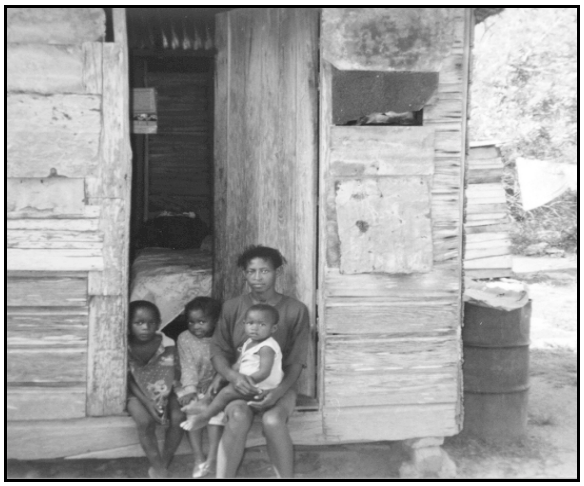
WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2000/01

Consultations with the Poor

COUNTRY REPORT, JAMAICA



Services Provided by:

ONEWORLD DEVELOPMENT NETWORK

90 Osborne Road, East Sussex, BN1 6LU U.K.
Tel/Fax: +44 (0)1273 562 852, Email: 06150.1376@compuserve.com

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Preface

This study is part of a global research effort entitled *Consultations with the Poor,* designed to inform the *World Development Report 2000/1 on Poverty and Development.* The research involved poor people in twenty-three countries around the world. The effort also included two comprehensive reviews of Participatory Poverty Assessments completed in recent years by the World Bank and other agencies. Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist in the World Bank's Poverty Group, initiated and led the research effort.

The global *Consultations with the Poor* is unique in two respects. It is the first large scale comparative research effort using participatory methods to focus on the voices of the poor. It is also the first time that the World Development Report is drawing on participatory research in a systematic fashion. Much has been learned in this process about how to conduct Participatory Poverty Assessments on a major scale across countries so that they have policy relevance. Findings from the country studies are already being used at the national level, and the methodology developed by the study team is already being adopted by many others.

We want to congratulate the network of 23 country research teams who mobilized at such short notice and completed the studies within six months. We also want to thank Deepa Narayan and her team: Patti Petesch, Consultant, provided overall coordination; Meera Kaul Shah, Consultant, provided methodological guidance; Ulrike Erhardt, provided administrative assistance; and the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex provided advisory support. More than a hundred colleagues within the World Bank also contributed greatly by identifying and supporting the local research teams.

The study would not have been possible without the generous financial support of the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID), numerous departments within the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Agency, John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and several NGOs.

The completion of these studies in a way is just the beginning. We must now ensure that the findings lead to follow-up action to make a difference in the lives of the poor.

Michael Walton
Director, Poverty Group &
Chief Economist, Human Development

Ravi Kanbur
Director,
World Development Report

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The cover was designed by Tomoko Hirata. The logo used was taken from the Dorapalli Village site report, *Consultations with the Poor* - India. It was drawn by a group of young men.

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Department for International Development
Abercrombie House
Eaglesham Road
East Kilbride
Glasgow G75 8EA

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Oneworld Development Network
90 Osborne Road
East Sussex
BN1 6LU

Photograph on the previous page: Nicey Clayton, 22 year old woman in Little Bay, Westmoreland.

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Acknowledgements

This report was prepared by S. Jacqueline Grant (Project Leader) and Toby Shillito (Project Trainer) of Oneworld Development Network, a U.K. based consultancy company with extensive experience of social development programmes in Jamaica and the Caribbean. Oneworld Development Network was commissioned by the British Government's Department for International Development (Caribbean) to conduct the *Consultations With the Poor* study on behalf of the World Bank. The research was carried out by a team of local consultants with experience of community development and a working knowledge of participatory techniques.

Our appreciation of the work is given to all team members with special thanks to Paulette Griffiths-Jude for logistical support, Oswald Morgan, Cecilia Logan, Genevieve McDaniel, Steadman Noble, Michelle Peters, Ivelyn Harris and Glenroy Lattery for their continued support and commitment throughout. Thanks must also be extended to Hugh Dixon and Vivienne Scott for enabling the Accompong study to proceed, despite its independence from Jamaican state legislature. Thank you also to all other team members not mentioned by name who participated in the studies and to our assistant Karen Simms who provided administrative support, particularly during the hectic National Synthesis Workshop week.

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We would like to thank the World Bank for their efforts in putting together the Methodology and Process Guide, which enabled study teams to focus on the major issues for investigation. Special thanks must go to Patti Petesch at the World Bank for her advice on fieldwork and comments on the Site Reports.

The methodology for this study was developed for a global research initiative conducted in 23 countries entitled *Consultations with the Poor*. The global study was undertaken in 1999 to inform the World Bank's *World Development Report 2000/01 on Poverty and Development;* and was carried out by the Poverty Group of the World Bank under the leadership of Deepa Narayan, Principal Social Development Specialist. The study was financed by the U.K. Department for International Development, the World Bank, the Swedish International Development Authority, and several of the NGOs conducting the country studies.

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Background - Jamaica

Jamaica, an island of 10,299 square kilometres, is located in the western Caribbean. Approximately one third of the population of 2.6 million people lives in the capital, Kingston, with the other major urban centres of Spanish Town, May Pen and Montego Bay containing about another third. Urbanisation increased from 34% in 1960 to at least 48% in 1982. Although English is the official language, a Creole patois is widely spoken. Other than Rastafarian households (5%), the major religion is Christianity and the principle denominations are Anglican (75%), Roman Catholic (8%) and Presbyterian.

The climate is tropical at sea level and temperate in the mountains, which may rise to 2,500 metres within 20 miles of the coast. Annual rainfall averages about 2000 mm and temperatures range between 25 and 30 Centigrade throughout the year. There is a great diversity of ecosystems including; montane forest, dry savannah, coastal wetlands, and the largely inaccessible Cockpit Country, which is an area of Karstic limestone containing evolutionarily diverse and endangered species.

Life expectancy is approximately 71 years for males and 76 for females, while infant mortality rates stand at 13 per 1000 live births. The average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime decreased from 5.5 in 1970 to 3.5 by 1983 and population density was estimated at 209 persons per square kilometre. Both adult literacy and school enrolment rates are officially identified as over 85%. Energy consumption per head is equivalent to about 1,083 kg of oil and there are approximately 162 televisions and at least 40 cars per 1000 population.

The national motto is “out of many one people” and points to the various ethnic groups. Approximately 95% of all Jamaicans are of partial or total African descent, 2% East Indian and 1% Chinese. Other ethnic groups include European and Middle Eastern migrants. Although racial differences are not as important as class differences, light skinned minorities are generally members of the upper classes and people commonly differentiate between five grades of skin colour (white, light, brown, dark and black).

Jamaica has a bicameral legislative system. The 60 member House of Representatives is elected every five years and the next election will occur before December 2003. The 21 seat Senate is appointed by the governor-general, 13 on the advice of the Prime Minister and 8 on the advice of the leader of the opposition. The political parties are the ruling People’s National Party, the main opposition Jamaica Labour Party and recently formed National Democratic Movement. The PNP holds 50 seats and the JLP 10.

Within 65 years of Columbus’ sighting Jamaica in 1594, none of the indigenous Arawak Indians remained. The Spanish transported Africans to Jamaica to work as trackers and hunters, who became known as Maroons. When the British defeated the Spanish and took over the administration in 1670, these Maroons continued a guerrilla war until making a Treaty with the British in the 1730s and establishing the first free African nation state in the Americas. The British managed Jamaica as a sugar monoculture and, although the number of slaves at the beginning of the eighteenth century did not exceed 45,000 there were at least 300,000 by 1800.

The slave trade was abolished in 1808 and emancipation was enacted in Jamaica in 1835. This, combined with British legislation of 1845 eliminating Jamaica's traditionally favoured status as a sugar producer, resulted in the deterioration in planters' profits. After the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865, a new crown colony government was appointed under direct rule from London. This relied on an identity of interests between the British governing officials and the members of the legislative council, who were Jamaican. The rise of nationalism is generally seen as dating from the labour riots of 1938, from which William Bustamante emerged as a leading activist. His cousin, Norman Manley, founded the PNP as a populist/socialist party and Bustamante's trade union movement was formally established as the JLP. These two figures competed for political power for the next quarter of a century. Bustamante was the first prime minister after Jamaica was declared independent of Britain in 1962.

Jamaica is a middle income, oil-importing country that experienced 4.5% growth per year during the 1950s and 1960s through the bauxite mining boom and attempted diverse economic development strategies during the 1970s and 1980s when suffering from negative (1973-1980) and sporadic (1980-1985) growth. The fiercely contested and violent 1980 election resulted in the current JLP leader, Edward Seaga, being elected on a platform of denationalisation and deregulation, which contradicted the socialist administration of the outgoing Prime Minister Michael Manley. The Seaga government's structural adjustment and reform measures were only partially successful. By the late 1980s, debt, unemployment and the unequal distribution of wealth represented major constraints to the implementation of economic policies.

Since 1996, real GDP has fallen year on year with a 3.2% decrease in 1998. Although inflation has decreased from 35% in 1994 to 8.7% in 1998, the current account balance is at minus US$ 322 million and the debt-service ratio in 1998 was 15%. The principle exports in 1997 included Alumina and Bauxite (US$ 755 million), Sugar (US$ 73 m) and Bananas (US$ 46 m). Revenues from Alumina and Bauxite accrue largely to the government and multinational corporations and sugar has recently been reported as uneconomic as the real cost of producing a pound of sugar which sells at US$ 0.26 is US$ 0.28. Total exports in 1997 were valued at US$ 1388 million and total imports at US$ 3107 million. Exports were destined for US (33%), EU (17%), Canada (14%), UK (13%), Norway (6%) and Caricom (3%) while imports came from US (44%), EU (12%), Caricom (10%), Latin America (6%) and UK (3%). Conditions for the export of agricultural produce, particularly bananas, may be subject to change following the recent WTO decision to uphold the right of the US government to impose trade sanctions on the EU over preferential access to certain European markets for Caribbean producers under the Lome Convention.

The Economist Intelligence Unit's report for the second quarter of 1999 predicts that social conditions will continue to deteriorate as economic expectations worsen. Further interest rate rises will be hard to avoid in the short term but will not be sustainable in the medium term and inflation will rise in the wake of devaluation while economic recovery will come slowly, despite improvement in the external position. The EIU believes that the pain of adjustment will convince the government to accept the political cost of a deal with the IMF. However the government has set itself publicly against a return to the IMF and an alternative path may involve a re-imposition of some of the controls that were abolished during the early 1980s. Tourism (upon which one in four jobs depends), manufacturing and agricultural sectors have experienced

recent contraction through decreasing competitiveness. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Colombian yam producers land their produce in New York at a lower price than Jamaican traders pay to producers in rural areas. However, there are few signs that the Patterson government is losing popularity, despite the widespread riots in April 1999 over proposals to increase gasoline prices by around 30%.

The exchange rate is currently thirty-eight Jamaican Dollars to one US Dollar.

1. Executive Summary

1.1 Main findings and patterns of results on four main themes

This study focused on participatory poverty assessments of four urban and five rural sites, which represent a diversity of social issues. Each of the eight finalised Site Reports examines four main themes: Well-being, Problems and Priorities of the Poor, Institutional Analysis, and Gender Relations.

The methodology deployed enables people with low literacy skills to represent and analyse their perceptions and experiences of poverty and relies on the range of participatory appraisal techniques, including matrix exercises, cause-impact diagrams, Venn diagrams, time charts and transects.

The research was conducted so as to examine the differences and similarities in perceptions of at least four groups; adult men, adult women, older men and older women. Interviews were also conducted with male and female youth, children and special interest groups (such as fishermen or the independent Maroons) whenever possible. Comparison is made between rural and urban sites, and conditions over the last ten and twenty-five years.

Well-being

Definitions of households' well-being tended to be based on social categorisation related to income, personal and psychological welfare, and the means of producing assets.

Older people generally defined a smaller number of well-being categories and a greater disparity in the proportions of households in each category than other groups. Urban focus groups identified a greater diversity of criteria through which to define well-being categories than those in rural locations, and place more emphasis on luxury domestic items as criteria whereas rural groups focus on productive assets such as land and transportation. Extremes of rich and poor categories are less evident in rural locations.

Women in both urban and rural locations equated well-being with good nutrition, regular schooling and personal independence. Younger groups of both genders stressed skills training and older groups reflected concerns over the level of health care provision. While younger men focused on sports, older men perceived freedom from political violence as important. Women described household assets more readily than men and tended to base well-being categories on clothes, child welfare, hygiene, savings and those people who are dependent on them. Men concentrated on informal trading opportunities, clothes and food.

Across all groups, unemployment was seen as the main cause of poverty. Urban groups also emphasise the lack of skills training, discrimination, and low wages, while rural groups focus on the lack of access to markets, poor road conditions, and uncompetitive prices for agricultural inputs and produce. Teenage pregnancy and migration were identified across most sites. The impacts of poverty are more varied in urban locations and include overcrowding, lack of ability

to educate children, poor sanitation, ill health, dependency, unstable personal relationships, crime, and psychological problems such as depression, low self-esteem and apathy. Both teenage pregnancy and lack of education were commonly cited as both causes and impacts of poverty and therefore seem to be major factors in the promotion of a downward poverty spiral.

Security was defined in urban areas as being free from crime and violence and possessing secure land tenure, while rural sites tended to perceive this concept in terms of economic stability. Opportunities for increasing personal well-being are perceived by all groups to have decreased over the last twenty years. Urban sites relate this to the closure and downsizing of industries and are not generally optimistic about economically viable strategies in the informal sector. In rural sites the exploitation of the natural resource base in non-traditional ways provides the main economic opportunities. All sites directly related decreasing well-being with the necessity to undertake illicit employment, principally through prostitution, selling drugs and cultivating marijuana.

In urban areas those groups excluded from community activities include the old, HIV sufferers, political opponents, homosexuals, thieves, those who practice oral sex, and those who lack motivation. In rural sites, there was less diversity in those identified as excluded and groups include returning residents who have worked abroad, in-migrants, rum drinkers and drug takers. The main factor affecting whether people are included or excluded is in terms of the ability to access goods and services and personal patronage is seen as important in urban areas, especially to men. Social cohesion is widely defined in relation to unity and is perceived to have increased recently compared to the politically divisive period during the 1980s. In rural areas social networks are more inclusive than in urban areas, although the most widespread and economically important informal network, particularly for women, is the savings and banking system known as *pardner*. Local ad hoc justice is widely seen as a more effective deterrent to crime than involving the Police.

Most focus groups identified significant decreases in the well-being of the poorest categories over the last ten years. Some rural groups identify an emerging category of severely poor households, often including the elderly.

Problems and Priorities of the Poor

Unemployment is consistently ranked as the priority concern, particularly by women and young men in rural areas and by men in urban areas. Next most important in urban sites are the issues of housing and education. Rural communities tend to perceive problems associated with accessibility (often related to road conditions) as the first or second priority and this is closely followed by problems connected to a lack of education and skills training.

It seems that women in urban areas commonly experience a lower order of difficulty over gaining formal and informal employment. In both Kingston sites housing is ranked as the highest priority. This relates both to the condition of housing and to relations between landowners and tenants.

The problem of inaccessibility is commonly perceived as double-sided in that this issue affects the economic well-being of the community by constraining the marketability of agricultural produce while simultaneously affecting the capacity for infrastructural development to enter rural areas.

A greater number of distinct problems were identified in rural areas. Although the lack of skills was ranked as a high priority across all sites (particularly by men and adult females), the dearth of training seems to be most acute for adults in rural areas. In all sites there was a widespread perception that young women were the most skilled and educationally successful.

The rural sites of Duckenfield and Freeman's Hall exhibit several characteristics more usually associated with urban sites.

The problem of unemployment has remained highly important over the last ten years and, in some cases, has increased significantly for male and rural groups. The issue of inaccessibility has increased in priority for rural areas. Access to education may have decreased in importance marginally and skills training programmes have become more accessible in physical, but not economic, terms.

Many of the younger groups perceived limited opportunities for the future and saw international migration as the major criterion for economic success.

The problems that are widely perceived as solvable by community members alone are largely related to the psychological aspects of poverty. Those which are seen as exclusively dependent on external assistance are the provision of public services (such as telephones, water supply and street lighting), employment and health care. A combination of community input and outside initiatives is viewed as important in reducing the negative impacts associated with road conditions, housing and land tenure, teenage pregnancy, sanitation and the lack of skills training and education.

Institutional Representation

Schools, churches, Citizens' Associations and Youth Clubs are seen as important and positive influences, particularly by female groups. Food for the Poor, The Red Cross and The Salvation Army are seen, alongside some environmental NGOs, as effective. The Police, public service providers and political representatives are perceived negatively. Local businesses are identified as vital sources of credit during economic crisis and the family is providing important assistance, particularly by rural groups and in relation to remittances from abroad.

Individuals within an institution were widely seen as more trustworthy and effective than the institution itself, and outstanding individuals' performance could even negate some of the detrimental perceptions of particular institutions. Similarly some formal institutions that provide informal services (such as shelter from hurricanes in schools) were ranked highly.

The effectiveness of an institution is ranked as a more important criterion by women than by men and trust is seen as most important among older groups.

People feel that they have influence over informal, internal institutions and would generally like to have more influence over the Police, Member of Parliament, Councillor, the Rural Agricultural Development Authority, Social Development Commission, Jamaica Public Service Company, Cable and Wireless, the National Housing Trust, and the National Water Commission.

Particularly in rural locations, natural disasters are the main causes of crises. These are associated with hurricanes, floods, fire and landslides. Few groups ranked highly the operations of public sector agencies, no international agencies were identified, and the only NGO to be consistently identified was Food for the Poor. The government's Poor Relief and Food Stamps programmes were perceived as highly valuable in increasing income security for the poorest people, although the amount received (around US$ 4 per month) often represents less than the fare to collect it. Another government programme identified as valuable was the NWC's Rapid Response Unit for addressing water supply problems. Many of the church organisations are perceived as providing valuable assistance during crises, however most were considered to help only members of their own congregation.

Improvements to existing programmes suggested in rural areas include a long term strategy for NWC to install water supply infrastructure, more money to be distributed under the Food Stamps and Poor Relief programmes, a return to the government's road maintenance programme under which local residents are employed, JPSCo to install more streetlights, strengthening of RADA's outreach capacity, and that SDC should do more to promote broad community development. In urban areas common suggestions included that external agencies should register for assistance those who qualify through need rather than distributing through bodies such as the Citizens' Association (such as Food for the Poor) and that more and more various skills training should be provided.

Gender Relations

Ten years ago women's household responsibilities were primarily centred around ensuring the welfare of their children, undertaking domestic chores, and providing a comfortable environment for their male partners. However, with significant increases in their income earning abilities, women are now often the chief breadwinners for the family. Particularly in urban sites, men are increasingly participating in, or taking lead responsibility for, domestic activities.

At the community level, women are now more likely to take executive positions in organisations such as the church committee or Citizens' Association, although men are still the titular heads in most cases.

Women see power as the ability to earn money and remain independent from men. Rich and adult women are perceived as having the best opportunities for social advancement, although the dependence of young women on men was identified. The inability of men to find employment has resulted in diminished status in the household and community. Women seem to be prepared to work harder and for lower wages than men.

There is a general consensus that domestic violence is decreasing and seems to be discussed as more largely an urban phenomenon. This decrease is directly related to women's increased economic power and consciousness raising in the media. Young women commonly express unwillingness to remain in partnerships with economically unproductive men.

Changes in domestic power relations mean that women have greater sexual independence than previously. Older, independent women appear to be more likely now to enter into relationships with younger men.

Men largely seem willing to accept the new compromises being forged between the genders.

2. Background

2.1 Study purpose

This Jamaica Country Report has been prepared as a component of the World Bank's *Consultations with the Poor* study conducted in twenty-three countries. Information gathered for the Country Reports will contribute to the World Bank's annual World Development Report for the year 2000/01, which focuses on poverty and development each decade.

The purpose of the Consultations with the Poor study is to enable a wide range of poor people in diverse cultures and social conditions to share their experiences of poverty and views on development with the objective of informing pro-poor policies and initiatives.

2.2 Methodology and process

Initially none of the Caribbean nations was represented in the *Consultations with the Poor* study. However, because of the significant issues of poverty and vulnerability experienced in the region, the British Government's Department for International Development was concerned to support a participatory poverty assessment in Jamaica that would be included in the World Development Report.

