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NON-STATE ACTORS IN JAMAICAN ECONOMIC POLICY

by

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B.A. Florida Atlantic University, 2009

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for the degree of Master of Arts
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ABSTRACT

The relevance in understanding local dynamics or political culture is that as Neuman has pointed out, many traditional theories have not taken them into account and have thus failed in explaining political occurrences in the lesser developed world. For example as she has stated, “domestic factors” have not been considered into “systems theories”. (Neuman, 1995, p.16) On this basis, it is necessary to point out these local factors, and furthermore, the role of non-state actors within the realm of internal dynamics, since international relations theory also aims to understand the formation and motivation behind economic policy. Therefore, to produce a proper understanding of Jamaican economic policy, specific areas are examined: the political culture of Jamaican politics and the role of non-state actors as they function within the Jamaican state. The two sets of non-state actors are defined as internal and external. The internal consists of two political parties: the People’s National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party; and also one social class group: the urban poor. And also, the external consists of: the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. The relationships between these groups and their relationships with the state are examined in order to identify how they affect economic policy. The constructivist theory due to its flexibility in its units of analysis, and its emphasis on “culture”, and “worldview” helps to provide a useful framework for the discussion.

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INTRODUCTION

“The central questions we ask about our subject are determined by our theoretical preferences. Theories, therefore both explain and occlude, include and exclude.” (Neuman, 1995, p. 30)

Jamaica, a small country in the Caribbean Sea, has been through radical shifts in economic policy from the 1960s until now. Jamaican governments have tried an array of economic strategies in order to improve economic growth and stability. During the two terms of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) from 1962 to 1972 the economic strategy “...was, and is, based on... foreign investment by invitation...”. (Bernal, 1984, p. 58) During the 1970s, the People’s National Party, one of Jamaica’s dominant political parties embarked on a path towards socialism (Bernal, 1984, p. 59). Then during the 1980s, the country adopted a more free market approach under IMF tutelage. In general, each of these approaches throughout these three decades failed to develop substantial economic growth or stability (Griffith, 2002, p. 86). At a closer view, this pattern of shifts in economic policy demonstrates the diverse groups acquiring influence within the state striving to find optimal levels of government intervention that would satisfy particular interests within, and beyond, the state. These groups such as formalized political parties and social-class groups can have an indirect, and in some cases direct influence on domestic economic policy. However, beyond the state’s borders, external actors such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, advocate particular strategies within Jamaica as well, in order for the developing world to adhere to their global economic objectives. In light of this specific double influence, one of the problems that has plagued international relations theory is its inability to produce frameworks for understanding this type of case within developing

states. Traditional approaches such as neo-liberalism and neo-realism have mainly focused on two dominant ideas, international structure and rationalism; and one central unit, the state, which *may* explain only certain cases in the developed world. However, given the complex historical underpinnings within Jamaica, which includes a heterogeneous society, both culturally and socio-economically, and the overarching role that external powers have played, this research makes the case for a more in depth and holistic approach. Towards this end, the study incorporates an approach that focuses on political culture in conjunction with non-state political influence.

Significance of the Issue

Jamaican Governments, both present and past, have made major, though unsuccessful efforts, in trying to establish progressive policies for not only socio-economic mobility of its lower classes, but stable economic growth. The country has high levels of poverty, its significant industries have, not allowed for any substantial economic growth (Griffith, 2002, p. 86), a lack of inter-sectoral linkages between its small industries (Bernal, 1984, p. 56), and high levels of corruption within the government. These problems are typical in many developing states. Jamaica serves as a prime example of a developing country that is still trying to find stability in the global economy. This problem of understanding what is happening in Jamaica, raises questions about many of the international relations theories and economic policies in use today (Neuman, 1995, p. 15). For example, one major problem that exists in both IR theory and economic policy is the issue of taking into account local dynamics. An example of this is Holsti's criticism of realism and neo-realism's understandings of power, which both accentuate

the existence and centrality of a state. (Neuman, 1995, p. 15) More specifically, the units of analysis within each of these theories have particular limitations and in this specific case, have allowed for certain variables to be ignored. In reference to many critical international relations theorists, Stephanie Neuman states, "...most of the contributors want domestic factors to be at least considered by and at best integrated into systems theories." (Neuman, 1995, p. 16) This point demonstrates the lack of consideration for "internal dynamics" by many traditional theories. These theories have typically reflected factors only isolated to the great powers. For example, consider again the idea of "power". Power has been typically used to describe states bargaining with each other in order to avoid war or resource dilemmas. Also, Pulacha points out that traditional IR theory has overemphasized the use of this concept and therefore ignores, "cultural and ideational explanations of Third World behavior" (ibid). The role of power in this context ignores the non-state actor power dynamics that are prominent within intra-state politics. And furthermore, moving beyond Jamaica, such theories frustrate questions regarding other developing states. Thus, one of the main points established by Neuman in her book, *International Relations Theory and the Third World* is the necessity of understanding these "internal dynamics". Without factoring them into the equation, one cannot properly assess what takes place within the state's boundaries. Since internal dynamics have been established as relevant for the discussion, the question of which portion of these "internal dynamics" is useful and worth examining arises. Pulacha's mention of "culture and ideational explanations" helps to provide an answer to this question. Particularly, the role of political culture helps to provide a means for explaining certain occurrences in the lesser developed world, and more specifically,

Jamaica.

