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THE ALLSIDES POST PEASANTS

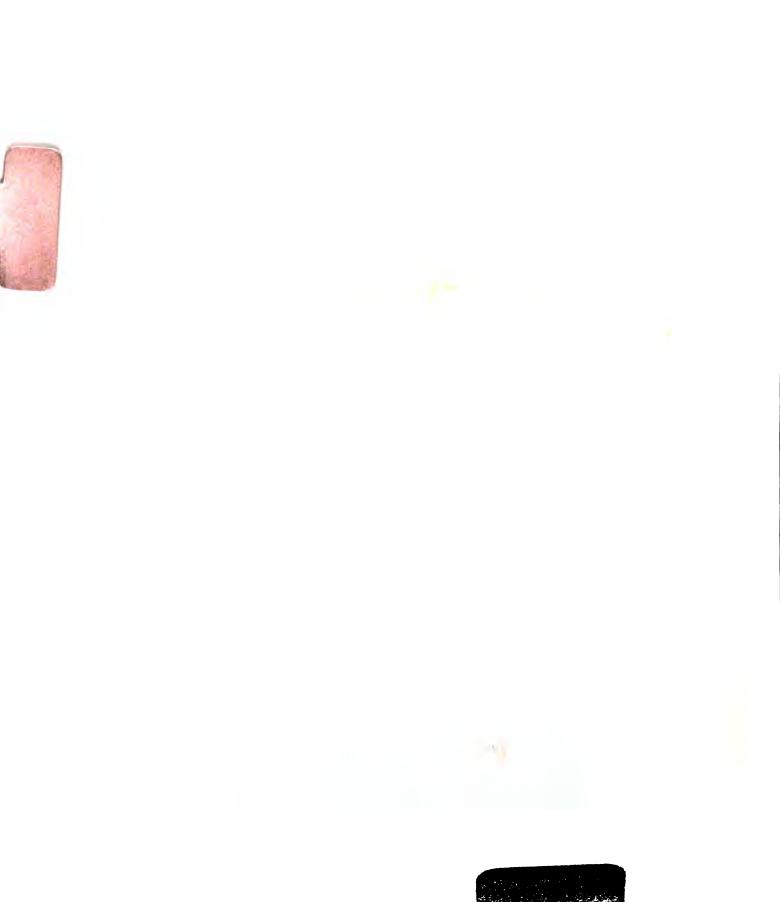


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A Social Assessment of the Small Hillside Farmer at the GOJ/IICA Allsides Project Area

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Percy Aitken Abdul Wahab Irving Johnson - 194 t Rose than

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FOREWORD

Social influence is paramount in the development process. In economic planning, social influence or social reality is one of three basic aspects that have to be considered, the other two being: the normative goals and the resources available.

Human beings are the object and subject of all economic activity. Man is part of society and is subjected to its social influence as dictated by its culture. His social response to different incentives is conditioned by his cultural background as well as by the presence, real or imagined, of other members of his group. Social interaction the basic process of human experience, begins at birth and rules the life of man until he dies. Social interaction is the members and preserver of value orientations and dictates the reaction or receptivity to change and development. The personality and all the characteristics of men are pervaded by the social and cultural environment in which he lives and acts.

The present paper which is prepared as an internal document of work complements the information on Hillside Farming in Jamaica which the IICA Office has collected, generated and published over the past three years.

The authors take this opportunity to acknowledge the kind and valuable assistance received from the different informants of the project area.

DR. PERCY AITKEN-SOUX DIRECTOR.

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"In this region family life is highly unstable, marriage rates are low and illegitimacy rates have always been high. Many households contain single individuals while others with female heads consist of "women, their children, and/or their grand children"

M. G. Smith

"My Mother Who Fathered Me" $\frac{6}{}$

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THE ALLSIDES POST PEASANTS

A social assessment of the small Hillside Rermers at the Allsides Project Area

1. BACKGROUND

Jamaica is an Island with an area of 4,411 square miles. It is 144 miles long and approximately 50 miles wide. $\frac{14}{}$ The land is very hilly and no more than 30% of the total area is suitable for mechanical tillage. The flat lands of the Island are mainly dedicated to the cultivation of export crops while the hilly lands are dedicated to domestically consumed crops and livestock.

There is a great imbalance in the land distribution per farmer in Jamaica. As can be seen below, 79% of all farms occupy about 15% of the entire farm acreage. These farms fall within the stratum of 0 to 4.9 acres in size.