The research explores four key issues, investigated through a process that is common across the countries studied so as to promote comparability. The four sections of the body of this report correspond to the issues of:

- Well-being;
- Problems and priorities of the poor;
- Institutional analysis;
- Gender relations.

The research focused on at least four groups of society in each site, disaggregating data in terms of gender and age. The Site Reports aimed to evaluate the differences and similarities between groups based on age, gender, well-being, changes over time and whether the sites were located in urban or rural areas. The issues of particular interest groups, such as fishermen, were highlighted where possible. Although there are small numbers of ethnic Indian, Chinese and European groups, the major cultural sub-group taken for this study was represented by the two Maroon communities.

The base dates for assessing changes over time were 1999, 1988 and 1962. These were selected so as to catalyse memories in a non-controversial manner and respectively represent the present, the year of the last major hurricane (Gilbert) and the year of Independence. Attempts to envisage future changes were made in some sites but were not largely successful as understanding of the questions bifurcated in contradictory directions; the changes that people would like to see and the changes that people expected to see. The disadvantages in the dates selected were that younger groups could not provide information on 1962 and that Hurricane Gilbert had a negative impact

on infrastructure and other assets. Therefore distortion may have been introduced due to the facts that the conditions recalled may not have been typical and the impact of the hurricane was uneven across the country. Despite the limitations these were seen as the most appropriate dates for comparison, as many of the other years during the 1980s are associated with political conflicts.

Nine sites were selected for fieldwork, five rural and four urban. However the results of the Railway Lane site were evaluated as internally contradictory to the extent that this Site Report was not completed. This is the most deprived inner city area investigated. The team did not feel secure conducting fieldwork after dark and felt that a longer period of time than was available would have been needed in order to establish preliminary contact with community members.

The study design is rooted in the flexible and iterative tradition of qualitative participatory research. This approach relies on a range of anthropological research methods that have been devised to enable people with low literacy skills to express themselves using their own terms and indicators. Most of the facilitators had been trained in participatory appraisal methods during training courses run by Oneworld Development Network in Jamaica in 1997 and 1998.

The range of techniques used in the fieldwork include ranking and scoring matrices, flow (cause-impact) diagrams, focus group discussions and individual interviews, Venn diagrams, time charts, mapping exercises and transects. The first three of these exercises were deployed to collect the majority of the data.

Matrices were used throughout the research process. The exercises are readily transferred to the ground and local materials were often used as markers. Where use of the ground was not appropriate, movable cards were very useful to allow changes and additions to be recorded as discussions proceeded.

Flow diagrams were employed to investigate the causes and impacts of poverty and *ad hoc* to examine underlying reasons for events and perceptions.

Venn diagrams acted as a vital accessory to matrices while investigating institutional representation and relationships.

A variety of time charts (timelines, linear and bar representations and calendars) were used as supplements to the matrices that depicted historical change.

Transects were found to be vital, particularly in urban sites, in establishing the boundaries of a community, making introductions and as a platform from which to slip into other exercises.

Pie charts were largely deployed as addenda to matrix exercises to represent subsidiary information such as approximate proportions or seasonal variation.

There are several interesting semantic aspects to participatory research in Jamaica that necessitate care being taken over the words used to describe parts of the process. The word ‘informant’ can denote a person who passes incriminating information to the Police and to ‘map

out' is a military expression used in the sense of surrounding a community as part of a raid by soldiers or the Police. The compressed time frame for this study did not allow for mapping exercises and these tended to be done by children on the margins of focus groups, which provided information and was a useful way of occupying their time so as to free parents to become part of the discussions.

Facilitators displayed creative opportunism in approaching groups and individuals for discussions. Some focus groups were selected on the basis of having special needs or particular information, while many were encountered when they had time to fill (such as when waiting at a clinic or for a bus). Focus groups typically contained a minimum of eight participants and often more than twenty. Sensitivity was necessary to the need for people to do chores and earn a living as interviews commonly took several hours. Particularly at the start and finish of the fieldwork in each site, some individuals were randomly selected so as to check the diversity and veracity of information gathered. In most sites fieldwork was carried out between 3pm and midnight when local people were more relaxed. Notes were written up every day, often until dawn. A presentation was delivered to community members before the facilitators departed at the end of the week and, while these occasions served as another triangulation mechanism, there was often an atmosphere of excitement over hearing how people described their own community and sometimes celebration.

The following table represents the dates of the study process in Jamaica:

Table 2.1: Study Process

Dates (1999)	Activities
3 - 9 May	Selection of team members and sites
10 - 16 May	Training of team members
17 - 23 May	Fieldwork for Millbank and Thompson Pen
24 - 30 May	Fieldwork for Little Bay, Railway Lane and Bowerbank
31 May - 6 June	Training and fieldwork for Accompong and Freeman's Hall teams and fieldwork for Cassava Piece and Duckenfield
7 - 13 June	Synthesis Workshop and review of site reports
14 - 20 June	Presentation to Government agencies and synthesis of Site Reports
21 June - 1 July	Preparation of Country Report

In most cases, the research teams rented rooms from members of the community who were encountered during fieldwork and this was seen as a vitally important pre-cursor to gaining the trust of groups interviewed in a short time.

2.2.1 Limitations of the study

The following points, which are not ordered by importance, represent potential limitations of the research process:

- comparison of different groups' perceptions of the proportions of each community defined as the lowest well-being category is problematic as those groups which identified a large number of well-being categories are likely to place a smaller proportion of households in this lowest well-being category than those which identified a smaller number of well-being categories;
- the study highlights the perceptions of younger members of society, whereas a focus on the perceptions of older people may provide a greater profundity of information on certain issues, such as changes over time;
- interviewees experienced difficulty in viewing formal and informal institutions as comparable;
- the family was not invariably identified as an institution as it seems that respondents assumed that the basic unit for analysis was the family or household itself;
- the psychological dimensions to poverty, such as stress or frustration, were not always represented;
- during discussions surrounding changes in well-being over time, some interviewees confused technological change with economic improvement;
- links to ongoing projects potentially distort data gathered due to a focus on communities previously or currently assisted;
- some of the members of the facilitating teams were accustomed to involvement in long term community development initiatives and were defaulted to attempting to build consensus around specific pragmatic issues rather than extracting information. This is not a limitation of the study process itself, except in that the requirement to link the research to ongoing projects may force rapid data gathering onto a site where a methodical and protracted approach has been the norm;
- the most commonly cited limitation of the study process was the issue of time. Teams were expected to research and write up Site Reports in one week and most facilitators worked in three different sites over three consecutive weeks. Inevitably, review of Site Reports extended into the Synthesis Workshop, reducing the time available for preparation of the Country Report;
- the fact that fieldwork was limited to one time of year meant that a snapshot of conditions at a particular point in time did not allow the exploration of seasonal variation;
- the Community Characteristics forms were viewed by many of the facilitators as contradictory to the spirit of qualitative research;
- the information on criteria used to rank institutions and discussions surrounding security, risk, vulnerability, opportunities, social exclusion and crime and conflict in the well-being section and surrounding trust, effectiveness, support and involvement in decision making was highly valuable but required careful preliminary investigation and was handled unevenly across sites;
- older people had difficulty in representing changes in well being categories over time.

2.3 Selection of Sites

This study does not seek to be representative of Jamaica as a whole, rather it is intended to illustrate aspects of the diversity of poverty within the country. Because of this the choice of sites is necessarily artificial. However, site selection was guided by a number of criteria including geographic diversity and the levels of external support of a community. Further, site selection was also influenced by specific poverty problems associated with location – i.e. land tenure, housing, remoteness from urban/regional centres, negative effects of tourism, size of population, levels of unemployment.

Five rural and four urban sites were identified and attempts were made to ensure that the geographic scope spanned the country in order that the regional diversity of poverty issues could also be reflected in the reports. Sites within seven of the fourteen parishes were identified, as well as two sites in the metropolitan area of Kingston.

Formal poverty indicators (some of which were identified by the Planning Institute of Jamaica – PIOJ) were used as a guide to locating specific poverty factors in certain areas of the country. Previous poverty studies carried out had divided the poverty areas into four quartiles, the first quartile representing those locations least poor. However, studies carried out after the assessment by PIOJ revealed these quartile brackets to be inaccurate. For this reason, Freeman's Hall in Trelawny, previously given a quartile one rating, was re-evaluated using participatory models of assessment which contradict these previous ratings. Our research team revealed information that showed Freeman's Hall as falling into the lowest quartile (4) category.

Where possible, the participatory poverty assessments link with ongoing projects and research. In Jamaica the Maroon community of Accompong is currently being considered as an important area for indigenous people and has long been held as a conservation area and cultural heritage site. Little Bay is included as a potential project area for USAID's Coastal Waters Improvement Project and the British Government's Department for International Development has conducted poverty related research in Duckenfield. Millbank, Little Bay, Freeman's Hall, Cassava Piece, Bowerbank and Thompson Pen have been identified by local NGOs as locations in need of assistance.

Table 2.2: summary of Site Characteristics

Rural	Summary of Site Characteristics
Millbank	Located in Portland at the head of the Rio Grande Valley, Millbank has a population of approximately 800 across 162 households. The main sources of livelihood for men are farming, construction and informal trade, and for women, farming, higglering and shopkeeping. A major social group consists of Maroons (originating from explorers and livestock handlers recruited by the Spanish in the 1500s) who have an elected ruling Council but are integrated into the Jamaican state to a far greater extent than those in Accompong. It is a mountainous region located within the John Crow/Blue Mountains and experiences very high rainfall. The rich natural resource base is exploited as a means of income, particularly through banana and dasheen cultivation. Basic infrastructure consists of water and electricity but the road conditions, disrepaired bridges and landslides limit access to the community.
Little Bay	Located in Westmoreland at the most Southern-West tip of Jamaica, Little Bay contains approximately 80 households and a population of about 400. The mainstay of the community is fishing, farming and, to a limited extent, tourism. Several local NGOs represent the area as it forms part of the Negril Watershed Environmental Protection Area and is the island's second largest freshwater morass that provides refuge for endangered waterfowl.
Duckenfield	This site is located on the south east coast in St. Thomas Parish, 50 miles east of Kingston. It has a population of approximately 1350 people contained within 375 households. The economic viability of the surrounding banana and sugar cane agricultural estates is vitally important to the health of the community through labour relations and the fact that labourers' families occupy barrack style housing supplied by the estate owners. This site exhibits many social characteristics traditionally associated with urban areas.
Freeman's Hall	Freeman's Hall is located in the Quashie River Sink in Southern Trelawny on the eastern border of the Cockpit Country, an area of inaccessible Karstic relief. The population at this site is between 1255 and 2000 people across 255 households. Freeman's Hall is a yam growing area and farming is the mainstay of the community however recent decreases in the sustainability of rural livelihoods means that less conventional opportunities are being sought by many residents.
Accompong	Accompong is a Maroon state, independent from the rest of Jamaica since the early 1700s, which has previously been inaccessible to many research projects. This agricultural community maintains traditional Maroon culture through an indigenous administrative system. There is a population of between 800 and 1000 residents and approximately 145 households. There are low levels of infrastructural development in the area.
Urban	**Summary of Site Characteristics**
Bowerbank	Located in South East Kingston, an inner city area, this site houses a population of 1000 people within 200 barrack style rooms with shared bathroom and kitchen facilities. Residents were moved here from other locations in the aftermath of the devastation of hurricane Gilbert in 1988 as a temporary measure, and have remained here ever since. The sewage system is overburdened. The livelihood strategies of local people are varied and include vending, semi-skilled labour, construction and domestic work.
Cassava Piece	Located in north Kingston and serviced by the Sandy Gully drainage network, this site has a population of 2500 people across 500 households. Caddying at the nearby Golf course, and un-skilled and semi-skilled labouring are the main occupations for men. Women are mainly employed as domestic helpers, higglers, hairdressers and dressmakers. Land tenure is the main problem in this area with conflict between landowners and tenants over the complex sub-divisions and land tenure issues. Like Bowerbank, this is a largely peaceful inner city location.
Thompson Pen	This site is located in Spanish Town, Jamaica's second largest metropolitan area and capital of the Parish of St. Catherine. The population of 4000 people across 850 households relies on formal employment at the local light industrial factories and informal economic activities in Spanish Town and Kingston. Flooding from the Rio Cobre has been a regular seasonal problem.
Railway Lane	This inner city site is located close to Montego Bay's Market. The population of approximately 2000 people resides in about 440 dwellings and largely depends on informal vending opportunities often associated with the tourism industry. Due to the significant levels of poverty and violence experienced in recent years, fieldwork for this site was not completed satisfactorily in the time allowed and while some of the preliminary results are alluded to in the text of this report, this site will not be fully incorporated in the final Country Report.

Table 2.3: Number of Individuals Interviewed at the Study Sites

Site	Poor				Other (specify)				Total
	Men	Women	Youth	Sub-total	Fisher-men	Elderly Women	Elderly Men	subtotal	
Rural sites									
Millbank	35	45	32	112	-	20	11	31	143
Little Bay	23	30	40	93	5	6			104
Duckenfield	94	33	71	198	-	-			198
Freeman's Hall	25	30	12	67	-	-			67
Accompong	58	26	-	84	-	-			84
Urban sites									
Bowerbank	44	42	64	150					150
Cassava Piece	32	28	115	175					175
Thompson Pen	45	66	55	166		8		8	174
Railway Lane	62	59	46	167					167
TOTALS									**1265**

Table 2.4: Number of Individual and Institutional Case Studies at the Study Sites

Site	Poor				Other (specify)				Total
	Men	Women	Youth	Sub-total	Man – was poor, now not	Woman – Was poor, now not	Sub-total	Institution Case Studies	
Rural sites									
Millbank	-	1	2	3	1	1	2	9	14
Little Bay	1	1	2	4	1	-		8	13
Duckenfield	2	2	-	4	-	1	1	21	26
Freeman's Hall	1	-	1	2		1	1	18	21
Accompong	3	2		5				11	16
Urban sites									
Bowerbank	2	3	1	6	--	--	--	14	20
Cassava Piece	2	2	1	5				10	15
Thompson Pen	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	10	15
Railway Lane	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	20	25
TOTALS									165

3. Perceptions of Poverty: Well-being Definitions and Trends

3.1 Local Terms and Definitions

Backative	Financial power and influence
Cokeheads, rumheads,	those who abuse cocaine or alcohol
Dasheen	A tuberous vegetable
Dons/Dods	Wealthy group from Little Bay – Money from drug trade, tourism
Drone	lives in the bush in rented house (FH)
Dunder	Pollutant waste from sugar cane processing
Ganja	Marijuana
Giving bun	cheating on your partner
Higgler(ing)	informal buying and selling, an activity commonly conducted by women
Matey war	Fighting between two women over one man's affections
One Percenters	poor but still independent – University education, travel (Bowerbank)
Partner/Pardner	informal saving mechanism run by women.
Pickney	child/ren
Politricks	derogatory pun on Politics
Rastafarian	Cultural group, characterised by long 'dreadlock' hair and nostalgic view of African heritage
Stocious	highly regarded
To bow	to practice oral sex
Those who malice water	people who smell bad

Wattle and daub	basic construction material
Well poor	very poor

3.1.1 Common words and phrases used

Badda	bother
Caan/cyan	Can’t
Deh	there
Dem	them
De ya	is here
Fi	for
Gwan/gwaan	go on like, going on
Haffi	have to
Mek	make
Naw/nuh	not
Nuh av nutten	don’t have anything
Nuff	enough, plenty
Pon	on
Waan	want to
Wi	*we*
Wey	where
Wid	with
Wuk	work
Yu	you

3.2 Definitions of well being

At least three types of definition for well-being were reflected across all sites:

1. refers to the categorisation of well-being across different income groups (within and outside the community), and are chiefly included in the matrices;
2. refers to personal welfare such as living in a community free from crime and the ability to have free speech; and,
3. refers to the means of acquiring assets (such as education), which can produce assets associated with the more well-off well-being categories.

Definitions of well-being were also associated with the individual problems existing at each site. For example, at Bowerbank, a temporary barrack style housing scheme constructed in the late 1980s for people whose homes had been destroyed by hurricane Gilbert, residents defined well-being as a state they can reach if they have better housing and sanitation.

The major well-being definitions were based on household assets, focused more on productive assets in rural communities and luxury domestic assets in urban sites. Other definitions include people's ability to live comfortably, have regular meals, experiencing no threat to personal and economic security, and the ability to own a home or land. Young men and women under twenty years old generally focused on the acquisition of consumer durables and often used behaviour (ambition) as a criterion for well-being. Health was an important criterion for older men and women across all communities and access to education a definition given by all groups.

Accompong was the only site where social and environmental criteria were used to evaluate well-being. It was stated by all groups that well-being incorporates elements of living in a relaxed atmosphere within the community, lack of stress, abundance of natural resources and the fresh air of the hills surrounding Cockpit Country. It is necessary to note that implicit in this criterion is a comparison between Maroon and other perceptions of life in the Jamaican state summed up by one person who said "when you live in country, it makes you think before you run around like a chicken waiting for its head to be cut off". This perception relates to the fact that the customs and codes which define well-being for Maroons are not wholly influenced by those which govern the rest of the Jamaican state. Further, the Maroon communities within Jamaica (Millbank and Accompong) are to some extent independent of the Jamaican state and therefore cut off from its rules and practices.

Table 3.1: Matrix representing categories, criteria and proportions of household, Thompson Pen

CATEGORIES	Group 1 Adult Male (30 and over)		Group2 Young Male (13 –30)		Group 3 Adult Female (30 and over)		Group 4 Young Female (13-30)	
	CRITERIA	%	CRITERIA	%	CRITERIA	%	CRITERIA	
1. Big Shot/ Upper Class/ Rich	1.Have big house 2.Have motor car 3.Have big businesses 4. Have all the things they need	0% -(they live in St. Jago Heights)	1. People living in St Jago Hgts (more affluent area) 2. Have big House 3. Have "nuff" money 4.Have work to go to	10			1.Have colour, fair 2. Money/born in wealth 3. Have prestige 4. Better access to education 5.The law is in their favour 6.They govern the others 7. Don't live in ghetto/slum areas	0
2. Doing Well/ Upper Middle Class/ Reach Already Top Class	1. Have money 2. Have house 3. Have car 4. Work on behalf of the upper class	8	1.Medium size wholesale business 2. Stocious job 3. Support from abroad 4. Skin tone look balance 5. Look well fed	2	1.Good job 2. Credit worthy 3. Have everything to convenience - health, house, car, husband	5	1. Work with Upper Class to implement laws, regulations 2.Do not listen to lower class 3. Do what they/Upper Class say	30
3 Some can do well/ Lower middle class	1.Have education 2 Provision for need - health, food, upliftment, job 3. Serving God	10	1.Small business 2.Have work to go to/regular paid person/couple living both working 3. Pass exams 4. Breadwinner 5. Have a house 6. Properly furnished house 7.Don't have to sell anything due to loss of job	38	1. Regular Work 2. Have small Business 3. Ambitious 4.Communicate with others	15	1. Have to work 2. Have job/skill 3. Not as much wealth 4. Not as much education 5. Can't empower self	30
4 Lower Class/ Dependant/ Poor/ Commoner	1 No work 2 Lack everything-health 3.struggling	80	1. Unemployed 2. Single mothers with a little stall and the begging, retireds & older heads 3. Man & woman in one room 4. Seven in one room 5. Can hardly find food 6. No money 7. Beg money 8. Old houses	50	1. Depend on spouse, children, pension 2. Opportunist 3. Lack understanding/ communication 4. Live by begging 5. Distressful/ malnutrition/ sickness/ frustration 6. Lack of employment	80	1. Jobless 2. No opportunity to excel 3. Can't afford basic needs/resort to stealing 4. Upper class don't want to employ them because of where they live 5. Live in poverty unable to move out 6. Suffer from day to day	40
5. Less Fortunate	1.Sleep outdoors/on pavement 2.Have no clothes 3.Nothing to eat	2						

3.2.1 Categories, criteria and proportions of households

Despite the individual characteristics associated with the specific sites, strong similarities existed in how well-being was defined, the number and range of well-being groups identified and the criteria assigned to each group in both urban and rural locations. Typically between three and five well-being groups were identified across all sites, the wealthiest occupying 10-25% of the community and the poorest 10-35%, with a marginal but fluctuating increase in the number of destitute living in urban locations. However, there are distortions in the percentages allocated to the most affluent well-being categories as perceptions given did not always reflect this group's existence within the community.