Therefore, with the failure of traditional paradigms such as neo-realism and neo-idealism, new challenges have emerged, which begs the question as to whether or not more flexible and inclusive international relations theories should be applied for understanding government behavior, as well as non-state actor power dynamics in light of economic development policies. It is to this end that the discussion ensues.

Hypothesis

With the traditional theories being challenged for their attitude towards the state's internal dynamics, it is necessary to show their relevance. In this case, primarily how these internal and external (non-state actors) function in order to affect economic policy. Thus, to assess how economic policy is developed and what factors influence it, the research critically assesses three variables: 1) the political culture of the region and mechanisms of political participation, 2) an understanding of political parties and social class groups, and 3) the external (international) factors that help to influence the state or actors within it. This research will therefore offer explanations for understanding the type of influence both internal and external factors have on the state and in turn the economic development policy of Jamaica. Accordingly, the research also advocates the idea that the political culture that has been formed within the state cannot be divorced from understanding the case for the Jamaican political economy (Henke and Reno, 2003, p. 120). In order to fully understand the Jamaican economic policy, the study embraces a holistic approach. Essentially, the research examines the development of Jamaican political culture and the role of non-state actors in light of economic policy. The high

importance of violence and clientelism within the Jamaican political culture is demonstrated in order to show how important an understanding of these elements are for understanding economic policy. Clientelism and violence are examined to show how they have helped to cement detrimental and unsustainable economic policies of various governments. (Szeftel, 2000) In conjunction with this, the limitations of party and social group influence are highlighted. Additionally, the heavy effects of the International Monetary fund and World Bank are explored as well in order show the power of the non-state actor. (Bernal, 1984) (Sives, 2000) Because the research advocates the idea of a more flexible and applicable theory for the case of Jamaica, it is also necessary to demonstrate the failures of other traditional international relations theories in understanding the case of Jamaican economic policy and why the constructivist school of thought is the most useful in this regard. Essentially, the research demonstrates the relevant roles of political culture and non-state actors in economic policy. This is done through four areas: 1) the establishment of viable international relations framework, 2) the defining of all relevant non-state actors 3) the interactions of internal actors and the development of political culture and 4) the interactions of internal and external actors and the further development of the political culture.

Methodology of Research

“Consequently, major theories of International Relations on offer today fail, to pass the basic test of adequacy... because they do not concern themselves with the behavior of the... majority of members of the international system.” (Neuman, 1995, p. 33)

The first portion of the research will establish the relevance of using a comprehensive

theory for understanding the case of Jamaica. More specifically, this theory must address the complex relationships between internal actors, external actors and the state's leadership in regards to economic policy. In conjunction with this, it is also important to show a useful framework for understanding the development of political culture. Constructivism addresses the importance of ideas and shared experiences more than other mainstream theories. According to Wendt, students of international politics have accepted two important tenets of constructivism, "... (1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas..." (Wendt, 1999, p. 1) In summation, the constructivist school of thought takes into consideration the idea that individuals and societies are in part products of their shared experiences and therefore, the identity which is created shapes future actions. In essence, the role of "culture" which accentuates the ideas of shared beliefs is crucial for understanding any level within the units of analysis. In part this idea challenges some foundational concepts in traditional international relations theory. The idea that states are primarily concerned with hard power, or material interests, is challenged by the constructivist framework. Even further than this, it challenges the idea of the "unitary state", or "state-centric system". In regards to the units of analysis, whether it is a party, the state or individual, constructivism allows for more freedom in taking these units into account. Because this research focuses on specific non-state actors and their degree of influence in Jamaica, more freedom of use in the units is necessary to have a better understanding of what is taking place *in* the state. With the use of this non-traditional school of thought, a critique of realism, neo-realism, idealism and neo-idealism helps to

demonstrate why these theories do not fit the Jamaican model.

In order to properly explore the state, its political culture, its internal and external actors, and how they will interact with the economy, a qualitative analysis, with some quantitative data, will be used. According to Pye, political culture can be defined and used in different fashions. This paper will utilize the “socialization process” definition which rests between the two extremes of “personality” and the “history of the collectivity.” (Pye, 1991, p. 494) The socialization process method states that, “... the realities of culture shaped the socialization processes of a society, and the personalities produced in turn shaped the culture.” (Pye, 1991, p. 494) This study will analyze how each set of actors influences the economy policy choices of governments in Jamaica. So therefore, understanding the relationships between both internal (political parties and social class groups) and external (intergovernmental organizations) actors is also necessary in order to accurately comprehend what is happening to create new, or to alter existing, economic policy. This is crucial because it is clear that these actors do not exist in a vacuum within the state. In order to properly understand the above, the study examines each individual actor’s agenda (if any) or goal, its mechanisms for application of its agenda, and its limitations of power within the state.