Land Distribution	Number of Farms	Farmland
0 - 4.9 acres	78.8	14.9
5 - 24.9 acres	19.0	22.1
25 - 99.9 acres	1.6	8.2
100 -249.9 acres	0.4	9.9
250+ acres	0.2	44.9

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica 1978

Data collected by the Department of Statistics in the Agricultural Census for 1968/69 indicated that of a total of 190,582 farms in the island there are 149,703 farms that are less than five acres in area. $\frac{11}{}$ These farms have a total acreage of 223,818 acres. $\frac{12}{}$ The average size farm is 1.5 acres per farm. Many land distribution and tenancy rationalization projects have been implemented since 1969, so it is likely that there will be some changes in the stratification for the 1978/79 Agricultural Census (data not yet available).

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The estimated population of Jamaica for 1980 was 2,143,400. In 1970 58.6% of the island's population lived in rural areas. $\frac{9}{}$ However, in the last decade urban population has grown faster than rural population and it is now believed that rural dwellers constitute a smaller percentage of the total population. This will be confirmed by the 1978/79 census.

Average family size in rural areas appropriates six members although there is a considerable range in the size of households.

Based on a rural family size of six it is estimated that small farmers in Jamaica (0-4 acres) comprise a population of 900,000 persons and thereby constitute approximately 42% of the entire population.

Demographically, small farmers constitute the most important group of producers of demosticially consumed foods. It is for this reason inter alia that the small hillside producers have been identified as the target group by the Government of Jamaica. In its efforts at redressing socio-economic problems such as:

- (i) inadequacy of supplies of domestically grown crops for home consumption;
- (ii) high concentration (80% of all farmers) of small farmers on the hillsides;
- (iii) soil erosion of hillside farmlands;
- (iv) disparity in income distribution between the rural and urban population; and
- (v) high unemployment situation in the rural areas.

Land Authorities were created across the entire island to this end thereby increasing their number from two to thirteen. This was done in order to assist more fully with small farming activities. An important aspect was to identify actions aimed at alleviating soil erosion and adopting sound land use practices. .

In this context, an FAO Technical Mission in 1975 made recommendations to the GOJ on soil conservation measures. By 1976, in realization of the fact that soil conservation measures ipso facto were not enough to solve the problems causing low food production by the small hillside farmers of Jamaica, the GOJ requested IICA's assistance for the development of viable systems of production for newly terraced land on an area typical of that used by the Jamaican small farmers. 18/

2. THE PROJECT

In December 1976, the GOJ/IICA "Allsides Project" was initiated. The project covered approximately 600 acres and consisted of a total of 233 farm families.

In 1980, arising from an agreement between the Government of Jamaica, the Inter-American Development Bank, and IICA an expansion of the project area was envisaged, —the GOJ/IDB/IICA "PHILAGRIP" Project. This expansion entails an addition of approximately 1100 acres and 278 farm families in the Allsides area. It is thus evident that the human group involved is composed of 511 farm families. (233 of the "Allsides Project" and 278 of the "PHILAGRIP Project").

Given the scanty knowledge on the human groups occupying the project areas an Agro-socio-economic survey was carried out for each project area. $\frac{16}{7}$, $\frac{11}{11}$

3. THE ALLSIDES COMMUNITY

The Allsides Community will be regarded as the human population which is linked by the common bond of farming to the Allsides project area. The Allsides project area for the purpose of this paper is the area which is comprised by the "Allsides Project" and by the "PHILAGRIP Project".

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The Allsides community is identified by:

- (i) an area that was once private property until purchased by the government. This area provides territorial proximity to the individual farms:
- (ii) the area is a centre for food production and trade of products identified as "Allsides";
- (iii) the area is self-sufficient in providing for the most common and frequent needs of its people;
- (iv) the residents have the "feeling" that they belong to the area and the group within;
- (v) regardless of the plurality of the churches most of the inhabitants share a common cluster, including common supernatural beliefs, attitudes and customs.

The Allsides Community is spread along the roads of the project in small clusters of residences. This provides the opportunity for residents to interact more with each other within the cluster than with people in other clusters. Also, due to the territorial proximity of the farm people in the clusters interact with people of neighbouring clusters creating therefore the feeling of a community. The residents may conduct business with outsiders but they do more business among themselves. This results in a greater opportunity to visit, play and gossip with one another more than with outsiders.

It is understood that before government purchased the Allsides property, the community was very tightly knit, but as the land distribution programme of the government through its Land Lease project was executed and roads and communication increased, the community became less integrated.

Since Allsides does not have a central most important cluster we can say that it is formed by mini-communities or hamlets which command the exploitation of the surrounding agricultural land.