The wealthy were generally categorised as "Big Shot", "High class" "One Percenters", "Land owners", "Dons/Dods" and "Dads". The wealthiest group was commonly perceived as those who are university educated, own land and houses, have modern household assets (cable TV, carpet, water heater, washing machine, fridge) are self employed, travel overseas for business and pleasure and "bring back foreign dollars". Only minor differences in criteria assigned to this category emerged between urban and rural locations. Young men and women in Thompson Pen and Cassava Piece identified fair complexion as a criteria and identified wealthy suburbs such as St. Jago Heights where this group like to live and be associated with. This wealth group also gets respect from the poverty stricken and the lower middle classes, has legal rights, can pay medical bills, and is composed largely (in rural locations) of "returning residents" who migrated during the 1960s and 1980s and have returned to Jamaica to retire.

In locations where only the well-being groups existing within the community were categorised, definitions were less concerned with luxuries than those outlined above: the wealthiest being described as "some can find it more/find dem way", "trying", "can help themselves/not dependent", "poor but still independent" and "poor with ambition". This group typically occupies 40-75% of the communities in urban locations and 50-60% at the rural sites.

There is little difference between urban and rural sites in terms of the asset holdings of this well-being group that largely consists of higglers, small businessman (merchant class), and a mixture of semi-skilled artisans and labourers, not educated beyond secondary school level. Those in this group rarely own their own homes but can afford to rent houses and own black and white TVs, fridges, stereos, and bicycles.

Although both urban and rural communities comment on the irregular earning capacity of this group, the greater range of jobs and skills base at urban sites makes recovery from shocks and crises more certain than for those of similar fortune in rural locations. Most urban definitions of this category perceive this group as having access to credit and the ability to accumulate money through informal saving networks such as *pardner*. Rural focus groups described this category (often in terms of social hierarchy) as "poor", "struggling", "can afford it but not rich" and "bracket people", who can afford to feed and clothe the family but can not cope readily with emergencies. They are periodically without food and sometimes temporarily dependent on others. Those within this category depend on income from rural activities such as farming and fishing and any unexpected decline in production can have strong negative impacts as they do not have the same range of alternatives to supplement fragile incomes as those identified at urban sites. Although they have access to credit and participate in *pardner*, stories of repossession of goods through failure to meet payments under hire purchase agreements were common at the rural sites.

The poorest well-being categories identified were defined in terms of what they do not have: “well poor”, “poverty stricken”, “poorest class”, “peasant”, “lower class/drone”, “have nots”, “elderly/unemployed”, “sum jus nuh av nutten”, “worse off”, “pauper”, “street people” and the “needy”. The poorest well-being category, which typically comprises around 25% of the rural population and 10-35% of the urban, was described as being dependent on many people for assistance; from family to neighbours, patron politicians, and Poor Relief. This category is described in psychological terms as the category with the most severe mental health problems, often suffering from depression as they are without formal jobs, are illiterate and often totally dependent on handouts. This group are non-users of services, may have no birth certificates, live in wattle and daub housing, do not have any household items such as beds and often have one knife and fork with pots made from old cheese pans.

Of the few cases where five well being groups were identified, the variations between the categories were narrow. However, young men and women, particularly in rural locations, identified the greatest number of well-being categories overall and this reveals some interesting and subtle variations between different groups within (and sometimes outside) their immediate community. In Freeman’s Hall for example, young women highlight the major differences between the “poor” and “poorer” well-being categories as those who own their homes and those who rent. Both groups have difficulty maintaining economic equilibrium, although outwardly appearing secure. One woman described the characteristics of this group as those who “gwan like dem have money while dem pickney dead fi hungry”. At Millbank, young women pointed out that the boundaries between the lowest well-being categories are porous and movement between them occurs but is relatively uncommon. The cause of this was perceived as an inability of the “poor” income groups to cope in times of crises, sometimes becoming mad in the process until relatives or neighbours help them out. The older groups interviewed associated old age with poverty.

Across both urban and rural sites, older people generally defined a smaller number of well-being categories than other groups interviewed. There was also a great disparity in the proportions of households which this group identified as belonging to the various well-being categories. This is possibly due to the fact that they are less socially and economically mobile and are unable to see and assess changes in the same way as the young who are closer to the issue of progression from one well-being state to another.

The urban groups used a greater diversity of criteria to define the well-being categories than those interviewed at rural locations, and placed greater significance on luxury domestic items as a means of determining well-being criteria. In the countryside productive assets, such as land and transportation, were of primary focus. The problem of overcrowding in urban centres seems to increase awareness of details of neighbours’ possessions, but also associated with these sites is a greater reluctance to discuss in any detail what your neighbour may have.

Extremes rich and poor categories are less evident in rural locations than in the urban centres. For example, one woman in Freeman’s Hall defined poverty (i.e. the poorest anywhere) as not existing in the community as “children go to bed hungry and none of our children go to bed hungry”. Women in Millbank say that, although the poorest groups exist in the community, local support networks such as neighbours and friends ensure that they are fed. The fact that the rural

communities can normally exploit the natural resource base in order to survive on *old food* and *so-so food*, means that at least no-one is actually starving, as is more likely in urban locations.

Women in both urban and rural locations equated well-being with good nutrition, regular schooling and personal independence. Younger men stressed sports and training as criteria for well being whilst older men saw free speech as important. Adult men between 30 and 40 in urban locations spoke disparagingly of "politricks" that negatively affect well being.

Women described asset criteria more frequently than men and also focused on clothes, child welfare, hygiene, and savings as well as the people who may be dependent on them, such as elderly people, men and children. The men on the other hand focused on hustling, clothes and food. Younger women were concerned about the quality of homespace and assistance by a man. Older people reflect their concern at the cost of healthcare.

Although all groups use economic criteria as their base for defining well-being, there are frequent allusions to non-economic criteria in a positive way, for example peace and nature. Particularly in rural areas, differences between categories were often marginal. One man in Little Bay pointed out "the better off category is just one small step above the can find it", meaning that few households were seen as very much more secure than all others.

3.2.2 Changes in Well-being and Coping Strategies

Trends

Although no groups identified changes in criteria for defining categories over the last 10 years, there has been a significant decline in the living standards of the poorest well-being groups across most sites.

In the cities decline in well-being of the poorest groups is attributed to high unemployment due to closure of factories and deterioration of the economy, reduced or erratic income, overcrowding, and the rise in teenage pregnancy. These issues have particularly affected Thompson Pen and Bowerbank. In Bowerbank the "poor but still independent" group has suffered a downturn in economic mobility over the last 10 years and has fallen into the poorest category now representing almost 60% of the overall community. Living conditions have become more squalid with up to seven people sharing one room. The strain on the sewage system causes illness and the psychological effects of overcrowding have resulted in stress, quarrelling and in some cases insanity. The ghetto stigma now associated with both sites has resulted in discrimination and reduced the chances of improving economic status.

This trend has not been the same in Cassava Piece where adult women perceived a movement of approximately 15% of the "poverty stricken" category to the "working people" category over the last 10 years. They attribute this to greater visa access and the community being able to capitalise on benefits from having a good educational background. Young men also attribute this gradual reduction in poverty with young women's ability to obtain new skills in male dominated industries, such as construction.

In Thompson Pen there was a significant increase (from 16-55%)in the number of people becoming poor since the 1960s due to a rise in unemployment and cost of living. One man said "things hard because we have to struggle to survive, 10 years ago mi pay $20 for mi son at basic school, now I pay $600".

The rural locations exhibit little changes in existent well-being categories over the last decade. At Millbank the slight increase in the number of people falling into the poorest categories is seen as a result of the community's economic stagnation with all households generally exhibiting remarkably similar characteristics in terms of the range of assets they have. The groups in Accompong had difficulty defining household categories through economic stratification, partly attributable to their isolation from other communities and the lack of external associations with the area and partly due to their tradition of examining things in terms of respect, prominence and social achievement. However, the young men feel things are worse now as they have fewer opportunities to find employment. They remark on how returning residents since the 1980s have a better quality of life than other community residents.

Unlike the other rural sites, Little Bay has witnessed a decrease in the number of households in the "poorest" category. The young men point out, that ironically, financial support from the government to construct new homes destroyed by hurricane Gilbert has enabled some of the poorest in the community to move out of abject poverty. This, they believe, coincided with the local business boom in the 1980s (some of which is associated with spin-offs from tourism), with the expansion of small shops, (previous) stability in the fishing industry and the inexpensiveness of basic food items. The well-being of the "not so poor" also increased significantly during this period.

In Accompong and Little Bay new well-being groups have also emerged. In Accompong young women identified a small but rising underclass (approximately 30 households) who are unable to "help themselves". The response to this has been a programme of support with food and clothing by other members of the community. In Little Bay a well-being category emerged in the early 1990s that they refer to as the "Dons and Dods". It is believed their emergence was in response to the growing tourism industry in Negril. They represent the wealthiest group in the community and are reported to deal in drugs and through other entrepreneurial tourist focused activities.

Overall the wealthiest well-being categories across all sites have remained the same and a general increase in female employment opportunities is also significant at the urban sites. However, communities found it difficult to accurately proportion changes in the number of households in each category, though all were able to identify reasons for changes. This task proved especially difficult for the elderly interviewed. There was also confusion over the rise in living standards, some groups pointing out that technological change, and the availability of these appliances at cheap prices, must not be confused with economic improvement overall.

Coping Strategies

The cycles of deprivation are systemic, structural and generational.

Generational aspects were defined as large families supported chiefly by female headed households that are subject to irregular income, multiple fathers for children and inadequate education and skills required to move people out of poverty. It has been customary in Jamaica for young mothers, normally self-supporting, to seek employment outside the community leaving ageing grandparents in charge of the well-being of their parents. Part of the problem is also systemic in that support systems to prevent people falling into poverty are inappropriately designed and often the poor can not meet the criteria required to benefit from these services. Examples of this are the National Housing Trust and Operation Pride, agencies which provide housing for the poor, who are required to make a nominal but regular contribution towards their housing. Further, agencies such as Food for the Poor, a charity responsible for the distribution of basic furniture, clothing and food, may discriminate in the allocation of these basic provisions, providing first for those who belong to particular groups, such as the Roman Catholic Church. In the rural locations deprivation is more typically as a result of frequently occurring hurricanes, landslides and storms that undermine the integrity of the natural resource base.

Communities have coped with crises and shocks by preparing for them in advance and this is evidenced by the wide-scale and common practice of *pardner*. However, remittances from families overseas have also been significant in helping people cope during hardship. Local initiatives to improve sanitation, roads and representation have helped communities such as Bowerbank, Little Bay and Accompong stay afloat but some communities such as Thompson Pen are without strong support networks.

There is a growing number of people mentioned by all communities who have not coped with declining well-being and this has resulted in a greater number of people who are suffering from depression and low self esteem brought on by the problems. In rural communities some churches have been important unifiers and, as well as offering spiritual guidance, provide for those in need in times of particular stress. Family networks and migration to urban centres were also seen as coping strategies. In extreme circumstances, roadblocks have been instigated by rural and urban community groups, (mixed) in an attempt to get government attention to the critical needs of the communities.

Some of the coping strategies have resulted in a significant loss to communities. For example, those migrating to towns and cities have left communities depleted of skills, although migration as a coping strategy ensures basic needs of families left behind in the communities can be met. In some areas illegal activities such as marijuana cultivation have become the main livelihood source for the community members, who recognise its illegality, but nevertheless depend on income derived from it to survive.

3.3 Causes and Impacts of Poverty

Causes

The main cause of poverty across both urban and rural sites is unemployment. However, although the remaining causes of poverty are similar, the rankings of the issues differ. The urban poor emphasised the lack of education and skills training as the next most important factor influencing poverty due to their reliance on service industries for employment. Factory closures and/or downsizing of companies were cited as contributing to the lack of employment opportunities in urban areas, particularly in Thompson Pen where people rely heavily on work from neighbouring sugar cane estates.

There was a general consensus across all urban groups that discrimination, particularly against men, made it difficult to find employment due to the stigma of violence and conflict associated with particular areas. One young man at Cassava Piece said "nuff man de ya wid skill, but dem a discriminate against wi das why wi no have no wok". It was also agreed that the lack of incentives to find employment contributed to poverty as people refused to accept low paying jobs or certain types of jobs such as domestic work or day labouring.

At Bowerbank poor leadership and representation by the local councillor and MP were seen as contributing to the lack of support for improving the skills base of the community.

The rise in teenage pregnancy and rapidly growing population were also cited as a major reason for poverty especially at Bowerbank where the housing was constructed as a temporary measure in the late 1980s and has not been expanded since.

Other issues perceived as causing poverty by urban groups included violence, out-migration and the unfavourable and worsening condition of the economy generally.

At the rural sites unemployment was linked to lack of access to markets as the major reason for poverty. The poor condition of the roads (and in Millbank the frequency of landslips) makes accessing local markets difficult and expensive. Most groups interviewed at the rural sites rely on a mixture of fishing, farming and tourism as sources of income and these require a greater degree of infrastructural development to thrive. Although groups at Accompong suffer from poor access to markets, their livelihoods are further impeded by the encroachment on their land by outsiders. This is compounded by the fact that Maroon land, acquired by treaty, is not subject to the property tax of the Jamaican state and is free to all Maroons. The increasing poverty in Accompong is made worse as there are no land titles to use as collateral for credit, further limiting the ability to invest in agricultural production.

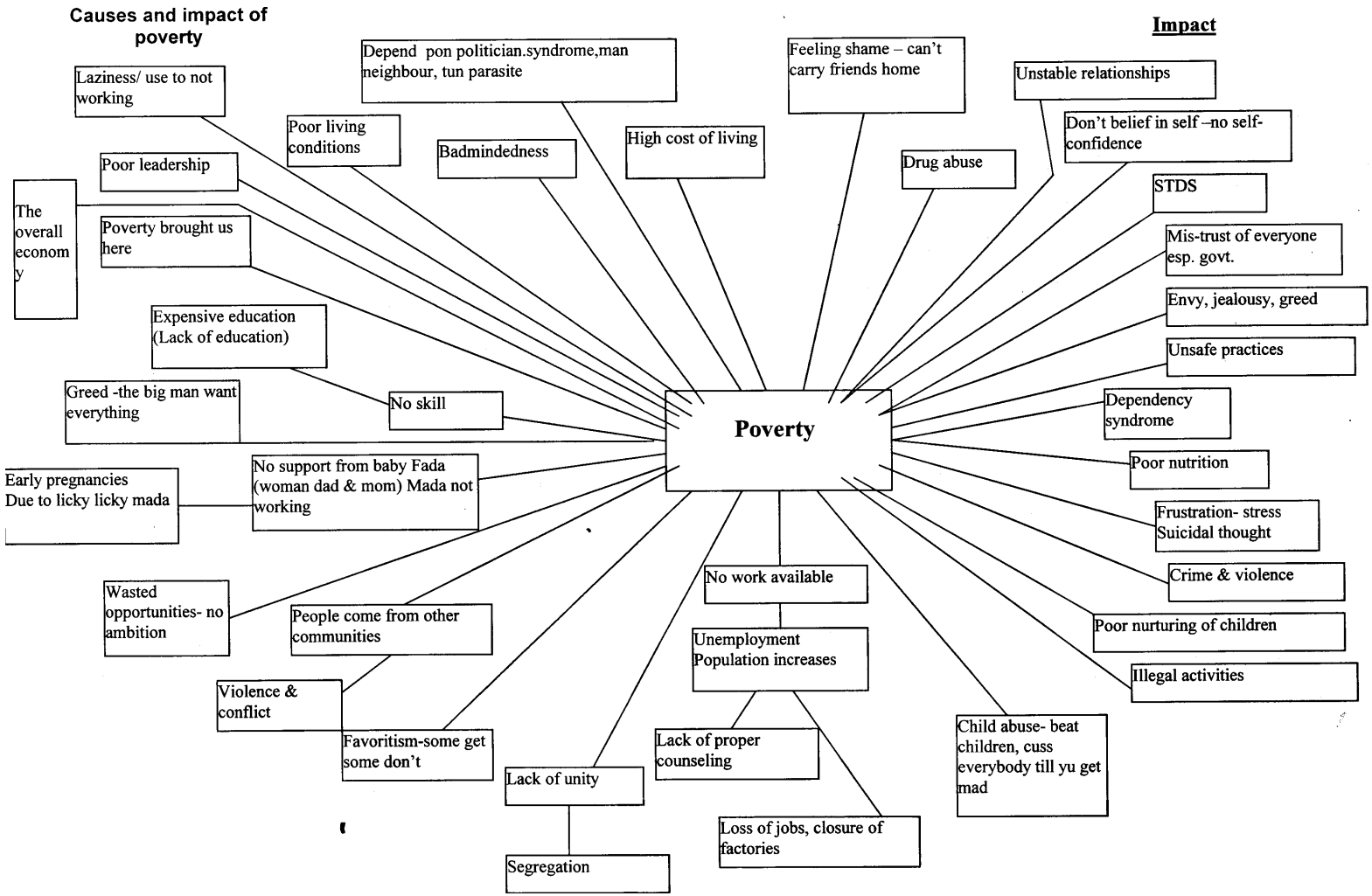
The fishing industry at Little Bay is in decline and at Freeman's Hall 90% of the community depends on yam farming (which is currently subject to large price fluctuations) as the main source of livelihood. Teenage pregnancy, out-migration ("brain drain") and lack of unity were also cited as concerns among rural groups.

Impacts

The impacts of poverty are most clearly recognised in the urban areas (see cause and impact flow chart for Bowerbank below). Impacts such as overcrowding, poor living conditions and sanitation have led to poor health and nutrition, especially among children. Frustration from unemployment has reportedly led to an increase in unstable relationships, child abuse, crime and low self-esteem. Young men and women complained of falling into a cycle of dependence on family and attendant depression. Impacts in Railway Lane have included an increase in prostitution, especially homosexual prostitution by men who service tourists in Montego Bay. Lack of money has resulted in an inability to send children to school, provide food, clothes and shelter. This inability to meet family needs also leads to criminal activity. Unemployment leads to an increase in population through teenage pregnancy and an increase in STDs. Low self esteem leads to lack of self-confidence, which leads to envy, jealousy and greed. Residents of Thompson Pen experience poor living conditions, housing, poor health, frustration, stress and teenage pregnancy. The rural locations identify the same impacts, especially apathy and depression. However, rural support networks provide some buffer from the complete decline into madness or suicidal tendencies revealed at urban locations.

Teenage pregnancy was seen as both a cause and an impact of poverty resulting from high unemployment among youths and the tendency of young women to turn to men for financial support as a way of coping with the monotony of everyday life.

Diagram: Causes and Impacts of Poverty - Bowerbank



3.4 Well Being Issues

3.4.1 Risk, Security and Vulnerability

Across the Site Reports, security was generally defined as having the capacity or ability to pay bills, protect the household and community from outside influences, having legitimate land tenure, and the ability to recover from unexpected crises or shocks whether man-made or natural disasters.

Security for urban areas is feeling free from crime and violence and this was particularly highlighted by women. It was perceived that physical and personal security could only be achieved by the wealthier well-being categories (within or outside the community), who have burglar bars on their windows and hedges around their land. This form of security is also perceived to extend to poorer people within the community who patronised the by the wealthier groups.

Both land owners and tenants at Cassava Piece expressed concern over the declining sense of security both groups feel over current lease and land tenure arrangements. This has impeded both groups' ability to plan future development or ensure inheritance of land rights to relatives. The temporary living arrangements at the housing estate in Bowerbank have also affected the residents' ability to plan secure futures for themselves and their families.

In rural areas although personal security was defined as a well-being issue, more important was security associated with income derived from exploitation of the natural resource base such as farming and fishing. Natural disasters such as floods, hurricanes and landslips were perceived as events that impede the ability of rural households to maintain economic stability. At Freeman's Hall, security was defined as having financial resources to get through emergencies. Although physical security is not a problem at this site, one man remembered a period in the 1980s when gunmen, as a result of political warring, used Freeman's Hall as a hideout but, "the police kill dem out". In Accompong the threat to personal security is even more remote as people still leave their doors unlocked when they go out. Groups at Duckenfield raised the issue of personal security, which they see as being eroded with the transferring of drugs such as cocaine to the capital, only 50 miles away.

