, son of 3 (by different father).
6. Tom Hamilton, male, 33, born at K, husband of 3, carpenter, mason, truckdriver, $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres bought at P., literate. Here since 1948.

By numbering the individuals and referring to them in this way, the process of recording relationships is somewhat simplified at the same time that the relationships are recorded precisely. But it is possible to record this information more economically, precisely, and rapidly, by diagrams and symbols such as the following:

7. Celia Hamilton, 6, female, daughter of 3 and 6.
8. Lane Hamilton, 2, male, son of 3 and 6.
9. Ira Joseph, female, 9, daughter of daughter of 1 and 2.
This household diagram is really a simplified family-tree, showing how the various members of the household are related to one another, and their names, ages, and sex. Information on land ownership, occupation, etc., is recorded outside the limits of the household boundary-line, opposite the individual to whom it refers.

Note that in the diagram of John Smith's household, the household head's resident grandchild, Ira Joseph, is linked to the household head, through her mother, who is placed outside of the household boundary, as she is not living within it. Information about the mother's name, location, and the girl's father, should also be collected in such cases, as it may indicate the precise kinship connections between this and some other nearby households.

Note also that in the written record of the membership of John Smith's household which precedes the diagram, the birth-status of Ira Joseph escaped attention; but that in the system of symbols and signs used for the household diagram, this omission is brought to light. It is in fact the greatest virtue of these genealogical diagrams or family-trees that they bring to notice immediately any points about which information has not been collected; in fact, such diagrams can only be drawn if the record of relationships is complete and precise.

In family records detail and precision are specially important with regard to birth and mating status, and also about the character of kinship connection. Lawful birth status, i.e. legitimacy, is generally indicated by the marital status of the parents, and this by comparing the mother's surname, with that of the child or child's father. But wherever there is the least doubt about the specific type of mating or birth-status of family members it is necessary to ask carefully. In the family group represented above, for example, careless enquiries would probably result in Dora Hamilton being regarded as the daughter of John Smith, and this would be a serious error.

(3) Terminology:

Such kinship statuses and terms as uncle or aunt and nephew or niece, or grandparent and grandchild, cousins, and the like, and even such terms as brother and sister, are all too vague for the types of family and household analysis which is necessary if rural family patterns and functions in Jamaica are to be understood. There is likely to be a good deal of difference between aunts related to a person through his or her father, and through the mother; and also between aunts who are full sisters of one's parents, those who are maternal half-sisters of one's mother or father, and those who are paternal half-sisters of either parent. The same point applies to the children of one's full siblings (brothers or sisters), to the children of one's maternal half-brothers or half-sisters, and to the children of one's paternal half-brothers or paternal half-sisters. Equally significant in many cases is the difference of birth-statuses of the kinsfolk to whom or through whom these relationships are traced. A lawful or legitimate child may often not admit to relationship with his father's unlawful or illegitimate child, or may genuinely be ignorant of the other's paternity; and this variability in the quality of kinship associated with differences of birth-status, and half-siblings, (i.e., where people have only one parent in common), considerably affects the organisation of household groups and extended families alike.

(4) The Genealogical Method:

The references below should be consulted for further information on the nature of these genealogical methods. The methods are basic tools of social field research, and they can be employed to collect systematic data on a variety of topics and individuals rapidly and simultaneously.

To illustrate their utility let us reconsider the case of John Smith's household. Relationships between Smith's...
family and other people in the locality are clearly worth knowing. To obtain such knowledge, we simply expand the range of Smith's genealogy by asking who was his father, who was his mother, who are or were his full brothers and sisters, his maternal half-brothers and half-sisters, his paternal half-brothers and half-sisters; who were his father's brothers and sisters, his mother's brothers and sisters, how many children did each of these kin have, what are or were their names, their mates, lawful or other, their children, their place of residence. We can continue this type of enquiry till we have completely exhausted all the information which Smith possesses about his kin. We can then do the same for Smith's common-law wife, and then for the latter's daughter, asking who are the fathers of her various children, where do these men live, who are her paternal half-brothers and half-sisters, etc.; and finally, we can do the same for this woman's husband.

In making a full genealogy of the people in Smith's household, or in any similar unit, we therefore deal exhaustively with the kinsfolk and in-laws (affines) of each member in turn and collect the same set of information about all individuals referred to. In cases of households such as John Smith's for instance, it is clearly important to know about all the children which Smith and his consort have had, either separately or together, and about the mating relations and issue of these children. By extending Smith's genealogy to its limits we also obtain information on several other points, such as the scatter or location of kin and in-laws, their identity and specific relationship, age, numbers, etc.; the genealogy will also provide information on such different subjects as migrancy, occupational changes over the generations, inheritance of land and other resources, family structure and roles, etc. In many instances, it is difficult to collect such census materials about family lines except by use of the genealogical method. In studying the growth, composition, or movements of populations, these genealogies, if complete, provide a census of the local population not otherwise obtainable, and include those who are dead or absent. Statistics on infant mortality, fertility, and similar matters can be rapidly collected by these techniques.

The value of precise information on family and household organisation will be especially obvious in welfare work, which is often addressed to family units. Analysis of such information proceeds initially by grouping together households according to the sex of their head; by classifying these household heads according to their sex, age, occupation, and similar factors; by examining the situation of the principals (household seniors) to determine their mating and parental status or histories, by examining the household membership to determine in what proportions kin of different types are resident (e.g. sons, daughters, sons' children, daughters' children, parents, etc.) within different types of households, and the number of generations present within households having heads of different sex or age; by working out the distribution of children with special reference to their age, sex and birth-status, and their coresidence with either of their parents; by calculating the average number of persons per household, the range in household size and other conditions. An excellent instance of this sort of analysis, and one which has the greatest relevance for West Indians generally, is Dr. Raymond Smith's book on the Negro Family in British Guiana.1

(5) Household Budgets:

Household Budgets presuppose precise information on household constitution, and develop further information about the roles of family members, especially about their economic relationships. The value of such data to extension workers in agriculture and welfare does not require stressing. The household budget shows who contributes what, how much, and how frequently to the common pool, who controls this common pool, and who receives what, how frequently, etc., from it. It also tells us about the private individual incomes and expenditures of the family members, and about their occupations and other economic activities. The sorts of distinction between family and in-

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individual property, incomes, expenditure, and rights which are revealed by these budgetary studies summarise the economic aspect of household and family relations as no other information can.

Often enough budgets are as revealing in their omissions as in their detail; and even inaccurate budgets have some use in describing the norms and assumptions of household practice, especially the difference between group and individual income and responsibilities.

Budgets may be collected from household groups on a daily basis for a limited period, e.g., 10 days, or a month, or 10 days in each quarter of the year (where it is desired to get a picture of seasonal changes in household economy). Estimates of household income may also be made for some longer period, such as 12 months, by itemising all the activities of each individual in the household, by detailing their quality, extent, regularity, turnover, margins of cost and reward, and by aggregating these informations firstly as accounts of individual annual incomes, and secondly as total household incomes. Unless there is a battery of external and internal checks available for these annual calculations, they are clearly not likely to be as complete or accurate as the information provided by the day-to-day records. An accurate annual estimate of household income presupposes a detailed knowledge of household resources and occupations. But even where these resources and occupations are known, there is no easy way of gauging the reliability or accuracy of the annual estimates, unless a detailed account of annual household expenditure, crop yields, etc., is also available to be balanced against the computed incomes1.

Day-to-day household budgets gain depth and detail when they are collected together with inventories of food eaten or prepared within the units, and also deal with disposal of working-time by household members. If these types of data are collected together with the daily income and expenditure figures from all household members, certain checks are worked into the budget which are otherwise lacking. These checks may not always serve to make the information gathered as accurate as is desirable; but they usually reduce the scope and margins for misleading replies.

Day-to-day budgeting should be exactly what its name implies, a record collected from each household day by day over the allotted period. People cannot be expected to remember the details of the day before yesterday accurately or completely; thus to avoid errors of retention, budget information must be collected each day. It is unreliable to collect household budgets by interviews held once a week. Where a picture of household economy over the seasons of a year is desired, there is a choice between day-to-day records of a short period in each season, and the compilation of annual estimates. In certain cases information about the exact quantities and types of food eaten, and about the methods of food preparation and distribution, may be desired for the study of nutrition and diet. These informations are usually collected by weighing each individual item on reliable scales, and by timing the various processes by which food is prepared. A study of this type may require one field-worker to every four or five families, simply because these families will tend to take their meals at the same time, and the food distribution may have to be weighed. Where a verbal account of the day’s activities is sought, rather than direct observation, one worker should be able to cover 10 or more households with daily visits. In the estimation of annual household income, detailed discussion of each item is important, and even under the best conditions, and with the simplest intake of information, this will normally take at least one hour per household per worker. Where systematic checks are to be developed within the interview, the time required may run to 3 or 4 hours per household studied.

(6) Farm Yields:

Farm yields—occupational turnovers, and similar topics

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Smith, M. G., 1955, The Economy of Hausa Communities of Zaria, London, H.M.S.O.


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form an essential part of estimates of annual household or individual incomes among rural folk. Here again accuracy presents a problem. The only adequate control is direct observation and measurement of the yields of selected plots of known condition, cultivation, size, soil-type, etc. This is not always possible, due to the time and costs involved, or to the character of the farming schedule and the crop. Such crops as cassava, sweet potato, yam, etc., have indefinite harvest seasons, and present special problems of measurement. Moreover, the most exacting observational programme may be defeated simply by weather, pests, or other unusual conditions, including market-prices, during the survey year. Agricultural Departments and other highly-financed agencies seek to get around these difficulties by planting programmes designed to give data on yields, and these are often combined with experiments, for instance, with fertilisers. The results of these experiments are often suggestive, in reference to probable margins of yield, but as a rule they require careful interpretation and are not normally representative of field-conditions.

Where the yield of particular crops forms the principal object of enquiry, it is necessary to construct a sample of fields containing such crops, and the observations used in calculating the average and range of variation in yields will be confined to the selected plots. Otherwise, the sample from which information is collected may consist of farm families or units, each of which may grow a somewhat different combination of crops, or the same crops in a slightly different way, with the result that the yield averages and ranges of variation reflect the heterogeneity of crop cultivation patterns rather than the productivity values of any crop under uniform conditions.

Information collected from local farmers about their crop yields over the preceding 12 months cannot be reliable unless it is based on detailed knowledge of their farm-holdings, cropping acreages for the period concerned, farm practices, etc. For this purpose, the concept of a field as an area of continuous and uniform cropping is useful. For example, the land on which cabbage and carrots are intermixed forms one field, the adjoining land on which cabbage alone is planted forms another. The extent of the different fields can then be estimated or measured precisely. Measurement by surveyor’s tape along the sides of the field should be combined with measurement of the diagonals to produce two or more triangles per field; accuracy is thereby increased. The farmer will often remember the number of rows in the particular area, and the number of plants per row, the season of planting, the number of plants supplied, and similar matters; but these data can only be gathered by a patient and detailed discussion of each crop in each field separately. When the total plant stocks have been itemised in this way, due care being given to the different holdings, the costs, seed used, etc., it is time to tackle the problem of estimating yields.

The difficulties of estimating yields vary with the crop. For example, Bananas are usually spaced at set intervals, giving a certain number of plants per acre; often the farmer has records of the number and size of the stems which he sold to the Banana Growers’ Association over the past year; these can be subtracted from the estimated number of plants and a calculation of the proportion of diseased plants now in the field can be projected backwards as plant losses over the preceding 12 months. The remaining banana plants must then have either been rejected sales, or locally marketed, or been used by the farmer’s household, thefts, wind-losses, or gifts. Enquiry about the frequencies and volume of each of these items, and about their approximate values, will serve to check the farmer’s reliability as well as the adequacy of the calculation.

Yams can be dealt with by number of hills of different varieties in different fields, and by number of roots or yam-heads per hill, the average yield weight minus yam-head being taken as the mean between the best and worst weights, with losses by theft or non-bearing excluded.

Most cultivated crops can be treated along these lines, but tree-crops such as mangoes, breadfruit, coconuts, avocado pears, and the like present special problems, both in estimating the yields, and in assigning values to them.
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The number of bearing trees of each type is first ascertained, and in cases such as coconuts, this number may be multiplied by some figure, such as 200 (representing four harvests of 50 nuts each for trees free of disease), the total being evaluated at local prices per 100 nuts of middle size. But with breadfruit, pears, and similar products liable to extensive wastage, there is little point in inflating farm production figures and values by inclusion of the waste. The alternative approach is to determine the frequency and amounts consumed, exchanged, given away, sold or otherwise disposed of by the farmer and his family over the harvest period of each of these crops, valuing this aggregate at its lowest local in-crop price.

The estimate of non-farm annual incomes proceeds similarly, by isolating seasonal fluctuations of price or activity, frequencies, costs, margins, turnover, etc., and by using these data for estimates based on the reported means or average of each factor. Other income sources, such as rent, interest, loans, share-cropping or small stock, poultry, market speculation, labour, and the like can also be itemised, and their total values when compared with the estimate of annual farm income will give an idea of the relative proportions of income from farming activities of different types. For further study of methods, problems, and calculations involved in these yield studies, the literature cited below should be consulted.1

One important product of farm yield studies is to indicate the relative profitability of the different crops actually cultivated by the farming population and their significance as food supplies. In comparisons of this sort, of course, it is important to attend to the range in the variation of yields for the same crop as well as between different crops.


Another value of these studies is that they give some idea of the amounts and proportions of different crops which are distributed along different channels, e.g., export markets, local marketing, long-distance intra-island marketing, home consumption, gifts, etc.

(7) Status Differences:

Social Stratification and differentiation have been discussed above, and the importance of knowledge about these details of local society for development work will not be gainsaid. The exact, scientific analysis of stratification and differentiation is one of the most complex problems which faces social science. With this aspect of social class, the field-worker is not concerned. What he or she should know is how to collect data which describe the character and composition of social strata for the area in which work is projected, and how to interpret such data.

The simplest method is to interview a small number of people, selected partly because they are cooperative, partly because they are knowledgeable, and partly because they occupy different positions in the local prestige ranking. Each interview should be private, discursive, conversational, and as pleasant in its tone as possible. The interviewer can begin with the question, "how many types, sorts, or classes of people do you have around here?" This will evoke some general description which can be followed up by further questions about the nature of these divisions, their ranking and their membership. To specify the membership of these different social strata or groups, it is necessary to place many individuals of the local population in this system of classes. Once this process begins, the interviewer can suggest the names of people known to him, and may then ask the interviewee to place them. To cope with the details and differences of ranking and relation of the individuals he is considering, it is quite likely that the interviewee will modify the simple scheme of social classes with which he began the discussion.

When a sufficient number of persons have been classified in this manner, the interviewer can ask further about
their informal groupings, cliques, etc., and about such types of relation which hold between and among individual members of the different classes, for instance, association or avoidance, equality or dominance; about exchange of visits, positions in formal associations, similarities or differences of behaviour of the various classes in religion, family life, and other spheres, their local consciousness of difference; and about the patterns of leadership, authority, employment, antagonism or conflict which characterise class relations. Instances of actual events, situations, and individual adjustments should be discussed in relation to each of these points, and in the course of such discussion the interviewer will collect much information about the local scene. Finally, all cases of social mobility or movement from one stratum and set of associates to another, may be discussed, together with the bases and functions of the system of ranking.

If this interview is repeated with a few individuals, a fairly representative picture of the local stratification and differentiation is quickly built up, and the status placement of many or all of the people and families of the area can then be worked out, as well as their friendships, avoidance, or hostilities. The object of this type of study is to determine what the local system of class and prestige is, how it works, what it does, and what it forbids; in other words, what adaptations may have to be made to the plan of extension or welfare work in the light of this system.

(d) Survey Design and Execution

(1) Survey Design:

Every social survey is to some extent unique; it is unique either in relation to the time at which it is taken, or to the population studied, or the personnel who carry it out, or the enquiries which it involves; the thing which all reliable social surveys have in common is their method.

Because each survey is somehow different, and faces its own peculiar problems it must be preceded by careful planning and preparation. These preparations vary according to the character and elaborateness of the survey concerned, and the conditions expected in the field. But the following features are common to all pre-survey planning:

1. Determination of survey purpose.
3. Delimitation of area or group to be surveyed.
4. Preparing a work schedule and budget.

When the survey costs or scope warrants it, a planning committee may also be formed to advise and supervise the work, field workers may have to be recruited, organized and trained, and the population selected for study may be informed through newspapers, radio, circulars, or by other means. If planning committees are arranged, they should contain at least two people professionally informed about the principal topic of the survey, e.g., health, education, plus a statistician and a social scientist. If no committees are formed, the person charged with planning the survey should consult specialists in the field, and should also discuss method with the statistician and sociologist.

Surveys fall into two broad groups as regards purpose; those which are descriptive fact-finding enquiries, and those designed to solve selected problems. Either category contains some general surveys and some which are specific or topical. Often enough surveys are commissioned for specific purposes. The purposes of the survey as initially set out must be carefully defined to remove ambiguity and to suggest the appropriate enquiries, and the survey purpose will also indicate what sort of results are likely to be most valuable, and some of the ways in which the data gathered should be classified. All along the line, it must be remembered that the greatest care is necessary to use words with a clear meaning, and to keep their meanings constant. There is little value in the quantification of unclearly defined conditions; such results raise more problems than they solve. It is thus useful to begin by writing down the definition of each term or concept which will be used for the survey so as to guard against changes of meaning later on.