The research will employ an historical analysis as the primary methodology. It will entail two approaches in order to understand how the above actors interact, and therefore test the hypothesis. The first approach will entail a historical analysis of Jamaica’s political parties and the role of a social class group- the urban poor. This will be used in order to understand the development of Jamaica’s political culture and past political economic tendencies of the state.

This analysis will include an explanation of: 1) the formation of the major political parties in Jamaica, the de-colonization period (1943- 1960), the neo-colonial period (1961- 1971), the Peoples National Party terms from (1972 to 1976). The main political parties which are examined are the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). An assessment of each party's main economic ideology, agenda, and statements will be used for this portion as well. The specific social class group which is examined is the urban poor. According to Obika Gray, the actions of the poor are, "politically relevant" and require increased examination. (Gray, 2004, p. 1) In this section voting results and the behavior of this group will be analyzed. Additionally, events such as strikes and riots will be examined. The behavior of both groups is used to understand the political culture which is present. The relevance of this political culture, and its development, is then linked to economic policy throughout the specific phases stated earlier.

The second approach of the historical analysis will contain an examination of two specific external non-state actors, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. This will entail an historical analysis from the 1976 to 1986. During this section all actors will be examined as this period is the only period in the analysis by which they all interacted with each other whether it be directly or indirectly. This portion will highlight the intergovernmental organizations' methods and also its conditionality policies specifically in regards to Jamaica. Special attention will also be given to understanding how both internal and external actors interacted not only with the state, but with each other, thus producing a robust discussion about the "internal dynamics".

Another reason for this type of analysis is to elucidate certain particular trends within the fabric of Jamaica's political culture. Violence, clientelism and "benefits politics" play an active role in the political party-urban poor relationship. (Gray, 2004) Understanding *how* this relationship has evolved, as well as how it impacts Jamaican politics as a whole, provides crucial information for understanding the future of Jamaican economic policy. Political parties and the urban poor are being seriously considered because without understanding how relationships and shared ideas influence behavior, fruitful theory for understanding the economic policy in Jamaica cannot be produced since, "...The source of change is always the action of human beings, but action conditioned by their natural and social environment." (Beckford and Witter, 1982, p. 2) It is understanding this complex linkage between various actors that this study also examines in light of economic policy.

Structure of the Paper

The first section sets up the argument for understanding how the constructivist theory is applicable to the research. In conjunction with this the traditional theories of realism, neo-realism, liberalism and neo-liberalism, are critiqued for their short-comings in regards to explaining the case of Jamaica.

The second section begins by giving a brief overview of the relevant actors involved in the research. The Jamaican political and electoral system since 1944 is described in order to have a proper understanding of the relevant institutions. This section will also describe the formation and main ideologies of Jamaica's two main parties: Jamaica Labour Party and the People's National Party. Additionally, this section will demonstrate the necessity of seeing

social class groups as actors. This portion supports Obika Gray's idea of the urban poor being a crucial actor in Jamaica's political realm. Finally, the IMF and WB are described.

The third section examines the internal actors and the methods employed by them in order to acquire influence and therefore have more control over resource allocation. This is examined through four sections of Jamaican history starting in 1943. The concepts of garrison politics, clientelism and "benefit politics" will be discussed as they apply to the Jamaican society and its political culture. The relationships between political parties and social class groups and their change throughout these decades will be a main point of discussion. Statements from politicians, members of the various social class groups and historical documents will be used.

The fourth section addresses the IMF and World Bank. These organizations' methods of influencing the economic policy, political party behavior, and the relationship between political parties and the urban poor in Jamaica are examined. Particularly the conditionality policies used by the IMF and the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank. The mandates of the IMF and World Bank had significant effects on the economy, both political parties and also social class group behavior.

The final section of the paper applies the constructivist theory to the case of Jamaican economic policy and its influences. This chapter addresses the question of the units of analyses, and the relevance of "culture" and therefore, "political culture" in regards to the constructivist framework. Additionally, the chapter explains the findings and offers recommendations for further research.

Limitations of the Research

This research does not enforce the idea that the actors stated are the only ones present or are the only one's worth considering. It is understood that other political parties such as, for example, the National Democratic Movement NDM, and other subdivisions of social class groups such as Rastafari and Black Nationalist movements, have an important role to play in influencing the state's economic policy. Furthermore, it is understood that external actors such as the United States and the European Union possess a great deal of political clout in the region, and thus influence how Jamaican governments have interacted with other states. Taking this into consideration, it would entail a great deal of further research to assess the roles of these actors as well. This research focuses on the main *non-state* actors which have been identified within Jamaica's political culture, and also have had a noticeable influence. The actors which were selected for examinations were deemed to have an obvious and indisputable effect on the state's economic policy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The relevance in understanding local dynamics, or political culture, is that as Neuman and Pulacha have pointed out, many traditional theories have not taken them into account when attempting to produce an understanding of “Third World” issues. They state in her book, *International Relations Theory and the Third World* that most contributors would like to see “domestic factors” at the bare minimum, considered (Neuman, 1995, p. 16). It is necessary to point out these local factors, specifically the role non-state actors within the realm of internal dynamics, since IR theory also aims to understand the formation and motivation behind the actions of a state or group, on a universal level. Specifically in the area of local factors, political culture is highlighted in the research. In light of this, to produce a proper understanding, an examination of two sets of non-state actors (internal and external) will be done in order to understand the formation of Jamaican economy policy. In conjunction with this, the relationships between these groups will be analyzed. It is also necessary to find a viable theory to provide a context in which to understand how political culture and also actors, function. The constructivist theory, due its lack of limitations on the units of analysis, possesses the ability to provide this context. It is to this end that this chapter will examine the various literatures on the stated areas and how they contribute to the research.