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4. ETHNICAL ORIGIN AND SOME CULTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

Most (over 90%) of the population of rural Jamaica is of the Black race. Blacks were imported to Jamaica in large numbers after the English conquest of the island in 1655. During the slavery period, slave owners discouraged the creation of permanent families among slaves and discouraged and antagonized the christian missionaries in their evangelical missions. The "family" for the Jamaican blacks, based on a marriage bond, with its implicit rights and obligations for each other, their descendants and society, did not develop during the slavery, due to existing social conditions.

After slavery was abolished in $1838 \frac{25}{}$ many slaves left the sugar states and headed for the unoccupied hilly lands forming clusters of population on crown lands or on absentee operated lands on which they had squatted. Others settled in the hilly areas as free-holders. Many free-holders were settled by missionary institutions which assisted in the purchase of the lands. The purchased lands were generally small plots of marginal hillside soils. With these lands the farmers barely scratched a subsistence from the soil.

A large number of the farmers in the project area have stated that they cannot make sufficient farm income out of their plots, that their plots are becoming less productive as they get older and that they consider themselves very limited by poverty.

According to the sociological study the farmers in the project area are limited in their development due to three main culturel reasons: $\frac{19}{}$

- (i) the land tenure problem (all the available lands are occupied);
- (ii) the traditional technology (small income and impoverishment of the soil); and
- (iii) the social environment (high individualism).

Of the reasons mentioned above there is little that the project can do to improve the tenure situation. The government has

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initiated various programmes by which landless youth can join cooperative farms under various systems, community farms, food farms, pioneer farms, youth farms etc. There is a large migration of youths to other areas of the island and to foreign countries. The government also recruits youths for training programmes in and out of Jamaica.

The traditional technology for the project area can be summarized as being mostly suited to yam (Dioscorea spp.) cultivation on hilly slopes. This cultivation is associated with the practice of growing yams on individual hills which facilitate run-off water and the digging of vertical trenches along the hillside to "....drain the land fast after rain". However, both practices facilitate erosion and lead to impoverishment of the land. As a consequence the farmers of the area fallow their lands one out of every three years. While under fallow the land is said to be in ruinate and may support one head of large livestock. They explain that this way "the land will recover its strength".

The social environment in the project area is quite complex. Basically it may be said that although most farmers are not "married" they keep stable, long marital unions.

The outstanding characteristic of the farmer in the project area is that he is an individualist. His behaviour emphasizes the motto "Every man for himself". Such individualism creates a condition of "anomie" by keeping the individual from integrating in a group and shows itself by attitudes of aggression, frustration and sublimation.

The attitudes of aggression can be seen by the actions of "bravado" and general aggressiveness or by forms of magical practices (obeah). The obeah flags can be seen near the project base. Aggression also manifests itself by a high incidence of praedial larceny within the project.

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Frustration is shown by the great number of aspirations and difficult achievements which people in the area complain about. In some cases the frustration could be so strong that people would abandon the area. There are some who have migrated to England and the U.S. and left the land with relatives.

Sublimation takes the form of a desire to be "revived". Pocomania is one of the revivalist forms which is present in the area. Its songs and feet stomping can be heard on Tuesdays and Fridays.

Individualism also stimulates an egotistic attitude towards others with consequence that "....the others' business is none of my business", or envy of other people who prosper. The household unit is considered the self while all others are considered competitors. This is one reason why co-operative undertakings are difficult, and some compulsory form of cooperation may need to be established.

The greatest status—givers in the project area are a good cement house, good clothes, and a vehicle. Farmers in the area will make all possible sacrifices to build a good house.

5. THE FAMILY

The family is the most fundamental and universal of all institutions. The family has the functions of:-

- (i) reproduction;
- (ii) maintenance;
- (iii) placement; and
- (iv) socialization of the youth

Besides the social functions described the family in the project area performs an economic function viz. food production.

