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Title: Review of *Kinship and Class in the West Indies: A Genealogical Study of Jamaica and Guyana*, by Raymond T. Smith.

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Published by: In *American Anthropologist*, vol. 92, n. 1, March 1990.

competing interests—allowing landlords to lower labor costs and thus respond easily to market fluctuations at some times, but also serving workers' interests by allowing them to withdraw their labor during periods of economic and political stress. The success of the *colonato* system (dominant from the late 19th century through the 1960s) depended largely on the ability of coffee growers to loosen or restrict their workers' access to land for food production. The analysis invites comparison with African and Southeast Asian plantation schemes where strikingly similar contests between landlords and workers over self-provisioning have been well documented.

Family labor was also central to the casual labor system that followed in the 1970s. While other studies have attributed this shift to the mechanization of agriculture and to the protective labor laws of the early 1960s, Stolcke argues that "mounting political tensions surrounding the agrarian question . . . played the fundamental role" (p. 70). In efforts to evade the new agrarian and labor reforms, growers shifted to the use of casual workers, abolished rights to self-provisioning, and introduced labor contractors for recruitment and management.

The success of the contractor system, however, was seriously undermined by a conflict among growers, contractors, and workers over the latter's rights and what constituted a "reasonable effort." How workers regarded themselves and evaluated justice and incentive guided the quantity and quality of work they were willing to perform. Self-perceptions also shaped the different standards workers brought to their jobs, expressing a fundamental difference in the socially constructed commitment to work on the part of women and men.

Consciousness of a world divided between "us" (the poor) and "them" (the propertied) has colored how workers remember the past and what political action they see as viable today. Drawing on oral histories, Stolcke explores the discrepancy between class consciousness and concerted action, the indifference and skepticism of workers to national politics on the one hand and their confidence in the government on the other, by tracing their memory of past reforms and its impact on their daily lives.

The study concludes by returning to how labor control and worker consciousness were tied to notions of family morality, which in turn transformed the very nature of family authority. As in the workplace, casual wage labor has produced new conflicts in workers' homes, in the power relations between genders

and generations. Although individuated labor has strained family bonds, it is through these family units that workers have been more fully exploited and that family members have been able to reproduce. Avoiding simple dichotomies and easy answers, this rich analysis (which deserved more careful editing) provides a nuanced insight into the contradictions of capitalism for the rural poor in Brazil today.

Kinship and Class in the West Indies: A Genealogical Study of Jamaica and Guyana. Raymond T. Smith. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, No. 65. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988. 218 pp. \$34.50 (cloth).

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The first of three projected studies of West Indian kinship, this book seeks "to establish a mode of analysis" (pp. 18, 49), and to show how "detailed study of informants"—rather than observers'—categories" (p. 18) illuminates kinship statistics and corrects common assumptions of "class differences in West Indian kinship" (p. 18). It tries to do so by combining historical data on the development of Guyanese and Jamaican society drawn from contemporary and modern authors, wills, and other documents with data provided by 51 genealogies that Raymond Smith and eight colleagues, most of whom were once his students, collected between 1967 and 1972 in Guyana and Jamaica.

Although he does not claim that these 51 genealogies are statistically representative, since they were used as frameworks for comments to reveal the informants' ideas of kinship and status and since the informants, being few, were carefully selected "to represent a sufficient range of social types" (p. 11) and to provide abundant data, the author evidently feels that these genealogies, stratified in classes of his own construction (pp. 15, 48) and supplemented by selected historical data, are sufficient to show that irrespective of race, class, religion, and territory, English-speaking West Indians share common ideas and practices of kinship and mating.