It was generally agreed that poorness and poverty naturally puts households at risk. This was emphasised at Cassava Piece where groups referred to risk caused by not having safety insurance at the work place and being forced to steal electricity which in turn exposes people to risk of fire, death or some form of imprisonment or fine.

Specific groups such as women and children were identified as vulnerable to rape and exposed to prospect of pregnancy at an early age. The most vulnerable however, were those in the community considered mad and the brunt of people's jeering and general abuse. A group of adult men in Bowerbank identified a new form of vulnerability where those living even in the ghetto perceived of as peaceful and harmless are abused by contractors and employers who often refuse to pay them for the work they carry out. One man said, "the bossman know that we a peaceful man, not gunman, an when yu wuk you caan get you money, they keep telling yu Friday and Friday can't come". All groups expressed vulnerability from storms and natural disasters especially as most of the poor live in board houses. One woman in Cassava Piece pointed to her house and exclaimed "this caan stand up under storm, cause if we start knock, dem come fi see wey wi a do. Wi caan do nutten fi mek the house more secure, cause dem no want no concrete structure pon dem land, nat even a bathroom". It is ironic that what offers security for one group in terms of profit (the landlord not allowing the

erecting of concrete structures on his/her land), is detrimental to the physical security and vulnerability of another (the tenant).

The shocks people face are mainly through having to deal financially with sudden health problems, the expensive prospect of being hospitalised and inability to pay medical expenses. Coping with shocks is dependent on relatives and friends who offer financial and emotional support. Rural people tend to believe that only external support can enable them to recover from shocks and crises.

3.4.2 Opportunities, social and economic mobility

It was unanimous across all groups interviewed at both rural and urban locations that opportunities had decreased over the last 20 years but more particularly over the last decade mainly due to unemployment throughout the country.

In the urban centres social and economic mobility has been hampered by factory closures, inflated education costs, poor representation, employment discrimination and the unequal distribution of goods and services. The effects of diminishing opportunities have most negatively impacted on the three lowest well-being categories, which have suffered a significant decline in living standards over the last decade.

In the countryside the lack of employment opportunities has resulted in large scale migration to cities in search of work, which has depleted the skills base of local communities. This is particularly evident in Accompong and in Freeman's Hall where one woman remarked "even criminals have to leave the area in search of opportunities, and having left, the lack of infrastructure does not entice them back". As most income is derived from farming and fishing, opportunities have been largely dependent on the ability to access local markets. The depletion of fish stocks due to overexploitation has also hampered opportunities in the fishing industry in recent years.

At Millbank male groups believe that the only way to move out of poverty are through having access to credit, diversifying and broadening the range of products derived from the natural resource base, and infrastructural improvements that enable better access to markets. In Little Bay although groups have acquired more in terms of assets, employment opportunities have generally diminished. Groups here felt that this could be remedied through improving the roads in order for them to benefit from eco-tourism opportunities that are now being revived along the coast. In Duckenfield the downsizing of the chief sugar and banana industry in the 1980s has resulted in fewer employment opportunities. This has had a major effect on young men who lack skills. The younger women here have manage to find unskilled employment as domestic helpers but the pay is poor and cannot support their basic needs. The rural communities believe they can move out of poverty with financial support for small business enterprise.

Among the urban groups, change in social and economic mobility is often seen as dependent on pursuing alternative avenues of employment overseas. Although opportunities for overseas work exist, the requirement is typically for seasonal unskilled labour. However, many see this as available only to those with influential contacts who can acquire visas on their behalf. Those fortunate enough to move out of the ghetto areas sometimes prosper financially, and many women reportedly take advantage of this by moving in with men in more desirable areas of the city in the hope of capitalising on the opportunities which that may bring.

Groups reflected that the wealthier well-being groups, such as the "Dads" and "Fathers" in Railway Lane, have suffered least from the general economic downturn and that the most negatively affected have been female headed households and the unskilled.

It was generally agreed by all groups that greater social and economic mobility is dependent on external financial support and sound political representation as well as the provision of adult literacy programmes and skills training.

3.4.3 Social Exclusion

There were large differences exhibited between the urban and rural sites in terms of people or groups within the community who are excluded. In the urban locations exclusion is more prevalent with a wider range of groups ostracised from the community. There is distaste among many groups with homosexuals and those who *bow*. Young men under 20 from Cassava Piece were particularly unremitting in their distaste of homosexuals. Part of this may stem from an association with this activity at the local golf club where young men who work as caddies are prey for wealthy Jamaicans who offer money for sexual favours, an activity which is likewise growing in Railway Lane in response to tourism demands. Those who live in the community but work outside and do not participate in community events are also excluded along with the old, HIV infected, political opponents and those who lack confidence or motivation. Reference was made to those who steal from within the community as excluding themselves.

There was a stark contrast at rural sites where groups felt responsibility for those in the community unable to help themselves through madness or poverty. At Millbank, adult women pointed out that community members ensure that people without access to services such as medical assistance do receive help. However, those who exclude themselves through bad habits such as *coke heads* and *rum heads* are not given much time. Returning residents and in-migrants are also regarded with some suspicion, but as adult men were keen to point out, may exclude themselves by being distant from other community members and not participating in community activities.

The major differences between those excluded and those included is in terms of the ability to access goods and services. Much power in urban locations is derived through links or contacts with *godfathers* who are local residents with contacts in local service agencies. This point is amplified in Bowerbank where the issue of housing is the most prominent problem and those with access to contacts within the National Housing Trust benefit more than others. Those without these benefits are excluded also from a range of handouts assigned to the community from time to time from NGOs or government agencies. In rural locations those with the most power survive because they have assets, trades or business and opportunities through which to exploit the natural resource base.

It is significant that across most sites the most excluded groups, the extreme poor, are also often hidden. For example, in urban areas, the poorest people are often not included in the census, as they have no permanent residence. One man in Railway Lane (see case study below) sleeps at a disused station. Similarly, in rural areas, the poorest people may live deep in the bush. This is the case in Little Bay where there are estimated to be living in rough shelters in the interior. This invisible poverty affects the findings of a study of this duration by potentially reducing the apparent significance of the lowest well being categories. This makes conclusions as to the exact extent of decreasing well being on the poorest people problematic, although this process is commonly referred to across all sites, particularly Accompong.

Case Study: a poor man who is now worse off

Delroy Bernard's story

Delroy Bernard was born March 26, 1958 at 3 Barnett Lane Montego Bay, St James.

"Everybody call mi Jim Dandy. I grew up with my father's sister and his mother because my mother ran away when I was a baby. I born with polio and my feet were shaped liked capital K. I was brought up in church and went to Railway Gardens Basic School regularly. Mi father was a farm worker, when mi father was here I went to Boys Club School, I did have mi regular meals.

When mi reach sixteen, mi bruck out, cause there was a tribal war between, Railway Lane , Barnett Lane, Gully and nuff more community an mi di a fi defend mi turf. Mi father send mi go a famitary school when mi deh deh (famitary school) mi have to go school and do exercise every morning, mi learn fi do work there.

I was sent to U.C. (University Hospital) in Kingston and mi feet was broken and set. Mi stay there for about a year , mi father used to come visit mi regular. After mi come dung mi father go weh an mi nuh see or hear from him after dat. Little after mi come dung mi know mi madda".

When Jim Dandy was asked where he lived he said "right here". Right here was on the pavement of the St. James Railway Station. When asked why he replied "because I can't afford de rent". When he was asked for how long has he been there he said " from mi come from Kingston a pon de road mi deh cause mi caan get nuh work and mi madda have land but she nuh have nuh convenience fi mi live".

When he was asked why he could not get a job he said "because mi come from Lane and from yuh come from Lane nuh baddy nah gi yu nuh work". Mi use to live inna one building but mi an one bowy war an'him bun up mi two mattress an from dat mi live ya so. A nearly twenty years mi live pon street, si mi bed deh (his bed was a single bed spring with old cloths spread on it for mattress). A right deh so mi cook (his stove was an old car rim) mi have one cheese pan an dah big pot deh weh mi cook inna. Mi pick up glass drink bottles and if a man ask mi fi wash him car mi do it fi eat food, mi still a 'ave fi go docta wid mi foot dem.

Inna Jamaica the Government nuh help de youths dem wid work, sometime mi outa road fi de ole day and mi nuh hustle nuh money, mi 'ave fi go sleep 'ungry. Wen rain fall mi 'ave fi nail up plastic and board fi keep out de rain. Mi woulda like fi own one house an' get a work, but if mi get a work mi woulda work fi build mi house cause mi 'ave fi eat. Mi a go weh now cause mi a go look some money, awright."

3.4.4 Social cohesion, crime, conflict

Among the definitions of social cohesion were "unity", "togetherness", "no political war", "understand each other", "share experiences" and "show respect". All groups agree that social unity has always existed within the communities, but its level has decreased over the years, influenced by the political warring of the 1980s.

In the urban centres communities get together to organise domino tournaments, parties and other recreational activities. Communities also unite around common issues such as land rights and undertake small-scale infrastructure improvement projects, often related to sanitation and roads. Communities still participate in Labour Day projects (24th May) and Youth Clubs (especially in rural communities) were seen as a focal point for community activities. At Bowerbank, local initiatives to acquire better housing have helped to unify the community, which have recently begun weekly community cleaning activities operated by rota.

At the rural sites local networks were more cohesive with support being extended to social outcasts and the insane. This was particularly the case at Millbank and Accompong. All female groups within the communities participate in *pardner*, an informal group savings practice typically run by women in the role of bankers. With the exception of Railway Lane, where tensions related to drugs are in evidence and political frustration still exist, all communities were relatively harmonious.

Although there is a low level of crime at both urban and rural sites, many rural communities were unable to relate incidents of recent crime. Accompong considers itself virtually crime free with only one recorded murder since the community was established. Conflicts between groups within the community are rare and residents typically act as arbitrators in occasional public disagreements between men. At Cassava Piece conflict occasionally arose between tenants and landlords over unresolved land issues. There is a low level of tolerance displayed towards thieves within the community, and vigilance of imported conflict is maintained across the sites. In urban locations intergroup conflict caused by political rivalry has abated since the 1980s. In Thompson Pen and Railway Lane it was felt that intergroup conflicts could only be resolved through a change in political culture. Tensions are sometimes caused through some groups being privileged to entitlements that others do not receive. It was emphasised that members of the Citizens' Association derive benefits that other community members do not receive, especially in their connections with the charity Food for the Poor. There remains a perception that those who use the gun derive more benefits from politicians who pay to keep them quiet or pacify them.

Potential for crime is not absent. This is especially highlighted through the emergence of a new well-being group in Little Bay ("Dons" and "Dods") who derive income from dealing in drugs and promoting tourism in the area.

Table 3.2: Urban and rural well being issues

Poverty Issues	Urban	Rural
Exclusion		
Who gets left out	Those who work outside the community; homosexuals – those who bow; political opponents to reigning party; old people; smelly people; those who lack confidence; beggars; HIV infected; those at remote distance from the rest of the community	Mad people; in-migrants; returning residents; coke-heads and rum-heads.
Impact of being left out	Don't receive handouts or assistance; violence;	Lack of education; rise in teenage pregnancy; depression/apathy.
How to include the excluded	Tolerate homosexuals; change societal attitudes; (thieves must change their ways)	Include homosexuals if they are not public about their orientation.
Differences in power between included and excluded	Included can get access to goods and services	Included make decisions and judgement on those who are not included.
Power derived from	Links/godfather (patronage, education and money	Education and money; inherited assets; good jobs; land; natural resource exploitation.
Cohesion		
Definition of Cohesion	Unity; togetherness; no political war; understand each other; share experiences; respect. Meet for entertainment/events.	Cooperation; sharing; looking out for each other.
Which communities have increase or decrease in cohesion/unity? Why?	Increase: Bowerbank due to cooperation re housing issues Decrease: Thompson Pen, Railway Lane due to levels of violence, party politics, lack of sanitation	Increase: Accompong as poverty brings people together as they are united in their alienation by outsiders; Decrease: Duckenfield why??
Which communities have increase or decrease in crime and conflict?	Decrease in Bowerbank, Railway Lane and Thompson Pen.	
Security		
Definitions of (In)security	Danger to life; Financial; comfort; education; family support	Safety; comfort; mental well-being; financial; education.
Differences between security and insecurity	Security: well-being as two wages in family; ability to travel Insecurity: having to steal electricity; inability to recover from external shocks –e.g. hurricanes	Security: Good wages; education; burglar bars on windows; ability to travel; increase in well-being Insecurity: natural disasters such as landslides and hurricanes.
What makes households insecure?	Poverty; lack of skills; single parenting; no insurance	Natural disasters; unemployment; no burglar bars on doors and windows.
What shocks have households faced?	Flooding; homosexuality; unemployment; land tenure.	Lack of jobs; natural disasters; murder.
How do communities cope with shocks?	Borrow from established businesses, family, neighbours, government, NGOs	Family, Accompong Council; school for shelter during natural disaster; neighbours, external agencies.
Opportunities		
Why is there a lack of opportunities?	No leadership/lack of representation; closure of factories; rise in living expenses; expensive education – due to inequalities;	Skilled people have outmigrated to towns and cities; lack of access to markets
Who suffers most from lack of opportunities?	Single parents (especially women); unskilled; lowest three well-being categories.	All youth; Little Bay – fishermen and farmers who rely on natural resources.

Table 3.3: Urban and rural causes and impacts of poverty

Causes and Impacts of Poverty	Urban	Rural
Causes	Unemployment; teenage pregnancy; immigration; economy	Overexploitation of natural resource base; lack of opportunities; out-migration, especially young women – linked to decline in youth population; lack of access to market; young people's dependence on family
Impacts	Overcrowding; illegal activities i.e. drugs and theft; increase in drug abuse particularly cocaine; increase in prostitution for hard cash; increase in poor sanitation; psychological i.e. anger, frustration, apathy, stress (esp. among young); idleness.	In-migration (fall back on your roots); teenage pregnancy; idleness; increased cultivation of marijunana; increase in prostitution for favours or hard cash; theft.
Typology	Large families; lack of parental support; multiple fathers; teenage pregnancy	
Coping Strategies	Partner/Pardner; cooperation; overseas remittances; local initiatives e.g. sanitation improvements; spiritual guidance from the church; begging; road blocks to improve representation and awareness of issues. Migration overseas; improved housing; formal jobs; improved representation.	Church for spiritual guidance; pardner; community spirit; over-exploitation of resource base for personal consumption; family networks; migration to urban centre; road blocks.
Forseeable Future Changes	National Housing Trust assistance; Better representation; Improved education and skills; exposure to the world of technology.	Gaining formal skills; increase technological access and awareness; in migration from returnees with cash to invest in community; temporary out migration to urban centres or abroad. Access to market and credit; better representation; technology; improved skills.
Required changes		

4. Priorities of the Poor

4.1 Problems faced by the poor and differences in problems and priorities

The major commonality across sites is that the problem of employment is consistently ranked as the priority concern. Next most important in urban sites are the issues of housing and education. Rural communities tend to perceive problems associated with accessibility, often referred to as the issue of the road condition, as the first or second priority and this is closely followed by problems connected to a lack of education and skills training.

While unemployment is ranked highly by all focus groups, this issue is given more weight by women and young men in rural areas, except in Freeman's Hall where there is gender parity on this point. The problem is explained in terms of a lack of economic opportunities in the widest sense. In urban communities unemployment is accorded a higher priority by men. This is commonly associated with low wages for formal employment and a lack of space and commercial opportunity for the establishment of informal enterprises. Unemployment is perceived as causing wider social problems and promoting illegal activities: "idle people must find something to fill the time and if they can't find work to do they have to do things like prostitution and farm the weed" (Little Bay). The economic climate was seen as reducing employment opportunities as well as the viability of informal earning activities, especially in rural sites. One woman in Freeman's Hall remarked that she has difficulty selling her chickens because "de people dem radda buy de foreign chicken parts" and she could not lower her prices to match the imports because she would make a loss. Another woman in the same site recently had to watch one of the cows that she bought with her redundancy payment die because the veterinarian would not come to give treatment for less than $3000.

Adult male groups in rural sites and adult female groups in urban areas tended to rank unemployment lower than other groups. This is because the livelihoods of rural men are closely linked to agricultural activities rather than formal employment and these groups (across all sites except Duckenfield and Freeman's Hall) are more concerned over the issue of access to markets to sell their crops and the high cost of transport. It seems that adult women in urban areas are more successful in locating and undertaking temporary employment at lower wages than male groups and therefore experience unemployment as a lower order of priority.

Problems associated with bad road conditions are ranked as the highest priority by all rural sites except for Duckenfield and Freeman's Hall. The two anomalies are explained by the fact that livelihoods in Duckenfield are largely dependent on formal agricultural employment at large estates and so marketing of produce is a less important issue than in most rural sites and by the fact that Freeman's Hall (while experiencing bad roads) is relatively close to the markets of north coast centres such as Duncans, Falmouth and Montego Bay. In these sites unemployment was ranked as the most important problem, which seems to suggest that these communities are connected to a greater extent than other rural sites to the wider economic system of commercialised exchange.

The problem of inaccessibility due to bad roads is double sided. A common perception is that this issue affects the economic well-being of rural communities by constraining the marketability of the agricultural produce while simultaneously affecting the capacity for infrastructural development to enter these areas. This is seen as in turn affecting economic opportunities, creating a negative cycle.

In Millbank the lack of access to markets and enterprises concerned with processing agricultural produce results in wastage of the crops produced. While untypical, this is a situation which local people relate to global food shortages: "often times our food rots in the fields and people are starving here in Jamaica and round the world".

In Accompong and Little Bay, transportation difficulties were separated from road conditions. In both sites the roads were considered to be in a state of extreme disrepair, but the lack of public transport was also highlighted.

Bad road conditions are also mentioned by discussion groups in urban sites but are seen as low in priority and the lowest of all priorities by male groups. In terms of gender differences, adult men in rural areas and adult women in urban sites consistently rank road problems higher than other groups. This may be explained by the apparent fact that these two groups are most likely to be carrying out activities which require leaving the area of residence, generally for marketing of agricultural produce and for formal employment, respectively.

While there is a strong tendency for rural sites to identify and separately rank the problems of education and skills training, urban sites are more likely to rank education. This seems to suggest that the dearth of training for adults is more pronounced in rural areas. These issues are ranked more highly by male and adult female groups across all sites. There is a widespread yet generalised perception that young females are likely to be the most skilled and educationally successful of all groups in both urban and rural areas.

Housing conditions are consistently ranked as much higher priorities in urban sites and in Duckenfield and Freeman's Hall and are not identified in Little Bay and Millbank. In both of the Kingston sites this issue is perceived as the second most important and this could be explained by in-migration to the capital city. In Cassava Piece, the complexity of ownership claims across second generation residents results in inability to exploit unproductive land resources, conflict and insecurity due to lack of title deeds. Housing is a higher priority for adult women than for men or young women. This may be explained by the fact that older women feel an imperative to ensure good housing conditions for their families.

Problems over land tenure were ranked as first or second priority in urban sites and are often seen as the principle reason for the establishment of the communities. This was also the case in Duckenfield where land that lies idle can not be exploited by local residents because it belongs to the Government or agri-businesses.

Health was ranked low by all sites or not identified. Where it was discussed, this issue was a higher priority for female and older male groups as these are the people who use this service, particularly through child care or illness associated with age. Teenage Pregnancy was identified

as a social problem by most discussion groups in all sites, particularly in urban areas, as a result of frustration and boredom. One interviewee in Thompson Pen consisely explained that when there is "nuttun fi do, sex is always a choice and then children come".

A greater number of distinct problems were cited in rural areas. In these sites there was a tendency to separate issues connected with the provision of public services and utilities which were identified in only one urban site (Thompson Pen) and ranked last. Rural focus groups tended to distinguish between the provision of telephones, water supply and streetlights with ranking of importance following this order, except in Little Bay and Freeman's Hall where water supply was seen as a relatively high priority. However, many respondents' opinions concurred with one old man from Freeman's Hall who said "I live my life so far without paying for water and I am not going to start now".

Discrimination is identified in urban sites as a barrier to employment opportunities to the extent that many people admit to providing a false address to potential employers. The ability to give the address of somebody who lives in a respectable district and will cover the fiction is seen as an important asset and is specifically related to patronage. One young man from Bowerbank was caught out when, taken ill at work, he was driven home by his manager. When the employer discovered the deception, his first reaction was to dismiss the young man, however in this (untypical) case he had already proved himself to be a good worker and retained the job. Discrimination also refers to police harassment.