Selection of survey methods is influenced by practical considerations in most cases. Apart from the survey pur-
pose the most important factors are often the personnel, time, and finance available. Different workers favour different survey methods and organisation. This writer personally favours low-cost field research, and prefers an organisation which gives the required results at the lowest cost, and with the smallest number of staff. Of course there are many problems and situations in which large-scale expensive surveys are unavoidable. The problem, and the situation of field work, between them dictate the selection of methods, and often the areas or group to be studied also.

(2) An Example of Survey Planning:

The simplest way to describe survey planning and procedures is to give a detailed account of one particular survey. In such an illustration, the principal stages and considerations of planning and execution are expressed in practical terms; and the sorts of adjustment which develop are discussed. I shall use this method below.

(a) Terms of Reference.

Let us consider a special problem, say A survey of housing facilities in Kingston and other Jamaican towns. This is vague enough; clearly we shall have to define it in more detail. Ample finance is available, and we can have what personnel and time we wish.

To begin with our area of work is limited to towns, and our inquiry to housing facilities. The terms of work are sufficiently liberal to allow free choice of method. Such terms are, it need not be emphasised, rather exceptional.

(b) Preliminary Stages.

The first step is to look at the last Census report, and other documents, including maps, which give the population of the various settlements and country-towns in Jamaica; then we classify the settlements by size of population, area, ecological or administrative, and in other ways. Having done that, we consult a statistician, telling him the sample problem, and asking his opinion about the size and character of the sample for this survey.

While the Statistician is considering these points, we search out and get copies of all the latest maps of Jamaican towns, including Kingston. These may be available in various Government Departments, or in scattered publications. We classify these by date of construction and completeness; where it is suspected or known that building has taken place since the map dates, we check this and note such incompleteness or present inaccuracy of these maps for later correction. Next we consult publications such as the Jamaica Handbook, the Census Reports, etc., for descriptions of as many Jamaican towns as possible, listing their principal characteristics systematically, e.g., markets, railroad, ports, altitude, date of establishment, main industries, population changes, etc. We shall present these materials to the statistician at the next meeting. Next we consult town planners, builders, or real estate men to get information about house-type categories and classification, and about local market prices of houses in the various towns.

In this survey we shall isolate the corporate area for separate study; note that such isolation involves some redefinition of the area of Kingston. To deal with Kingston we may sub-divide a street map of the city by means of a grid, the vertical and horizontal lines being equally spaced. We number the resulting squares. We then superimpose on this grid maps of Kingston which show population density throughout the town, and the principal zones within it, e.g., the commercial, industrial, lower-class residential, upper-class residential, middle-class residential areas, etc., We shall take this also to the Statistician, who in all probability either has such maps of his own, or knows where they can be obtained.

Next we reconsider the schedule of topics to be studied in the light of these documentary data, and consult a sociologist. In this way we develop an inventory of topics such as number of homes, type, age, size, construction cost, replacement cost, repair condition, material composition, ground plan, structure, number, size, and nature of rooms, use of rooms, persons per room, persons per family, families per building, location of buildings, sanitation,
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water, light, fuel conveniences per building, ownership, tenure, rent, rates, rateable value, length of occupancy, subletting, age, sex, and relationship of members of households, income level, occupation, employment status, indebtedness, condition of occupancy, religion, educational standard, contents of selected rooms, e.g., living-room or hall if any; number of persons seeking other accommodation, history of search, type of accommodation sought, amounts offered, amounts demanded, future plans, emigration or continued residence in settlement; history of residential movement for families and individuals over past 12 months; if immigrants to settlement, date, source, and reasons for immigration; numbers, age, sex, occupation, educational status of household members who have migrated from settlement, with dates, destinations, reasons.

Additional information may also be wanted about areas on the settlement outskirts, their ownership, type, current market value, use, extent, suitability for expansion of settlement, number, type, size, use, ownership of buildings in settlement not used for residence; also about sanitation, light, water facilities, layout, current rental and sale value, number, type, etc., of buildings constructed, or repaired in settlement over past year; about those local buildings abandoned, demolished, or registered as sold, inherited, or otherwise transferred in the past year; about town rates, and the administrative classification of dwellings; maps of settlement layout growth or change over previous years, rent tribunal records, or rental arrangements, e.g., free quarters as part-payment for work; about schools, offices, churches in area, about the current housing programmes of these and other bodies, including local government, estates, etc., in or near area, etc., etc.

We then frame specific questions on each of these topics for the fieldworker to put to residents; we also frame specific instructions about observations, measurements, classifications, mapping, diagrams, etc., required of the field worker for each building, street, lane, or settlement.

We return from the sociologist to the statistician, taking the survey schedule in something like its final form.

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At this meeting, (1) we discuss the content of the questionnaire schedule in detail with the statistician, trying to reduce the number of questions as far as practicable, with an eye to fieldwork time, costs, interview problems, tabulation, analysis, and writing-up. (2) We also discuss the problem of sampling with the statistician, to discover the minimum size of the sample which will be representative of the principal settlement types, and which will also be large enough for national as well as local estimates of housing adequacy or inadequacy. (Note. Ultimately this is a matter for the statistician to decide. He will normally recommend two things, a sample of particular design, e.g., random, stratified, or purposive — see below — and a sample of particular size or character, as, so many houses, buildings, households, towns, stress, etc. Generally, he will select one type of sample design rather than another because he feels that it gives more reliable results, on the information available, for the lowest cost. But he may still try to cover himself by recommending samples of a size somewhat larger than the statistically necessary minimum).

(c) Scatter, compactness and cost.

An important determinant of the survey cost is the type of sample which governs fieldwork. The sample units may be scattered, at some distance apart, or they may be compact, within walking distance of one another, either within adjacent settlements, or the same settlement. Choice of either type of distribution will largely be governed by the information available and desired, and by considerations of cost, time, and personnel. The costs of local or scattered samples vary; but scattered sample units often involve heavier outlays on field time and transport. Compact local samples can be studied cheaply by fieldworkers who live in the sample areas during the survey, or who are recruited from within them. An area sample of a size somewhat larger than a scattered sample may therefore be easier, cheaper and quicker to handle.

(d) Preparing the Survey Schedule and Budget.

After the statistician has made recommendations
about sample design and size it is then possible to calculate
the number of workers required to carry out the survey
in a given time. This is done by establishing the number
of units which a fieldworker can cover in a given time,
say, in one day, and by dividing the total sample size by
the number of working days in the survey; some time must
then be added for movement of workers from one settle­
ment to another, if this is likely, and for the collection of
other information, for mapping, etc.

(e) Pilot Survey.

To collect the information for these estimates, it may
be necessary to carry out a pilot survey, that is, a practice
study of some settlement which does not fall into the main
sample. Pilot surveys serve several useful functions.

(1) They allow more accurate estimates of the cost,
duration, staff-requirements, and other conditions of
the main survey.

(2) They furnish information about field difficulties,
opportunities, or conditions, which can improve the
quality of the final survey a great deal.

(3) They provide field workers with excellent training
opportunities, and the supervisor with chances of
assessing the different fieldworkers’ capacities.

(4) They help to develop the necessary team-spirit, and
standardisation of field techniques among the field
staff.

(5) They test the questionnaire and suggest how it can
be improved.

(f) Training Staff.

Training fieldworkers is an extremely important
phase of the survey. Indeed, unless the fieldwork is of a
uniformly high standard and a uniform character, the
survey conclusions are unlikely to be very reliable,
accurate, or precise. Great care must therefore be taken
to train and sift field assistants and to keep them up to the
mark by continuous and detailed supervision during the
survey. The same point holds also for clerical staff
engaged in tabulating and adding up the survey results.

The simplest way to train field staff is as a group.
To begin we explain the purpose and nature of the survey,
its confidential character, the type of sample, and type of
method selected; and we then go through the items of the
questionnaire explaining each question in detail, asking
for comments or queries. The staff should then receive or
make copies of the questionnaire, and should study it care­
fully, discussing it with one another, and finally with its
designer.

When these initial difficulties about the questions
have been resolved, each person should then fill up the
questionnaire for an imaginary family or other unit. After
this, the designer or supervisor interviews one or two of
the staff, who adopt the roles of the head of the household
or family reported on their schedules. The interviewee
should seek to present every possible difficulty, obstacle,
evasion or deception, the supervisor’s task being to show
how to meet these as they arise, how to develop rapport
with the interviewee, and to gauge the reliability of the
information given, or to persuade the interviewee to give
a more accurate report. During this interview, the other
field-staff record the responses in their notebooks, noting
omissions, errors, faulty technique, misunderstandings, and
other qualities or details of the interview. These interviews
are then discussed by the group, the different records
being exchanged and compared, and the interview
analysed by each worker separately. Over the next few
days, the workers interview one another about the fictitious
families reported on their several schedules. Finally, they
proceed to carry out practice interviews in the locality,
continuing to interview one another about the results each
has obtained, and noting interview deficiencies critically.
When these deficiencies of interview technique and re­
cording are quite reduced, it is time to emphasise rapidity
in interviews, the aim being to reduce interview time as
much as possible, while keeping the record faithful, clear,
and complete. The best test of performance in this respect
is to put the workers out in field conditions for an allotted
time, and then to compare their individual results, the
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The next training stage deals with observation, the aim being to make these as systematic, standardised, and precise in their record as possible. For house-type classification, it is useful to have a number of photographs, diagrams, and descriptions, with which the fieldworkers must familiarise themselves, and then to train them in the classification of other photographs, and documents, following this up with field observation and a report on selected buildings and streets. Differences in classification must be discussed, and their bases ironed out. Training in making sketch-maps, diagrams, etc., fits easily into this programme. In all, it can be expected that adequate preparation of field staff for a survey of the type proposed will take at least a fortnight, concluding with the pilot survey and post mortems thereon.

The training programme outlined here will of course require some modification according to the object and character of the survey. It can also be adopted by individuals to train themselves in interviewing and field enquiry techniques.

(g) Field Supervision.

These preparations being completed, the survey is ready to go to the field. Each member of the field-staff is instructed to cover a set number of units or areas within a stated time. The supervisor arranges his own programme so as to check the work of all enumerators equally, collecting data from sub-samples of the households allocated to each member of the field staff. The field plan will either require simultaneous study of a number of settlements by the field staff, or for the team or teams to cover one settlement at a time before moving on. Either of these arrangements presents different problems of supervision.

Supervision focusses on the accuracy, completeness, uniformity, and clarity of the individual workers' reports. The supervisor must therefore collect his own data to test field work from each of these points of view. This he does by interviewing a certain number of households studied by each of the field staff, by making his own observations, classifications, sketch-maps and diagrams, for comparison with those of the staff, and by collecting certain other information about the settlement himself.

It is also important for the supervisor to discuss field difficulties with his team regularly, and with the population under study, so as to reduce or remove misunderstandings and other survey obstacles as these arise. This is most easily carried out when the supervisor lives in the survey area with the team, and can freely visit the families under study, and can discuss the survey with them.

(e) Individual Area Studies

(1) Census or Sample?

All social surveys have a territorial or geographical reference. They are studies of people living in particular places, within precise boundaries. Sometimes surveys are confined to one or two bounded localities, the aim frequently being to present a detailed and fairly complete picture of certain conditions in those areas. In such cases, the survey may take the form of a sample area census. At other times, samples of the population living within defined localities may be selected, and the survey may be confined to these. The aim may be to describe conditions within particular localities, or to combine accounts of such local conditions with calculations for wider areas. W. D. Burrowes in his survey of Jamaican Agricultural Production in 1950 used this method; he selected farms from the various parishes, and in this way built up pictures of farming for the island as a whole, and for its different farm parishes and regions. Sometimes also, the areas to be surveyed may be selected by sampling methods, either randomly, purposively, or by the methods of random stratified sampling.

(2) Local Samples:

When it is desired to take a sub-sample of the population living within an area, it is usually necessary to have a complete list of the people who live there, arranged
in alphabetical order. If this list is not already available before the survey begins, it has to be compiled in the field, and the sample will have to be constructed there. The alternative method is not really a sample of population within the area, but a sub-sample of the area itself. This consists in selecting by random methods two or more subdivisions of the area, and making censuses within these subdivisions. For such purposes, the area can be subdivided by a grid, for instance by making a tracing of it on graph paper, each square then representing one section. Alternatively, it may be subdivided by compass bearings, the centre of the area being placed on a protractor, and 36 subdivisions of 10 degrees each, or 72 subdivisions of 5 degrees each being marked off for random sampling. In each of these subdivisions, a census will then be attempted. Interval sampling, that is, selecting every 8th, 10th or Nth household for study, really presupposes a complete initial enumeration of such units within the area.

Sub-samples of the population living within defined localities are often necessary to reduce the time and costs of limited surveys; but care must be taken in the interpretation of their results. The accuracy of sample results varies widely for samples of very small size; and although there are statistical techniques for dealing with samples of less than 30 observations or units, these are often difficult to apply or interpret. Consequently, it is preferable to cover as high a proportion of the population within the areas which are selected for independent surveys as is possible; and the usual aim in such cases is to make a census of the locality under study.

Area studies are the type of surveys with which extension and welfare officers in the Caribbean are most likely to be concerned; and for this reason it is perhaps advisable to deal with them in some detail. Three possible frameworks may be developed for these studies. The first is comparative, either in the sense that several areas are or will be under survey simultaneously, or that the survey will be repeated within the same locality or localities at a later date to measure change, or perhaps both of these intentions may be present together. The second alternative consists in surveying the locality by sub-sampling. The third alternative consists in locality censuses. Census or sample surveys may be combined with comparisons or may be used independently.

Whether an area has been selected for independent survey by census or by sub-sampling or is included in a wider survey designed to describe a larger region, it is essential for the researcher to discuss the sample with a statistician. There are dangers of making wrong conclusions on the one hand from small samples, on the other from wrongly selected local samples.

(3) Choice of Area:

Local surveys such as those which extension and welfare officers often have to make begin with the selection of the area. Often selection of the area is governed by the administrative structure within which the officer works, or by the distribution of problem conditions within that district. For instance, it may be the case that a Welfare Officer responsible for half a parish is particularly concerned with village amenities. He may notice half a dozen settlements with an outstanding need in this respect. Before planning or initiating remedial action, the officer may decide to study conditions in some one of these villages. He may further feel that the worst-off settlement may provide the proper area of study for several reasons; or he may prefer a settlement somewhere in the middle of the range. An agricultural extension officer may simply be faced with a departmental decision to initiate farm development programmes in a given area by a given date, and may really have no alternative but to survey that area in detail.

(4) Boundaries:

Once the area has been chosen, the next step is to define its boundaries with precision. In Jamaica, this can be done most conveniently and efficiently by using the electoral districts and polling divisions. Information about the boundaries of these polling divisions is available at the Electoral Office and at the Department of Statistics.
In other British West Indian territories, there are similar electoral subdivisions and records about these are usually available from the local Electoral officers.

Polling divisions have precise boundaries, and are often already marked out on maps in the government offices which deal with these matters. Traces should be made of such maps for use in the field, and copies of the electoral list of the selected polling division should be made. This list gives a rough idea of the number of adults living in the area at the last registration. Electoral lists also contain statements of the boundary routes around the polling areas which are as supplements to maps; and can be checked within the area itself. If the number of adults listed on the register is halved, it will normally give a fair idea of the number of households or domestic family units within the polling division. This allows the officer to make a rough calculation of the time required for the survey. If a census is desired, the number of survey days will approximate to the rough estimate of total households divided by the daily work rate measured in households studied; to this should be added a day or two for gathering other relevant information about the area by discursive enquiries, observation, and interviews with knowledgeable persons.

The first field task is to identify the division boundaries, walking along their length, and mapping the layout of houses and other buildings en route. The officer will meet people in the course of this tour, and will have the chance to explain his purpose, and to ask for their help in tracing the division boundary; and in the survey.

(5) **Enumeration:**

Following this, if a sub-sample will be used, it is necessary to compile a list of all the households in the area, listing them by the names of the household heads arranged in alphabetical order. To make this list, it is best to visit each household, mapping their layout and distribution on a tracing of the polling division map. On this round of visits, the officer gets a chance to explain his work to each household, preferably to the household head and his or her spouse. He will also have the chance to explain that selection of the sample by lots means that some households will be studied while others will have to be passed by.

If the survey is simply a census of the locality, the simplest and most direct procedure is to interview neighbouring households in turn, beginning each interview with a careful and uniform explanation of the survey aims, of the officer's work, the reasons for the survey, and possibly, the purposes for which it may be used, and then carrying on with the interview. If the household head is not present, it may be advisable to postpone the interview, returning later to talk to the head of the family in person. To do so may avoid a good deal of misunderstanding, especially when dealing with unstable families, where formal headship is emotionally significant.