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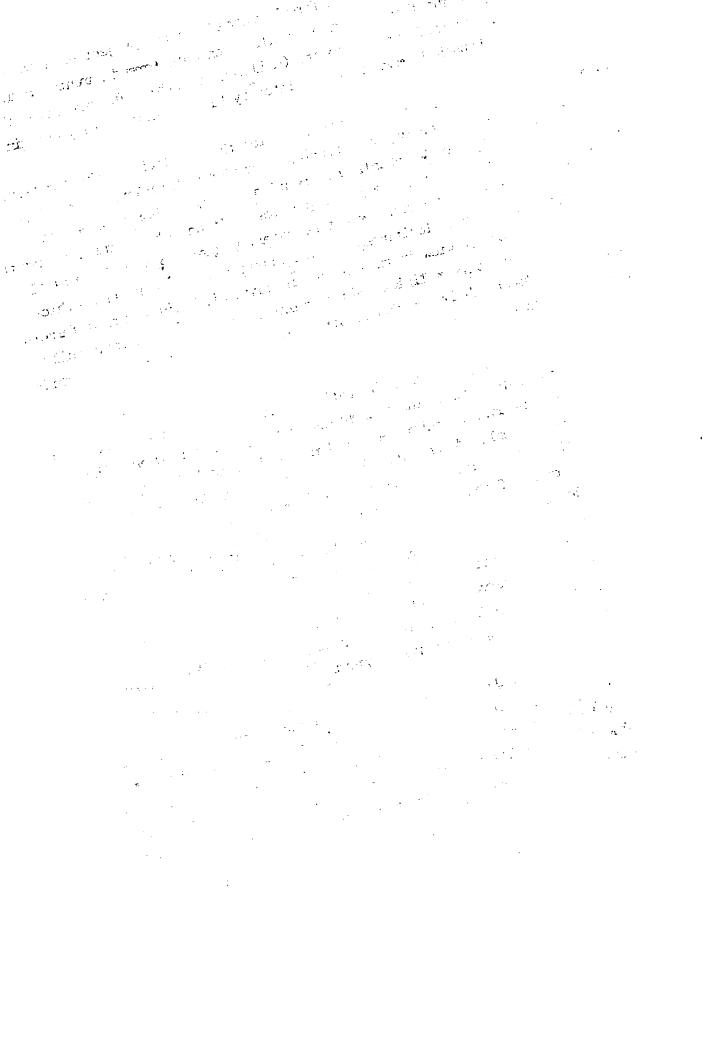
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Most of the farm households in the project area are formed by the father, mother, adult dependents (grand parents or aunts), and children dependents (children of both). In most cases all household members are related by blood. That is they are kin.

It is important to notice that on defining the composition of the family, or referring to children dependents, three types of children dependents were mentioned. The father's alone, the mother's alone, and both parents'. It was also mentioned that the marriage ceremony is not necessarily a requirement for a stable union and "legitimacy" of the offspring. The christian ethics point of view in this regard is quite different and most farmers being very religious minded maintain a sense of constant guilt due to their cwn family structure as compared to the ideal christian family.

Compared with the Latin American peasant, the position of the father among the households in the project is weak. The family unit is maintained as long as the household members are economically dependent. Given the low status that the farmers themselves give to their role as farmers the children are uncertain of the father's status as a model and thus aspire to leave the farm for other occupations. Those who do not demonstrate this aspiration and remain on the farm, develop frustrations and keep the vocation of farming as a last alternative. The low status of farming serves to drive the youth off the farm, but due to the fact that he seldom has the skills necessary for doing other jobs he often ends up in an unemployment situation.

The rural-urban migration, the international migration and the low status of farming in the scale of values, make the young shy from farm work and create labour shortages in the project area. This was specially true when the new system of production tested in farmers' lands demanded more labour than the traditional system.



It is interesting to notice nonetheless that many people who migrated from the area years ago to England have been sending their savings to build a "good house at home" for retirement time.

The authors have heard a great deal of comments about the instability of the Jamaican farm families. Although recognizing the weaker role of the father in comparison to his Latin American counterpart and the special structure of the small farm families, there are some important integrative institutions which are based on the family. One is house building, the quality of which provides status for all members, while another is "the burial of the dead" ceremony, on which the whole farm family draws status and respect from the community. "Education of the siblings", constitutes a professional success story of great importance to the whole family and to the community. Education is generally received in local schools which are supported by the state or a church. These schools are integrative and formative. Finally, among the integrative institutions there is the church. Most farmers in the project area are very religious and although some may not attend a given church express their deep religious feeling. There is a great plurality of christian religious denominations serving the area. To these should be added the pocomania house and the obeah rituals. All the above institutions are linked to the family activities and are highly integrative of the family.

6. SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

A social institution is the "socially approved solution to a recurrent problem". Among the social institutions related to the household, mention has been made of school, church and the family itself. Now it is necessary to refer to the institutions that have emerged in an informal manner. Among these institutions the most common and important is the "rum-shop". The rum shop has a triple function in the project area:

(i) it provides a center for informal meetings for groups of farmers. These meetings discuss farming, prices, politics, weather and gossip; alitare to e.

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- (ii) it serves as a general store where farmers can get some needed good without having to travel to the urban areas;
- (iii) it is a source of credit to needy farmers. In many cases the shop-keeper also doubles as a "higgler collector". That is, he advances money for products which are brought to the store on a given day of the week for the higglers to pick up.