Sanitation was perceived as a problem in some urban sites and was generally seen as a problem of relatively low priority. However, there are specific areas of specific sites where the issue is perceived as pressing. One man in Cassava Piece suggested that "wey mi live dem have two toilet pit in deh, and dem burse. Mi haffi sleep eat an sleep pon it, is a mess".

4.2 Changes in Problems over Time

The problem of unemployment has remained highly important over the last ten years for all urban sites and in some cases has increased significantly for male groups. There is a significant increase in the importance of unemployment in rural sites, except for older groups which may feel that for them individually this issue is less relevant. The closure or downsizing of large scale agricultural businesses has had particular impact in Freeman's Hall and Duckenfield, especially the loss of jobs in the banana cultivation and packing industries. Several focus group discussions in rural areas highlighted the negative impact of the redundancies from public sector employers and the decrease in temporary employment associated with agencies such as the Public Works Department

The issue of bad road conditions has decreased in importance for urban communities and Duckenfield but increased in rural areas. The inability to market the agricultural surplus has increased and this is particularly remarked on by young and adult groups. In Millbank the road conditions have become a little less important for women but more acute for men, possibly as women have managed to make alternative transport arrangements.

Access to education seems to have decreased slightly, particularly in rural areas and in Thompson Pen. Skills training programmes have become accessible in physical terms, particularly in urban areas, but this does not hold true in economic terms. The significance of the lack of skills training has increased for rural sites, particularly among young groups and men and especially in Little Bay.

The problems of the affordability and condition of housing have largely remained unchanged in urban sites and for Duckenfield and Freeman's Hall but are seen as more significant for younger people due to increased overcrowding.

The provision of a telephone service is perceived as increasing in significance in rural areas as demand grows.

The health service is seen as increasingly important, particularly in rural areas and Cassava Piece and for older groups and women who are the main service users.

Street lighting has decreased in importance for many groups, although this may be because of the increasing severity of other problems rather than because this issue has been addressed successfully.

Environmental issues, such as deforestation for charcoal burning, water pollution and garbage disposal, are identified as increasingly important. It is unclear whether this perception results from an empirical rise in these issues' prevalence or in the increasing awareness of these problems (through the activities of NGOs and the media).

4.3 Hopes and Visions for the Future

The vision for a positive change in society which emerges most strongly across all sites relates to the creation of sustainable, permanent employment. There is a common, clearly articulated, opinion that richer groups are able to appropriate the profits from processes which add value to raw materials. This is particularly apparent in rural areas where traders who control transportation can negotiate prices for agricultural produce which do not accurately reflect labour costs. Many farmers expressed the hope that the Rural Agricultural Development Authority would provide a more efficient extension service to offer advice and support over issues of marketing, distribution and processing. In urban areas most groups hoped for the establishment of new factories and service industries which could provide formal employment. Across all sites, people clearly stated that regular employment would allow the increasing costs of education and health care to be met and promote greater community harmony.

In urban sites issues of land tenure and housing conditions are commonly perceived as vital issues for future resolution. This is particularly marked among lower well-being groups and the sections of all the urban communities which do not have secure land tenure rights. However this last problem is not seen as likely to be solved because landowning families have an incentive not to sign over title deeds even where they have clearly and over many years lost effective control of "captured" or sub-divided land.

Other than the issue of accessibility to markets related to road conditions, rural communities most commonly perceive the provision of public services such as telephone connections, water supply and street lighting as the major challenges for the future. In the majority of groups, people are realistic about the possibility of change and accept that public telephones, communal water supply connection through standpipes and the provision of streetlights only in certain sections of the community are sufficient.

Many of the younger groups perceived limited opportunities for the future and saw international migration as the major criterion of economic success. A group of men in Duckenfield asserted that "many people are redundant. Plenty food selling but not much money to buy food. Hospital downgraded to health centre. Medication expensive. Praedial larceny, lack of living space. Have telephone and electricity now, water pipes in homes. High cost of living and better roads now. Many unskilled persons. Many young people have to rely on their parents, relatives and friends for food, clothing and shelter. Not enough money to spend, use of illegal drugs".

4.4 Problems for which groups require external support & those they can solve

The problems which are widely perceived as solvable by community members alone are largely related to the psychological aspects of poverty. These include the lack of unity and trust at a community level, violence and the negative impacts of decreased well-being on the individual such as stress ("pressure"), depression and suicide.

Major problems which are largely perceived as exclusively dependent on external intervention are the provision of public services (such as telephones, water supply and streetlighting), employment and health care. In rural areas the lack of health care facilities is seen as potentially offset in some cases by the use of indigenous medicinal plants and traditional compounds.

The solution of problems associated with access to markets is seen in rural areas as largely reliant on external assistance although most groups (particularly male) acknowledge the practice of temporarily repairing potholed roads with marl and the possibility of extending this activity, given sufficient community cohesion.

A combination of community input and outside initiatives is viewed as important in reducing the negative impacts associated with unemployment, housing, land tenure, education and skills training, sanitation and teenage pregnancy.

While many groups (particularly female) suggest that individual enterprise can support livelihood strategies, formal employment is seen as offering a greater degree of security. Housing and land tenure are viewed as problems which require a negotiated solution between more and less powerful groups and there is some expectation that statutory bodies such as the National Housing Trust and programmes such as Operation Pride have an influential role in these negotiations.

The provision of education and skills training is most commonly perceived as the role of the state, however there are many groups, which suggest that older and more skilled members of the

community can share their knowledge with other residents. This is the case particularly in rural areas with respect to semi-skilled trades (such as carpentry and plumbing) and Maroons who feel that only they can maintain cultural practices between generations. In order to improve the sanitation conditions, local groups (particularly male) suggest that they can work on non-infrastructural tasks (such as cleaning and maintaining drains) but would be more likely to fulfil these duties if financial support, even at a minimal rate, is offered by the relevant public agencies, as was the case in the past. The solution to teenage pregnancy is seen to revolve around public education campaigns and older respected members of the community who can raise awareness of the incentives that young people have to avoid this situation. Many groups expressed the perception that an increase in economic well-being would act as the major influence on decreasing teenage pregnancy as this would mitigate the causes of idleness and young women's need for support from men.

5. Institutional Analysis

5.1 The Importance of Particular Institutions

A total of forty eight different institutions were listed in the nine Site Reports. From the diversity of institutions considered important to different groups of people across different sites, it is possible to typologise eleven kinds of institution which are broadly identified as significant and cut across at least three sites. Of the eleven, five are external agencies, four internal and two (Church and NGOs) are perceived as neither wholly one or the other. Aside from these, nine institutions are mentioned by two sites and twenty eight are specific to individual locations.

Table 5.1: Institutions perceived as significant across all sites

INSTITUTION	Type	No of sites mentioned/ importance	Rural or urban support	Gender Support
School	Public	9	RU	MF*
Church	Religious	9	RU	MF*
NGO	Public/Private	7	RU	MF*
Youth Club	Internal	6	R*U	MF
Police	Public	5	R*U	MF
Public Service/Utilities	Public	5	R*U	MF
Local Business	Private	5	RU	MF
Health/Clinic	Public/Private	3	R*U	MF*
Citizens' Assoc.	Internal	3	RU*	MF
Political Representative	Public	3	RU	MF
Family	Internal	3	R*U	MF

* Denotes relative importance to particular group or area.

School

Educational establishments were seen as important in all sites and were perceived as positive across all gender and age groups. In many cases women ranked the school as the most important of all institutions and similarly men tended to rank its importance highly. The discussions on well-being revealed that education was widely associated with high well-being and so it seems reasonable to infer that schools are regarded as important because of the personal benefits that are seen to accrue from investing in education. In this vein, the costs of buying into the education service were seen as a major impediment to social advancement by the poorer groups. Secondary to the personal benefit of education, schools were valued for providing a meeting place for community groups and as public resources for shelter during times of natural disaster.

There is little difference in perceptions of the importance of schools between urban and rural sites.

Older people tended to rank schools less highly than younger or adult groups. This may be because of the fact that education is less important to these groups at an individual level because of the perception that they have passed the age at which education could improve their quality of life.

In a sense, schools are seen as both internal and external to a particular community. Aspects of the education system (such as dress code and fees) are seen as imposed by a remote authority. On the other hand, people feel that they have influence over the school board through participation in parent - teacher meetings and through interaction with the teachers who are typically resident in the local community. The informality and flexibility of some arrangements is highly praised. For example, residents of Thompson Pen rate as important the fact that parents can "talk to teacher an tell her by next Monday a wi bring the school fee".

Education was clearly related to employment. Macey Byfield in Millbank suggests that, because she sent her children to school, they supported her when older and this allowed her to become better off. Yet, despite the hardship faced in order to send children to school, education was not seen as a guarantee of economic opportunity. In Duckenfield, Lurline Bailey says that "my husband and I make all the sacrifices to send our children to school out of our very small wages and because of that we couldn't build a proper house until now. One daughter is working and up til now one is still not working. How my husband and I spend all our little earning on education for the children and two of my children can't get no work to support us and we are old people now". Macey Byfield in Millbank suggests that, because she sent her children to school, they supported her when older and this allowed her to become better off.

Church

Jamaica has more churches per square mile than any other country and these may be integrated or associated with international branches of Christianity or may be locally managed. Women clearly attach more importance to churches than men as women in all sites ranked this institution whereas men did so only in five of the sites. Women feel that the church provides positive impacts in terms of spiritual guidance and can "maintain the good". In contrast, men tended to display less interest and in many cases criticised churches for lacking the ability for public outreach and the provision of social services. Men often perceived the churches as concerned exclusively with the welfare of their own members and seemed to imply that churches competed amongst each other for participants.

Younger groups tended to rank the church less highly than older people, although there are significant exceptions to this trend, for example in Bowerbank. These patterns in evaluating the importance of churches are similar between urban and rural sites.

Among those groups in which people are not regular attendees at church services, there is often a tolerance for religious views which subsumes bemusement of such activities. One group in Thompson Pen remarked that "dem do a little cooking and keep service pon di river bank. Dem

help keep di place calm". However, many groups point to the importance of revenue generation for churches. One adult man in Freeman's Hall that the local church sells clothes given to it by The Salvation Army for free distribution: "They are just sharks for money. The church is just money grabbers, they only want to baptise".

In Cassava Piece, the churches which are perceived as providing effective social outreach programmes include The New Life Assembly and The Church on the Rock.

In the Maroon community of Accompong, there is a perception (particularly among men) that the churches, most of which are managed by outsiders, are exploiting spirituality for selfish ends. Maroons are more interested in the churches that provide expression for their cultural heritage, for example through playing Gumbay drums and tolerating the Myal religion. One of the popular churches is the Zion Church.

Non-governmental Organisations

A large variety of NGOs were identified as important. Most referred to are local agencies working on specific developmental issues with, at most, a regional mandate. Particularly in rural areas these are often concerned with natural resource management and examples of these include the Negril Coral Reef Preservation Society (Little Bay) and Southern Trelawny Environmental Agency (Freeman's Hall). Several organisations which have national programmes aimed at poverty alleviation were cited, especially in relation to coping with crises (see 5.4 below). These include the Red Cross and Food for the Poor. Food for the Poor was seen as having an especially positive influence in the urban areas of Kingston and Spanish Town (where the headquarters is located). The Salvation Army's Golden Age outreach programme is credited with effective support to older groups in Cassava Piece.

As a result of the localised structure of most NGOs, patterns of gender and age perceptions of these institutions are complex but seem to be derived from the specific benefits received by certain groups.

Youth/Sports Club

This institution is always considered as having a positive impact. Youth Clubs are rated as more important by younger than older groups yet older people are generally quick to highlight the significance of entertainment and sports activities for the younger members of the community. These organisations are ranked as more important in rural areas because they are often the only focus for communal events for the youth, whereas more opportunities are available in urban areas for particular groups to pursue specific interests. While there seems little gender-based difference in perception of Youth Clubs in rural areas, support seems stronger among women in urban sites.

Police

In five sites the Police was listed as an important institution. However, attitudes towards this institution were mixed.

In urban communities, the Police force was widely seen as a negative influence on society. Except in Cassava Piece, all groups tended to view the Police as not committed to their responsibility for providing protection from criminals. Many groups, particularly males and especially younger men, vocalised concern over Police abuse. This typically takes the form of illicit fines and violence. Indeed some respondents seemed to suggest that the Police had the capacity to inflict harm to the community, through involvement in criminal activities. In Cassava Piece all groups, with the exception of younger men, praised the Police as a positive institution because of the personal accessibility of the officer in charge.

Attitudes towards the Police in rural areas seem based more on apathy than the antipathy exhibited in urban sites. It is possible that this relates to the lower crime rates in rural locations. Throughout rural communities the perception of the Police as a positive institution is more likely to be prevalent (particularly among women), although almost all groups drew attention to the slow (or lack of) response to community needs.

In some cases (for example Inspector Miller at Bowerbank) the negative impact of the Police was mitigated by individual officers who had won people's respect through demonstrating a willingness to listen to problems, intervening in disputes and criminal cases, and not making false arrests.

Public Services and Utilities

The majority of the public sector institutions which provide services are not viewed as important. Groups in urban communities attached very little significance to any of the major statutory bodies. One exception to this is the identification of the National Housing Trust by women in Bowerbank, a community which evolved from an ostensibly temporary housing situation. Although important to Bowerbank, the NHT was not seen as efficient: one woman who had paid into the fund for many years did not see it as in her interest to access the housing benefits that she was entitled to.

In rural communities a greater diversity of public service providers was identified, although only the Post Office was consistently viewed as having a positive influence. This results from the decentralised nature of this institution, the fact that employees are typically members of the local community and the association between postal agencies and parcels sent by relatives abroad (although this association is eroded by the increase in private companies such as Western Union which specialise in rapid financial transfers).

Other institutions ranked as important by rural groups include the National Water Commission, Jamaica Public Service Company (electricity provision), Rural Agricultural Development Authority and the Social Development Commission. The NWC is ranked highly, particularly

among men in Little Bay and Accompong, but is not seen as effective in developing pragmatic strategies to improve water supply. Indeed the current water supply situation is often compared unfavourably to that in existence during the early 1960s. One man from Little Bay remarked that "dem seh dat dem motto is 'water is life' so it look like dem want wi fi dead". JPSCo is perceived negatively, particularly over the issue of providing streetlights. RADA is generally seen as ineffective in providing extension services and is criticised, especially by young and adult men, for partisan support to older farmers. Similarly, the SDC is seen as rarely contacting community members to assess needs or deliver services and is also ranked very low in terms of importance. There was confusion among several discussion groups over the objectives and mandate of this organisation. However, in Millbank the individual SDC worker who lives in the community is highly praised for attempting to improve living conditions on a personal level while simultaneously the agency that she represents is criticised for failing to engage in meaningful contact.

Particularly in rural areas the telephone is seen as an issue of high priority, yet the institution responsible for this service is not mentioned as important by many of the sites. This contradiction may be resolved by the fact that the recent privatisation has left people unsure of the status of Cable and Wireless or possibly by the fact that people feel helpless to influence the provision of this service unless they have a contact within the organisation.

The (mobile) library service was highly valued, particularly by older people, in the Millbank and Duckenfield discussion groups.

Local Business

A diversity of local businesses were cited as important institutions. While they were not generally ranked highly in matrix exercises, the group discussions seemed to reveal that in many cases these private sector entities were seen as more important than the rankings may imply.

In rural areas, the businesses referred to consist almost exclusively of small grocery stores. Female groups used credit from the store holders either to provide for the household during times of temporary economic hardship (particularly the poorer groups) or, by receiving saleable commodities, marketing goods for profit (particularly the richer groups). The shopkeepers benefit through the economies of scale associated with acting as wholesalers of certain products and, in some cases (in Millbank, for example), may oblige the *higglers* to spend their profits in the shop which provided the credit. Although men ranked shops marginally higher than women, the gender differences in ranking this institution seem insignificant. However male groups tended to highlight the provision of goods on credit (to be repaid) to bridge times of hardship alongside the begging of small quantities of products which would not necessarily be repaid and were much less likely to refer to the process of selling goods on credit. Some male groups, such as in Little Bay, regarded the shops negatively yet simultaneously alluded to the fact that this was because they themselves were refused credit because they had previously defaulted. For rural communities, local businesses provide safety nets as well as acting as bankers to catalyse economic activity.

Duckenfield was unusual among rural sites in that great importance was attached to the local large scale agricultural estates as a source of formal employment. The estates were ranked as third most important, after the school and Health Clinic. Interestingly, older groups used the word "Plantation", which has associations with slavery times and possibly indicates both the nature of labour relations and the centrality of these businesses to the health of the community. In other rural sites businesses other than grocery stores were not specifically identified, except for the 'Valley Hikes' eco-tourism company which has employed local men as guides in Millbank.

In urban sites a greater diversity of enterprises were mentioned and these were generally ranked as more important than in rural locations. The range includes Sandals Hotel (women, Railway Lane), Slaughter House (men, Railway Lane), Golf Club (men, Cassava Piece), and the Service Station (both genders, Cassava Piece). Again the men tended to rank shops marginally higher than women. The importance of these businesses is directly related to the provision of formal employment and, in a few cases, as a source for begging leftover produce (particularly in the market area in Railway Lane).

In Cassava Piece, three out of the eight institutions ranked are local businesses and in the case of the Golf Club (as with other businesses in other sites) the issue of patronage was seen as a potential long-term benefit alongside immediate income earning opportunities; "if yu reliable and loyal yu can make contacts and help yu to get a job". The affluent Golf players were perceived as "links" through whom to raise social status. However the direction of exploitation is unclear as prostitution (heterosexual involving local men or women or homosexual) is associated with this kind of opportunity in several urban sites, particularly Railway Lane and Cassava Piece.

Health Service

The importance of health care facilities is highlighted in rural sites. Thompson Pen is the only urban location in which the health centre is ranked as significant consistently across all groups and this may be because the main hospital is nearby. Even here, there are criticisms such as the staff "look after the children more properly than big people" but the general perspective is positive in that "yu haffi wait a long time fi get through but yu do get through".

Throughout the rural areas the female groups and the elderly men ranked this institution as highly important, often ranking it second or third, typically after the church and/or school. In some cases, such as Millbank, elderly men ranked health care as of greater importance than female groups. Although public sector rural health centres are not easily accessible to many communities, they are perceived as important because private clinics charge far higher consultation costs. A recent study by the Ministry of Health suggests that residents of rural areas spend on average over $800 per visit compared to around $400 in urban areas.

Merlene Williams from Millbank experienced the costs of health care when her smallest child became ill: she had to borrow $700 to take the baby to the clinic and $200 of this was for transport. When she reached the clinic the nurses cursed her for waiting until the baby's

"running belly" got so bad. She was given a prescription and the baby was given rehydration salts. She could only afford two of the three medicines prescribed because the $500 needed $75 more.

The difference in perspectives in Thompson Pen of the public hospital and the private clinic is that "di hospital yu can talk to an get fi pay later, fi pay half till yu have the rest", whereas at the clinic if you do not "pay registration fee, yu caan be seen today".

Citizens' Association

Citizens' Associations are regarded as exerting a positive influence on communities, and seem to be perceived as particularly important in urban sites and by female groups. There is significant variation across sites in ranking the importance of this institution and this seems to reflect a greater or lesser degree of functionality. Several groups raised the issue of appropriation of funds. It is important to note that this functionality is seen in all communities as dynamic over time and influenced largely by the personalities of the executive members who encourage participation and by whether particular Associations focus on the needs of particular groups (often elder people). In Bowerbank and Millbank the Citizens' Association is ranked as the most important of all institutions and in this latter site is seen as the only organisation to speak publicly on behalf of the community. However, the input by external agencies is seen as an essential pre-requisite to investment by community members, as in Bowerbank where solutions to the housing problem must be initiated by appropriately powerful institutions: "outside must first put up houses before those inside will support".