(6) **Sample Substitution:**

If a sub-sample of households in the locality has been selected for study, and for one reason or another, it is not possible to gather information from all of these sample households, substitute households have to be selected according to some standard formula to keep the number studied up to the sample size. Usually, when one household of the sample refuses or otherwise fails to provide information, the next household to the east or west may be taken as a substitute. The number of units which refuse to admit the enquiry gives the refusal rate. The rate of refusal is an important index of the popular reaction to the survey. Refusal rates often reflect accidental conditions, such as unforeseen absences of the selected households, illness, etc. But special care must be taken to keep these refusals as low as possible. Normally, it is very difficult to compel people to give information or to put up with questions to which they object. Persuasion is essential in such situations. The interviewer must seek to convince individuals who raise objections that the interview materials are completely confidential; that these data can only help the interviewee and the district and the country, and can harm no one; that the government or agency seeking this
information cannot plan adequately without such data or fully serve the people; that he, the interviewer is properly accredited, and is doing a job which is impersonal in its character, although it is a very worthwhile job, and one which he wishes to do; etc. If the interviewer is patient and persuasive, is obviously sincere, non-political, and impersonal, many persons who begin by refusing to be interviewed will often turn out to give satisfactory responses.

One of the difficulties which face sub-samples of local populations is that the selective character of the sample, i.e., its restriction to one area, or its selectiveness within the area, invites many misunderstandings, reservations, and refusals to cooperate. Rural folk are often suspicious of surveys and questionnaires, especially when these are administered by people of a more educated, urban background. If the same information is to be collected from all the individuals living within a district there may be a better chance of cooperation, since the people feel a certain security in numbers, and they see for themselves that each household is receiving the same attention. If a local sub-sample is selected for the survey, those people who are excluded may feel that they are discriminated against, and may be otherwise suspicious or hostile, while those who are included may feel exactly the same way. As a result there is likelihood of more refusals when local studies are conducted by sub-samples in rural areas than by censuses. At the same time, refusals which occur during the course of a census have less significance for the census results as a whole than do those which develop in sub-sample studies. For this reason, where time and other factors permit local studies by censuses, these may be preferable to population sub-samples. The extra tabulation which these census data involve is offset by the reduced calculations, by their utility for making estimates about surrounding areas, and by the fact that their size and completeness provide a full picture of existing variations within the area. Their completeness also ensures a comfortable margin of overlap in the information collected from different interviews, which provides a useful check on the reliability of individual reports, and on the accuracy of the survey results.

Where time and other conditions permit, there is thus a lot to be said for making area surveys by census methods. One particular value of these local censuses is that they bring the officer into contact with every family in the area. These survey contacts can be especially valuable in an officer's later development work, if they create favourable impressions about his or her demeanour, sincerity, knowledge of his subject and capacity for work. Quite apart from the quantitative information which the interviews may yield, their simple repetitiveness will also print a lasting and highly detailed image of local conditions on the officers' mind. In consequence, his thinking about solutions to the problems of the people will become correspondingly more realistic and practical, as his knowledge of local variations becomes more extensive. In other words local censuses introduce the officer and the population to one another as few other activities can, and should be approached with this indirect benefit clearly in mind, so that the greatest advantage for later work in the area can be sought at the same time that information is collected. Briefly, the aim should be to build up a feeling that the population and the officer are going to tackle local problems together, in a logical and practical fashion, first by studying them, then by discussing and planning how to deal with them, finally by action to resolve them. Sub-samples lack this special value.

(7) Mapping:

The simplest test of census completeness is the identification of all households on a map of the area. Mapping is an essential and extremely valuable part of locality surveys. The map should contain information about local roads and pathways, local water-supplies, e.g., tanks, streams, standpipes, shops, markets, offices, agencies, property boundaries, schools, slope, electric and telephone lines, etc., as well as dwellings. The recently published Ordnance Maps of Jamaica and certain other Caribbean territories contain much of this information; copies should
be acquired and tracings of the districts under study can be made large enough to contain the supplementary information. Where farming activities are of special interest, the relative distribution of plots, crops, and similar data can be mapped on one tracing, and the distribution of individual farm-holdings by types of tenure, size, and land-use, should also be mapped. These maps will allow precise study of changes effected in the locality through development programmes at a later date, and will go to supplement the numerical information provided by re-survey of the area; but do not crowd different sorts of data onto one map.

(f) Survey Analysis

(1) Survey Conclusions:
Whatever its coverage, a survey gives two sorts of results, both of which require careful attention, and both are useful.
(1) It tells us about the average value or type of the condition under study.
(2) It tells us about the variability of the population surveyed with regard to this particular condition.

We must treat average values with great caution. For various purposes, averages are very often misleading. For example, the average per caput annual income of Jamaica does not give an adequate idea of the range and distribution of individual incomes within the country. But often it is just this variability which it is most important to know. For example, a survey of farm families by size and type of holding, value and income, must tell us what variation exists, and what is its range, and what are the actual or proportionate frequency distributions for each of these items. A detailed analysis of these data would also show how these different frequency distributions are associated or related.

To develop this information we construct a frequency distribution diagram or chart, using the survey results about the different items of enquiry, namely farm size, type, income, etc., and subdividing these distributions at significant points. Families in each subdivision are then examined separately to determine what other characteristics they have in common, and also how they differ.

Often, the sample is divided into four groups, each of which contains 25% of the total. These subdivisions are referred to as quartiles.

QUARTILE DIVISION OF EXAMINATION PAPERS

The papers are marked by order of placement. Each Quartile contains 25% of the sample, i.e., Quartiles B and C contain ½ of the total number of papers.

(2) Individual Variations:
Analysis of the individual compositions of each of these four quartiles, and of the correspondence of their several compositions may suggest 'explanations' of the general patterns revealed by the survey. These 'explanations' are only statements about the observed relationships or associations of the various distributions reported by the survey. For instance, such analysis may show that 7 out of every 10 individuals in the lowest quartile of the income distribution (i.e., 7/10ths of that quarter of the population studied which had the lowest incomes) were also to be found in lowest quartile of the farm acreage distribution (i.e., were among the quarter of the population which had the smallest farms). This information is certainly important, but it is equally important to know about the remaining 30% of the population in both the lowest income and farm acreage quartiles; and to understand the reasons for their variable distributions in relation to these two factors. In this way, the survey distributions can be analysed to show general patterns of association among the variables under
study, and also to examine the grounds for individual divergencies or deviations from these patterns. Analyses of these individual deviations provide some checks on our ideas about causal associations between the various frequency distributions; and further detailed examination of these divergent cases often throws a great deal of light on the problems with which the survey is intended to deal. Such examinations of small numbers of cases are known as case studies, and in certain conditions case studies may be more revealing than extensive surveys.

The point to note here is that apart from the necessary statistical qualifications which must be made to guard against public misinterpretations of the survey average, it is important to study the range and frequency with which the value under study is distributed among the population, to discover if possible what conditions are associated with its distribution.

(3) Surveys and Comparisons:

The type of analysis which is applied to frequency distributions is essentially comparative. In such analyses, we are comparing the characteristics of individuals belonging to the same or different classes, quartiles, or sub-divisions. This type of comparative study is the method by which we arrive at useful working generalisations or hypotheses about social conditions or behaviour. Often such comparative references are worked into the design of social surveys, as in area sampling, or in surveys, whether censuses or sample studies, which are repeated after an interval of time, so that their results can be compared against previous surveys, and the rate, measure, type, and direction of change can be assessed.

It is possible to use this technique of re-survey to measure the changes which have resulted through planned development. But for such purposes, it is necessary to ‘control the comparison’. To do this, an area or group which is identical in all important respects with the population to be developed is selected for simultaneous surveys along identical lines. The differences between the changes found in the two populations when they are re-surveyed can then be taken to represent the effect of the planned development. For example, if A is the population to be developed, and B is the comparative control group, and if on an initial survey, before development work began at A the average income values of A and B were 100 and 110 respectively, while re-survey after a year or so showed values of 120 for A and 115 for B, we should conclude roughly that the net development effect in A was an increment of roughly 15% of the initial average income. We should then go about calculating the increment more precisely by more detailed analysis.

Simultaneous surveys in different areas allow their precise comparison with respect to specific conditions; but this is only possible if the same survey and sampling methods are applied to all the areas studied. Insofar as such uniform procedures reveal differences between the areas, their further comparison will consist largely of a search for factors which ‘explain’ or govern these different results.

(4) Processing Survey Results:

We have already discussed problems of interviewing, recording, and other field techniques, and shall treat the essentials of sample construction and analysis later. Before considering these matters, let us deal with the analysis of the survey results. These results are only useful when they are summarised, classified, and clearly reported. The techniques appropriate for these purposes can be described as tabulation. Tabulation and analysis are essential parts of the survey. Without the survey data, they cannot be applied. But without tabulation and analysis survey data have little or no use, and consist merely in a mass of schedules.

Survey results are informative insofar as the categories which inform their tabulation and analysis are precise, sensitive to field realities, and illuminating. The greatest care must therefore be taken in choosing and defining the categories to be used in classifying the data. An excellent procedure is to study a sufficient number of schedules before setting up analytic categories on any aspect of the
data. In this exploration all replies on a number of records should be written down. For example, if occupational classification is involved, we would list all the occupations and combinations of occupations reported on a number of survey forms. We should leave the task of grouping these listed occupations into a progressively diminishing number of categories for a later date.

Normally, each set of survey data is classified along two or more axes at the same time. Thus the income distribution of the survey population may be dealt with individually in terms of the age and sex of the persons interviewed; or it may be dealt with on a household basis in terms of the age and sex of the household head, or the number of persons (adult or other) per household, or the average income per adult in the household, or the occupation or amount of land available to the household head. There are indeed a great many ways in which any single item of survey information, such as income, can be classified and reclassified; and the more important categories of survey data must usually be classified and tabulated along several different lines, before it is clear what are their most significant relationships.

Thus the process of tabulation is essentially exploratory; it seeks to put the data in different types of order, that is to classify them along various lines, so as to discover what relationships obtain among these different classifications. It is clearly impossible to prophesy what these relationships will be; and for that reason, it is important to explore as many of them as possible.

The first object of tabulation is therefore to show the frequencies of defined conditions or variables as reported by the survey. For example, the numbers and proportions of houses containing 1, 2, 3, 4, or more units of a particular type; or the number and proportion of households having weekly incomes of less than 10/-, 11/- to 20/-, 21/- to 30/- and so forth.

A simple table of this type would have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Weekly income in /-</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-10</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-20</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-40</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 plus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>99.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship between two frequency distributions involves their cross-tabulation. Often, as in the following example, to simplify the presentation actual numbers are not recorded, but the complexity of the data is reduced by omitting the numbers, and only frequency distributions in percentages are given. This practice should be followed only where the actual numbers are given in some other table of the series.

In cross-tabulations percentage distributions can be calculated vertically or horizontally, and in each case they describe different things. Consequently, where percentages alone are presented, it is often necessary to calculate and present the same information in two different ways to show these differing relations. This is illustrated by the following two examples.

A. Males of specified age-groups, classified by employment status during the 12 months preceding survey.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</th>
<th>AGE-GROUPS</th>
<th>Unit = Per cent.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own-account</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>25-39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed only</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-employed</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage and own-acc</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>67.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Totals            | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |

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The second classification of these identical data gives a horizontal percentage distribution.

B. Age-distribution of males of specified employment status during the 12 months preceding survey.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</th>
<th>AGE-GROUPS</th>
<th>Unit = %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Own-account employed only</td>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage-employed only</td>
<td>25-39</td>
<td>60.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage and Own-A/c employed</td>
<td>40-54</td>
<td>22.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No occupation</td>
<td>55-69</td>
<td>70 plus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) How to Tabulate and Classify:

In the preliminary tabulation of survey results, all replies to the same question are grouped together in the same column where tabulation is done by hand, or under the same code-class where mechanical means are in use. Hand tabulation is usual unless the mass of data is unwieldy, and will probably be used in most of the surveys which extension officers are likely to be making.

To tabulate survey results is simple. Get a large sheet of paper, preferably one with more columns than there are questions on the survey schedule. (Time and money are saved if the necessary type of tabulation sheet is ordered from printers). Give each schedule question a separate vertical column, labelling the columns. In the left hand margins enter the identity of the individual or other unit from whom all entries on that line were collected. Fill in the table with information from the several schedules accordingly.

(7) Values of Tabulation:

While filling in the table pay special attention to the variability of the data, their consistency and inconsistency. Inconsistencies are detected in the preliminary tabulation by cross-references between the information supplied by different individuals, and by cross references between the answers of the same individual to different questions. Enumerator variability is detected by completeness of report, and by consistency or inconsistency of their several findings on selected matters of a simple character, but of special significance for the survey.

Where a fieldworker has submitted reports which are consistently higher or lower than the average of the other field reports, then the information of that fieldworker must be treated with caution until a recheck of the areas concerned by the supervisor indicates how reliable his data really are.

In a recent survey of several communities, two fieldworkers found on average that 38% of the female populations of over 15 years of age were willing to take employment. A third enumerator reported 78%. Whereas the frequency distributions of the first two field workers varied for different communities, now one giving a higher frequency, now the other, corresponding with local variations, the third enumerator consistently reported a willingness among women to accept wage-employment which was always 30% higher than the highest frequency of his two.

companions. On this basis alone it was decided to reject all those parts of the third enumerator's schedules which had not been checked by the supervisor in the field, and to calculate the remaining results of the survey on the frequencies reported by two of the fieldworkers. In this way the chance of inaccurate information ruining the survey conclusions was avoided, at the expense of a 33% reduction in their coverage or sample basis. Detection of such inconsistencies is an important function of tabulation.

Tabulation also reveals the variability of reported conditions, and thereby guides the analysis towards appropriate classifications and sub-classifications of field data. In this way, it further suggests what types of cross-referencing or cross-tabulations are most likely to reveal the significant relationships governing the general distributions which the survey results yield. Thus in a survey of Rural Labour the major classifications used as a reference or axis for cross-tabulating frequency distributions of the items covered, consisted in a division of the survey population into age and sex classes. Other types of data and survey would use different types of primary references.

Entries in each column of the preliminary table are classified and added up at the foot of each page in the categories selected. Final totals are then made for all the entries to separate questions; these are checked against one another for completeness, and the sub-types are also totalised. Percentage distributions can then be worked out for the various sub-classes, and the different distributions can then be analysed in terms of the classification adopted as the major reference. The table which presents distributions of items classified by sub-type on the one hand, and by the principal scheme of categories on the other is called a working table. This is often developed in the third stage of tabulation, and contains all the information presented in the smaller and more specific tables which will form part of the survey report.

Working tables are very important analytic instruments, and great care must be taken in compiling them to ensure their completeness, accuracy, clarity and consistency of classification and design. The working table is the true synopsis of the survey data. It is in the process of constructing these tables that the more significant patterns, distributions, and interrelations of the items studied definitely reveal themselves. The working table is to the social researcher what the microscope is to the laboratory worker, and even although many of the relations revealed by these tables may not be included in the final report, it is only by discovering and comparing as many of them as possible that the researcher is able to judge their relative significance, and to choose between them in terms of relevance, practical utility, or other values.

The final tables which are to be included in the report need to be presented simply, precisely, and in a uniform fashion. These tables, illustrated above (pp. 187-8) have three main parts: the title, which is placed above the table and describes its contents briefly and clearly; the sub-headings of the various columns, and the rows or lines; and the figures, whether numbers, percentages, or other values. If explanatory notes are necessary either for figures or headings, these should be placed at the foot of the table, the item to which they refer being indicated by an asterisk or other sign in the table itself.

(5) The Survey Report:

Survey reports normally consist of quantitative information, accompanied by a narrative which describes the survey problem, organisation, methods, and setting, and directs attention to various features of the report, or interprets various findings. Sometimes also there is an account of the context and structure of the survey problem which discusses important factors influencing the distributions of various items, and also throws light on their interrelations or implications.

Quantitative data are usually presented in statistical tables of the types just discussed, but there are a number of other methods, such as graphs, charts, maps, map charts, sketches, photographs, pie-charts, etc., which are useful in presenting data. These methods are described
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in various easily available books. The ways in which these methods are used separately or together are illustrated by the various publications on West Indian topics which are listed below.

The golden rule of survey reporting is clarity and simplicity in writing, organising the report, and in presenting the quantitative data.

(g) Samples and Errors.

Sampling is a device by which a small number of units is selected from a larger number. The sample selected for study or survey is then taken to represent the whole, and if it has been selected on sound lines, it does give a highly accurate picture of the whole which it represents.

A sample which gives results corresponding to the true values of the population is called a fair or valid sample. Correspondence between the sample results and the population values will not be great if the sample is not selected carefully. A valid sample must be representative, that is, typical of the population from which it is drawn; and adequate, that is, large enough for most of the actual variations to be included within the sample.

There are two main ways of making representative samples; random sampling — that is, by selecting individuals at random; or stratified sampling — that is, by selecting from the population sub-samples with certain common characteristics which differentiate them from other sub-samples of the total sample. Purposive sampling, that is, the selection of units for a specific purpose, is similar in some respects to random sampling. Area sampling can be combined with random or stratified sampling; for instance, the areas might be selected by random methods, or from categories distinguished in various ways, as by altitude, residential status, etc.

Random sampling involves the selection of the sample by random methods — that is, purely by chance. If inclusion in the sample depends purely on chance, then every member of the population from which the sample is drawn has an equal chance of being included. In this way, the sample is representative of the population.

The usual method of making a random sample is to take every Nth name from a list comprising the total population whose names are first arranged in alphabetical order. N may be any number such as 8, 70, etc. The population register used for this purpose must be accurate and complete. Alternatively, one may subdivide an area on a map into a number of equal parts, and select from these at random by casting lots. The number of sub-areas or other units selected at random should be sufficiently large to provide reliable results about the total population.