Another informal institution which has assumed great importance for the farmer is the higgler. The higgler is a merchantbuyer who comes regularly to the area in search of agricultural products. There are many higglers and farmers become "clients" of some of them. As clients they enjoy some privileges such as credit on future crops. Some higglers also bring articles for sale or at the request of farmers. The higglers are the chief source of market price information that the farmers have. most cases the higglers enjoy a monopoly. For their purchases the higglers base their price on the "hundred pound weight unit". But, for the higglers this unit weight means any weight from 100 to 140 pounds. For a farmer to be a higgler's client is expensive, but this saves him from marketing the product in the urban centers himself. Some of the project farmers are higglers themselves and sell not only their products but the products of other farmers as well, and in some cases the farmers' wives are the higglers. The main products marketed in the area are yam (Dioscorea spp.) and other root cops. The Agricultural Marketing Corporation (AMC) also does some marketing in the area, but by far it is less important than the higglers.

Finally the last informal institution that can be identified in the project is that of the "healer". Healers can be of different types ranging from the obeah and pocomania cults up to the christian cults and the semi-paramedics who prescribe herbs, salves, pain killers and tonics.

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7. LEADERSHIP

Given the individualistic nature of the farmers in the project area it has not been possible to identify any strong, social leadership. Nevertheless, it is necessary to indicate that most farmers recognize the leadership of the Ministers of Religion and Teachers who work in the area. Historically speaking there was a time when the agricultural instructor ranked on a similar basis as the priest and the teacher. It is also important to indicate that in the two surveys done in the area 16/1/ the majority of farmers knew very well the local members of parliament as well as the local authorities but failed to know the national political leadership in the same detail. In the two surveys farmers were asked inter alia, to name the individuals in different posts from the local policeman and member of parliament to the national leaders such as the Prime Minister and the leader of the Opposition.

8. RELIGION & RELIGIOSITY

All societies make very clear distinctions between the holy, the ordinary, and the unholy. 7/ The holy are the things or actions that are set apart because of an attached quality of supernatural. These things are assumed to have special powers, advantages or dangers. The unholy are the things or actions that can contaminate the holy. The influence of the holy is positive, the influence of the unholy is negative but both things or actions are influenced by the supernatural. Religious rites are ways or actions to pay respect to holy things, or avoid the unholy ones. Supernatural beliefs are distributed in the project area among competing formally established, and non-formally established religious groups.

Most religious-minded groups are limited to individuals' freedom to pursue their own private ends by whatever means they choose. The limiting function of the church is in conflict with the individualistic personality of the citizens in the project area. The churches always preach that the group ends are and must be superior to the private ends. The conflict between religion

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and individualism is shown by the fact that 83% attend church, $\frac{2}{}$ and very few, 15% depend on ministers of religion for guidance and assistance. $\frac{5}{}$ But this is a rather typical situation and a departure from the norm as many rural people rely on the minister for guidance and assistance in many ways.

9. SOCIAL STRATIFICATIONS

There is a social stratification among the households within the project. This stratification is based on standards of education (the teachers have the highest station) followed by religion (the ministers of religion) store-keepers and finally by the money income.

Some researchers $\frac{20}{}$ indicate that farmers are very sensitive to status and that this creates strong feelings of jealousy. The feeling of "keeping up with the Joneses" is definitely present. There is a strong competition in house building.

The social group in the project does not seem to have "Levelling mechanisms" but the very common predial largery may be such a mechanism and should be considered at greater depth in future surveys.

10. THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL

There are two groups of individuals that specially affect the socialization of the individual. The first are the individuals that have power over him and the second those that are equal to him. In the first group are included the father, mother, grandparents, stepparents and generally the older persons of the households. In the second group are included brothers, sisters and others of a similar age group.

The transfer of the cultural patterns and value orientations are begun by the older group. The part of culture transmitted is generally that which is conservative, traditional and tends to maintain the status quo. The younger group is the source and media for fads, fashions and change. While the older group is demanding compliance to rule, the younger group is covering for peccadillos and other slips on the received culture.

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In the project area personal interviews revealed that those closest to the child are the mother and/or grandmother. The female adults are closer to the female children than to the male. The reason indicated was "that the male "goes" to his wife's family but the girl "brings" the family home.