Political Representative

The Member of Parliament is seen in every site as either unimportant or a negative influence; a "jacket and tie t(h)ief" (Bowerbank). This is particularly marked in urban sites where several groups considered this institution but refused to include it in the list of institutions. Consensus within and across groups was most easily reached with regard to the Member of Parliament compared to all other institutions. Particularly in urban sites, the political representative as an institution was perceived as not only a negative influence but as a generic failure. Discussions of violence in urban areas focused on political conflict and the sustainability of divisions within communities based on previous allegiances which had been created by candidates during elections. The sense that "politicians only deal with the man dem with guns" emerged from Bowerbank. One Venn Diagram constructed on the ground outdoors in Millbank illustrated the distance between Member of Parliament and the community through representing this institution by placing the card circle several metres away, while all other institutions were placed within half a metre from the centre. There seems to be a marginally greater tolerance of political representatives in rural areas, but this tolerance is within the perception of negativity.

There seems to be a general trend for women, and younger groups, to distrust this institution more readily than men.

Councillors (who represent communities through the local authorities at the Parish Council level) are more likely to be seen as a positive influence but, even in the few cases where they are praised, are often seen as powerless to effect change at a local level and ineffective as they must work through the Member of Parliament.

Family

Greater emphasis was placed on the importance of the family in rural sites. The exception to this is the rural location of Duckenfield (which exhibits many other characteristics typically associated with urban communities). This institution was ranked as the most important of all by both male and female groups in Freeman's Hall.

It is important to note that the family may not necessarily be resident in the same community or even in Jamaica. In some rural areas, 40% of households derive significant financial support from relatives working abroad or in one of the major cities. Thus the family as an institution may be seen as important in terms of daily economic and emotional support or as a remote and often unpredictable source of important financial assistance.

5.2 How People Rate these Institutions

Trust

Trust is most widely defined in terms of the level of faith and confidence that people feel towards a particular institution in terms of perceptions of dependability. These aspects seem to be viewed as a function of interviewees' belief in the ability of an institution to act pragmatically and in the veracity of institutional pronouncements, rather than an evaluation of the suitability of an institution's mandate. Trust is derived from people's sense of control over the institution and perceptions of how effective that institution is.

The components which precipitate trust consistently include the benefits derived by particular groups or individuals from an institution's activities and the degree of personal contact experienced.

The factors which positively affect an institution's capacity to provide benefits were seen as looking out for people's (interviewees' own) interests, giving long term security rather than only meeting immediate needs (except in emergencies), not asking for financial contributions to the institution, and not providing support to specific groups in a partisan manner. The first and last of these factors are in opposition, as the ability to look out for one person's own interests implies the necessity of targeting assistance towards certain groups.

The factors positively affecting an institution's ability to provide personal contact revolve around the amount of time that community members can spend face to face with an institution's representatives and accessibility in case of emergency. These are seen as a combination of demonstrating a desire to listen to community members, involving people in the executive board or membership, establishing one individual as a permanent and reliable contact point within the

institution, and providing confidentiality over personal issues. These aspects clearly underscore the trend for decentralised service providers to be ranked highly during matrix exercises.

Links between internal and external institutions can reduce the level of trust in the internal organisation. This is exemplified in Bowerbank, where the Citizens' Association's relationship with the National Housing Trust seems to have increased suspicion over financial accountability and in Duckenfield where the Citizens' Association's links to Food for the Poor result in a perception that outside assistance is distributed in a partisan manner. This has significant implications on a national level in terms of institutional capacity building and decentralization and the kind of NGO which external agencies choose to implement assistance through.

Honesty with respect to institutional representation was defined negatively in relation to money not being stolen from within the organisation.

Effectiveness

Effectiveness was seen as an institution having the power to deliver a tangible contribution to positive change and this was widely and directly related to the personal benefits derived from an organisation's initiatives.

This criteria is viewed as a combination of how rapidly an agency responds to needs, whether assistance is given at the time of stress, contactability and availability, benefits received by particular groups (particularly in terms of financial assistance, training provision and supply of agricultural inputs), and whether the institution is perceived as fulfilling its mandate.

The ease with which community members can contact an organisation and the personal benefits derived from agencies' activities were strong influences on people's perceptions of both trust and effectiveness.

In the majority of group discussions across all sites, individual staff members of an institution were referred to by name. Examples of this include Janet of the Bowerbank Citizens' Association and the Millbank resident who works for the Social Development Commission. Janet assists with letter writing, cash loans without interest and the provision of commodities such as baby milk. It seems that community groups more readily trust and perceive as effective an individual than an institution. This brand of patronage has clear implications for people's sense of their influence over an organisation and may be rooted in the cult of individual heroes (for example Nanny of the Maroons and Paul Bogle) who were seen as symbols of resistance against colonialism and slavery. This strong association between influential individuals and the benefits to the particular community which they represent may explain in some part the manipulation of political allegiance exhibited most destructively during the political violence characteristic of the early 1980s. This syndrome of fixing the health of a community to the advancement of a local personality is demonstrated by the inclusion of the Prime Minister in the institutional ranking in Little Bay (whose constituency is nearby) and may explain why political representatives are seen as important yet ineffective.

Differences and similarities in perceptions of trust and effectiveness between groups

The effectiveness of an institution is ranked higher by women than by men. Discussions reveal a tendency among female groups to exhibit an understandable opportunism with respect to gaining benefits from an organisation's activities, whereas male groups tended to highlight the futility of contact with institutions, particularly those more formal and external to communities.

The criteria of trust was consistently ranked higher by older groups. This may point towards a decline in the outreach capacity and overall operational effectiveness of major institutions over time. This is consistently associated with an institutional inability to relate to the concerns of the poorest groups and, on the simplest level, demonstrate a desire to interact with community members; "listen but nuh hear".

The components of trust and effectiveness which relate to people's involvement in organisational decision making processes were ranked higher by women (and in some cases by older men) than other groups. This may result from a feeling among women that they are suited to, and more enthused over, contact with institutions than men and there is clear evidence (see section on Gender Relations) that women are increasingly taking responsibility for executive positions within organisations.

Male groups tend to emphasise aspects of effectiveness related to the creation of independence. "Help not hand out, give skill to build self" (young male discussion group at Cassava Piece).

Particularly among women in rural communities, there seems to be a trend to view formal institutions as both trustworthy and effective if they provide an informal service, for example if a school allows use of its premises for communal activities not directly related to education.

In many group discussions, people expressed an understanding that many institutions are understaffed and praise those pressured staff for their attempts to maintain public services. This may relate to the perception of individuals as more effective than institutions.

Across all sites widespread and profound scepticism of the capacities and motives of formal external institutions to provide any meaningful support to people's livelihoods was exhibited.

Positive Institutional Profiles

Positive institutional profiles tend to relate to local businesses or other organizations that benefit individual community members directly.

In Cassava Piece the Gas station is seen as a positive institution as the owner, Bunny Beckford "fill a lot of daily bread, give part time jobs, organize a Youth Club for the young people, you can always talk to him sometimes, now and then him inna de community". Ranking clearly implied a male bias as men are employed rather than women.

One adult woman resident of Cassava Piece related her experience of influencing JPSCo. When her light was disconnected for non-payment of a bill, she went to the office to discuss the matter. Told by the receptionist that there was nothing which could be done, she asked to see a manager. The manager asked her for the $60 to pay for reconnection, which she had, and the light was immediately reconnected, with the outstanding bill rescheduled.

In Little Bay residents expressed appreciation of the work of the local environmental NGOs, NEPT and NCRPS. Fishermen feel that the protection of reefs prevents further degradation of the fish stocks and are concerned that younger unskilled fishermen are preventing this by dynamiting, using seine nets and stealing fish pots. Pollution from sewage and *dunder* compounds these problems. The awareness raising work of these organizations is appreciated as the connection between environmental protection and their economic livelihood is clearly recognized.

Accessibility is an important criterion that can even allow an institution which is not traditionally admired to be seen as effective: "anyone have access to the Superintendent in charge of the Constant Spring Police Station. If you have a complaint you just walk in and ask to see her and dem just send you upstairs to see her. She will call up the officer and deal wid him".

Negative Institutional Profiles

Negative institutional profiles most often discuss the problems associated with political representation.

Comments by residents of Thompson Pen suggest a negative perception of political representatives of the area. "Wi nuh have nuh representative fi ya do nobody nuh business wid ya so". "Government cause factory fi close down and dem gaan wid our pay – a dem fi gu a prison". "Government let us down, too many promises – never fulfilling them. Look how the road dem stay. Dem mek fi dem own a street. We need a Government of God, one that following the instructions of God – if dem say di whole country fas(t) fi 28 days wi jus do it. Wi want more influence over the government".

In Cassava Piece sentiments are similar. "Dem promise and don't fulfil, a fifteen years now wi nuh see dem. Wi hear dem come the night before election, come gi way five hundred dollars and dem only deal wid bad man". "Never vote from birth cause it only divide people and black people quick fi fight because dem nuh get nuff school training". "MP dem come tell wi how much lie, say dis an dat an nuttin come".

One woman in Bowerbank has been paying into the Housing Trust all of her life and has amassed enough points to obtain a house loan, but now she is too old to qualify. If she transfers these points to her daughter it would enable her to buy a two bedroomed house. This, she explained, would be suitable for her daughter and four children, but would leave very little space for her. "I get up this morning an all I want fi do is read mi bible, but I share a room wid me son and mi grandchildren an all dem do a mek noise, I caan even get lickle peace and quiet". In stating that even with a two bedroom house which she is entitled to she would not be better off, she argued that the government should assist the elderly with affordable housing.

Millbank is traditionally an agricultural community and local people state that, whilst the Rural Agricultural Development Authority has a great potential to help, the contribution is small in meeting the needs of farmers. Several groups complained about the poor level of services provided and weak community links. While RADA used to send a truck to collect the farmers' ground provisions weekly there is limited capacity to take all the produce and so only certain households benefit from the service. Two of the older men indicated that they have received fertilizers and seeds but other farmers made it clear that few receive assistance in this way. The younger groups were unattached from extension services.

One man from Little Bay expresses his feeling of not being able to influence public sector agencies:

> "right now tourism is taking root all along the sea coast but the people who live here can't access money for the development of their properties to help them earn tourist dollars. The Government puts up institutions such as Self Start Fund and RADA but you have to have enough collateral before you get their loans. The system is in place but not for the poor ones. All we can do is block roads and sometimes people get arrested and go to jail when they protest – so nothing good come of it. When the politicians go abroad and use poor people's name to beg money they should give us some of it when they return. What I want is the Government to support what the poor people are doing. As a beekeeper I don't get any financial benefit for my occupation but they still make money out of my strife. Instead of the money for local projects, the government uses the money to construct buildings for meeting place. When the Government sent helicopter to destroy *ganja* the wings of the helicopter blow down food crop and kill tied animals but when people try to get recompense for the loss they suffered there was nobody to address their problems".

In Duckenfield the Police are considered corruptible. Some residents are seen as having influence over the Police in that when they commit crimes (particularly with drugs) the Police arrest them, take them out of the community and immediately release them. It is believed that offenders are either relatives or close friends or that certain Policemen are involved in the drugs trade. However a powerless man in the community is not treated in the same way as the Police just "scrape im up and carry im go a prison".

5.3 People's Perceptions of their Influence over these Institutions

Institutions people feel they have influence over

All discussion groups felt that they could exert influence over institutions which are internal to a community, because local residents make up the membership and executive positions. This perception extended in some sites to the external institutions which maintain a physical presence within the community, such as a clinic or school. Schools were considered as (at least partially) internal to a community as the parents are permitted to sit on governing boards and interact with teachers through the Parent Teacher Associations. The churches which hold members' meetings were also included in this category.

Institutions viewed as internal include the Citizen's Association, Youth Club, School, Church and Family (particularly in the Maroon area of Accompong).

Having influence over an organisation is widely linked to the components of trust (see above).

Institutions which people would like to have more control over

The institutions which people do not feel they have influence over are all formal agencies which are external to communities. These are the Police, Member of Parliament, Councillor and Parish Council, and public service providers (particularly Rural Agricultural Development Authority, Social Development Commission, Jamaica Public Service Company, Cable and Wireless and National Water Commission). Certain special interest groups identified particular organisations in this category, for example the fishermen in Little Bay cited a desire for increased contact with the Natural Resources Conservation Authority over the decrease in fish stocks.

In urban areas there was a tendency for groups to also mention local businesses for employment (also important for one rural site of Duckenfield), the National Housing Trust and Food for the Poor.

There is a strong correlation between those institutions that are evaluated negatively and those institutions which people want more control over.

Groups which have influence

Richer groups and community leaders ("fathers") are more likely to have influence over formal institutions, particularly in urban areas, and in some cases richer individuals may manage the important informal *pardner* system. In rural areas, affluent farmers have access to loans. One of the major factors affecting access to the services provided by agencies such as the National Housing Trust is the ability to pay for membership.

Certain groups, which may have selective membership criteria, are more likely to benefit from the activities of particular institutions. Church groups tend to be concerned with the welfare of their own members. Members of the Citizen's Association have influence over distributions made by Food for the Poor. 'The Vintage Group' (Duckenfield) derives benefits from MP more easily than the wider community. Fishermen in Little Bay feel some influence over the Negril Coral Reef Preservation Society and other special interest groups influence service providers which are specific to their needs.

Groups which get left out

In many areas the poor and elderly are seen as benefiting less from external assistance than other groups. However in some sites, the elderly are more likely to benefit from Food Stamps and Poor Relief and are better represented in the membership of church groups and Citizens' Associations.

Maroons in Accompong feel excluded from the Jamaican state. The Maroon community in Millbank is more fully integrated into Jamaican society and benefits more from formal institutions than that in Accompong.

5.4 Coping with Crisis

During economic crises rural communities are most likely to cope by the family providing loans, by receiving the *Pardner* draw out of turn or by gathering wild foods. Other common coping strategies include migration to the Parish Capital, Kingston or overseas (particularly to the USA, often on temporary Farm Work Programmes) and appealing for remittances from family abroad. Handouts may be sought from churches, Government Assistance programmes (such as Food Stamps and Poor Relief) and in extreme cases the Member of Parliament. Many farmers survived the economic impacts associated with destruction of the banana crop and other vulnerable agricultural systems by moving into yam cultivation which does not require large capital input.

Although neighbours were widely seen as supportive during crises, existing tensions within the community may decrease cooperation. One resident of Cassava Piece stated that "in a crisis if their neighbour is a landowner they would not ask that person for help". On the other hand, an adult woman living nearby said that "when mi house did burn down, mi never get no help from nobody, no MP or no church, it was Ms Sheryl and Ms Beryl (local landowners) try help out a situation, with clothe and so".

In urban sites people identify the need to beg on the streets or the markets, draw money from a *Pardner* system or rely on remittances from abroad ("wait for Western Union"). Alternatively, people approach formal agencies equipped to meet specific needs or the Member of Parliament.

In the event of natural disasters, such as floods or hurricanes, residents rely on assisting each other primarily and may hope for assistance from public sector agencies or political representatives. These crises (particularly hurricanes) can erode household security which may have been built up over decades: Macey Byfield in Millbank says "the biggest shock we ever had was Gilbert, a real shock was because all that we found after Gilbert was one wooden chair". The political representatives are seen as most likely to provide resources during natural disasters rather than at other times of crisis, in the sites where they do so at all. In rural areas times of drought are seen as occasions when little public assistance is available. Particularly in urban sites, there is ambivalence over the extent to which neighbours assist each other. During Thompson Pen's floods, some people express their reticence to accept help from other community members as a fear that "dem wi tek it cuss dem later".

Accidental fire can significantly reduce livelihood security. Miss Dorothy in Little Bay reported that her house burned down, killing her great-grandson. She was able to overcome this tragedy with assistance from the church which provided material and the community came together to build a new house for her. The child was also buried by neighbours who helped to dig the grave and offered financial support. She was then placed on the Poor Relief programme which awards her $400 every two months.

The institutions which people are most likely to turn to in times of crisis were identified in the rural areas in roughly the following order: the family, "good" neighbours, local businesses or agricultural estates, the Red Cross, Police, Office of Disaster Preparedness and Emergency Management, Health department, Maroon Council, Jamaica Defence Force (natural disasters), school (shelter during flood or hurricane), churches and the Member of Parliament. Focus groups across urban sites commonly identified the family and neighbours (less significant than in rural areas), powerful individuals within the community, Food for the Poor, Salvation Army, ODPEM, churches, Citizens' Association, and the Fire department.

The most significant Government programmes which are viewed as extending benefits to community groups are consistently regarded to be Food Stamps and Poor Relief. It may therefore be a cause for concern that, during the period of this study's fieldwork, cutbacks were announced in the Poor Relief programme as $62 million of the total budget of $90 million was spent on distribution and staffing costs. Concerns were also raised over the fact that the distributions are so small (typically $120 per month) that the costs of travelling to collect the allowance outweigh the benefits, especially in rural areas.

Other Government programmes identified by rural sites were the NWC's 'Rapid Response' programme which provides water tanks in communities which lack piped water and the government assistance over school fees (although many people felt that this was not benefiting the poorest people). The Social Development Commission's skills training, sports and generic community development programme was praised for raising cohesion and providing entertainment for the youth in some sites and criticised as ineffective in others.

In both rural and urban locations there was a common perception that the limitations of their political representatives left no other option but to block roads as a communal demonstration over institutions which fail to provide adequate public services.

In urban sites, the health care facilities, SDC's skills training projects and the Women's Bureau were cited as examples of institutions which implemented successful programmes. In one urban location (Bowerbank) women particularly approved of the Rural Agricultural Development Authority's initiative to supply chickens to people who were involved in poultry rearing and it is unclear whether this is a positive development in extending services to urban areas or whether this is further evidence of a lack of capacity to provide outreach to rural areas.

Improvements to existing programmes suggested by residents of rural sites include a long term strategy for NWC to install water supply infrastructure, more money to be distributed under the Food Stamp and Poor Relief programmes, a return to the Government's road maintenance programme (under which local people are employed to clean drains and culverts and weed the

roadsides), JPSCo to install more streetlights, strengthening of RADA's extension service, and that SDC could do more in terms of broad community development.

In urban areas it was suggested that external agencies should register for assistance those who qualify through need, rather than distributing through bodies such as the Citizens' Association and that more, and more various, skills training (especially literacy and vocational skills) should be provided.

The NGOs identified as most active were Food for the Poor, the Salvation Army and the Red Cross, and these were mentioned most frequently in urban sites. Some, particularly younger, interviewees suggested that distributions made by Food for the Poor were divisive as the criteria for which people should benefit were inflexible.

The most important of all informal social networks was the *pardner* system of credit under which one local resident acts as banker. Other than this the family, powerful individuals within the community and neighbours were seen as reliable sources of assistance during crises. Maroons stressed the importance of the Maroon contacts throughout Jamaica and abroad.

Women were most likely to turn to the school, churches, Police or health department during times of difficulty. Men were more likely to turn to family, friends, local businesses or free handouts whatever the source. If a crisis event afflicts the whole community, people will turn first to their family, then neighbours. Alternatively, they may wait for external governmental or non-governmental agencies, churches and, in Maroon areas, the Maroon Council.

The ability of individuals to adapt to changing economic and social conditions is seen as more reliable and important than institutional capacity to provide safety nets.

6. Gender Relations

Table 6.1: Gender categories and roles - Duckenfield

TYPES OF MEN & WOMEN	HOUSEHOLD		COMMUNITY	
Men	1999	1988	1999	1988
Manframe	Depend on mother; some depend on ladies; lazy, do no household work.	Have lots of women and don't support their children	Help with small community activities	Have plenty women in the community.
Wanna Be	Have jobs; make small financial contribution; cook, collect water, look after Ladies.	Do very little in the house; spend little time with their children; make contribution to household expenses.	Some help in community; seek liaisons with older women in community.	Help in community activities – i.e. fix roads, paint local school, labour day activities
Gentleman	Breadwinner; pay bills, chores, good to wife/partner – buys gifts.	Very helpful in the house; pay helpers to clean & cook.	Give donations to community; supports community activities	Donate in hurricane, flood – food and blankets
Women	1999	1988	1999	1988
Ladies	Stay home; do housework; look good, get respect, humble; look after partner.	Stay home; do most housework.	Don't get involved in any community activities; Criticise locals.	Don't know.
Careless Gal	Do very little, can't wash or cook; sometimes physically abused by men.	Don't do housework; don't have jobs; gossip.	Help in community activities; give donations to concerts.	Nothing; gossip.
Ladies Too	Some will cook, wash; dress up; little responsibility	Some will cook, little responsibility for the household.	Active in community events.	Nothing.

6.1 Household gender relations

Ten years ago women's household responsibilities were primarily centred around ensuring the welfare of their children, carrying out domestic chores and providing a comfortable environment for their male partners. However, with significant increases in their independent earning ability, coinciding with a decrease in the number of men working, women are often now the chief breadwinners for the family.