Sample size is in practice largely determined by conflicting claims of reliability and cost. The adequacy of a random sample of any given size depends on the size of the population from which it was drawn and its homogeneity with regard to the variable under study. The more homogeneous a population, the smaller need be the size of the sample. Heterogeneity of the population is usually dealt with by taking a stratified sample, the strata used in constructing the sample being divisions of the population.


Smith, M. G., Labour Supply in Rural Jamaica, Govt. Printer, Kingston.

3For an example of purposive sampling, see Smith, M. G., 1956, Labour Supply in Rural Jamaica, p. 1.
in terms of certain factors, such as wealth, size of land, type of farm or land tenure, sex, social class, etc.

Let us assume a population of one thousand individuals, subdivided by income-groups as follows: 500 with less than £100 per year; 200 having £101 to £200 per year; 200 having £201 to £300 a year, and the remainder having more than £301. If we are to make a representative sample of 100 people from this thousand, using the strata just set out, we will take 50 from the group with under £100 a year, 20 from the group having between £100 and £200 a year, 20 from those with £200 to £300 a year, and 10 from those with over £300 a year. The mean, or average measure of the variable under study in this stratified sample of 100 individuals will correspond closely to the mean of the total population, if the individuals selected from each stratum are chosen by random methods. Thus stratified sampling is often combined with the random selection of individuals from the various strata. This is called random stratified sampling. If the individuals or units of each subdivision are selected purposively, then we have purposive or selective stratified sampling.

For random sampling, these are the essential rules regarding sample size:

1. The number of units must be no less than the number of all the essential elements affecting the distribution of the variable.
2. The number selected should be no larger than the researcher can handle efficiently.

For stratified sampling:

1. Each stratum in the sample should be directly proportional to its size in the total population.
2. Each stratum should be large enough to represent the character and range of variation among all items falling within it.

Every sample has an error. If the sample is selected according to standard statistical methods, this error will be smaller than otherwise, and can be calculated. When the sample error is known we can make proper allowance for it, and can adjust our estimates for the entire population accordingly.

The sample error is the difference between the sample average, or mean as it is called, and the true average or mean of the total population from which the sample is drawn. Suppose that we wished to find out the average height of the adult male population of any community containing 1000 adult males; and that we found that the average height of a statistically sound sample of 100 males was 5 feet 7 inches. The sample error will then be the difference between 5 feet 7 inches, and the true average of the 1000 males from whom this sample of 100 was selected.

To measure the sample error, or the standard error of the sample mean, as it is called, we make two calculations. The first one tells us about the variability in height of the sample of 100 males we have measured; that is to say, it calculates the sample range or scatter around the average sample height of 5 feet 7 inches. Some men will be less than average height, others more. We wish to know particularly between what limits in height, 68% of the sample will be found. For instance, 68 of the 100 men we have measured may be between 5 feet 5 inches, and 5 feet 9 inches. The ratio which we calculate to inform us about these limits precisely is called the standard deviation, that is, the way in which the individual measurements of the sample deviate or differ from the sample average or mean. This is one of the first calculations with which statistical textbooks deal.

The standard deviation is the best measure of the scatter or variability of the sample units around its average. It is the square root of the average of the squares of the amounts by which the individual observations differ from the sample mean. About two-thirds of the total of sample observations will be found to lie within the limits between the mean plus or minus the standard deviation. Thus if the standard deviation of this sample of 100 men measured for height is 2 inches, and the sample mean or average is 5 feet 7 inches, then 68 individual measurements will fall between 5 feet 5 inches and 5 feet 9 inches. Moreover, all
the individual measurements of the sample should lie within limits of the mean plus or minus three times the standard deviation.

The scatter or variability of the individual measurements of a sample is clearly related to the variability of the population from which the sample is taken; and it is by calculating this variability of the parent population with the aid of the known variability or standard deviation of the sample itself, that we discover the limits within which the true mean of the parent population lies, and the extent of the sample error. The formula for this calculation is:

\[ \frac{x}{\sqrt{n}} = 3M \]

where \( x \) is the standard deviation of the sample,

\( n \) is the number included in the sample,

and \( M \) is the Standard Error of the sample mean.

Using this formula we can calculate the standard error of our sample of 100 measurements of height as follows:

\[ \frac{2}{\sqrt{100}} = 3M; \text{ or } M' = .2 \]

that is, 0.1414. This means that the chances are that the average of 68% of all measurements in the parent population will lie between 5 feet 7.1414 inches and 5 feet 6.8586 inches. If we wish to raise this probability or level of accuracy to 95% we simply multiply the Standard Error of the sample mean by 1.96; if we wish to raise the probability that the true mean of the total population will fall within certain calculated limits, we can multiply the standard error by three. Thus, the chances are 99 to 1 that the true average of the height of the 1000 adult males lies somewhere between 5 feet 7 inches plus or minus 3 times 0.1414 inches.

For practical work, it is usual to be content with a 95% level of probability about the value of the true mean of the parent population, that is to say, with a calculation of the sample mean plus or minus twice the standard error. The chance that the average of the parent population will lie within these limits is 19 to 1, and that is certainly good enough for most practical purposes. Note however that all these precise calculations which measure the accuracy of the sample, and which allow us to make estimates about the total population from the results of this sample, are only possible in the first place for samples which have been selected on statistically sound lines, and always involve some adjustments to the sample conclusions in the second.

The sample error decreases as the square root of the sample size. Thus, if a sample of 400 cases had a sample error of + 4%, and we wished to reduce this to 2%, we should have to increase the size of the sample to 1,600 individuals. If we wish to reduce the sample error to 1/3rd, we must increase the sample size 9 times.

For most practical purposes, the disproportionate increases of cost which are involved when efforts are made to reduce the sample error by increasing the size are not necessary. The really important thing is to know the size of the sample error, and to be able to calculate the true values of the parent population from this. Social researchers generally use samples varying in size from 3 or 5% of the total population to 15%; where the size of the parent population is not known, a sample of 1,000 cases is likely to be representative.

Chapter V

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(a) The Process of Communication

The process of communication between persons at any moment involves three elements, namely, the communicator, the communicatee, and the information or attitude to be communicated. But in so far as there is not some rapid interchange of roles between persons during the process, the communication takes on the character of a monologue or sometimes an unwitting soliloquy. The point here is simply that the communication process, to be effective, must be reciprocal and lively, and must leave considerable room for initiative on the part of the person to whom information or attitudes are being communicated. It is wrong as well as self-defeating to regard the recipient in communication as a passive unit upon whom the communicator acts as he wishes.

For present purposes the message communicated may be discussed as consisting of information or attitudes. But the individual at whom the communication is addressed is not a blank wall upon which the communication can be written as effectively as we write on paper. He or she has her own pre-existing attitudes, and these often control the nature of the communication made. Often enough the person addressed also has his or her own information or beliefs about the content of the message communicated, and sometimes has significant notions about the communicator and what he is trying to do. Unless these attitudes are known and, where necessary, circumvented, however obliquely, the effect and nature of the communication process may be quite different from that which the communicator expects, intends or believes. In other words, effective communication pre-supposes knowledge about the factors effective in governing the response of the individuals to whom it is addressed.

The communication of attitudes as of information may consist in verbal statements or in demonstration, and either of these processes may take a variety of possible forms. The contexts within which communication occurs are specially important, and were mentioned initially (see Ch. 2). Enthusiasm can sometimes be more effectively conveyed in certain group contacts than in isolated contacts with individuals. But, as previously pointed out, when a group is being addressed or influenced, care must be taken to ensure that conditions are favourable to the acceptance of the message or attitude being conveyed; and in this respect the composition of the group itself is an important element.

Quite frequently the most effective communication develops when the person to whom it is addressed apparently discovers for himself the value and significance of the information or attitudes which really form the content of the message. All extension workers can try to develop situations in which this self-discovery becomes possible for the persons addressed. One preliminary to this process of stimulating discovery is for the extension worker to know a great deal about the local and individual needs. Within these terms, immediate and direct appreciation of the value of information and attitudes being communicated can be specially impressive.

Whatever the mode of communication, whether language, gesture, demonstration, visual or written processes, it is essential that the content and form of the message should be clear, simple, and orderly, and that the communicator should check on the extent to which the message has been fully understood and how far its essentials have been abstracted from its less important elements.

With the assistance of one or two knowledgeable persons he can to some extent determine this response and adapt his conduct accordingly by arranging for these persons to interview members of the audience to whom certain communications are addressed informally.
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on the way home, and to report reactions and interpretations back to him.

(b) The Current Extension Message

Currently in Jamaica extension emphasises agriculture and social welfare. The content and methods of communication in extension work accordingly reflect these two interests. In agriculture the practices to be communicated range through a wide area of techniques and attitudes from farm planning down to the treatment of Newcastle disease in poultry; or from agricultural credit and the application for benefits under the Land Titles Facilities Law, to pruning and mulching practices suitable for different crops at different times of the year. Special emphasis is, however, given to soil conservation and rehabilitation practices and these are often the central elements in the message which the agricultural worker seeks to communicate. Insofar as an agricultural extension worker is concerned in planning individual farms together with the farmers, then clearly he needs to know the wishes and capacities, the resources and the targets of the farmers concerned. In discovering this, his interaction with the farmer involves a two-way communication process which depends for its utility on the quality of the rapport established between both participants in the planning.

In the field of social welfare, emphasis is currently being placed on improvement of home conditions by the employment and acceptance of home economics techniques, including the design and construction of simple furniture by the household for its own use. Stress on literacy, improvement of agricultural techniques, and of moral behaviour is also current. The attempts to develop co-operative organisations which are characteristic of both the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission and the J.A.S., are a specialist type of extension activity which also has a wide range of forms in contemporary Jamaica. Here the promotion of changed practices is preceded by the promotion of group organizations, whether of co-operative or other types, as a means towards establishing favourable conditions prior to the acceptance of the practices to be communicated. But quite frequently the organisation and maintenance of these groups tend to become ends in themselves, or develop into a somewhat wasteful preoccupation of the extension worker.

Currently also in Jamaica it is felt that unless new techniques and practices, new goals, values and beliefs can be successfully communicated to the population in rural areas, their chances of economic improvement and of a better standard of living must remain rather low, and it is also felt that the proper or most effective form of this communication is through organisations such as the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission and the Jamaica Agricultural Society, both of which organise projects and groups through their extension field staffs, while leaving the communication of agricultural practices to the fieldmen of the agricultural department.

Undoubtedly there is strenuous need for the rapid improvement of conditions throughout the countryside. Also undoubtedly this improvement would be far more likely to develop with the support of the country folk than otherwise. But there is reason to wonder whether the indifference of country folk may not be provoked by the transmission of messages, attitudes and information which are not really adapted to the realities and needs of their situation. And also there is reason to wonder whether this indifference can be avoided when messages are communicated in an indirect form, and by agencies which misconceive the communication process and which pre-occupy themselves with the organisation of groups rather than the direct organisation of remedial action.

(c) A Farm Development Programme

(1) The Overall Goals:

The present Farm Development Programme, which replaces the Farm Improvement Scheme of 1945, builds on the experiences of agricultural rehabilitation and
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development which the Farm Improvement and Farm Recovery schemes, among others, have provided. It also pursues the same general objectives as these earlier schemes, namely the increase of efficiency and output in Jamaican farming. But this general objective is bound up with certain other aims. To quote Ministry Paper No. 72 of October 1954 which outlined the Agricultural Development Programme for 1955-60, "The objectives of the Programme may be defined in the following terms:
(a) to restore and conserve soil fertility throughout the island;
(b) to improve the Island's standard of farming efficiency;
(c) to increase levels of production, thereby reducing the cost of living and making it possible to have a higher standard of living for the masses;
(d) securing reduction of unemployment and more intensive utilization of the Island's natural resources; and
(e) in conjunction with extension of water and electrical supplies and with the provision of educational scholarships, to create conditions which will facilitate the pursuit of Government's declared policy of providing in the rural areas, adequate housing facilities, better amenities of life and incentives to the youth of the country".

These targets are the same as those contained in the 1954 statement attached to the Memorandum of Application for Assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts.

(2) Cost:

Sums of ten or thirteen millions sterling have been mentioned frequently in estimating the overall cost of this Farm Development Programme. Such sums would represent the largest single investment any Government has ever made in Jamaica. They would also represent correspondingly large commitments of the island's resources of cash and credit, and involve a considerable increase in the amount of the National Debt. It is important that those who are directly concerned with agricultural development and with the various forms of social work in the rural communities should understand clearly what the programme entails, what are its chances of success, what are its assumptions and procedures, and, in short, why the money should be spent in this rather than some other programme of development. As the Chief Minister says, "If we fail to make a success of our Farm Development Programme in the next five years, God help Jamaica. Make no mistake about it... We dare not fail. Jamaica's problems are not getting smaller, they are getting bigger. More people are being born every day". These are serious words, and the task to which they refer is even more serious. Briefly, we can expect to secure future credit in proportion to the success of this present scheme. And if the scheme fails of its objective, our credit-value will fall correspondingly; we are pledging our future on this scheme, and consequently we must examine and operate it with care. We have to learn as we go along, and to learn, we must be critical of all that we do, and why and how we do it. Without this critical attitude, this capacity to look upon the task and its performance objectively, learning can only be accidental, and complacency may well breed disaster.

(3) The Choice of Agriculture for Development:

The first point to consider is the choice of agriculture as the field for intensive development. The Mission of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development which visited Jamaica in 1952 made a thorough study of the island's economic situation, resources, and developmental possibilities. Tourism, mining, manufacture, and agriculture were the four major lines of economic development, and each was considered carefully. The Mission reported in favour of an agricultural development programme. "In part this is a recognition
of the dominant place of agriculture in the economy and its role in supplying raw materials to a growing industry. In even greater part however, it reflects the Mission's conviction that the potentialities in this field are far larger than has generally been assumed"1. The report from which this quotation is taken consists in an examination of development potential in all the major fields open to Jamaica. Thorne's study of the country's national income in 1952 also supports this conclusion about the dominant position of agriculture in the island's economy. "It is clear, therefore, that both by the criterion of the proportion of the population engaged therein, and by that of the proportion of its contribution to the island's domestic product, agriculture is still by far the most important industry in the island"2. Granted the large room for improving the efficiency of local agriculture, its choice as the main area of development seems highly reasonable.

(4) The Problem of Programme Objectives:

The second point we have to examine relates to the objectives of the agricultural development programme. These involve rehabilitation of the land, soil conservation to maintain fertility, improvement of farming efficiency, increase of productivity, reduction of unemployment, and improvement of rural amenities generally. These objectives form a mixed bag in several respects. Some are reducible to aggregates of individual targets, others are not so reducible. Some can be regarded as directly agricultural, others only indirectly so, and some, such as the last, belong to social welfare rather than agriculture. Some lend themselves to quantitative assessments of programme efficiency, others do not. And so on. Moreover, there is uncertainty about their mutual relations, about the priorities accorded to each when preferential decisions or choices have to be made between them, and about the criteria which govern those decisions. As listed above the objectives are clearly not identical, and their correspondence cannot always be assumed. Choices will have to be made between expenditure on land rehabilitation or conservation on the one hand, or on more immediate increases of productivity on the other. This choice between different projects aimed at land rehabilitation or increased production may not rest on costs and expected returns. The same sort of conflict may also arise at a policy-making level between the aim to increase efficiency, which presumably means higher output per agricultural worker and acre, and the aim to decrease unemployment, which might mean inefficient distribution of work among redundant workers. It might, for instance, be the case that a highly eroded plot continues to yield a product with higher market values than it will produce when reverted to forest or grassland. Or that the improvement in agricultural efficiency which is desired might involve exclusion of farms which are too small to be developed economically from the assistance proposed in the scheme, even although such exclusion would hinder restoration and conservation of soil fertility on the one hand, and might reduce the chances of distributing improved rural amenities widely on the other.

These cases illustrate the latent competition of programme objectives from the outset, especially because their differences and number allow such a variety of incompatible interpretations, justifications, and defences of the programme by its advocates. Some people regard this programme as the answer to Jamaica's unemployment problem, without considering whether it forms an economic answer, or one capable of containing this unemployment productively over any long period. Others regard it as an answer to the pressing population problem, without examining whether emigration or family planning may not be cheaper and more effective in the long run. Others see in it the hope for increasing the incomes of the small farmers, without considering the problems of population increase or market prices which are pertinent to that goal. And so with other arguments. In fact this programme with its many and various objectives can be rationally

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defended against each of the specific criticisms it invites, simply by emphasis on one or other of its general aims. But these rationalisations are frequently incompatible, and sometimes may be mutually contradictory, and may, moreover have developed after the programme was formulated; and finally there may well be no single criterion in terms of which their influence on the course of the programme can be assessed or guided.

(5) Five-year Targets:

Some of the general objectives of the Farm Development Programme have been reduced to five-year targets. These include (a) clearing 38,000 acres of land for productive use; (b) applying soil conservation practices to 84,000 acres; (c) establishing 15,000 acres of private forests; (d) doubling the present output of local food provisions; (e) increasing the present agricultural output of Jamaica five-fold. Other aims have not yet been quantified, and may not really be quantifiable. These include improvement of pasture management, increase of acreage under permanent tree crops, establishment of a system of mixed farming, erection of buildings necessary for agricultural production, the expansion of water supplies essential for farming, the development of fish farming and the like. The ultimate goal of the scheme, “the improvement of human living, the improvement of farmers and their families and their homes and their lives”1 is of course not directly quantifiable, but presumes the objectives and targets already listed.