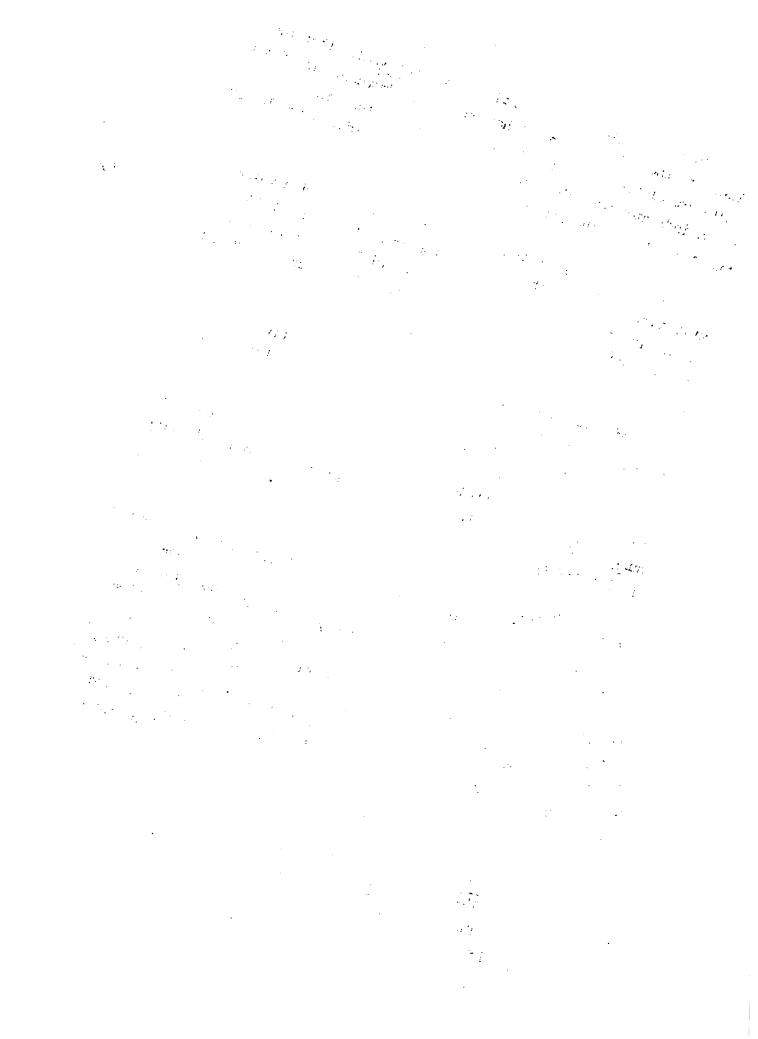
It was also interesting to learn that closer friendships exist among youths of the same sex than among those of opposite sexes. The reason expressed was that sex will most of the time develop among opposite sexes and "true friendship cannot be based on sex".

The social group of the project area is relatively new. The land was purchased in 1955 by the government of Jamaica and subdivided among 233 families. Discounting the very steep slopes the farmers average less than 1.5 acres per household. The farms were distributed by "Project Land Lease" and the farmers came from surrounding areas mostly but some were new to the area. The group is integrating itself slowly but still shows a great deal of individualism.

Migration is high in the area especially among youth groups. A few years ago there was a great migration to England, Canada and the United States. In the last ten years rural-urban migration within Jamaica has increased a great deal. The greatest aspiration is to "quit farming" to move to the city as "professional". Another readily identified aspiration is the desire to "return to retire in the area". Within the project area are some houses built for former residents of the area who migrated to England and who have recently sent money back for the purpose of building these houses for their old age.

11. MAJOR PROBLEMS OF THE FARMERS

The major problems identified by Kruijer $\frac{21}{}$ for the area in which the project is included (1956) are:



- shortage of good land;
- lack of credit;
- illiteracy;
- marketing;
- cost and shortage of labour;
- poor housing conditions;
- fragmentation of holdings;
- lack of cooperation;
- large families; and
- hazards of nature.

Kruijer does not arrange the "major problems" of the farmers in an ordinal scale of importance. The report simply enumerates the ten most common problems.

In a recent survey conducted in 1980, $\frac{3/}{}$ the farmers of the area identified as "their most urgent needs"

-	Farm Credit	52%
-	Fertilizers & Chemicals	26%
-	Tools	8.4%
-	Labour	5.9%
		92.3%

The "greatest problem" identified by the farmers on farming steep hills was soil erosion (63%). $\frac{4/}{}$

Some of the problems identified by Kruijer were regarded lately as aspirations by the surveyed farmers. This is true for housing and education. Other problems as felt by farmers are as follows:

- lack of cooperation
- shortages of good land is a common complaint but it has been proven in the project that a farm family cannot cultivate more than two acres in an efficient labour intensive system of production;
- marketing in the project area is very intensive

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and does not represent a problem "per se". But it is recognized that there is minimal market price information for the farmer. The farmer is defenceless in the hands of the higgler who is his only source of information on market prices;

- fragmentation of holdings and large families should be treated together because they have the same cultural origin. Large families are a direct result of the unstable marital unions among farmers. The wife is not averse to having children, expecting to cement her union on permanent bases. When this is broken and a new union is formed the same hopes and aspirations produce more children. The fragmentation of land is a result of the desire for equal inheritance among all children. Large families will create great fragmentation of the inherited land;
- the shortages of farm labour have been traditional in Jamaica where "farming" has very low status as an aspiration. Until recently this encourages traditional migration out of the country. During the period 1950 1972 when the island experienced rapid economic development migration diverted its tendency became emigration and Rural-Urban migration.