At the rural sites, women's responsibilities include raking the yard, cooking meals for partners and children, and keeping the house clean. In 1988 women were only sellers in markets, now they are buyers and are more heavily involved in farming. However focus group discussions with older men revealed little change in their perception of domestic arrangements. They see the chief household responsibilities as resting with men. At most of the sites reference was made to the increasing domestic responsibilities now within the male remit, not existent ten years ago. They now collect water, conduct some household chores and provide additional support for the welfare of their children. In Little Bay women now have more jobs than men which is partly attributable to the boom in the fishing industry over the last decade which women capitalised on. They are now active in selling at local markets and do more extensive farming.

At the urban sites men were keen to emphasise their increased participation in household activities. Typically they now attend PTA meetings, share cooking and domestic chores, provide food and clothing, and conduct household renovations. They believe that these changes are as a result of their reduced role as breadwinners. Responsibility for family planning has changed with women now asserting more independence over when to have children. In Bowerbank the women attributed this change to the fact that they now have provide money for the family which limits their time at home and encourages them to be more selfish in determining when they have additional children. However, in some rural communities such as Millbank, Freeman's Hall and to a smaller extent Little Bay, men are still primarily responsible for these decisions and may exercise ultimate control over their women, telling them when they can and cannot leave the house.

6.2 Gender relations in the community

Urban and Rural responses to the different gender responsibilities at a community level were very similar. Men take responsibility for protecting the community from crime, organise activities such as football, basketball and domino tournaments, gully cleaning and road repair. At rural sites, as well as acting as gatekeepers liasing between the community and external agencies, men also take responsibility for offering guidance to young men and were typically referred to as "Godfathers" or "Santa Claus" by young men and women. In Duckenfield men were perceived as less altruistic than in the past, only carrying out community activities for financial reward.

Women in urban locations have more decision-making responsibility for the community than men. It is the women who hold executive positions in the CBOs and the church. They also represent liaison points for external institutions and make logistical arrangements on behalf of the community. Unlike in the rural sites, women did not extend maternal support to other women in the community. This is possibly due to the fact that they spend much of their time working away from home doing jobs in the formal economy.

At the rural sites young and adult women saw their community responsibilities as an extension of their household roles as caregivers and providers for the family and children. It was common for women to provide support to neighbours and friends through babysitting, providing lunch money for deprived children, preparing food for social events, providing care for the elderly, and advising and counselling young women on sexual relations and "how to stretch de little money". At Little Bay and Millbank, women hold important positions in the church and CBOs, and in Duckenfield women control community activities.

6.3 Changes in gender relations

Women across the sites defined power as being independent, "not having to depend on man" and as one adult in Cassava Piece defined it "no haffi put up wid foolishness from man". In Millbank women also defined power as ownership of certain assets such as land and houses independently of a man. Women see the increase in their power as relating to the economic advantage they have over men in terms of employment. This in turn has provided them with a sense of empowerment which extends beyond the household into the community and is reflected in the managerial positions they hold in local organisations.

Women see power as derived from their ability to earn, which enables them to have possessions such as land and houses which in turn provide security. Having financial responsibility for the family has also added weight to the strength of women's authority in the household. Adult women were typically seen as having a greater earning capacity than either men or younger women due to their willingness to do a variety of jobs to survive. At Bowerbank, women have asserted their authority in the home, as they are now responsible for the welfare of their partners whose opportunities in the market place are decreasing. In Cassava Piece men asserted that the increasing demand for women in the market place is due to their greater educational achievements and a general demand for office based skills which reflect technological advancement. At rural sites women's power has not increased to the same extent as their urban counterparts as men still generally are perceived as the main providers for the family and opportunities for economic advancement for women are fewer. However, at Millbank, mention was made of the fact that in 1988 women were only sellers at market, now they both buy and sell, and participate more fully in farming activities. Participants were keen to point out that in households where men are the breadwinners, little has changed in terms of either women's responsibilities or power.

The changes in gender relations are not only reflected in women's increasing participation in the economy but also the types of jobs that they now attain. At urban sites mention was made of women's growing role in construction and areas of work normally associated primarily with men.

It was generally agreed across all groups that rich women and adult women (both rich and poor) have the greatest opportunities for economic and social advancement, the older single woman being the best off of all groups in the community. However, the growing incidence of younger women's dependency on men was also identified, especially at Railway Lane. "woman haffi look man now because man nuh have nutten fi offa woman". TP: "woman fi get wok so man can stop treat them like dish cloth".

However, women's growing independence has not been without negative consequences. Reports show a consistently growing number of female headed households with responsibility for both "mothering and fathering" which includes child welfare and the financial stability of the home. Women's increased opportunities beyond the home have impacted negatively on children who rely on mothers for nurturing and discipline. The impacts of increased power and responsibility for women from rural areas have been significant with a large number of women leaving for urban centres in search of work and relying on family to support their children whilst away. Young women have turned to prostitution as waning rural job opportunities coupled with poor skills and educational background have decreased their chances of getting ahead through formal channels.

Men's general inability to find employment has resulted in their diminished status in the household, community and society in general. Both men and women believe that men are discriminated against in the job market and that their unwillingness to do menial employment limits their scope for economic advancement. One woman commented that "we women wi work fi what no man nuh work fi. Women wi come down to get better or to keep the home going but the man stand pon pride". This imbalance has negatively impacted on relationships as men feel unable to participate in the organisation of the domestic space; – as one man said, "if you loose the work outside you loose the work inside too". In urban sites even men with jobs are subject to unfair practices by employers

which affect the reliability of their financial commitment to the household budget. In Thompson Pen an adult man said employers "promise to pay on Friday but Friday nar come".

Men make reference to the fact that changes in domestic relations have resulted in a growth women's sexual independence and increased confidence in making sexual demands on men. Groups were very open regarding sexual independence and noting changes in sexual relations over time.

Overall, there was a general consensus that women were financially and educationally better off than men and have managed to secure jobs in areas of work traditionally designated to men. They now have the capacity to earn regular income, make their own decisions, meet the family's basic needs and generally live more comfortably. This empowerment has also led to a reduction in the number of incidents of verbal and physical abuse across the communities.

6.4 Domestic abuse

There was a general consensus across the sites that domestic violence is on the decline in Jamaica. Most reasons given for this decline relate to the association between the simultaneously increasing economic independence of women, and declining economic status of men. In addition to this, greater legal access and exposure to services providing support for victims of domestic violence, such as the Women's Bureau, have helped highlight its illegality.

In the rural communities domestic violence rarely occurs and family and other community members often act as mediators. However groups reported a growing respect among men and women through better communication and an understanding of both sides' predicaments. One woman in Little Bay believe that women do not quarrel if a man does not have money or is not working because there is an understanding of his situation, "it is simple, he does not have a money because he does not have a steady job". At most rural sites domestic abuse is most often related to adultery – one man saw this as happening "only if de woman a give him *bun*, then him haffi beat her".

Though not on the increase, domestic violence was more commonly identified at the urban sites- (referred to once as "little, little violence"). One all female focus group discussion revealed two reasons for why women remain in abusive relationships, namely, "if the woman live with the man in im house an if the woman av a lot of children for di man". Domestic abuse is most commonly reported to occur between young men and women who are both economically and financially dependent on some form of external support to survive. The reason for the major decline in domestic violence among adult men and women was perceived as being due to the fact that women are now financially better off and can afford to have separate homes.

Perceived reasons for the decline in domestic abuse focused on the greater concern in society for women's well being evidenced through their improved representation and the stronger images of women presented by the media. The fact that this decline in domestic abuse is simultaneous with the decline in men's economic and social mobility is also of significance. Only one site (rural) related incidents of violence against men where it was stated that women beat men "under di quiet and don't take it outside for everyone to see".

Case Study: Poor young girl - Duckenfield

Sherryl Tate

- a poor young girl -

I was born in Rolandsfield St. Thomas. Life was rough in Rolandsfield because my mother had seven of us. I left home with my mother for Duckensfield because my father run away and leave my mother with the seven of us and married a next woman. He got three children with his wife. After my father left, my mother worked at Jones Sugar estate. She worked as common labourer so couldn't support us. I dropped out of school when I was fourteen and got pregnant. After I had the baby, the baby father left me with another pregnancy. I had the baby and my mother care it for me. Atferward I met another man in Duckensfield, he asked me to come and live with him. We were together about four years. I have three children for him in that period of time. He was working at Tropicana Sugar estate, he got redundant about 1992-1993. After that he ran me and the pickney dem and burn up di bed. I came out and go back to my mother yard, however we went back together again. Wi de for one year without any support for the children and he beats me all the time. I have to start keep man to support my children and me and he found out and one night mi inside a di man house wid di man an my baby father come there and gas the three doors on the house and light dem a fire and when di man and I run out he chopped us up with a machete, some wicked chop, none of us were unconscious. We went to the police, he got locked up and charged. He was sentenced to one year hard labour. The fire was put out with the help of next door neighbour, Miss Thomson. However I asked the judge to spare the sentence and told the judge I just want him to leave me alone. The judge gave him one year probation and warned him not to molest me. Two days after, he attacked me with a fish gun and I went back to the police and mek a report. The police came back for him, carry him go a court, the judge supine and sent him to prison for one year. (How did you cope with all this?). The gentleman that got chop up with me take me in and I have a baby with him and is still living with him now. It was very depressing at the time because I were pregnant without any source of income but my baby father help me out. My eldest daughter will be twelve years old and starting high school September, and her father is not helping me with her. He went to America when she was five years old and is not supporting me.

6.5 Impact of changing gender roles on domestic relations/arrangements

Across all sites there was a consensus that over the last decade women's skills have been more relevant to the prevailing job market and that this has significantly increased their power and independence at a household and community level. As one woman sums up, "man know wi can survive without them so dem treat we better, men are no longer lord and saviour". Domestic relationships appear to be in transition, a perception that cuts across both urban and rural communities. New domestic arrangements are emerging as relationships are created on a needs basis, which may be either economic or sexual. Also emerging is a need to be free from specific responsibilities.

Young women from both rural and urban areas express an unwillingness to remain in partnerships where the men are financially unproductive. Instead young women keep themselves attractive and up to date fashion wise, awaiting opportunities from financially stable suitors. One woman in Cassava Piece summed this up by saying "if men can't produce, den yu haffi gi likkle *bun*". This new sexual freedom, which has powerful associations with young women's simultaneous desire for economic stability, is a relatively new phenomenon. However, this is not commonly practiced in rural communities where women's aspirations may be limited to competing in "matey wars" for the affection of one men (usually married) with financial "backative".

Young men express the need for caution prior to establishing live-in relationships with women for fear of the burden of dependency by their partners. One young man summed his fear up by saying "when you live wid a woman an she waan throw her pardner and yu nuh have it fi gi her, cause nuten naw gwaan, she start show yu her ugly face, mi cyan badda wid dat". It is better to "spend a money wid a women when yu feel like". Today young men appear to have no difficulty accepting shared breadwinning responsibilities in the family "mi no waan no lazy woman, my woman haffi help wid di bills" and "ah long time man a tek care a woman so nutten nuh wrong if dem do it now".

Men interviewed expressed a willingness to accept the new compromises being forged between men and women in terms of sexual freedom, as they feel emasculated by their lack of financial power. One comment which exemplifies this position was put by a young urban man – "if yu come home and find another man inna yu bed and yu women a di one a put food pon di table, yu just haffi tell her to cover him betta, but that's all you can do".

Adult women across the sites share the view that women must be financially independent so that "she don't feel helpless", "have yu own shelter and finances so yu don't haffi stay in an abusive relationship", and "women need wuk so man don't take them mek dish cloth". Some even expressed the view that sometimes "a man in the house mek yu worse of", "mi get more an haffi gi less when di man nuh inna di house". These women also see themselves as more willing to work than younger women who they criticise for only having interest in "pretty frock and hairdo". It was also noted that it is common among adult women who are financially independent to have relationships with younger men. Economic independence appears to have given some women the confidence to create relationships on their own terms.

Young women in both rural and urban areas desire independence but some refuse to work at menial jobs to attain it. The result of this has been a rise in teenage pregnancy and increased female dependence on the financial security offered by male partners. These financial arrangements are

unstable, typically lasting only as long as money continues to be provided. In the rural communities, there appears to be a growing conflict between older and younger women as younger women refuse to work in the field or share physical labour for fear of undermining their physical appearance, which is commonly perceived as the means to achieving a better life. Male pride also contributes to the failure of young men to find employment. Many refuse to do menial tasks for money, even as a means of promoting social and economic advancement.

A common pronouncement across all sites expressed by young and old men and women was that "nuh real love nuh deh again".

The matrix below represents the perception of what defines "manhood" and "womanhood". It is interesting to note that men express more positive descriptions of their expectations of women than women express of men.

Table 6.2: Definitions of womanhood and manhood

Groups	Manhood	Womanhood
Adult Women	Look after their children and give support	Homes are equipped Hardworking and responsible Not helpless
Young Male	Live in love Look after his children and other young peoples interests Don't steal from the youth	No badmindedness Live in love Someone to reason with Self ability and self worth
Young Women	**Negatives** Have 'key key' chronic (ganja) Must give hardcore sex – woman must feel pain Discuss relationship with male friends Have 'nuff' women – run competition Wear brand name clothes **Positives** Man wey tek care of dem pickney Faithfull Christian Must have youth	**Negatives** Look good, hot hairstyle Nuh have one bag a man Name brand clothes 'Bleach face' **Positives** have self esteem, respect and control of self go to school and learn hardworking not regular on the street
Older Men	Can afford to mind children/provider Send children to school Help the elderly	Not loud and mix-up (quarrelsome) Stays with you 'when things thick and when things thin' Hardworking/independent Don't sit down and rely on man Love and play with their children

7. Findings and Conclusions

While extremes of poverty are widely demonstrated in inner city areas, poverty is more widespread, and there are fewer economic opportunities, in rural areas.
However, poverty can be largely invisible and those lacking any form of safety net may be more prevalent in urban areas. Planned poverty eradication interventions must ensure that the poorest are actually identified, as many live in the "bush" (in rural areas) and are often overlooked by development professionals.

The pursuit of economic opportunity frequently entails migration, which may have negative social consequences and is most available to households that experience high levels of well-being. Similarly, many households are forced to undertake illicit activities in order to maintain livelihood security during wider economic circumstances that are perceived as deteriorating. This survival strategy simultaneously increases economic security and risks to social cohesion.

As a small island economy, Jamaica is exposed to negative social impacts that result from the externalities associated with a global system of capitalised exchange. These impacts fall disproportionately on those people who are least able to offset them through economic productivity. It may be cheaper and more effective to prevent further decrease in well being levels here, than to attempt to adjust the economies of other nations.

International migration is more accessible to richer groups, further exacerbating income earning differentials. The concept of 'abroad' is referred to by richer groups as "off the island" and by poorer groups as "forin"(foreign). These linguistic constructions imply a separation in perceptions: rich people locate Jamaica as a diminutive part of a wider world while for poorer people differences between foreign countries is opaque and through this allude to an iconised source of potential economic security.

Crime and violence are experienced by poorer more than richer households.

Profound scepticism is clearly articulated across all groups with respect to most political representatives and public sector agencies. Individuals are commonly seen as more trustworthy and effective than institutions. This implies that public sector agencies should improve the process of recruiting and retaining qualified staff that exhibit the personable characteristics which are necessary for public service provision.

Accessibility is the most important catalyst for the perceived trust and effectiveness of an institution and can be increased by a greater degree of decentralisation and outreach capacity.

There has been a significant rise in women's economic and social status over the last decade, concomitant with the decline in men's status in the household, community and society at large. Alongside and related to these changes is the way in which older women's economic security and empowerment is not reflected by young women. Much of this is attributed to a general rise in national employment levels, although changes in attitudes and behaviour among the younger

generation have replaced the perceived physical and mental strengths associated with the generation before. This has resulted in the emergence of young people who are dependent on family and relations for economic support. Young women at urban sites see dependence on a man as a coping strategy and, like young men, may turn down jobs due to poor salary and working conditions.

It is widely perceived that women's growing economic independence and social empowerment has strengthened relations between the sexes. This may be due to the general emasculation of men who now depend their female partners for financial support. However, in tandem with this, especially among young women, there is a trend towards constructing relationships solely along economic lines and this has resulted in an increase in multiple partnerships in order to ensure that constant economic provision can be made.

These changes in gender relations support the apparent fact that domestic violence in decreasing as women (particularly in urban locations) have stronger defences against these crimes.

There is a great need to focus on young men and women as potential beneficiaries of external support. Research across the sites has highlighted their vulnerability to economic and social changes and their dependency on family and friends for support.

Annex I. Summary on Well-Being

Table 1: Rural Sites: Proportions of households/populations in the poorest category

Sites	Poor groups			Other groups			
	Men	Women	Male Youth	Female Youth	Elderly Male	Elderly Female	Young Men <20
Millbank	10	5	25	5	10	20	-
Little Bay	20	4	2	10	-	-	-
Duckenfield	75	25	15	10	-	-	-
Freeman's Hall	25	30	25	25	-	-	-
Accompong	5	30	-	-	35	55	-

Table 2: Urban Sites: Proportions of households/populations in the poorest category

Sites	Poor groups			Other groups			
	Men	Women	Male Youth	Female Youth	Elderly Male	Elderly Female	Young Men <20
Bowerbank	70	50	99	10	30	20-30	-
Cassava Piece	60	15	35	10	-	-	55
Thompson Pen	41	80	20	40	-	-	-
Railway Lane	-	30	15	20	-	-	-

Table 3: Major trends in poverty and well-being

Trends	Rural	Urban
Increased poverty	Accompong Freeman's Hall	Bowerbank Thompson Pen
Minor increase in poverty	Millbank Duckenfield	
No Change	--	Cassava Piece Railway Lane (Gardens)
Increased well-being	--	--

Table 4: People's perceptions of main causes of poverty – Rural and Urban

Main causes of poverty	Rural	Urban
Unemployment	Millbank Freeman's Hall Duckenfield Little Bay	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Thompson Pen Railway Lane
Discrimination		Bowerbank Cassava Piece Railway Lane
Lack of Education	Millbank Little Bay Freeman's Hall	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Thompson Pen Railway Lane
Poor Leadership	--	Bowerbank
Population growth through teenage pregnancy	Little Bay	Bowerbank Thompson Pen
Lack of Skills	Millbank Little Bay Duckenfield Freeman's Hall	Cassava Piece Thompson Pen Railway Lane
Low income/wages	Duckenfield	Cassava Piece
Neglect by government	Millbank Little Bay Freeman's Hall	Thompson Pen
No access to markets	Millbank Little Bay Accompong	----
Migration/brain drain	Little Bay Accompong	----
Laziness	Little Bay	----
Poor Roads	Millbank Little Bay Duckenfield Accompong	
No land or land title	Duckenfield Accompong	Cassava Piece Thompson Pen
Lack of unity		Thompson Pen
Abuse of drugs	Duckenfield	Railway Lane
Poor infrastructure	Accompong	----

Table 5: People's perceptions of main causes of poverty

Main causes of poverty	Women	Men
Unemployment	Accompong Bowerbank Cassava Piece Freeman's Hall Little Bay Millbank	Accompong Bowerbank Cassava Piece Freeman's Hall Little Bay Railway Lane
Discrimination	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Railway Lane	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Railway Lane
Lack of Education	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Freeman's Hal Little Bay Millbank Thompson Pen	Bowerbank Cassava Piece Freeman's Hall Millbank Railway Lane Thompson Pen
Poor Leadership	Bowerbank	Bowerbank
Population growth through teenage pregnancy	Bowerbank Millbank Thompson Pen	Bowerbank Little Bay
Lack of Skills	Cassava Piece Freeman's Hall Little Bay Millbank Thompson Pen	Cassava Piece Little Bay Millbank Railway Lane Thompson Pen
Low income/wages	Cassava Piece	Cassava Piece
Neglect by government	Cassava Piece Freeman's Hall Little Bay Thompson Pen	Little Bay Freeman's Hall Millbank Thompson Pen
No access to markets	Millbank	Accompong Little Bay Millbank
Migration/brain drain	Little Bay	Accompong
Laziness	Little Bay	
Poor Roads	Accompong Little Bay	Accompong Little Bay
No land or land title	Thompson Pen	Cassava Piece Thompson Pen
Lack of unity	----	Thompson Pen
Abuse of drugs	Duckenfield	Duckenfield Railway Lane
Poor infrastructure	----	Accompong