Incomplete reduction of the programme objectives to specific targets, some of which are hardly quantifiable, really slurs over two central problems which face agricultural development in democratic countries, namely, the problems of formulating targets in advance of field-work, and of implementing them through voluntary effort. Some of the terms used to describe this development project indirectly reflect these difficulties. Thus the development is referred to in aggregate as a Programme, or a Scheme, or sometimes as a project; but rarely as a plan. On the other hand its elementary units, the development projects drawn up for individual farms, are normally referred to as plans. The difference to which these terms seem to refer is that a plan is defined in terms of specific target or group of targets to be achieved in a stated time by stated methods, whereas a programme, for all its clarity of aim and focussed effort, cannot be defined in such terms completely. Now if this is so, and if the total development is programmatic rather than planned, it is surely of the first importance to devise methods which will allow direct measurement of the success attending efforts to achieve such parts of the programmes as are fully reducible to quantitative targets in the first place.

An important problem of target-construction for this Farm Development Scheme is inherent in the method of its operation. Since the Scheme as a whole proceeds by development of plans for individual farms, it can hardly be defined in advance by specific overall targets, unless these targets are taken as limits to the type of development to which they refer. Thus if only 38,000 acres are to be cleared of bush and used for cultivation, farmers with land of this sort whose farm plans are drawn up after these 38,000 acres have already been marked down for conversion to farm plots would be ineligible for assistance in this respect. Alternatively, the overall targets would undergo revision continuously with the construction of new farm plans. In either case the target totals stated in advance can be seriously misleading.

This conclusion is in accordance with the methods of individual farm planning by which the programme proceeds, and also reflects the nature of agricultural development in democratic countries; but it is not without dangers. Firstly, it means that estimates of the amount required to finance the programme are unlikely to be sound. As farm-planning proceeds in the field, more money may be required than was initially expected, or some may remain unused within the scheme. Secondly, it means that the overall effect of this expenditure cannot be firmly estimated in advance; in which case, failure cannot also be clearly determined, unless some method...
other than the simple achievement of final targets is developed to measure the success of the scheme. Thirdly, such uncertainty allows the programme to continue although emphases on its various parts may change in the light of new experience and methods over the years. In such a case it becomes possible for the same programme of expenditure and action to embody a series of quite different and even contradictory policies and schemes at different times. Fourthly, because of its obscurity with regard to overall targets and the pressure of the hopes which it arouses, direction and control of this programme is transferred from the political representatives of the people, who may dispute its performance but hardly its objectives, to the officials of agricultural departments and organisations whose offices and staffs may depend on its maintenance or expansion. Fifthly, since the overall target is simply an aggregate of targets from thousands of individual farm plans, the chances of a balanced, integrated plan of agricultural development, whether in terms of market economy, ecology, or labour-force distribution, are very slender; and the over-production and under-production of specific commodities are almost inevitable.

(6) Cost and Investment Criteria—The Economic Aspect:

Clearly enough, the idea of a target is central to the notion of a development programme; and the problems of constructing and achieving these targets are also central to the present farm development scheme.

It is possible to operate a programme without any specific target other than the production of a certain margin of profitable return on investment in a given period. In these terms, for example, an investment may be made where a 20% or 40% margin is reasonably expected, and may be refused where such a profit cannot be looked for. Application of this principle in agriculture is not as difficult as it may seem at first, notwithstanding the variety of enterprises involved. Satisfactory margins can be established for crops of various classes, such as tree crops, annual ground crops, livestock, and the like, on the basis of information already available about their productive lives, assumptions about future market values, and research into comparative outputs under various conditions. It then becomes possible to set up an overall target in terms of the aggregate of annual returns from the investment made over a particular period of years; and in terms of this figure and its average profitability ratio, it is simple to assess projects as feasible, profitable or other.

When rehabilitation rather than immediate increases in productivity is the aim of the farm programme, this sort of calculation becomes inapplicable. On the other hand, if we think of soil conservation costs in terms of depreciation, and land restoration costs in terms of recapitalisation overheads, the sort of economic account suggested above once more becomes workable, increased returns from productive investment being set against these depreciation and recapitalisation charges. In such a case, the idea of investing with a specific profit margin in mind can still provide a measurable target and standard for the measurement of programme success.

Emphasis on profitability is simply another way of looking at the problem of costs in relation to expected returns. This type of criterion is especially important when development is financed by borrowing, and consists largely in subsidy and loan. The Memorandum of Application for Assistance under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts gives us some idea of the scale of costs and outlays projected for the first year of the present scheme. When this document was prepared, it was expected that in the first year 13 areas involving 836 farmers and 5,200 acres would be developed as pilot areas under the Scheme, and costs were calculated at £143,556 in subsidy and administrative charges, plus £117,100 in loan. These figures work out at a total outlay of £45.8 per acre of which £23.8 is subsidy, and £22 is loan. In terms of farmers, the totals above would mean £1,166 per farmer in subsidy, and £140 in loan, making a sum of £306. Since the loans will be administered by the Agricultural Loan Societies Board and People’s Co-operative Banks, and interest will cover their administrative charges, the
cost in administration must be considered in terms of the total capital grant only. In effect, administration represents 20% of the cost of this capital grant.

The striking thing about this Memorandum is that it contains no statement of the returns expected from this outlay of £143,556 subsidy, or £117,100 loan, even though these sums are broken down into allocations for specific purposes.

Whereas the high cost of administration may be defended on the grounds that supervision and guidance must be continuous and intensive if the scheme is to succeed, the question of returns on the capital investment set out in this schedule cannot be easily ignored. It is indeed the essence of this scheme that the loans should form a revolving fund; and loan repayment presupposes scrupulous care in the use and calculation of loan requirements. Similar considerations apply to subsidies also. Subsidies are well-spent to the degree that they keep falling returns steady for little investment or increase the level of returns; they are badly spent to the extent that they do not achieve these effects for equal amounts.

These problems are strictly economic although they have significant technical aspects. Firstly, there is the problem of development costing. Subsidies and loans may be calculated in terms of ‘the approved cost’ of particular operations per acre. Thus 25% of the approved cost for the initial clearing of land is granted free to a maximum of £5 per acre, and a loan of £15 per acre is also available for this purpose. The problem of these approved costs is the degree to which they correspond with field costs. If they do not correspond with field costs they may be either excessive, in which case they represent a living subsidy to the participating farmers, or else they may be insufficient, in which case the required development may not occur. Field data suggest that there are many instances in which farmers pay labour less than the amount which they receive as subsidy for particular types of work, keeping the remainder for themselves. To the extent that this occurs, then, in the first place, government is paying excessively for the farm developments concerned, in short it is wasting funds that could be used on other development; in the second place, government is committing itself politically to the indefinite maintenance of such a scheme, since the rural vote is decisive in Jamaican elections, and this rural vote is unlikely to be given to those mooting termination of such a scheme; thirdly, it is subsidising one section of the population at the expense of all others; fourthly, it may permit a type and rate of underpayment to labour which is likely to produce labour withdrawal from the farms on which these practices obtain. Briefly if the desired farm development can be achieved for £7 or £8 millions instead of ten or thirteen, then clearly costs approved by government are correspondingly wasteful. But here the problem is not simply one of the cost approved itself; it is also important to ensure that the ratio of costs which government passes on to the farmer as grant or loan should be directly related to the actual labour-rates paid out by the particular farmer on the operation in question; and therefore they should not be scaled by officials in advance, without careful field check and supervision of out payments by farmers.

Other economic problems facing this scheme may be even more far-reaching. Economists have recently indicated that the Jamaican economy may easily become inflationary if government investment in agriculture or other activities, passes a certain mark in a defined period. This inflationary trend would of course affect development costs, wage-rates, market-prices, and profit margins alike. To avoid inflation it is necessary to economise as best we can with regard to the outlays on local farm development; and this in turn at the minimum requires that approved costs should correspond exactly to field costs, whatever these may presently be.

Significant problems of marketing, both local and overseas, must also be dealt with; especially as it is essential to distribute investment per crop in terms of expectable market returns, simply in order to safeguard the repayment of loans. It is of course admitted that future trends
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in market prices must be guessed, and cannot be predicted. But this alone is sufficient to indicate that the differential returns as between crops receiving equal investment is a matter of guesswork, and hence that no reliance can normally be placed on the increased profitability of farm operations after development programmes have been successfully executed. Such admissions would of course stultify loan-operations right from the start.

There still remain other aspects of this unpredictable market situation which are worthy of mention. One aim of the scheme is to reduce the cost of living in Jamaica by stimulating price reduction for locally grown foodstuffs through increases in output. The argument here is that the increase in turnover will more than compensate the farmer for the fall in price. Another argument holds that this increase of production is in any case necessary to maintain present standards of living in the face of our rising population. Still another interpretation of the scheme emphasizes its value for rural employment, and sees in it a means of keeping the countryfolk out of town. All these aspects are important; but it is also important to understand their mutual implications. If rural development is to contain the latent unemployment of the countryside, then it must stimulate increased participation in the local wage-labour markets by offering higher wage-rates. Thus the expected fall in market prices for locally grown foodstuffs may not be to the farmer’s profit in the degrees presently assumed, since on the one hand, his wage-costs may be increased, and the family he must support by farming may also increase on the other. In such circumstances, loan payments become problematic; and the conditions which face us in regard to oversea marketing of export crops are essentially similar.

(7) Research and Farm Planning—The Technical Aspect:

This brief survey of some of the economic problems of farm development leads directly to the discussion of the technical and administrative aspects of the programme, particularly the bases and methods of planning farm improvement and the administration of loans. We shall dis-

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cuss the agricultural problem first, then the problem of credit.

Success of the present Programme may depend on the appropriateness of land capability classification and farm planning techniques for Jamaican agricultural development. Land capability classifications give information about soil types, degrees of erosion, slope, and soil reaction to climate, especially rainfall. The considerations affecting farm planning as set out by the Director of the Agricultural Department’s Extension Service are many and various. They include acreage, arable and other, type of tenure, location, labour requirements and supply, soil type, slopes, erosion, water supplies, altitude, position in watershed, economic condition of the farmer, farmer’s experience, status, and wishes. The crucial problem here lies in the adequacy of these types of data and techniques for the planning of farm development in the most effective fashion.

From the discussion of soil types and their implications in the publication just referred to, we gather firstly that “a broad grouping of land in seven land-capability classes...is not adequate for specific land-management recommendations”; but that “intermediate groupings, which fit together into a complete land-capability classification, permit us to organize detailed facts of the soil survey for easy reference in most of our practical land-management problems”. Moreover, “the degree of soil erosion affects the actual land-capability class in only a few places where extreme damage has taken place. Elsewhere the erosion symbol does not affect the class, but suggests to the conservation planner some of the history of the land and some of the precautions needed for its future use”. From this it appears that land-capability classification can tell us what not to do, but hardly gives

1Applied Soil Science and Land Capability Classifications in Jamaica. Extension Circular No. 57, April, 1954, Department of Agriculture, Jamaica.


3Extension Circular No. 57, Dept. of Agriculture, Jamaica p. 17.
precise information about what to do in development planning.

In the Departmental Guide to techniques of holdings development, we are told, "In the final analysis a successful farm programme will depend upon the production of profitable crops and livestock. It follows therefore that no other capital investment on a holding will be justified until deficiencies have been corrected, and measures established to prevent further deterioration through erosion." Similarly, "Whatever the condition of the farm, no programme of development should be embarked upon until the Agricultural Officer is satisfied that it is within the farmer's means to supply his part of the capital investment, whether by labour, cash to buy labour, or in materials. Similarly, the officer should be satisfied, and be certain that the farmer is satisfied, that the programme envisaged will justify in returns in the long run the sums expended." These quotations express the conflicts of criteria guiding development planning; in the one case, rehabilitation and conservation is the dominant factor; in the other; profitability of returns. While these criteria may correspond in some instances, they will certainly conflict in others, and there is no indication how such conflicts can be resolved consistently.

Moreover, there is no indication of the basis on which either the Extension Officer or the farmer can conclude that any particular development programme will yield profitable returns; nor even whether it will repay its cost; nor whether it will increase the annual value of the farm output above the present pre-development level. Similarly there are no indications how conflicts between alternative lines of development, whether between particular crops, or between crops and livestock, are to be handled in any particular case, although here considerations of differential returns should clearly be important.

This leads us to the problem of research into the relative returns from different types of farm development projects under similar and differing conditions. Granted variation in soil types and fertilisation requirements, would different levels and types of fertilization reduce probable differences of output for the same or different varieties on a particular plot, and at what differential costs, with what differential returns? How, in other words, do farm planners choose between the many alternative plans which may be equally possible for any farm after its soil classification and economic characteristics have been studied? The volume of experimental work which is necessary to determine the question of comparative outputs and profitabilities of different crops and combinations of crops in different ecological conditions and with different levels of fertilisation or capital investment is frightening, and would entail considerable expense. There are not many publications to indicate that such work has yet been carried out, and thus there is no guidance other than the farmer's preference and the departmental officer's guess about the relative yields of different cropping programmes, even without considering their differential market values. In short, the method of farm development planning as presently pursued is a method of hit or miss, and can hardly be expected to yield successes only.

(8) Credit Organisation—The Administrative Aspect:

Granted this, the administration of loans for such purposes ceases to be academic, as the repayment of these loans becomes a central problem. Loans are to be made through the People's Co-operative Banks and the Agricultural Loan Societies on the recommendations of the Agricultural Officers who plan farm development, after these plans have been approved by Parochial Farm Development Committees. Pressure can be put on the banks and loan agencies by technical staff to make loans which may seem inadvisable from a strictly business point of view. The Facilities for Titles Law 1955 provides a means whereby farmers formerly lacking legal title to their land can obtain such titles and loans simultaneously. The idea behind the loan programme is that the farmer should deposit his title as security for the loan. Recently, however, representatives of the loan banks have been protesting
that farmers are slow in making such depositions, and are thereby holding up development of their farms. An alternative arrangement may be to advance loans against specific crops, collection being automatic with the sale of such crops. However, such an approach would rule out loans on crops designed for local markets, and would also fail to cover loans for capital developments such as buildings, conservation, and the like.

In terms of the present programme loans are to be scaled in terms of the development plans for particular farms rather than the market value of the land to be developed. For this reason, the loan may frequently exceed the market value of the land on which it is to be invested. This means that sale of such plots may fail to repay the sums advanced to develop them. Moreover, since loans form an important weapon in the armoury of development, foreclosure before the completion of the loan deprives the farmer of essential assistance in the development of his farm, and may thus be self-defeating, since without such development as was initially contemplated, repayment of the loan may be quite impossible. However, it pressure can initially be put on the loan banks to persuade them to make the loan, pressure can also be put upon them to desist from taking the type of legal action necessary to secure at least part re-payment of loan residues by the sale of land or stock. In this respect it is quite clear that political pressures by the farm-population on legislators may be of special importance in this process of loan recovery.

Discussions of loans in the Farmer Vol. LX, Jan-March, 1956, begin by stating that "It is the business of the agricultural officers to work out the basis of assistance on the potentiality of the land. Any scheme which leaves a larger debt on the farmer is a malicious scheme. If the Scheme is a good Scheme and is carried to a conclusion the farmer should be in a position to pay back his loan. If it is a bad scheme then he cannot pay back anything. The Scheme is an insurance"1. Next, in answer to the

the loan, it is said that "The banks' responsibility as agents is to do their best to recover the money on behalf of the owners. If the principal wishes any specific measure to be taken it is the principal's responsibility to give a direction to the agent on what he wishes to be done. The agent must carry out that direction and if it brings credit on the principal, fine; if it brings discredit, then the principal must stand the consequences"1. Finally, there is the question "whose business is it to see that the farmer uses the money (loaned) for that particular purpose? It is the business of the agricultural officers and of the other officers of the agencies that are working the programme"2.

In short, the banks pay out the loan, and can only press claims effectively with official permission, which will be ultimately given or withheld by the political heads of government. The farmer receives the loan calculated by the agricultural officer planning his farm development to be necessary. But the supervision of the farmer's use of that loan seems to be the particular business of no single special officer. And indeed, it is fairly recognised that the ability of the farmer to repay his loan rests at least in part on the success of the farm development planned for his holding.

(9) The Organisation of Extension Work—An Administrative Problem:

In this discussion of loans we have moved over to the strictly administrative aspect of the Farm Development Programme. The administrative structure of the Programme is set out in some detail in the issue of 'The Farmer' devoted to publishing the details of this scheme3. As presently conceived, the programme entails co-operation between the Extension Service of the Agricultural Department, the Jamaica Agricultural Society (J.A.S.), the Jamaica Social Welfare Commission (J.S.W.C.), the Agricultural Loan Societies Board, the two Land Authorities, the

1Ibid, pp. 131-137, 150-4, 165-168, 177, etc.