Besides the problems identified by Kruijer and the farmers themselves the project has identified three pressing problems in the project area. These problems are:

- individualism;
- praedial larceny; and
- lack of an intensive efficient and effective agricultural extension service.

12. THE RURAL URBANTIES

Due to the urbanizing effect of the city the "social urbanities" do not necessarily have to live in a city to have and to acquire the attitudes and value orientations of urbans. The city is a diffusion center and in the case of Jamaica the economy of the country created a fast growing urban-industrial center which affected all the economic activity of the island, centralized

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the capital and the economy as well as the social and political life of the country. The rapid urban-industrial development, the economic wealth, the development of bauxite mining in the interior, the development of the tourist industry in the north coast, the building boom, the increased per capita income, the higher standard of living and the proximity to the United States created in the rural people great aspirations of Urban professions and life styles and diffusion of urbanism.

The following are characteristic of the Urban-Social structure:

- social heterogeneity and plurality of social group;
- social mobility;
- secondary associations;
- social tolerance;
- secondary control;
- spatial segregation; and
- individuals $\frac{8}{}$

These will be analysed in the Jamaica context as follows:

(a) Social heterogeneity and plurality of social groups

Rural Jamaica did provide social heterogeneity due to the different migration trends into the country. It has a plural social structure which was composed of Blacks, Chinese, East Indians, English, Germans, Jews and Syrians (Arab origin), and other minor social groups. Most of these groups were represented in the rural as well as urban centers of the country and were economically integrated due to extended trade, commerce and economic activity while maintaining an ever weakening ethnic isolation which tended to be a full although slow social integration. So, the "melting pot" of races and cultures was not limited to the urban center of Kingston but to the whole country, although at a slower pace.

This process lasted a long time before independence and is depicted in the Jamaica National Crest's motto which reads "Out of Many One People".

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(b) Social Mobility

During the years of the economic borm and due to the need to promote mining and tourism a good stable system of transportation was created, linking the different areas of the island. This promoted social mobility and made rural-urban migration easier as well as facilitated the urban influence in the country-side. The above meant not only spatial mobility but also social mobility. The success stories of the non-agricultural work multiplied in the rural area. Every rural young man wanted to have a success story and the city lifestyle was copied in the rural area facilitating social mobility as well as spatial mobility. City people also moved into the rural areas. For instance the area of Christiana received Chinese and Syrians becoming an important marketing center for farming inputs as well as for local farm products.

National policies initiated the Land Lease Programme and the government officialized what the Missionaries had been doing for quite some time. Land was purchased subdivided and distributed to landless farmers. Such is the case of the "Allsides area". People were brought in from outside the project area and settled there.

(c) <u>Secondary Association</u>

The increased facilities for spatial mobility, the social heterogeneity and the economic well-being of the country for thirty (1940-70) years created in the rural areas an individualistic attitude and converted the "GEMEINSHAFT" or primary groups into "GESSELSHAFT" or secondary association group. Hence, the traditional reactions of hospitality or hostility to strangers became one of indifference.

The permanent association with strengers due to tourism and mining created among the rural area of Jamaica a "Premium on social recognition" and the "well dressed" attitude became a significant aspiration. The dress, and the house became symbols of success. The car was added later as a status symbol.

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(d) Social Tolerance

The rural area of Jamaica has been noted for its traditional and gracious hospitality. With increased social mobility, social heterogeneity and secondary associations social tolerance and decreased social control became the rule in rural Jamaica. The Jamaican farmer became blase, no longer surprised by what people would do and with greater entrenchment of individualism expressed as: "it's none of my business".

The farmers' world in the affected areas such as Allsides, became, as in the city a world physically close but socially distant. Of **course**, it never reached the point of allowing anonymity as in the urban-industrial center of Kingston but turned our rural society into a socially distant society.

(e) <u>Secondary Control</u>

The secondary controls are typical of the urban areas where the primary groups (gemeinshaft) have lost control of the individual. The secondary control group is characterized by impersonal uniformed individuals (police) and the legal structure.