The chapter is divided into five sections. The first section goes over literature which deals with the compatibility of constructivism and traditional IR theories’ shortcomings. The second deals with research on political culture and its elements. The third, briefly deals with literature on the institutions. The institutions have a minor role to play since they can be viewed

as the stage on which the actors perform. The fourth section deals with parties and social class groups. The literature examines the origins of political parties, as well as their evolution. Also, the literature here is used to support the idea of the urban poor as an actor. And finally, the fourth section focuses on the literature examining the roles of the IMF and WB and in Jamaica.

The Theoretical Framework

As stated previously, traditional IR theories and even some critical IR theories, have not been able to accurately explain the problems taking place in the underdeveloped states.

International Relations Theory and the Third World by Stephanie Neuman contains several articles critiquing many mainstream international relations theories. “Subaltern-Realism: International Relations Theory Meets the Third World” by Muhammad Ayoob, is an article in this book which tackles the concept of realism and how many times domestic factors are not included in the equation. He also addresses why they should be. Particularly, the ideas of how relevant the “state” is in understanding what takes place within it, is challenged. This section provides arguments against failing concepts for the third world such as “neo-realism” and “neo-liberalism”

Constructivism due to its malleability in regards to the units of analysis possesses more predictive and explanatory power. *Social Theory of International Politics* by Alexander Wendt also contributes to the theoretical critique. It addresses the constructivist view and why it possesses the ability to explain, international politics. This theory will also be used to address local dynamics in Jamaica. The book points out how shared ideas are constructed and thus shape the interests of groups. Wendt, points out that material interests are not simply the root force in

understanding what takes place within the state.

In dealing with the importance of a viable theory for understanding Jamaica, it is necessary to understand how other traditional theories have failed. Steele's essay, "Liberal-Idealism: A Constructivist Critique", examines the problems of liberalism and how constructivism differs. Particularly, the issue of democratic piece theory is examined in light of the Iraq War to show how both theories differ.

Understanding the role of internal dynamics is a key point in the theoretical portion of the research. Duffield's essay, "Political Culture and State Behavior: Why Germany Confounds Neorealism", deals with this issue and shows how political culture, a subdivision of internal dynamics, is important for understanding motivating factors in non-state actor and state behavior.

Lastly, Viotti and Kauppi's book, *International Relations Theory: Realism, Pluralism, Globalism and Beyond* sheds light on the fundamental principles of each theory, as well as their flaws. This book is useful in understanding some of the main theoretical principles which have been agreed upon by international relations theorists in the field.

Institutions in the Jamaican Political System

Understanding the political structure and electoral process, which is a relevant internal dynamic, is crucial for understanding the arena in which the actors perform. The *Final Report of the Electoral Observation Mission in Jamaica General Election 2007* produced by the Organization of American States simply provides information in this regard. Although this paper was published in 2007, it provides general information for also understanding the evolution of various institutions which were not present during Jamaica's first election in 1944. Historical

information about institutions such the Electoral Office of Jamaica, (EOJ) Jamaica Electoral Commission (JEC) and the Political Ombudsman is provided.

Political Culture and its Elements

Political culture is highly important for the discussion due to Neuman and Pulacha's identification of "internal dynamics" as valuable. Pye's article, "Political Culture Revisited", assesses the evolution of political culture, and explains how it has been used in the realm of political science. However, this essay is primarily used to secure a useful definition for application to the research. Particularly, the essay highlights the relevance of the "socialization process" methodology and its usefulness.

"Clientelism, Corruption, & Catastrophe" by Morris Szeftel, contributes to the research by showing how clientelism has been used on African continent to contribute to its underdevelopment, and in conjunction with this, provide an understanding of clientelism through two primary mechanisms: politicized identity and exchange relations. (Szeftel, 2000, p. 436)

In order to supplement the understanding of clientelism and violence as important parts of the Jamaican political process, "Corporatism and Patron-Clientelism: A Political Economic Study of Development in Mexico and Jamaica" by Kenni George, is used. This essay provides useful information on clientelism and violence from a structural and historic standpoint.

Additional information on how clientelism works in Jamaica is given in Carlene J. Edie's article, "From Manley to Seaga: The Persistence of Clientelist Politics in Jamaica". Information about the relationships between parish councilors and members of parliament are examined to show how they use the system to secure employment for constituents through government jobs

and in turn how representatives are supported with votes.