However, since no genealogies were collected from the richest and poorest strata in either country (pp. 94, 114), and since the genealogies grossly underrepresent the rural population, who are still the majority in Jamaica and Guyana, they do not "represent a sufficient range of social types" to warrant such conclusions. Neither, given the differ-

ences of history, ecology, racial composition, and class structure between Guyana and Jamaica (pp. 11–14, 48–49), is the author's casual assimilation of their genealogies and kinship ideas easy to accept. For example, Jamaican "lower class" courtship lacks "the chaperone pattern" and formal letters that prevail in the South Caribbean (pp. 136–137). Unlike Jamaica, in Guyana East Indians are the majority group and differ clearly in kinship terms, norms, concepts, mating patterns, history, and religion from the Afro-Guyanese the author knows best. Nonetheless, despite their use of Hindi kinship terms, arranged marriage, local exogamy, distinctive concepts of agnatic blood ties, emphases on agnatic kinship, and beliefs in Islam or Hinduism, Raymond Smith assimilates Indo-Guyanese and Afro-Guyanese informants and data and seems to assume that Indo-Guyanese share "West Indians' belief in legal Christian marriage as a proper framework for sexual relations and child-rearing" (p. 22). For one who proclaims his "close attention to the ideas, the concepts, of the people being studied" (p. 28), such indifference seems rather odd.

In like style, since he decided to collect the most extensive possible lists of relatives, Raymond Smith and his associates had the informants include in their genealogies, besides their consanguines, all fictive kin and consanguines of affines of consanguines of their affines, coded CACA, they could recall (pp. 61–67), everyone consanguineally related to any legal or extralegal mate being classified as affine. Although the resulting genealogies contained many whom the informants did not regard as relatives (p. 51), only those genealogies that were "complete enough" (pp. 8, 10) were collated for use in this study. The results differ no less from familiar anthropological concepts of genealogies (p. 49, n. 2) than from the informants' ideas of their relatives and kin (p. 49, n. 1; pp. 51, 61).

Even so, since Raymond Smith assigned these informants to social classes, since their consanguines are only half of these distended genealogies (p. 64), and since "the people on their genealogies may span several class categories" (p. 114), mating patterns "of all types occur on all genealogies; only the incidence of them varies with the class origin of the informant and his kin" (p. 114). In short, despite his claim, the genealogical data tabulated according to his class placements of these informants provide an inadequate and unreliable data base for analysis of relations between folk concepts and practices of kinship and mating and class categories, however those are defined.

Unfortunately, space allows no further examples of this "mode of analysis."

Patriarchy and Class: African Women in the Home and the Workforce. Sharon B. Stichter and Jane L. Parpart, eds. African Modernization and Development Series. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1988. 240 pp. \$29.95 (paper).

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This book brings together some of the best work in a neo-Marxist-feminist approach to date. The volume is unique in its sustained application of this perspective to the study of women in Africa and is important in light of growing emphases on the cultural construction of gender and on the need for a more open discourse between African and American feminists. Chapters range from the highly abstract to close readings of the realities of African women's lives; most contributors successfully integrate these in some combination. Taken as a whole, the articles illustrate both the power and the limits of this approach.

The authors cover a range of geographical areas, historical periods, and theoretical issues. While their particular theoretical categories are not identical, they address a common set of problems. These include the meaning of reproduction within a mode of production analysis ("The Material Basis of Sexism"; "Patriarchal Social Formations in Zimbabwe"), the relationship between domestic and wage labor ("Demographic Theories and Women's Reproductive Labor"; "Domestic Labor in a Colonial City: Prostitution in Nairobi"; "Trapped Workers: The Case of Domestic Servants in South Africa"; "Rural Women's Access to Labor in West Africa"), and the application of mode of production analyses to particular African realities ("Sexuality and Power on the Zambian Copperbelt"; "The Middle-Class Family in Kenya"; "Evading Male Control: Women in the Second Economy in Zaire"). All grapple with the relationship between class and gender as these produce and reproduce each other, with particular emphasis on the concept of patriarchy. The essays present cogent arguments for the applicability of a materialist mode of production analysis to the situation of women in Africa.

The introduction presents an accessible overview of the debate between feminism and Marxism from the editors' perspective, introducing the major positions, concerns, and