In rural Jamaica the Surveyor, who can make maps and indicate boundaries, the lawyer who can initiate court legal action and the policeman are very popular individuals, even among the smallest farmers. These urban practices show the exclusion of the primary social group as a group of social control. So the traditional mores and folkways of the rural people of Jamaica have been replaced by the secondary controls as a source of social control.

(f) Spatial Segregation

As rural Jamaica developed, spatial segregation occurred and fashionable centers were built in the North Coast: from Negril to Montego Bay to Port Antonio passing by Ocho Rios. The above areas attracted the most entrepreneurial and success-hungry youth of the rural areas. These became the areas in which the free-spending tourists became the second national account for Jamaica. The farming

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population of the interior became a supplier of some of the inputs used by the newly "important" tourist areas of the north coast.

(g) <u>Individualism</u>

All the above factors described which are typical of the urban centers and which became present in rural Jamaica in the last thirty years have caused an emphasis on individualism. This individualism plus the lack of primary controls and the social distances make the Jamaican farmer a unique "rural urbanite", who can migrate to urban metropolitan centers like New York, London or Toronto without experiencing problems of "culture stock" or "urban adaptation". He is a modern individual whose principal incentive is money. Therefore he is ready for technological change and he is ready to take the necessary risks. But as all these considerations are positive, there are others which hinder society. Among these is "Praedial Larceny" which shows lack of social respect and/or control and lack of interest in team or cooperative work.

13. THE TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE

"The technology of a society consists of devices, knowledge and skills by which men control and utilize physical and biological phenomena". $\frac{15}{}$

The traditional technology of the peasants of Allsides is a limiting factor for their income. 22/ This technology can be greatly improved as is demonstrated by the results of three years of research.26/

An efficient and appropriate technology is a great asset for any social system. At the request of the government of Jamaica the IICA was requested to develop new systems of production for newly terraced land. These systems have been developed and tested during three years. This development forms the INNOVATED technique which is the first step in a process of technological change. The second step is also present already and shows the disparity between the

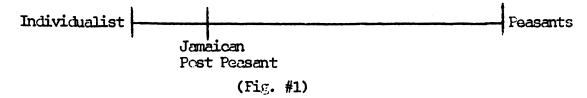
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traditional system and the new technology. The distance between the old and the new commonly called the technological lag is at the moment great because only few farmers have adopted the full technology. But as more farmers adopt this new technology the technoligical lag becomes smaller. The closing of the gap is mainly a problem of agricultural extension and complementary measures.

The Allsides farmers being "modern" in their attitudes should be enough to demonstrate the economic advantages of the system, but this is not so. The system has to be promoted with social and status incentives, such as certificates of adoption, etc.

14. WHY POST PEASANTS?

This presentation has tried to show that the farmers in the project area are modern in their value orientations and in their social adaptability. It has also indicated that they are individualists. Assuming that a mental construct is made with two ideal types at the two extremes viz: peasants and individualists, the Jamaican farmers in the project area would be placed closer to the individualist than to the peasants. (See Fig. #1).



The great difference among peasants and individualists is that peasants' principal characteristics are:

- family centered household;
- community oriented;
- strong primary group control;
- small social mobility;
- homogeneous population;
- social intolerance;
- little dependency for subsistence on the outside; and
- possession of technology that guarantees their subsistance and needs.

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The Jamaican farmer is quite different and one could write his characteristics simply by using those of the peasants with a \underline{NO} before them.

It is important to realize that one of the typical characteristics of the Jamaican small farmer is that they are dependent on the outside world for their inputs. The small farmer in the Allsides project area and in Jamaica in general has lost the peasant technologies it once had and has become dependent on the outside world for his inputs. The problem is compounded when it is considered that he has also become dependent on the outside world for some of his daily food intake, such as rice and salt fish which are not produced in the island, and other food products which used to be imported and which are now being marketed at a price five to six times the price of the product.

Another example outside the realm of the Allsides project but which will provide a good example of the lost technology is the fact that being an island Jamaica imports all the salt that it consumes. (Approximately 50 million/lbs/per year). $\frac{13}{}$

It is important then to think that given the socio-economic reality there should be a push for a "neutraditionalism" (a new return to traditionalism) $\frac{23}{}$ if this will provide products and technologies that will guarantee subsistance, increased income, substitute imports and make the farmer more self-sufficient and less dependent. In short, it would be convenient if the farmer became more "peasantish". One more benefit of the peasant would be to accept team work with a community-oriented attitude. This would greatly facilitate the work of extension and the adoption of new technologies.

The farmers in the project area are more modern than the classical peasants. In an ideal construct between the local types urban and peasant they would have to be placed closer to the urban town people. This is the reason why the term "Post Peasants" has been used to describe the farmers of the GOJ/IICA Allsides Project area.

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