Commissioner of Land Settlements, and the 4-H Movement. Each of these organisations has had recent increases of staff in order to equip them to play their several parts in the development programme. The Extension Service is to plan and supervise farm development. The J.A.S. is to organise farmers to welcome the Scheme, to represent farmers, to arrange marketing of crops and to inform the country about the scheme. The J.S.W.C. is to educate the farmers’ families in home economics, to stimulate co-operative group organisation and to organise training for the Extension staff. The Loan Agencies are to administer loans. The Land Authority officers and land settlement officers are apparently to administer the Scheme in their several areas. The 4-H movement is to enlist the interest and support of youth. And there are also parochial Farm Development Committees, the Chairmen of which form an Advisory Committee on Agriculture to the Minister who scrutinises farm plans before passing them. This is indeed a formidable list of organisations, culminating in a Co-ordinating Committee composed of the heads of these organisations. This last Committee is responsible for securing integration of the services engaged on the scheme in the field, and for planning their collaboration. This Central Co-ordinating committee is further duplicated at the parish level, among the services; but initially neither of these co-ordinating committees possessed an executive arm, and it seems that decisions reached by them must wait for execution upon the agencies which constitute them. Similarly, there is no ruling which forbids the organisations engaged in this farm development programme to employ their staff specifically financed from development grants on activities or tasks not directly part of this programme. This multiplicity of agencies harnessed to the programme, the imprecision in definition of their respective functions, and the unsatisfactory position with regard to staff collaboration and control contrasts remarkably with the simple type of machinery for agricultural development suggested by the Mission of the International Bank. Instead of simplicity in administrative structure, precision in task definition and allocation, and certainty with respect to responsibility, we have the complicated machinery of this programme, the ambiguity about responsibilities and tasks (cf. comments re supervision of loan funds above), and complete freedom of these agencies from popular criticism or protest.

To be effective development programmes require a clear organisation of sanctions within the developmental machinery, such that each agent in the programme can be made to pull his or her weight clearly and unambiguously as a condition of continuing to participate. But in the administrative structure presently operating, the only individual against whom sanctions are applicable if the programme does not succeed is the politician. The officials and extension workers of the J.A.S., J.S.W.C., 4-H movement, and other agencies are all well protected from such repercussions. Moreover, since the organisation of farmers through the machinery of the J.A.S. with government finance is an integral part of the programme, it seems unlikely that the farmers will allow application of sanctions against themselves, or alternatively against their organisation, the Jamaica Agricultural Society, without any protest. Moreover, since farmers form a substantial and well-organised section of the Jamaican voting population, it can be expected that politicians will be sensitive to their mood on these matters. Thus the farmer like the civil servant cannot be effectively stimulated by the application of sanctions. On the other hand, if failure rather than development occurs under this programme, the farmer through his representative organisation can protest that the fault lies with the extension officers of the department of agriculture or with other agencies; and his own organisation, which is heavily government financed, as representative of the farmers, is in an excellent position to protect itself from criticism by attacking other agencies, and by simultaneously mobilising politically important support for itself among the farming community.

It is notable that already disputes over the distribution of functions have marked the collaboration of the various organisations charged with this programme. The Jamaica
Agricultural Society has disputed the control and organisation of marketing and co-operatives and the control of the distribution of information with other agencies in the team. Probably it is an almost inevitable aspect of this collaboration of separate organisations in a common programme that competition for funds and staff as well as for spheres of influence and activity should develop. If so, the question arises whether the administration of the programme is as economic and efficient as is necessary or possible.

No information has yet been released about the numbers and concentration of staff necessary to secure effective performance and supervision of the programme in terms of areas, money invested, or population. Nor can such calculations be easily made while staff in different organisations continue to discharge different or similar tasks as at present. The levels of intensity of supervision requisite for implementation of the programme on farms of different sizes and types have yet to be defined. Yet allocation of staff must be made in terms of such data if it is to be rational, economic, or effective. Clearly there is a need for some comparative study of the economy and efficiency of different types of organisation in development work. For example, the effectiveness and cost of the development conducted in a defined area by one officer responsible for all the projects and activities contemplated under the present plan may be compared with proportionate cost and types of effects obtained by several officers working as at present in loose association over a larger area.

More importantly, perhaps, there is the central question whether the civil service type of organisation can at all provide the appropriate machinery for developmental work of the present type. In this respect comparative data on post-war development projects in Jamaica and elsewhere raise grave doubts about the capacity of a civil service to formulate or execute realistic development projects economically.

Finally, on the organisational side, there remain the plethora of schemes and organisations servicing agricultural society outside of the present Farm Development Programme, and several of these are presently involved in expansion and developmental work of their own. Their presence and operations raise further problems of integration in the national effort to improve agriculture, especially as regards the effect of their total action. If the increased efficiency of farming is the object of all these schemes, then it clearly involves increased efficiency and economy in the organisation and administration of agricultural services, and especially of marketing. Insofar as positions of influence in these schemes and organisations tend to be distributed among a relatively closed group of individuals, programmatic immobilities can be expected, and the several organisations will probably continue to breed separate schemes as a means of justifying their continued separate existences and expansion. Yet co-ordination becomes more difficult, expensive, and time-consuming the more numerous the organisations involved, and also the greater the degree of role interlocking among persons occupying the dominant positions in these organisations. In such a situation finance may be wasted on separate staffs and establishments, effort may lack central direction and integration as well as supervision, responsibility has no clear locus, nor can sanctions be clearly applied; and competition between organisations may very well produce irrational administration of the programme.

(d) Changing Traditional Farm Practices.

Change certainly is one of the objectives of the Extension Service. In changing farm practices, the traditions and the customs of the farmers are affected. These customs are part of the farmers' culture. In most cases the Extension Services only want to change some aspects of the farmers' culture. However, sometimes nothing less than a whole system of values current among the small farmers is the target for change. Suppose, for example, that the main attitudes of the small farmer to his land are governed by its values as regards his independence, social status and as an insurance against future want, then
something more positive must be added to these values before the Extension Service produces the sort of farmers it wants. Somehow the small-holder must learn the possibilities and pride of farming well, pride in having a well-kept cultivation and must be persuaded to regard hard work as a desirable thing, to wish to leave a good farm to their children, to regard the conservation of the land as an important goal, etc.

In the first phases of its activities, the Extension Service is most likely to find substantial differences between its own system of values and aims and that of the farming communities. If these differences of values and goals are not taken into consideration, disappointment and even conflict may result. A short term policy of land improvement may take the values of the farmers for granted, but any long term policy cannot, and it may find that its success depends heavily on changing current values.

In some countries, agriculture is closely interwoven with other aspects of life such as religion and these interrelations may make the work of the extension officer more difficult. Fortunately, in the West Indies these complications are marginal, as a result of which our farmers are mentally freer to accept innovations than, for example, are farmers in certain Asiatic communities. Jamaican smallholders can none the less be expected to show some resistance to the dynamic force of extension, and to try to preserve their old habits and customs from change.

Everybody has conservative opinions, sometimes alongside with progressive ideas, and the Jamaican farmer is no exception. He knows that "new broom sweep clean", but also knows that "de ole broom know de corner". That is why he carefully weighs the pros and cons of an old system against arguments in favour of the new one. When the extension officer's lack of knowledge of traditional practices prevents him from weighing these pros and cons with the farmer, it is not always easy for him to win the confidence of the farmer. On the other hand, if the extension officer does know the arguments with which the farmer defends his traditional practices, and is able to use these arguments as the starting point of a discussion, the farmer will be able to follow the officer's argument more easily. For a fruitful communication of ideas there must be a certain agreement on basic principles between the communicator and the communicatees. People adopt an idea more easily when they think that the communicator has basically the same standpoint as themselves. That is partly why it is very important for extension workers to know about traditional farming practices.

For instance, in some parts of Jamaica the farmers have traditionally practised a system of shifting cultivation. They would work a plot for a short period (two years, for example), and would then put another plot under cultivation, usually after burning out the vegetation. This system of shifting cultivation is still widely practised in some areas, although it is not a good system, especially in thickly populated districts.

Farmers with very small holdings cannot practise shifting cultivation, but have to grow a single crop year after year on the same plot.

The extension officer, who wants to replace shifting cultivation and the single crop system with a proper system of crop rotation, should know what arguments are used by the farmers who still apply the old systems in their defence. Similarly, when tackling soil conservation practices, he should appreciate that the preference of many farmers for straight down trenches is also based on principles of soil conservation. Many farmers believe that the land can be best protected by taking away the water as quickly as possible. Of course, this is not in accordance with modern conservation practices, which advocate the slow gradual movement of water downhill; but only those officers who know the arguments which the farmers use in defence of their traditional system are in a position to meet or refute such arguments.

Again, planting of yams in hills has been a tradition for many generations. The extension officer must know exactly why the farmers adopt this system, before he can successfully introduce another system. He himself must also be quite certain that the new system has overriding
advantages and that also it is no less economical than the traditional method. If, for example, the Department of Agriculture has evidence that the system of yam planting on continuous mounds results in an economic increase in yields, this evidence should be brought to the notice of the extension officers and the farmers in a detailed form, that is, by figures based on experiments.

The same point applies to the burning of bush and grass. Small farmers use many arguments to defend this system. The extension officer should know all these arguments and must think them over carefully. One very strong argument which the farmers use is that this practice is a cheap way of cleaning a field. Another argument is that insects which are harmful to certain crops are destroyed by burning; thirdly, that ash increases fertility.

Without considerable knowledge of traditional farming practices and ideas the extension officer is not able to discuss common problems adequately with the farmers, even although such discussion is a prerequisite in transmitting this information or in securing the co-operation of the farmers. An extension officer should not simply try to foist new measures upon the farmer. It is often unwise to disregard traditional farming practices completely and it is self-defeating to try to introduce new practices while turning a deaf ear to the views of the farmers. Such an attitude simply widens the gap between officer and farmer, and engenders hostility.

(e) What is a Good Farmer?

During the survey of 40 districts in central Jamaica, interviewees were asked to name those persons who, in their opinion, were the three best farmers in their districts. Some interviewees appeared to have difficulty in naming three good farmers, but most of them could give two or three names. After these names were given, the interviewees were asked what criteria they had in mind when they chose their best farmers. In other words: they were asked to give the reasons for their choice. The 163 replies to this question which were given by the 99 persons interviewed are tabulated below with their frequencies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Modern scientific approach: following the instructions of the extension officers</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upkeep, condition and lay-out of cultivation (attention, care, given to the farm)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of cultivation and production</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character traits (interested in farming 4, hardworking 9, men of character 1, intelligent and receptive 1)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High yields</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social criteria (giving advice to other farmers 1, number of labourers employed 3, ownership of cattle 3, financial ability to help other people 2, work their own land 1, are independent 1)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planting a variety of crops</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operating with the Agricultural Dept. and adopting its ideas 4, interested in J.A.S. and other agricultural agencies 4, regular attendance at meetings 1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sensible and wise farming 3, proper planning 1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making full use of land space</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treatment of labourers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invest their money in their farms</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that most of the characteristics mentioned by the interviewees agree with the extension officer's concept of a good farmer: namely, a "good farmer" is a man who keeps his farm in good condition, applies scientific techniques, follows the advice of the Extension Service, and takes an active interest in his agricultural associations. This good farmer farms, of course, in a sensible and "wise" way, and plans his farm properly. He makes full use of his land space and invests his money in his farm. Half the criteria tabulated here fit into his des-
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crition. It also stands to reason that the good farmer must possess the character traits mentioned in our table: he must have an interest in farming, he must be intelligent and progressive, a man of sound character, and hard-working.

It is noteworthy that 45 of these 163 statements referred to size of cultivation, production and returns. Apparently a large number of interviewees fail to see that a man with a small acreage can still be a good farmer. It is interesting also that 9 interviewees mentioned the planting of a variety of crops as a characteristic of good farming.

Although only a few interviewees mentioned social criteria (the questions were put in such a way that these answers were not expected) it is interesting to examine the social criteria in these replies. It appears that a high value is attached to independence; and a farmer is regarded as independent when he owns his land and does not hire himself out to anybody. He then becomes an adviser and a helper to other farmers, an influential man in the district (this statement is supported by other field materials. The number of labourers he employs and the amount of cattle he owns are also indications of his wealth —that is, of his independence. Cattle may also serve as a status symbol. Like the concrete house, cattle show the outer world that their owner is doing well. A good farmer treats his labourers well, that is, he gives them a good meal, employs more than one labourer at a time (so that they have company on the job) and treats his labourers as his equals.

If the preceding description of what is generally considered to be a good farmer in the districts is quite correct, it is clear that the man having 3 acres or less cannot often be a "good" farmer under the present system of extensive agriculture. His acreage does not allow him to become respected as a leading farmer in the community, and he cannot normally make a decent living from his holding under the system of shifting cultivation. It is not surprising therefore that small farmers do not show any great love for farming as a way of life. They more often regard their land as an insurance against want. The extension officer will thus often find it impossible to transform these small land-owners into keen farmers. For this reason it may be wiser for him to concentrate initially on those persons whose circumstances at least allow them some hope of becoming "good farmers" in time.

Investigations in the Netherlands have shown that a "good farmer" usually has a different kind of personality from a "backward farmer". A good farmer often has a cultural background different from that of his colleague who is not doing so well. A good farmer has different ideas, a different philosophy of life and different expectations from life. He not only uses modern farming practices, but his household equipment is also modern. His wife uses modern kitchen equipment, is a member of women's organisations, etc. The modern farmer is a more urban type of person. From these Dutch investigations it appears that, for sound development of agriculture, the education of farmers' wives is no less important than the education of the farmers themselves. The main conclusion of these investigations in Holland is that in the strategy of educating backward farmers it is important to press the attack on many different fronts simultaneously, trying to change various aspects of life concurrently.

(f) Communication of Farming Practices

Readers of this manual, and especially extension officers will agree that the image of a good farmer portrayed by interviewees in these 40 districts (see the preceding section) does not differ a great deal from what they themselves may consider to be a good farmer.

However, not all the farmers in Jamaica are good farmers. A good many new ideas have to be introduced by the extension officers and adopted by the farmers before Jamaica can boast of a class of small farmers capable of feeding the growing population and of producing crops for export in the necessary quantities.

The process of passing on new ideas is affected by
many factors, of which the most important ones are listed below.

1. The normative character of traditional farming practices. Norms are socially sanctioned modes of behaviour, they are the rules of the game of social groupings, or societies. Traditional farming practices sometimes have the obligatory character of norms. In such cases, a farmer may feel obliged to plant his crops at certain times and in a certain way. If he does not obey these rules, ridicule, ostracism or obstruction is often his lot.

2. Poverty, undernourishment, and the accompanying mentality (individualism, the ‘quick-bread’ mentality etc.), are also impeding factors. ‘Hungry belly no got ears’, is a Jamaican saying. The impact of poverty and undernourishment on human behaviour has already been discussed in chapter 3, section (b) of this Manual.

3. Fear is another factor which adversely affects communication. Some population groups may fear that the execution of an action programme may be against their interest. For example, shopkeepers may fear that the establishment of co-operative buying clubs will result in financial losses, and in a loss of their social influence in the community. Farm labourers or small farmers themselves may fear that they will not get a reasonable return for their risks and efforts to fulfil extension programmes. That is why they may oppose the extension officers’ work, using rational and irrational arguments. The planting of yams in continuous mounds may be opposed, for example, because the labourers are not acquainted with this system, and because they do not like to depart from the basis on which they are traditionally paid: so much per 100 hills.

4. In the communication process it is not only the communicator and the communicatee and their interrelations which are important, but also the stimuli (the content of the message to be communicated). The content of this message can be compared with corresponding practices in the existing style of farming. When the gap between the old and the new is rather wide, communication will be difficult. So, when there are several new measures to be introduced, first priority should be given to projects which involve the least change, which will show quick results, which are important to the farmer, and the importance of which can be easily demonstrated to him. It is no doubt possible to impose certain methods, but in the long run it pays better to concentrate on supplying the farmer with information on the crops in which he is interested.

In certain areas, where such food crops as yams are the major crops, the output of these crops can be considerably increased by the application of fertiliser. When this kind of knowledge, together with the necessary fertiliser, is conveyed to the farmers, it is very likely that the support and confidence essential for effective work will be easily established. And once confidence is established by this kind of advice, perhaps many more farmers would be willing to accept other innovations, such as conservation methods. It is very important to study beforehand whether the new method will be practical and economic, within the means of most farmers; and if not, what changes are necessary to give the method this character?

For example, the introduction of strip farming may appear to be uneconomic on small farms. The material gathered in the Christiana Land Authority Sample Survey of Agriculture shows that the smaller the farm the less of it is put under grass.

5. The attitude and behaviour of a farmer can only be understood fully by reference to the social groupings to which he belongs, and by analysis of his position within these groupings. It is sometimes surprising to see, for example, how little impression an experimental garden makes on country people. It commonly occurs that people who work as labourers in an experimental garden do not even adopt the better farming practices which they learn in the garden. This can be explained by considering the social position of a farm labourer. As a lower class person in his community, he cannot easily make any innovation, without being ridiculed and socially outlawed. On the other hand, there are special persons, those in a key-position in the community, whom we may call local influentials, who under certain conditions can start something new. The transmission of knowledge acquired in these experi-
mental gardens from the supervisors of such gardens to the farming communities could take place via these local influentials.

Thus it may be said, that the character of the channel of communication is also a factor influencing the communication process.

Factors such as those just dealt with influence the communication process. A very important factor in this process is the communicator or innovator. In order to do his job successfully the extension worker should try:

1. to create a sphere of mutual understanding,
2. to create a basis of confidence,
3. to contact the right type of farmers first,
4. to keep up his professional knowledge.