Political Parties and Social Class Groups

Jamaica's political parties, as it has been stated previously, contribute significantly to many of the economic ideologies, or specific choices, enacted by the state. Due to their importance it is necessary to understand their origins and evolution. Understanding the evolution of these parties necessitates also understanding how society views their role in regards to interacting with these parties. According to *Elections, Violence and the Democratic Process in Jamaica, 1947- 2007*, violence is an important element in understanding the formation of Jamaica's first unions, which would soon become the first political parties. Not only was violence an important element in understanding the formation of political parties, it is an element which is routinely used during elections periods. Chapter one addresses the formation of the two-party system and the individuals (Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante) who were influential in their formation. The second chapter discusses the consolidation of each party and more specifically the "aggressive tactics" (Sives, 2010, p. 24) used by the People's National Party to secure power in urban areas. This is crucial to understanding one type of relationship between political parties and the urban poor. These relationships have many a time rested on the idea of acquiring resources and power for either group.

An important element in the research is establishing the idea that a social class group can be considered as an actor. Due to the lack of organizational structure within a socio-economic class in society, it is sometimes hard to identify this group as an "actor". *Demeaned But Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor In Jamaica* by Obika Gray, makes the case

that the urban poor possess the power to function in a manner that allows them to bargain politically for resources or whatever their needs may be. He also points out how the Jamaican state is parasitic- blurring the line between constitutionality and illegality. This type of parasitic rule makes the state protean and therefore hard to change. This piece contributes to a deeper understanding of how the urban poor attain power and influence the political parties to attain access to resources. It is has also been popular belief that the political parties are in direct control of the urban poor through political affiliations. However, this idea is debunked by Gray when he addresses the anomalies in which political leaders crumble to their constituencies needs. Understanding the role of the urban poor, and also the idea that this group is an actor in Jamaica is crucial for understanding inter-group relationships.

The urban poor's ability to have any real effect on power in "third world" states has been a contestable issue. How scholars view the mobilization of the urban poor impacts of whether or not they see this group as a significant change agent. Gray points out in his article, *Power and Identity among the Urban Poor of Jamaica*, that one can not underestimate the power of the urban poor. Some scholars, as he points out see the urban poor as a product of their oppressive regimes, and therefore cannot cause any real harm to the state. Whilst other would overestimate the abilities of the group, not taking into account the power of the state. However, Gray identifies how the urban poor do have the ability to acquire some type of power but points out that it requires a reassessment of how scholars view the methods employed by the urban poor. Many scholars see the behavior of the poor as "survivalist" and therefore, not meaningful for any type of change. This piece sheds further light on understanding how the poor function to attain

power and influence policy.

Jamaica has experienced many economic phases ranging from democratic socialism to the most neo-liberal policies. Understanding these phases is crucial due to the necessity of understanding how certain portions of society (middle and urban classes) reacted towards them. This is important because economic prosperity has a significant impact on how individuals vote, and in turn interact with political parties. *Small Garden... Bitter Weed: Struggle and Change in Jamaica* by George Beckford and Michael Witter state in their opening sentences, “Our intention... is... to provide... a deep understanding of the political economy of the underdevelopment of Jamaica.” (Beckford and Witter, 1982, p. xvii) More importantly, the 6th through 9th chapters specifically address the different economic ideologies advanced by the different Jamaican political parties. This book contributes to a better understanding of the phases in which the Jamaican political economy went through. However, it should be noted, that the causative factors (historical materialism) for which the book states to be the driving forces in the Jamaican political economy are not in favor of the research. Therefore, the authors do not specifically focus on the varying groups and subgroups in regards to them being directly influential factors in the economy.

Global Culture and the Politics of Moral Deregulation in Jamaica by Obika Gray provides another way of understanding the evolution of Jamaican society. This article provides an understanding of the various subcultures in the society which have had a large impact on the Jamaican identity. An integral part of the research entails understanding that Jamaican economic policy is not the sole product of any one actor, nor can one simple over-arching ideology explain

its creation. Gray's article helps to establish this idea. The author makes an effort to show that Jamaican culture is neither simply the sole product of international intervention or local society. The roots of various cultural components are examined in detail. The literature assesses how this "moral deregulation" of society allowed for these competing sub-cultures to arise. This idea of culture helps to understand the development of Jamaica's political culture. Additionally, according to Gray, "The deregulation of capitalist markets and the weakening of the interstate system have brought with them the correlative deregulation of norms and values." (Gray, 2003, p. 272) Another reason for the use of this article is its attention to the direct factors which initiated these Jamaican subcultures.

Another type of relationship that has been developed between political parties and the urban poor is the clientelistic relationship. Party leaders establish bonds with community leaders (dons) of the urban community in order to gain votes and ultimately have a role in national leadership. By establishing this bond the community leader in turn expects to gain material benefits for himself or the community. *Changing Patrons, from Politician to Drug Don: Clientelism in Downtown Kingston, Jamaica* by Amanda Sives is an important piece which contributes heavily to this idea. This article provides information on how these relationships develop and in conjunction with this, explains the relationship between the urban poor and political leadership in regards to capitalism. She establishes a more refined understanding of "clientelism" in order to explain what happens amongst Jamaica's urban community by examining how clientelism has not been static but has changed over the years. Particularly, with the intervention of the IMF in Jamaica, she points out how clientelism is reduced and the void in

resources is filled by the drug trade.