Annex II. Summary Results on Priorities of the Poor

Table 1: Ranking of Major Problems by Poor Groups at Rural Sites

Problems	Millbank		Little Bay		Duckenfield		Freeman's Hall		Accompong	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Women	Men	Men	Women
Roads	1	1	1	1	----	3	4	5	1	2
Skills Training	5	2	3	4	2	1	2	6	---	---
Education	2	3	7	6	2	4	---	---	3	3
Employment	4	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	1
Telephone	6	5	5	2	---	---	---	---	6	---
Water	---	8	4	3	---	--	5	2	5	---
Sports Ground	9	9	--	--	---	---	---	---	---	---
Street Light	10	6	---	---	---	---	6	5	---	---
Health	8	4	--	5	7	---	7	4	---	---
Land	---	10	---	5	5	5	---	---	---	--
Sewage	---	---	5	7	---	---	---	---	---	---
Transportation	----	---	8	---	---	---	---	---	---	4
Housing	---	---	---	---	4	2	3	3	---	4
Lack of Unity					6					

Table 2: Ranking of Major Problems by Poor Groups at Urban Sites

Problems	Bowerbank		Cassava Piece		Thompson Pen		Railway Lane	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Unemployment	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	3
Inadequate housing	2	2	2	2	4	2	5	1
Education	3	3	---	---	3	5	2	---
Discrimination	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Idleness	5	5	---	---	---	---	---	---
Sanitation	---	---	6	6	5	---	4	2
Bad Roads	---	---	7	5	7	4	---	2
Land	---	---	2	1	2	---	---	---
Health Care	---	---	4	1	---	---	---	---
Utilities Service	---	---	---	---	7	---	---	---
Lack of Unity	---	---	---	---	6	3	3	4

Annex III. Summary Results on Institutional Analysis

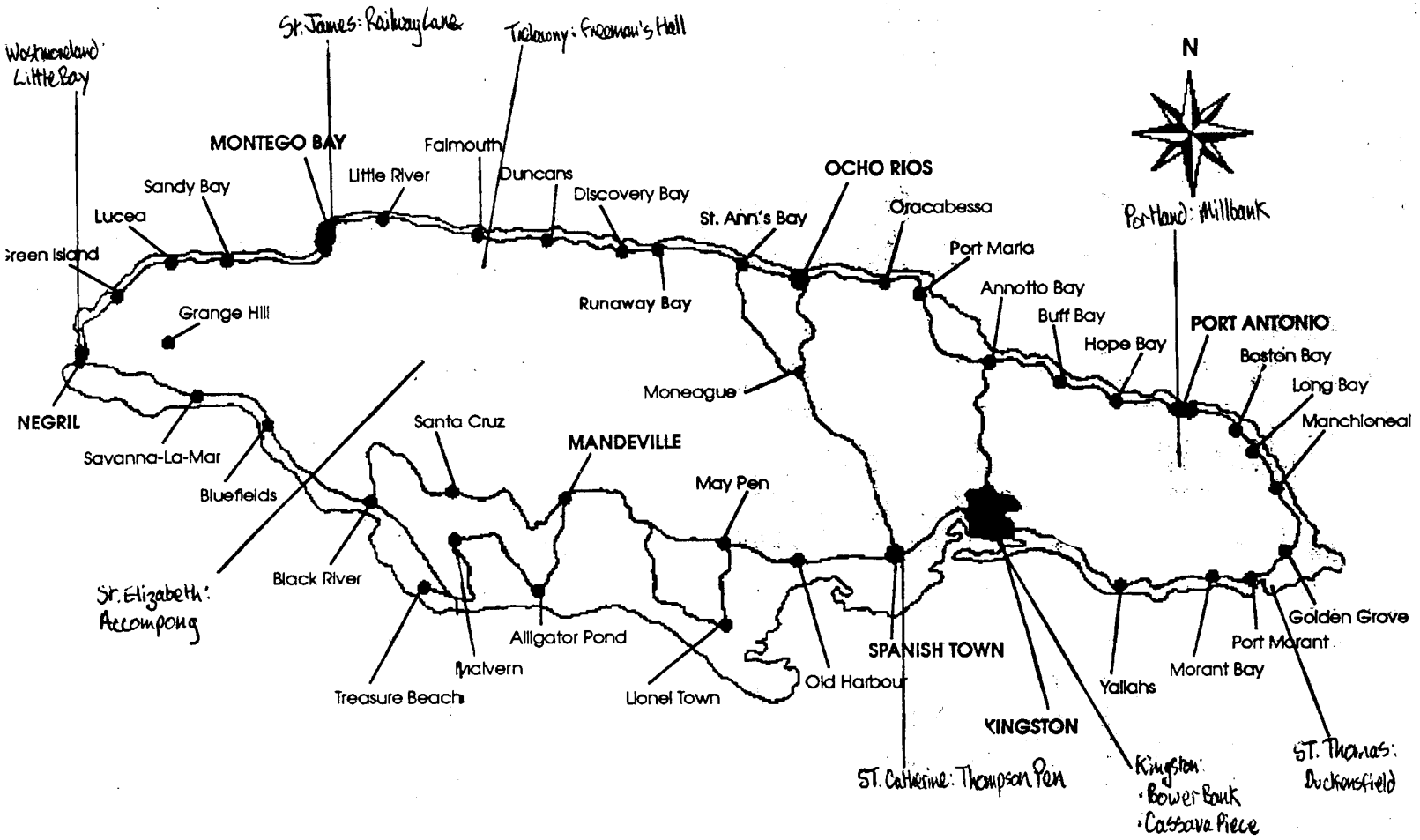
Table 1: Ranking of Institutions According to Importance by Groups of Poor Men and women Rural Sites

Institutions	Bowerbank		Cassava Piece		Thompson Pen		Railway Lane	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Citizens' Association	1	1						3
Youth Club	1				5			
NHT		2						
Food for the Poor	3	4				3		
Church	4		5	1	2	1		8
Golf Club			1	2				
Police			3	3	6	11		
School			2	2	1	5	1	1
Police Youth Club			3	4			2	2
Bunny Barnes Service Station			2	4				
Salvation Army			4	4		8	3	6
Mr Shirley Plaza			3	4				
Utilities								7
Slaughter house							6	
Fishermen's Complex							3	5
Sandals Hotel								4
YMCA								9
GS Supermarket							4	
Infirmary							5	
Hospital/Health Centre					3	2		
Home/Family						4		
Prison					4	7		
ODPEM					5	6		
National Insurance					5	6		
Poor Relief						7		
Credit Union						8		
Red Cross						9		
Bank						11		
Local Business						8		

Table 2: Ranking of Institutions According to Importance by Groups of Poor Men Urban Sites

Institutions	Millbank		Little Bay		Duckenfield		Freeman's Hall		Accompong	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Youth Club	1	1	---	---	4	4	2	--	---	---
Citizens Association	1	1	--	---	---	---	2	5	---	---
School	3	2	1	1	1	1	---	4	1	1
Family	2	3	---	---	---	---	1	1	6	---
Valley Hikes (eco-tourism)	4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	---
Health Dept.	5	5	---	---	1	2	5	---	---	---
NWC	---	---	2	6	---	---	---	---	2	3
Churches	6	4	5	2	---	7	4	2	5	5
Post Office	7	7	---	---	5	5	---	---	---	---
Police	8	6	---	---	6	11	---	---	---	---
JPSCo	9	---	---	----	---	---	8	7	3	4
RADA	10	10	---	---	10	13	---	---	---	---
MP	11	9	6	8	12	14	9	9	---	---
Councillor	11	9	---	8	12	14	---	---	---	---
SDC	---	8	---	---	11	12	6	---	---	---
Prime Minister	---	---	7	7	---	--	---	----	---	---
NEPT (NGO)	---	---	1	4	---	---	---	---	---	---
NCRPS (NGO)	---	---	3	5	---	---	---	---	---	---
Shops	---	---	4	3	9	10	---	---	---	---
Library	---	---	---	---	2	6	---	---	---	---
Estate	---	---	--	---	3	3	---	---	---	---
Bank	--	---	---	---	7	9	---	---	---	---
BITU Trade Union	---	---	---	---	8	8	---	---	---	---
Maroon Council	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	4	---
Cable & Wireless	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	8	---	2
Peace Corps	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	6	---	---
STEA (NGO)	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	3	---	---

Annex IV. Country Map with study sites marked



Annex V. Literature Review on Poverty in Jamaica

Literature Review

Abstracts

British Development Division in the Caribbean, January 1997, Jamaica Urban Poverty Project: Project Memorandum.

This project document describes an intervention designed to improve the quality of life in poor urban communities in Kingston by:
(1) implementing pilot initiatives to improve access to livelihood opportunities and urban services and to develop social institutions which promote social cohesiveness
(2) strengthen the capacity of the Kingston Restoration Company (KRC)
(3) influencing broader urban policies on community based poverty responses.

The project is to be implemented over three years from February 1997 by three partners: the Government of Jamaica, KRC and the Jones Town community and complements the technical assistance that DfID is giving to the Jamaica Social Investment Fund.

Chavennes, Dr Barry, Grace Kennedy Foundation, March 1999, What We Sow And What We Reap: Problems in the Cultivation of Male Identity in Jamaica.

Written by the Senior Lecturer at the University of the West Indies' Department of Sociology and Social Work, this publication seeks to examine male characteristics with respect to sexual behaviour, education and crime. A perspective is offered from which to contextualise the concerns surrounding male behaviour within recent research on socialisation, and to suggest potential ways to ease the problems identified.

The document concludes that males suffer from under-participation or under-representation rather than marginalisation and sees the solution to this problem as greater inclusiveness on the part of many major institutions and control of Kingston by young men as a cultural tourism destination.

Grant, SJ, Jamaica Social Investment Fund, June 1998, Community Perspectives on Social Capital and Poverty in Hagley Gap.

This participatory study of a community in the coffee producing region presents findings of a well-being analysis and indigenous indicators for Social Capital.

Grant, SJ and Shillito, TW, USAID, February 1998, A Manual of Participatory Rural Appraisal Techniques for Natural Resource Management.

This manual presents a range of participatory techniques in a manner accessible to fieldworkers. It includes sections on PRA in Jamaica, brief principles, simple guides to all major PRA tools, the importance of devolution through participation for Protected Area management and the implications for donors.

Grant, SJ, Christophersen, Dr K, and Homer, Dr F, USAID, December 1997, Sustainable Interventions for Negril Fisher Families.

This report for the Developing Environmental Management Organisations project, investigates the economic and ecological systems underpinning the livelihoods of six fishing communities on the west coast of Jamaica. Using participatory techniques, alternative fisheries management regimes

and livelihood options are analysed and aggregate benefits are evaluated.

King, Damien, University of the West Indies, October 1998
Adjustment, Stabilisation, and Poverty in Jamaica: 1989-1995.

This study examines poverty in Jamaica from the implementation of economic reform in 1989 through 1995. It concludes that the poverty trend in Jamaica, which has been declining in the early 1990s, reversed around 1993 and has been worsening ever since. This outcome was due to the economic contraction that was a consequence of the combination of restrictive monetary policy and expansive fiscal policy, and not to structural adjustment per se. The previously observed decline in poverty represented a brief correction as nominal wages belatedly caught up with unexpected inflation, and not a secular movement. The primary locators of poverty are education, geography and household size rather than ethnic or linguistic factors, and as seen against a background of general economic malaise over the last 20 years. The recent increase in poverty is found to have been caused by the contradictory effects of the stabilisation aspects of the policy programme, in particular the orthodox disinflation regime in the context of an expansive fiscal policy with their attendant interest rate and exchange rate consequences.

Market Research Services Limited, The Planning Institute of Jamaica, November 1995, Poverty Alleviation Survey.

This survey, based on data from the electoral roll and questionnaires and a classical definition of the household, aims to assist the Government of Jamaica's Poverty Eradication Programme in targeting interventions to improve the standard of living in select communities. The investigation was designed to measure specified indicators of poverty, assess the level of social services, assess economic activities and outline priority needs. The research format follows the pattern of the Survey of Living Conditions, a collaboration between PIOJ and The Statistical Institute of Jamaica.

Three levels of indicators are employed:
(1) Household; such as housing density, consumption, source of water and lighting, level of education
(2) Institution; such as skills training opportunities and the availability of health care facilities
(3) Other; such as economic enterprises, transportation and priority needs.

The report contains sections disaggregating information by Demography, Household Consumption, Health, Education, Housing, Food Stamp Programme and Resident Attitudes. There is sparse analysis of this data.

Planning Institute of Jamaica, 1997, Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica.

This study compiles data on The Macro Economy, Sectoral Performance, Manpower and Industrial Relations and Human Development and Welfare.

In terms of social infrastructure, the report claims that the Government continued to provide a significant share of public resources to improve the quality of life of the population. Almost one quarter of total public expenditure is allocated to the social sector and up to 30% of the population (17% of households) live below the poverty line.

Developments in Education include rationalisation of Tertiary and Cost Recovery from Secondary institutions and failure rates at CXC level are between three quarters and two thirds. Public investment in Health provision reached 6.3% of total expenditure yet the disparity between rural locations (where an average of J$988 is spent per visit) and urban areas (J$588) continues. Although the murder rate increased by 11%, crimes reported to the Police fell by 10%. About 22,500 people (half of the natural increase of the population) emigrated. Official Development Assistance disbursements measured approximately US$175 million in 1997 which represents a 40% decrease compared to the 1996 and is now less than the total debt repayment and interest charges on the external debt.

Policy Development Unit, Planning Institute of Jamaica, March 1996. "Poverty Mapping: A Report on the Spatial Representation of Deprivation in Jamaica".

This study defined 506 communities throughout Jamaica according to an amalgamation of the 1991 Population Census, SDC classifications and a 1968 UN report and deployed four poverty indicators. (1) Percentage of households without water piped into dwelling (2) Percentage of households without exclusive use of water closet (3) Percentage of labour force between 13-29 unemployed (4) Percentage of age group 14-29 with primary school education only.

The study found that parishes with large urban centres ranked better than national average on all indicators and that inner city districts suffered from more serious problems than the peripheral squatter areas. Poverty is seen as more severe in rural parishes and Clarendon was recorded as having the largest number of communities, falling in the poorest grouping, followed by St. Mary, Manchester and St. Elizabeth.

Policy Development Unit, Planning Institute of Jamaica, Undated, Estimating Poverty in Jamaica: the PIOJ Approach (DRAFT).

This paper examines the practices underlying the current estimates of poverty in Jamaica and describes the assumptions and methods of choosing the poverty line as well as estimates of the extent of poverty between 1989 and 1995.

Comment is made on the limitations of official interpretations of change in the estimates of poverty over time and that little attention has been given to the poverty gap and distribution sensitive indices. The study suggests that, although the estimates were computed with random sample data, no statistical tests of differences between estimates in distinct years have been conducted. A need for the adjustment of the estimates in line with a more conservative view of the structure of consumption is recommended.

Social Development Commission, Research and Documentation Department, March 1998, Profile of Communities along the Industrial Belt between Six Miles on the West and Rockfort on the East.

This report briefly profiles 14 communities located along the coast in Kingston. Information is compiled in terms of Population, Employment, Physical Infrastructure, Social Infrastructure, CBO Activities and NGO Activities.

Southern Trelawny Environmental Agency, The Royal Netherlands Embassy, January 1999, Community Mobilization and Assessment Survey Report.

This survey of ten communities on the south eastern boundary of Cockpit Country in south Trelawny was conducted by a local community based NGO and stands as a precursor to a comprehensive development programme aimed at protecting biodiversity and natural resources. Eight PRA methods are employed during public meetings held in an area of approximately 18000 population.

The study indicates that the major social problems in the area are roads, unemployment, housing and water supply. The research findings contradict the classifications of wellbeing employed by PIOJ's Poverty Mapping study. One site which PIOJ place in the most prosperous quartile is located by this study as least prosperous and two sites ranked in quartile three by PIOJ are seen by this study as most prosperous.

Spring, Dr Anita, North-South Centre, December 1995, Project on Human Activities and Environmental Contaminants in the Lower Black River Morass.

This study, deploying participatory techniques, investigates perceptions of environmental issues in the Parish of St Elizabeth. A brief section on Household systems and livelihoods is followed by description of natural resource use and management and perceptions of stresses to the ecosystem.

The Statistical Institute of Jamaica and The planning Institute of Jamaica, October 1998, Jamiaca Survey of Living Conditions 1997.

This survey seeks to measure the manner in which household welfare is affected by the macro-economic policies associated with structural adjustment. Information is collected on consumption, health, anthropometrics, education, nutrition, housing, demography and the Food Stamp Programme.

A random sampling method is employed with data collection undertaken by questionnaire. The sample of dwellings was a subset of the sample used for the previous year's Survey of Living Conditions and therefore is not comparable with 1997 data.

The findings claim that consumption has risen by 25.5% in real terms, which is seen as a result of Industrial Policy's positive stimulus to the development of non-agricultural activity. Housing is the only indicator not to have shown significant general improvement. Public outreach programmes are viewed as working well. The study notes that education opportunities have increased, especially for lower income families and suggests that the impact of the privatisation of education has been positive. It is asserted that living conditions improved for all Jamaica and its constituent groups and that this seems to have been significantly influenced by variations in public policy.

The Survey of Living Conditions does not allow investigation of some aspects of household behaviour which can improve monitoring of structural adjustment policies nor can it reveal the extent to which changes in inequality can be traced to the changing viability of the entrepreneurial initiatives of traditionally vulnerable households.

University of the West Indies Centre for Population, Community and Social Work, 1996, They Cry 'Respect!'.

This study of poverty related violence in five urban areas is produced by one of the Jamaican team members of the World Bank's 'Participatory Study of Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica' (see below) and relies on data collected during this research process.

The report replicates many of the fieldwork's diagramming and visualisation exercises and breaks down the findings into issues associated with History, Problems, Police, Social and Physical Environment and Solutions. These sections largely rely on local perspectives

Concluding comments analyse the findings in terms of Collective Identity and Self Respect, Authority and Leadership, and Resources and Community.

Witter, Dr Michael, UNDP, November 1998, A Human Poverty Index for Jamaica (DRAFT).

This report compiles a Human Development Index for Jamaica relying on official data sources. UNDP's HDI focuses on longevity, educational attainment and income and is extended by this research to include additional dimensions of income distribution, employment and health although one potentially dimension - the environment - is not included. Comparison is made over the period 1990 to 1997.

Additionally, some structural aspects (industrialisation and tourism) of the Jamaican economy are examined briefly. These are seen as supplementary indicators of Human Development rather than replacements to the Index described above.

World Bank, April 1994, Jamaica: A Strategy for Growth amd Poverty Reduction: Country Economic Memorandum.

This study investigates economic priorities in terms of Investment, Poverty, Macroeconomics, Incentives and Regulation, and Public Expenditure.

With regard to poverty, the report concludes that poverty is a problem more of insufficient growth in incomes than of inadequate support of social programmes. A poverty strategy should include policies for accelerating sustainable growth and for assisting the poor by increasing their access to productive assets, raising the return on these asets and raising the quality as well as the number of jobs available. Since most of the poor are located in rural areas, effective rural development is the key to poverty-reducing growth.

This strategy claims to prepare all of the next generation for productive employment in the modern sector and allow more of today's poor adults to gain access to employment in the modern sector or to capital that would enhance the productivity of the self-employed. This implies expenditure for training and education, for protection of persons and property and for infrastructure to improve the links between the modern and poor sections of the economy. The lack of adequate policy and programmes for rural development is the most serious lacunae in the government's strategy to reduce poverty.

World Bank Urban Development Division, December 1995, A Participatory Study of Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica.

This report presents the findings of a participatory research study carried out in five urban locations. The information gathered contributed to the preparation of the Jamaican Social Fund and aims to investigate the association of poverty and violence and the impact of this nexus on mesoeconomic, human capital and social capital development.

The report is divided into five sections. Following the introduction, the main PUA findings are presented and in Section three are analysed. Section four describes community perceptions on appropriate solutions and section five offers conclusions.

The findings include data on Perceptions of Poverty, Perceptions of Violence, and the impacts of these on Labour, Social Capital, Institutions and potential conflict resolution methods.

Findings are summarised in a separate document and in They Cry 'Respect!' (see above) and the implications of this study are discussed in the December 1996 edition of Infrastructure Notes.