The four points just mentioned are the means at the disposal of the extension worker to accelerate and intensify the communication process.

1. In order to create a sphere of mutual understanding, knowledge of the traditional farming practices is very important (see ch. V, section d). What is learnt at the Jamaica School of Agriculture must be supplemented by study of the agricultural knowledge (right or wrong) of the farmers in the districts, where the officer has to work. The extension worker will find it helpful in the process of communication to use the arguments of the farmers as the starting point of discussion. By doing this the extension officer gives his farmers the impression that the officer and the farmers more or less agree on basic principles. People adopt ideas more easily when they think that the communicator has basically the same standpoint as themselves.

2. The effectiveness of a communication, that is, the degree to which it is positively received and welcomed, depends to a certain degree upon who delivers it. People tend to resist communications from sources towards which they already have negative attitudes. That is why in the propaganda of the Extension Service stress should be laid on the expertness and goodwill of the officers. It should be made clear to the public that the officers are hard-working people, motivated by ideals. Attitudes of trust and confidence towards them should be developed.

An effective means by which an extension agent might gain the confidence of country people is to visit the places where people congregate and to mix freely among them. The extension officer will thus be in a position gradually to disseminate information among the people.

Another means of gaining the confidence of the farmers is to start with projects, which show quick results. This aspect has already been discussed above.

The Extension Officer will only succeed in winning the confidence of the farmers when he addresses them in a friendly way and does not show any feelings of class superiority, or class consciousness. It is important that the extension officer should realise that he probably regards himself as a middle class man. When asked to rank themselves in the status system of the rural communities, the officers of one development area classified themselves in the highest class of these communities. The extension officers should be aware of the fact that, as middle class people, they have a natural tendency to feel themselves superior to the lower class masses. Awareness of this tendency might perhaps help them to hide or outgrow these feelings.

Human relations in Jamaica are a mixture of kindness and friendliness on the one side and authoritative behaviour on the other side. Extension officers should, in general, adopt the human, kindly attitude. Smallholders will accept authoritative behaviour from higher class people, but they prefer a man who is kind. Many small holders when interviewed complained of the fact that some extension workers have a tendency to dictate to the small farmers. The farmers do not like this attitude, not only because they feel that their long experience on the land gives them a wide knowledge of farming.

The farmer accepts advice more readily from a man whom he considers to be a "good instructor". It is difficult to give distinct rules in this respect, but just being human and respectful to the farmer is a very good approach. A good instructor is one who discusses farm problems with
the farmer, patiently and sympathetically, every decision being reached as the result of such discussion between farmer and instructor. A good instructor interprets instructions liberally. If, for example, a farmer prefers a type of tank or cowshed slightly different from the standard type, the farmer should at least, if possible, get partly what he wants.

(3) Since an extension officer cannot visit all the farmers in his division equally, many farmers have to profit indirectly from his advice and they do so via those farmers who have regular contact with him. The choice of farmers to be contacted initially is therefore of vital importance:

(a) It is important that the officers concentrate in the first place on those farmers who have many contacts with other farmers. For example, when farmers who give morning sports to big gatherings adopt better farm practices, there is a chance that many farmers will observe these improvements. Most valuable are those influential local persons who have a high receptivity to new farming techniques, i.e. who have a high adoption rate. An individual's adoption rate is the percentage of applicable new practices which he has actually adopted. Thus, if 14 practices can be applied on the farm, and the operator has adopted 7 of them, his adoption rate is 50%. An investigation in the United States showed that the higher the adoption rate of a farm operator, the higher is the adoption rate of most of his close associates among his kinfolk, and in his visiting and work exchange groups.

(b) A good policy is to concentrate on farmers who promise the best results. In selecting these farmers, sociological criteria should be taken into consideration. For example, the extension officer, when he has to do his work among people who are members of (informal) groups which oppose the work of his agency, should concentrate on the so-called "low valuation" members of these groups. "Low valuation" members of a group are persons who do not place very high value on the group to which they belong, as a group. They are more concerned with the activities or functions of the group. For this reason, they are more easily influenced than "high valuation" members by communications contrary to the norms of the group.

(c) It is desirable that the extension officer should contact farmers of all different classes and in all parts of his district, but he should bear in mind that the diffusion of practices from upper class to lower class is usually more rapid than diffusion in the opposite direction.

From the foregoing paragraphs it is clear that some sociological knowledge or sensitivity is necessary to enable the extension officer to work out and apply the most rewarding approach in differing field situations. To enlarge his sociological knowledge it is suggested that all extension workers should be given the opportunity to attend once a year a course at which lectures and discussions on soil conservation and new farming practices will be held, together with similar sessions on rural sociology.

(4) In a country where the farmers do not read newspapers as a rule, and do not listen to the radio, the extension officer is the main contact between the rural folk and agricultural science. To remain the best informed man in his district, the extension officer must keep up his professional knowledge. However, a survey among the field officers somewhere in Jamaica, showed that these officers have not many means of keeping up their professional knowledge. They had, for example, very little literature on their profession (handbooks, reference books etc.), and none of them were subscribers to foreign journals (such as Tropical Agriculture). Even the J.A.S. journals and the Welfare Reporter are read by only a few of them. Some extension officers even do not receive or are not aware that they receive the Extension Circulars of the Department of Agriculture. Perhaps the actual practice of farming itself provides the most powerful incentive for the extension officer to maintain his practical knowledge. However, under the present terms of government employment the extension
worker may not operate a farm himself. There is much in favour of this regulation but it might, perhaps, be modified so that the extension officer could be allowed to work on a quarter or half an acre of land near his home, which land could be regarded as a demonstration plot.

If an extension officer had a cultivation of his own to which he could invite members of groups, and where he could show them how he did his own farm work, he might be able to transfer some of his enthusiasm for different farming methods to the visitors.

At the end of this section it must be stressed that the extension worker can only do a first-class job when he is himself convinced that he is embarked on a great enterprise, the success of which depends, to a large extent, upon his efforts. Only when the extension officers are dedicated to their task, and when they do their work with enthusiasm and fire, as well as intelligence, will it be possible for them to inspire a mass of backward people to take new courses of action leading to a better life.

Although there are a number of factors which impede the adoption of new ideas, it is fair to say that Jamaican farmers are not exceptionally conservative. There have been a great many social changes in local farming practice since 1838, and the longing for change has always been very strong. The marked degree of conservatism common in some Asiatic and African countries does not exist in Jamaica. It appears that our small farmers are quite willing to imitate planting systems when these appear to be successful. It is sometimes even possible to observe a certain "follow fashion" attitude among the farmers.

(g) The Communication of Social Welfare Practices

The principles illustrated in the preceding section on the communication of farming practices also apply to the communication of welfare practices. That is why we confine ourselves in this section to only a few aspects of social welfare teaching.

From information supplied by the Jamaica Social Welfare village instructors working in certain parishes it appears that country women are especially interested in the cooking and preservation of food. Next in line of interest comes mattress-making and sewing clothes. Other topics on the Village Instructor’s programme evoke less interest. In the poorer districts, women are solely interested in cooking.

This raises questions about the topics on whichsocial welfare work should concentrate. Attention should, of course, be devoted to the major social problems. These are: poverty, undernourishment, population increase and illiteracy. The village instructor should also work in close co-operation with the Agricultural Extension Officer so that each will learn from the other and can help the other in the process of introducing new practices.

Social Welfare village instructors may help to improve the level of rural nutrition by launching their famous 3F campaigns. But besides these organised campaigns there is considerable need and scope for informal teaching. If the village instructor makes it her business to go into the homes of the country folk and share their hospitality, she will find herself in a good position to advise about household matters such as cooking and child rearing, in an inconspicuous but effective way. For some ideas about how to make vegetables more tasty the Social Welfare Commission could turn to the art of cooking in European countries. France and Italy, for example, have lovely sauces to offer, and there are various methods of making lettuce, tomatoes and other vegetables into very palatable foods.

By concentrating on such matters, a village instructor would be doing something which is felt to be importance in the lives of the country people.

As poverty decreases, the character of social welfare work may have to be changed. At such a stage the formation of groups for drama and folk dancing might, perhaps, meet with some success. Folk dancing, in particular, appears to offer possibilities. Jamaicans are very good dancers and enjoy dancing. If the dancing in the country parts could be raised to a higher level a genuine contribution to local culture might result.
COMMUNICATION

Indeed, the country dances encouraged should be of West Indian origin, but only if they have some artistic value. Perhaps some famous West Indian dancers could also be asked to design new dances.

The social welfare workers and community organisers have a very important task in the rural areas; but, as has been stated several times above, poverty can frustrate many of these efforts. As soon as the first signs of economic improvement are apparent, a concentrated campaign in community uplift should meet with success.

(h) Methods of Extension.

These include: (1) individual methods, farm and home visits for example; (2) group methods, meetings, tours, etc.; and (3) mass methods, radio, films, leaflets, etc. The individual method is generally regarded as being the most effective. The circumstances under which farmers have to work are so varied, and the farmers themselves are individually so different from one another, that there is much in favour of the individual approach, even though it is a time-consuming method.

The group method has to be applied as the principal method when the number of extension officers is very small in relation to the number of farmers. When, for whatever reasons the formation of groups is necessary, it may be useful to try the method of getting groups to make their own decision. In one social-psychological experiment, the effectiveness of this technique was compared with the effect of an exceptionally good lecturer. In this experiment, which attempted to get women of various income levels to use hearts, kidneys and brains as food for their families, the group-decision approach was found to be more effective by far than the lecture method. When a lecturer is introducing a new technique to an audience, each listener has to decide for himself whether he will try the new device. Back home, either laxity or fear of making themselves ridiculous may prevent the trial from being made. However, when a whole group of persons takes the decision to make a trial and to discuss the outcome of the trial in the next meeting, everyone feels himself supported by the others, and has less reason to fear failure or ridicule. Belonging to a group of persons who are working towards a common objective reduces personal responsibility and anxiety, and, at the same time, increases understanding through sharing points of view, thereby facilitating changes of attitude.

In some districts, especially the most impoverished ones, the extension worker will often find it difficult to get the farmers and farmers’ wives together in groups. This is not surprising when we remember that utilitarian social units do not flourish under poverty. As a consequence the women may not be experienced in the behaviour and ways of such groups. That is why, especially when beginning extension work in such difficult districts, home visiting, including demonstrations within the home, may be the best method of approach. These demonstrations in the homes usually attract some neighbours, so that more than one household is actually reached with each demonstration.

When strong opposition to certain measures is expected, the group approach is not the right one, since within a group opposition and divisions can become intensified. When expressing his personal opinion in a group, a person tends to compromise between his private opinion and what he considers to be the opinion of the group.

In the United States, valuable survey work has been done on the problem of how many different extension methods must be used, and in what combination, to get the best results.

It has been found that the best results are obtained when a variety of methods are used at the same time. Comparison of situations in which different numbers of methods were applied showed that the number of families who adopted improved practices rose together with the number of ways of communicating the information. The most rapid increase in adoption took place as the number of methods increased to 5 or 6.

This is not surprising, as it is well known that people learn in four main ways, by hearing, by seeing, by dis-
cussing, and by acting, and that the most effective educational methods make use of all four. In other words, repetition of the message in a variety of ways is highly important to learning.

A word should be said about measuring the effectiveness of extension teaching. As a matter of fact it is important for an Extension Service to know whether or not extension work produces the desired results. That is why, say every two years, an appraisal of the results achieved should be made by collecting facts.

For this purpose some districts would have to be selected in which the farmers have been "exposed" to the same ideas and the same type of teaching. From the farmers in these districts a random sample of say 50 to 100 farmers in each district could be selected.

The next step would be to make a list of all practices taught by the local extension officers over the past two years, whereupon the extent to which the farmers have adopted these practices could be measured. This could be done by determining for each farmer his adoption rate (for the meaning of adoption rate see section (f) of this chapter). Note that adoption is defined here as having ever tried a new practice.

When these individual adoption scores have been collected, the average score for each district could be determined, whereupon it should be possible to distinguish areas with low adoption rates from areas with high rates. When the adoption scores of a large number of farmers are available, their tabulation will show differences between various groupings of farmers in the extent to which they have adopted the various practices. It may appear, for instance, that age, previous educational training, size of farm, type of tenure, location of farm and other factors are positively correlated with these differences of adoption score.

The same group of farmers could also be interviewed every two years to see whether any progress has been made by this type of education.

Chapter VI:

WORKING WITH PEOPLE

(a) Group Work and Case Work.

The role of the group organiser or extension worker servicing a group is to maintain, or if possible, to increase the flow of interest; and to ensure the coordination and rational direction of activities towards the improvement of conditions affecting the lives of members of the group. To this end a variety of possible techniques may be developed; but the adaptation of group programmes of action to the needs of its members, separately and as a unit, remains supremely important. It is of little use asking people who are able to count the stars through their roof to spend 3 or 4 days' labour on the provision of a community hall in which they cannot ever expect to house their families. It seems more rewarding to elicit from each household the practical problems which personally and immediately pre-occupy its members, whether these be the provision of food for pigs in order to permit rearing of a litter until it is profitable to dispose of them, or the maintenance of a calf whose mother was killed by lightning when she was a day or two old, or some other material or social difficulty which involves the risk or condition of loss of capital equipment which the household cannot afford to do without.

Scaling down plans to suit the requirements of groups, and of individuals as well, may have to be done by the extension worker who seeks to create a lively group and to service it to the best of his or her ability. Once it becomes clear to the members of the group that the field worker is directly and immediately interested in improving their conditions, and is capable of doing so, then there is little problem about the maintenance of group organisation or activity. Indeed the problem then will be to contain their zeal. There will also be then no obstacle in planning group
work for the benefit of individual members on a rotational system, or in combining this with work by and for the group as a whole: but, unless some combination is worked out and sustained, then the volume of group work will tend to decline and the functional values of the unit for extension purposes may be severely reduced consequent on narrowing its field of expression too severely.

This matter of functional effectiveness is worth a great deal of consideration. The middle and upper classes in Jamaica are prone to think of voluntary organisations such as farmers' groups in terms of single functions, or as units having carefully laid out procedural and structural patterns. But rural folk in Jamaica do not think of effective groups in this way. The group which holds their interest and loyalty is a multi-functional, immediately available unit, the structure and procedural patterns of which reflect their own cultural organisation, and so are directly modifiable according to the needs and circumstances facing its members. Far from being single purpose units, utilitarian associations of a local character, to succeed and flourish under these conditions, often cannot avoid multi-functional operations. This is inherent simply in the local bases and communal character of the personal relationships mobilised within these group organisations, including kinship, prominently.

In cases where group interest lapses and negative or unrewarding reactions develop, the group organiser or extension agent may find that he has to undertake some form of case work among the members of the group, if the unit is to be successfully rehabilitated. But, except for such conditions, which require special attention, it is important that the leadership of the group should rest with its members; and, except for the simple formalities involved in the holding and recording of meetings, recording, registration, and proposing of minutes and the like, the organiser should take the background role and should be content, when called upon, to act as adviser, rather than as director of the group. In fact, informal leadership limits the organiser's scope for direction considerably and the direction of groups by officials usually repels those types of persons accustomed to the informal exercise of persuasive authority. Group organisers should convince the members of the groups, by their action, that they are the agent and servant of these groups, and are willing to assist in so far as the groups place responsibility upon them; but also that, although interested and willing to help, they regard successful operation of the group as something within the capacities of its members, and as more immediately beneficial if undertaken by the group.

Strictly speaking, case work is a therapeutic technique for the rehabilitation of individuals or families in difficulties. In the long run this may not be notably dissimilar to extension work in Jamaica as this goes on at present, except that the latter is directed primarily at communities rather than at isolated families or individuals. None the less, it is important to keep the conceptual differences between case work and group work clear. The case worker deals with individuals or families; the group worker with members of groups, which are specially established for certain functions, and he is especially concerned with their membership and activities.

However, a group worker may find himself involved in contacts with group members which are far more intimate and personal than are necessary solely within the context of group meetings and activities. Implicitly or otherwise, to engage and maintain the interest of members in the group organisation and operation and to stimulate their desire for the acquisition and application of new knowledge and the improvement of their own condition, the group organiser is inevitably driven to demonstrations of his interest and utility in his dealings with group members drawn from different households. In these relationships, it is especially important that he should recognise how imperative it is that individuals should focus their attention and energies on the maintenance of their separate households.

The types of case work which figure prominently in these relationships involve manipulation of social patterns by the extension agent so as to improve individual conditions or to promote realisation of immediate goals of
the members of the households whom he is concerned to serve. For example, if someone is renting a home but seeks to purchase land, and needs £10 to do so; and if the man has some young pigs which could realise the money necessary for the purchase of the land in question, if their owner were able to rear them, then, assuming that the owner cannot find feed for the pigs, the extension worker can set about thinking of persons or places from which pig feed can be obtained regularly, whether on a share basis or by some other arrangement, so that the householder will be free to rear and sell his pigs, and thus to realise the £10 needed for the purchase of the land in question. It is in terms of these individual short-range goals that the group organiser becomes involved in household case work; and it is from successful solution of these and similar individual difficulties that loyalties and confidence develop which can flow back into the group, informing it and increasing its vitality as a channel for extension work.