A very important paper for understanding how things changed in Jamaica under the various administrations between 1976 and 1982 is “An Analysis of the Management of the Jamaican Economy: 1972- 1985”. This paper provides very useful information for understanding how both the Manley and Seaga administrations interacted with the economy and thus affected economic policy.

During the 1970s Michael Manley embarked on a left leaning path towards socialism. Because of his left leaning orientation during this period he received a great deal of criticism due to the Cold War tensions. Along with the criticism however, came a great deal of praise from the Non-Aligned movement and the poorer segments of Jamaican society. It was this type of radical stance, and ability to stand up to United States foreign policy that makes his views on Jamaican politics and development worth mentioning. Manley discusses some of what is necessary for changing Jamaica to a more democratic and egalitarian society in his book *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament*. His book provides information on the lack of representation of the poorer segments of society, and additionally what problematic relationships between the people and the government can cause.

Another article which examines the political party behavior with more specificity is, *Appeals by Jamaican Political Parties: A Study of Newspaper Advertisements in the 1972 Jamaican General Election Campaign*. Understanding the methodology of acquiring power in the Jamaican political system is integral for understanding how they contribute to the economy. This is due to the fact that divvying up economic resources in the Jamaican system has been

directly related to how a particular community votes. The article gives an in depth study of how each party used national newspapers to influence the population.

Intergovernmental Organizations

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an important actor in the formation of Jamaican economic policies. IMF policies have had various negative and positive effects on the state, and have in turn influenced election outcomes and social class group behavior. Due to the IMF's clear role in Jamaican economic policy it is necessary to understand the institution. Devesh Kapur's, *The IMF: A Cure or a Curse?* addresses the formation of the institution as well as various political viewpoints on the organization. This piece aims to understand the organization from a neutral standpoint.

IMF loans and World Bank structural adjustment programs have caused a great deal of political instability within the state. This type of instability within the state is another factor which affects the relationships between political parties and social class groups. Winston Griffith's article, "A Tale of Four CARICOM Countries" highlights this point by demonstrating the number of strikes during the 1980s.

The 1970s and 80s were two very different periods in Jamaican history. Payne's *Liberal Economics versus Electoral Politics in Jamaica* explains these periods and how the state dealt with the IMF structural adjustment plans as well as how this affected the elections. Not only were these decades different the relationship between the government and IMF changed. This article highlights some of the policies enacted by the Seaga government which was ultimately pressured by the International Monetary Fund. However, the central reason why this article is

being used is because of the great details it provides for understanding the PNP's and JLP's relationship with the IMF. The actions taken by the Jamaican Governments because of the IMF have had polarizing effects on Jamaican citizens which in turn have expressed their feelings through elections. This piece provides background information for understanding the sentiment felt by the Jamaican populous.

In light of the influence the IMF has had on Jamaica, *The IMF and Class Struggle in Jamaica, 1977- 1980* by Richard L. Bernal will be used as well to highlight the most tumultuous three years for Jamaica since its independence. This article gives a great deal of insight as to the specific policies that were taken during the years 1977- 1980. It also addresses the reasons as to why the IMF policies were adopted in the first place. Attention is given to the ideological underpinnings of Jamaica's two dominant parties at that time, which still dominate politics in Jamaica today. Another reason why special attention is given to this article is also because of its emphasis on not only the IMF policies, but the issue of class warfare as well. Class conflict is important in understanding how the political parties operate bargain with influential individuals in each social class group.

CHAPTER ONE: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“Constructivist sensibilities encourage us to look at how actors are socially constructed, but they do not tell us which actors to study or where they are constructed. Before we can be a constructivist about anything we have to choose “units” and “levels” of analysis, or “agents” and the “structures” in which they are embedded.” (Wendt, 1999, p. 7)

A Feasible Framework

Constructivism, due to its flexibility and lack of rigidity in the realm of levels of analysis, possesses a great deal of breathing room for examining any elements within the international system. In conjunction with this, according to Wendt international relations students agree on two important premises, “... (1) that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces, and (2) that the identities and interests of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas...” (Wendt, 1999, p. 1) This focus on human association and shared ideas helps to shape the discussion for Jamaican political culture and the actors based within it, and outside of it. That being said this chapter examines the theories of realism, neo-realism, idealism, and neo-idealism, in order to show how they lack the adaptability to explain the main points of the discussion: 1) the motives behind actors within the Jamaican state, 2) the relationships between actors, and how they relate to economic policy and 3) the role of political culture.

Realism and Neorealism- The shortfalls

Essentially, the realist framework rests upon four main underlying principles. The first principle is- the centrality of the state, which emphasizes the idea that the state is the most important actor in all affairs. Secondly, the state is a unitary actor, which means that the state deals with the rest of the world from a singular stance. Thirdly, the state always acts rationally

which means that material benefits are always the driving force in action. And fourthly, national security of the state (high politics) is of the utmost importance on the state's priority list.

Because of the importance of the national security, note that the dynamic of power is an important element. (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 6) Another important concept in understanding the basis of this theory is the idea of anarchy. So, in order for realism to function successfully in its analysis of economic policy for the discussion, it must firstly explain the roles and motives of the urban poor, political parties, and intergovernmental organizations in regards to economic policy, *and* in light of its presumptions. And secondly, account for the change in relationships between: the urban poor and political leaders, and the change in stance of the intergovernmental organizations towards the Jamaican government, specifically the change in stance towards the Seaga government.