Moreover, in the techniques by which the present farm development programme proceeds, the construction of individual farm plans pre-supposes certain levels of rapport and interest by the individual extension worker which cannot be developed effectively unless the extension worker exceeds the formally defined functions of the extension relationship. Individual farm plans, whatever their ultimate object, are themselves simple instances of the case work approach, and the agent responsible for them should not be dismayed or frightened by the idea that some level of individual household rehabilitation is often a prerequisite for the enlistment of group loyalties and interest among the personnel he serves.

(b) An example of Group Formation.

Organising the farmers into groups is one of the techniques of extension work most favoured in Jamaica. In one rural development area, farmers having farm plans are organised in so-called watershed groups, consisting of from 15 to 20 farmers each. Among the main objectives of these groups is the study of the development programmes, the encouragement of thrift, the supply of short-term credit to members and, where possible, the co-operative execution of work proposed in the individual farm plans.

For the proper organisation and the successful operation of such watershed groups, some sociological knowledge and feeling on the part of the group organisers is essential. To test the knowledge and perceptiveness of the officers responsible for group formation in this particular area, all extension workers involved on this project were asked why some of their groups were successful and why some of them were failures.

Analysis of the officers’ answers showed that the majority of them were of opinion that the chief cause of failure or success was the quality of group leadership: local leadership and the influence of officers. Some interviewees said that it is very important to have intelligent and inspiring leaders, who would co-operate with the Extension Service and who have the ability to demonstrate new practices to their fellows; leaders with initiative, and the zeal to conquer difficulties.

No doubt leadership is an important factor in successful group life; but it is not the only thing that counts. Other more important if less obvious sociological factors may also be involved. That none of the officers mentioned any sociological ‘causes’ other than leadership, illustrates the degree to which we are often unaware of these important sociological factors. For example, when the problem of status differences was brought to the attention of these extension officers, they all admitted that these class factors are important in group formation and that it is very difficult to organise a successful watershed group among farmers of widely different acreages; yet when first asked why some of these groups had failed, no officer mentioned this fact. In general, it can be said that when utilitarian groups (such as a watershed group) are organised, the success will be greater insofar as existing social configurations (also informal groups) are maintained. The extension worker should try to operate as much as possible through existing, natural groups or configurations.
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When the watershed groups were being organised this principle was not applied. In the organisation of these groups contiguity was regarded as the most important factor. By bringing together farmers who lived close to each other the organisers expected to create conditions whereby it was easier for the farmers to meet together and co-operate on each other’s holdings. But social distance is just as real as physical distance.

One might argue that it is in a way an advantage to bring farmers of different social strata together, as this might lead to an enlargement of the social horizon of the members of the group. Such heterogeneous groups could perhaps work effectively as study groups; but when it comes to the co-operative execution of farm development work or even to collective saving, it is very unlikely that these heterogeneous groups will function as planned. We refer in this connection to what has been said in Section (t) of Chapter 3, on the day-for-day system.

It is, of course, not difficult for officers with authority to bring 15 to 20 neighbouring farmers together, to have them organised in a democratic way, and to get them to attend meetings voluntarily; but this does not guarantee that a living social unit has been created.

These writers believe that when the farmers themselves are asked to choose the persons with whom they would like to form a study or work group, each would tend to select people of similar social status.

(c) Local Leadership.

If local leaders could be trained in small groups of five or six at a time, this would reduce the time and expense involved.

We will now give some attention to the use which can be made of informal leaders. The survey among the field officers just mentioned showed that very limited use was made of informal leaders or of influential local persons of some standing. Most field workers, on coming to their areas, were only introduced to the presidents and secretaries of the J.A.S. Branches and to other formal leaders.

LOCAL LEADERSHIP

Not more than two field workers appeared to have made a conscious use of informal leadership. Extension workers tend to prefer to deal with literate people, or with people of an educational level which is higher than the rural average. These officers have little or no direct contact with the folk culture (revivalism, healing, nine nights and so on) or with its leaders.

If it is at all useful to work with the principal members of natural instead of artificial social units, it becomes necessary to locate these natural groups and their leaders. To discover who are the leaders, it is necessary to observe the followers. A village instructor in a new district could start her work simply by visiting about ten local women in their homes, and, after explaining her mission to them, ask with which women in the district she should discuss her work. That woman whose name is most often mentioned is likely to be the most influential locally. Some extension workers have noticed that the farmers in a new district sometimes tend to direct the extension officers to farmers with a nice “grow”. Quite often these people are the local influential.

In many cases those farmers who are doing an excellent job, and who use modern practices, are the people to whom other farmers look for advice. It is very profitable for the extension officer to know the identity of those farmers who are often asked for advice by their fellows, because he can then use them as channels of communication.

In his effort to locate the informal leaders in an area, the field worker should not ask for leaders, because the informal leaders are frequently not known as leaders.

When a “natural group” and its leader have been discovered, the field worker should remain in the background while working through these groups and leaders. If there has to be a “big shot” it should be the local informal leader and not the field worker.

Some of the more important advantages and shortcomings which result from reliance on local leaders in extension teaching may be briefly summarised as follows:
Advantages:

1. Local leaders themselves learn better through their efforts to teach others.
2. People accept a new idea best from a local person who has given it a practical test at his own risk.
3. A local leader is usually available for frequent personal consultation by his neighbours.
4. Increase in the number of teachers make possible a larger volume of teaching.
5. Prestige and the personal following of the local leader increases the likelihood of new practices being adopted.

Limitations:

1. The person selected as a leader for training may not have the expected following among neighbours, may not be willing to devote required time to work, or may be a poor teacher.
2. Considerable time is required to locate and train local leaders.
3. The local leader may try to use the prestige connected with his new role and position for personal advantage.
4. The more difficult task of arousing interest on the part of those not interested in extension is too often left to the inexperienced local leader.

These limitations are not insurmountable. A very careful selection of these local instructors, based on investigations of their position in their local communities, may prevent disappointment. Only those persons who have a high esteem in the community and who are already sought after for advice by other farmers are suitable for training as local instructors. The writers are well aware that in some areas it will be extremely difficult to find a person in whom neighbouring farmers have enough confidence for them to take his advice. If such a man cannot be found, perhaps it is wiser that no local instructor should be nominated in that district.

Careful selection may also prevent the recruitment of local leaders who misuse their position for personal advantage. The local instructor should of course be supervised carefully by his superior and should be dismissed as soon as there are valid complaints about his work and behaviour.

The local instructor should be given limited tasks, suited to his capacities; the more difficult tasks of extension teaching should be done by the full-time extension worker.

In rural Jamaica we find different types of leaders:

1. Professional leaders; people like the extension and project officers and also the ministers of religion. These people are paid to give service.
2. Formal or titular leaders; that is, leaders with titles, e.g., members of Parochial Boards, senior elders, deacons in church councils, presidents of the J.A.S. branches, leaders of 4H Clubs, and Chairmen of the Parent-Teachers Associations.
3. Folk Culture Leaders. The leaders of the small Churches of God, revivalist and pocomania groups certainly form a category apart; and it is very seldom that a leader of a revivalist group is a formal leader as well. What is more likely is that many of these religious leaders are also informal folk leaders in matters of a non-religious nature.
4. Informal leaders. These leaders do not stand out as obviously as the others, and often they do not have the qualifications for high prestige. They are sometimes modest persons, who frequently do not think of themselves as leaders. These informal leaders sometimes reflect the conservative and traditional values of the community, and are thus unlikely to support new ideas, unless these ideas meet with group approval. That is why the extension officer should know who the informal leaders are, and from them, what is the real attitude of the community to the measures he wants to introduce.

Local leaders may be very useful tools in extension teaching. In the United States, they are widely used for extension work. During 1952, county extension workers
in the U.S.A. reported a total of 1,200,000 local leaders who acted as extension officers in the extension programme. In the United States the average local leader of an extension programme devotes 11 days annually to his leadership activities, and the total time so given equals a full working year of 260 work days for more than 50,000 persons. This last number is itself four times as large as the total number of salaried extension personnel.

In these American studies, it was found that the average local leader who acts as an assistant extension officer influences an average of 12 people to make 25 changes per year in farm or home practices.

Our typology of leadership includes a separate category for folk culture leaders. This special category reflects the existence in the countryside of differing leadership in different cultural sections.

The rural leadership survey we have been discussing showed that there is a marked difference between such folk culture leaders as the leaders of pocomania and revivalist groups, healers, tablemen, and those who lead funeral ceremonies on the one hand, and the leaders of quasi-official bodies such as J.A.S. branches, Citrus Growers Associations, etc., on the other hand.

Of the folk culture leaders discovered in this survey, approximately 79 per cent are farmers and roughly 9 per cent are labourers; but of the quasi-official leaders approximately 64 per cent are farmers, and none are labourers. The teaching profession is well represented in this category of quasi-official leaders, and provides about 20 per cent of its members in these rural areas.

Of the folk culture leaders about 25 per cent have preaching or healing as a source of income (either as a sideline or as the main source). As compared with the quasi-official leaders, only a few of the folk culture leaders have side occupations, e.g. commerce, trades, etc.

The category of folk culture leaders appears to rank much lower in the local and national status hierarchy than do the leaders of quasi-official bodies. The latter own about 14.5 acres of land on average, whereas the former average only approximately 3.5 acres each. The quasi-official leader lives in a much better house; about 44% of them having concrete dwellings, whereas only about 10% of the folk culture leaders live in concrete houses. Thatch huts are more common among folk culture leaders than among quasi-official leaders.

It is also noteworthy that white and light-brown persons are relatively more frequent among quasi-official leaders than among folk culture leaders. Among the latter category, only about 6.5% are light brown, whereas none are white, whereas approximately 29% of the quasi-official leaders are white or light brown.

Common-law marriages appear to be very exceptional among quasi-official leaders; but this form of mating is more prevalent among the folk culture leaders. Of these latter category, only about 35% are illiterate, whereas all quasi-official leaders can read and write. A limited ability to read and write is very frequent among folk culture leaders, more so than among quasi-official leaders.

From all these figures it is apparent that — on an average — the folk culture leader is a different type of person from the leader of a quasi-official body i.e., an association of island-wide operations. It is indeed extremely seldom that a person from the one category is a leader of an organisation of the other type. Pocomania, revivalism, funeral ceremonies and healing are institutions belonging to a cultural section in the rural communities which has its own leaders, a section which is culturally quite different from the higher status sections of the community (the rural middle class).

In the utilitarian social groupings (e.g. formal associations) of the upper status section of the rural community the teacher still has an important leadership role. The ministers of religion, however, seldom now act as leaders in secular group life. One interviewee (a minister of religion) said that the policy of the Jamaican Social Welfare Commission to educate certain persons for leadership has weakened the position of the teachers and parsons in
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these communities. The position of ministers of religion has also been changed through the replacement of voluntary leadership by professional leadership in various fields of social life (welfare work, 4H clubs, etc.).

(d) Project Design and Planning

In our preceding discussion of the role of the group organiser we have inevitably touched on the matter of project design and planning. This is one of the major functions of the extension worker. He alone of the group members normally has access to up-to-date knowledge and resources of information, materials or other aid necessary to conceive and design a sound project, let alone to secure its execution. But if what we have said so far makes sense, it follows that among the very poor, the prerequisite for successful project design and planning at the group level is often a record of successful project design and planning for the individual households of the group members. Demonstration is always more effective than a promise, and people to whom demonstrations of utility have already been made can be expected to respond more promptly and intelligently to the communications addressed to them in their roles as members of an extension group.

In selecting the project and working out its design the extension worker must realise and take into account such factors as the traditional division of labour and responsibility between the sexes on the one hand, and the prevailing allocation of resources in relation to needs on the other. He needs also to know, not merely what is profitable but what is possible in terms of the structure of social relationships actually involved in the operation of his group. He needs to gauge and phase his programme of activities according to the capacities for leadership shown by the group with whom he is dealing; and he must try to arrive at the plan of the project with them.

(e) Evaluation

Not so long ago change in society was left to develop of its own accord. But since the Industrial Revolution, and especially since the first world war, people have come to realize that they must themselves try to direct change along the lines that they wish, since the only alternative is for undirected change to drive them away from their goals. In consequence governments have been increasingly preoccupied with programmes of social action which have rather than before them, and to be willing to postpone certain projects in favour of others, even though he realises that in the long run those postponed are the more valuable schemes.

In the design of projects the extension agent must exercise care to allocate executive responsibilities and roles in a fashion which involves as many of the capable members of the group as is possible without endangering the success of the project. Furthermore within the project design he must try to provide for alternative lines of action in case the main aim of the scheme should fail of success.

While dealing with these group projects he will also be involved in the design and execution of projects directly related to the needs of individual household members, and will therefore be in a very good position to supervise their participation and to stimulate their interest in schemes carried out on behalf of the group as a whole.

Lastly, although the successful conclusion of any project is a matter for celebration by group members, it is also a matter of concern for the organiser, since the follow-up of the project is often as essential for the maintenance of the group itself and for the success of the extension activity as is the successful completion of a scheme. Perhaps nothing can breed success in extension work like success, but a triumphant recognition of group achievement is still desirable; for such congratulatory purpose the group organiser might well arrange for some prominent individual to address the group and share their pleasure in the performances of their self-allotted task.

sought to promote desirable changes. These programmes have been multiplied since the end of the second world war by the technical assistance schemes and intentions of wealthier nations. Such schemes are intended to assist the underdeveloped countries to find better standards of living. The Colonial Development and Welfare programmes, the International Corporation Administration and similar schemes are efforts of international assistance which take the form of directed programmes for social change.

These programmes, whether described as fundamental education or community development, seek to develop technical changes in the society at which they are directed, and to promote higher economic standards in that society. Often their goals explicitly involve ideas of social change; often they assume certain social or cultural conditions which are favourable to the promotion of the programme they seek to realize. In many cases the good intentions and carefully planned programmes of these administrative and welfare agencies have failed of their objectives. In consequence, it has recently been realized that systematic evaluation of the progress being made by programmes forms an essential part of the action of the programme itself. Such periodical evaluations of the programme under way are intended to measure the efficiency of its field methods and administrative organization, and to indicate the extent to which the aims of the programme are presently being fulfilled. These reviews may also suggest improvements in the practical organization of the programmes to which they are applied.

Evaluation is therefore the process by which the administrator is able to discover the effects of his programme, and to make such progressive adjustments of the methods of this programme as are required. If such evaluation is to be useful at all, it must be objective. But if the evaluation of any programme is to be objective, it must emphasise the measurement of particular conditions which are indicative of the success of that programme in the context to which it is applied. This means that the techniques of evaluation must be scientifically valid, that there must initially be adequate information about the conditions at which the programme is directed for later comparison with these same conditions at the moment of re-study, and that the measurement of changes induced in the population in consequence of a particular programme must be ascertained by careful comparison with changes in other groups to which these programmes have not been applied. Thus evaluation presupposes an initial survey and later re-surveys by methods of controlled comparison. For this comparison to be useful in measuring the programme's effectiveness, it is necessary to develop reliable statistical indices which will reflect accurately the extent of change promoted by the programme.

Essentially, therefore, before a programme of fundamental education or rural development gets under way it is necessary to make a detailed survey of the conditions of the population which that programme is intended to serve. It is also desirable to make a similar survey in an area which will not be immediately subject to the particular programme, but which is very similar in its population and characteristics to that slated for development. Analyses of the data gathered by these initial surveys will indicate the extent to which these two areas are equivalent; and they will also show what indices are liable to have the greatest significance in future comparisons, and which will throw most light on the effectiveness of the programme in the selected area. After the programme has been under way for a sufficient time to allow certain of its effects to be observable, a re-survey may be carried out in both areas to measure those elements which are likeliest at this time to show changes in consequence of the programme. It is possible for this re-survey to use a representative sample of the population in both areas. It may also be restricted to particular points which are of immediate interest and relevance.

For example, household income per week might be a matter of immediate interest. Estimates of weekly household incomes from representative samples of the two areas
taken for comparative purposes will therefore show, by comparison with initial estimates in these areas carried out before the programme got under way, the extent to which household incomes have since then increased in either or both areas. Let us assume that the area which has been subjected to development shows an increase of household weekly income averaging 50%, while the area which has not received development shows an average weekly household income increase of 15%. Granted this, we could suppose that the programme had effected an increase of income of approximately 35% as a direct consequence of its institution in the developed area. If further data were available it might also be possible to compare the costs involved in effecting this increase by the use of one or more particular methods in one or more areas.

However, in some types of development action, such as the establishment of cooperatives and social groups which have specific utilitarian functions to discharge, the initial investment in the organization of these groups does not show any simple or immediate returns. At some later date when the organizations become effective and enter into the types of economic enterprise for which they are intended more fully and successfully, benefits may begin to flow to the people in these groups. But essentially the construction of such groups remains a capital investment undertaken initially on behalf of these people in the early years by the government or welfare agency which is sponsoring this particular programme. In such situations the comparative effectiveness of different methods of sponsorship in different areas would therefore be illustrated by the number of active participants engaged in the groups newly established and by the quality of their participation.

The International Social Science Bulletin of UNESCO has devoted a special number (Vol. 7, No. 3, 1955) to this problem of evaluation techniques. This number of the Bulletin is worth special study and should be referred to by students interested in this particular aspect of development work.¹

Title: A Sociological Manual for Extension Workers in the Caribbean
Author(s): M.G. Smith (With G. J. Kruijer)
Published by: Kingston, Jamaica: Extra-Mural Dept., University College of the West Indies. 255p. (Caribbean Affairs Series).