Now, as it can be seen, the main focus on the primacy of the state, immediately rules out understanding how imperative the urban poor, the working class, and political parties are in Jamaican society. A key point to understand is that realists *do* accept the existence of other actors within the system. However, this lack of flexibility poses a problem for this theory's universal applicability. Ayooob states that, "...one of the major functions of any successful paradigm in International Relations should be to diagnose and predict the basic sources of present and future conflicts." (Ayooob in Neuman, 1995, p. 32) Moving beyond the failure of this theory to deal with the proper levels of analysis, the presumption of rationality is problematic as well. Rationality presumes that there must be a calculated and predictable drive for material benefits at the root of all action. Two points can be established here. Firstly, as it was stated

earlier this rationality is linked the primacy of the state and other assumptions mentioned earlier. And secondly, even if rationality is then reapplied to the non-state actors, this presumption breaks down as well. This point will be demonstrated in the findings section.

The theory also breaks down if one were to consider the scientific realist concepts. The idea that the world exists in solely unbiased objective terms cannot help in understanding the case of Jamaica either. It must be noted that the quest for independence, and socio-economic mobility hinge upon 1) a certain historical understanding, and 2) a specific worldview. Wendt points out, when critiquing scientific realism, that “It should be noted that these principles [principles of scientific realism] say nothing about the nature or structure of society.” (Wendt, 1999, p. 51) The simple scientific methodology does not have the ability to address the evolution of human thought nor the mobilization of a people. Understanding the nature of non-state actors such as political parties and social class groups requires fundamental starting points which cannot be determined in a purely empirical manner.

Neorealism, partially, does a better job in explaining what took place in Jamaica. This revamping of realism hinges on the idea that it is the structure of the international system which holds constraints on state behavior. (Wendt, 1999) Nye points out that, “How states define their interests, and how their interests change has always been a weak area in Realist theory.” (Nye, 1988, p. 238) However, the theory falls short in explaining the behaviors of political parties, and also the urban poor. Firstly, on the basis of levels of analysis and building upon this, its main precept that this external force has some type of governing role. The behavior of the urban poor can be linked to their socio-economic condition and the behavior of political parties since their

inception in the 1940s can be tied to a clientelistic benefits based culture being created. Duffield points out the anomaly of the German government's behavior in not involving itself with the Bosnian crisis of 1994 can be attributed to the development of a political culture. (Duffield, 1999) In conjunction with this, he makes the point known that students and professors of international relations turn to non-realist concepts of culture to explain anomalies such as the German non-interventionist dilemma. These points establish the idea that international structure does not necessarily explain the political culture present nor does it govern the behavior of internal actors such as the urban poor.

In summary, realism and neo-realism do not deal with the probing questions of the discussion sufficiently enough to provide even a rudimentary understanding of the formulation of Jamaican economic policy in light of the non-state actors.

Idealism and Neo-liberalism

The idealist school of thought can be said to rest on four underlying principles as well. Firstly, the theory accepts the idea of non-state actors such as intergovernmental organizations and others as very important for understanding politics. Secondly, the state does not act unitarily and thus has components within it that act independently as well. Thirdly, rationalism is not the main assumption driving the behavior of actors since an array of them exist and have varying interests which sometimes require bargaining. And lastly, idealism rejects the idea that military power is of the utmost importance in regards to states. (Wendt, 1999) An important point in the idealist school of thought is the understanding of cooperation among groups based on the development of institutions and ideas for mutual benefit. This understanding of non-state and

state behavior possesses the ability to provide a limited explanation on the behavior of political parties and social class groups. If idealism bases itself on the use of shared ideas for creating stability and reducing conflict on the world stage, why is it that this set of ideas did not bring about mutual cooperation among parties as well? The following chapters will show this point through the examinations of non-state actors and political culture. A portion of this rests in a critique of idealism's ethnocentric orientation which particularly leans in the direction of American values. (Viotti and Kauppi, 1999, p. 224) Part of the basis of the clientelist relationship between both groups can be tied back to "materialism.

The traditional theories discussed in this section fail to assess crucial areas for understanding the Jamaican state. Throughout the paper, the historical analysis will demonstrate this claim. Understanding each actor and the historical development of the state's political culture prove to be crucial for a successful analysis in the research. Constructivism provides the framework for understanding these elements. In conjunction with showing areas in which traditional theories do not have the ability to be applied, the following chapters will also supply the necessary information for a proper analysis. Additionally, specific incidents of traditional theories' failures will be seen in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND ACTORS INVOLVED

The institutions and non-state actors within the Jamaican state have an important role to play since they affect the behaviors and actions of each other. A proper definition of the relevant actors is necessary in order better understand how they function within, and outside the state. Firstly, the institutions of the Jamaican political system influence the means by which political parties attain power, and also the limitations of how social class groups may express their consent or discontentment with the ruling government. In turn this has some, although not much, effect on how either set of actors impacts the economy policy. Institutions such as the Electoral Office of Jamaica, the Ministry of Finance and the Jamaican Parliament set parameters for how both political parties and social class groups may legally act in their respective roles. Political parties, social class groups and intergovernmental organizations who are based outside of the state, will be addressed in this section as well. An understanding of each group contributes further to comprehending political culture and thus, their respective roles in economy policy construction. Due to the nature of the urban poor, being a social class group without an explicit and unitary agenda or singular voice, a complete and proper understanding of this group can only be seen throughout the other sections. Since the research focuses on the non-state actors, only information on institutions and regulations deemed relevant for the research are examined.

Institutions and Regulations

Jamaica gained independence in August of 1962. However, before this, a parliamentary democracy was established using the British Westminster model. The house is bicameral and contains a Senate and House of Representatives. The House of Representatives currently

contains 60 seats, which represents Jamaica's 60 constituencies. A single member is elected by popular vote in the general election using the "first-past-the-post" system. (OAS, 2007, p. 5) Representative terms last for five years. However, they may be re-elected. The Senate on the other hand has 21 seats. Of these 21 seats, 13 are appointed by the Prime Minister and 8 are appointed on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition. All Jamaican citizens who have reached the age of 18 are permitted to vote as long as they have registered to vote and are residents in the state on the final day of registration. In general, these regulations are still in effect today.

The Electoral Office of Jamaica (EOJ) oversees all elections that take place. This institution is headed by the Director of Elections who "... is responsible for operating the electoral system and conducting the island's elections..." (OAS, 2007, p. 6)

The next important institution is the Ministry of Finance and Public Service. This institution "...has overall responsibility for developing the Government's fiscal and economic policy framework; collecting and allocating public revenues and playing an important role in the socio-economic development of the..." (www.mof.gov.jm)

Political Parties

The two most relevant parties in Jamaican politics are the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). These two parties have dominated the political system in Jamaica since 1944. Both parties were born out of trade unions. Trade unions arose out of the discontentment of working class Jamaicans with their political and economic condition during the 1920s and 30s. During this period, Jamaica was a British Colony which was administered by

the Governor. For brevity of the paper, it can be summarized that this system was highly unrepresentative (though not completely) of the Jamaican society. During 1935 only about six percent of the population, which was approximately 1.1 million, was entitled to vote. (Sives, 2007, p. 3)

The Jamaica Labour Party was founded by Alexander Bustamante in 1943 as the, “...political wing of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union...” (OAS, 2007, p. 7) Alexander Bustamante was, “a money-lender and self-proclaimed ‘friend of the workers’...” (Sives, 2010, p. 5) When riots would happen he would use his influence and personality to calm workers down. Using his charisma, he propelled himself to the head of the trade-union movement renaming it the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU). The People’s National Party (PNP) was headed by Norman Manley. He was invited to be its leader in September of 1938 when it began. Manley was the product of the prestigious Jamaica College and a very successful lawyer. (Sives, 2010, p. 6) It can be summarized at this point that the JLP primarily concerned its agenda with workers issues, while the PNP was nationalist. (Gray, 2002, p. 24) Manley began to work with the BITU during Bustamante’s detention. The emergence of political consciousness and organization at this time also fostered cooperation between both organizations. Members of the PNP joined the BITU increasing membership from 8,133 in 1941 to 20,612 in 1942. The ideology of the PNP during this period was dominantly Fabian Socialist. Beckford and Witter established the point that the JLP was a capitalist conservative party only trying to “...provide... more bread...and... more butter for the working class...” (Beckford and Witter, 1982, p. 63)

Upon Bustamante's release from detention in 1942, he accused the BITU of being led by people (Manley and PNP members) who only wanted to further their personal interests. In conjunction with this, he alleged that some officer unions had, "... conspired to extend the period of his detention." (Sives, 2010, p. 7) This can be identified as the dividing point between members of both organizations.

The parties were highly divergent at this point in regards to their ideologies and how different segments of society viewed them. Upon the launch of the JLP program in 1943 the goals and aims of the party were seen as follows:

to work for the social, economic, educational and political improvement and development of the condition of the small taxpayers, the workers and the masses on the whole. At the same time, the Party is pledged to keep within a certain moderate conservative policy in order not to reduce beyond reason, or destroy the wealth of Capitalists to any extreme that will eventually hurt their economical inferiors. (Nembhard, 1943, p. 62)

This type of attitude made the JLP very favorable for the business elites and allowed for the party to be viewed in more favorable light by the colonial powers. Manley on the other hand, was viewed in quite the opposite manner by both the business elite and colonial powers. Sives points out that Manley was, "...an advocate of socialism... and was perceived to be a danger to colonial society." (Sives, 2010, p. 8) In a letter written by Governor Richards (the head of the Jamaican Colony under rule) he stated:

...the Manley group is fundamentally anti-government and subversive. It is out to discredit and if possible break the present administration and it works, night and day, in

season and out of season, for that end under Manley's guidance. It aims –now openly- at conscription of all wealth and property, at complete self-government and at an entirely Communist set-up. (Letter from A.R. Richards)

It would not be for another five years till the ideas of the PNP would change to a more capitalist ideology.

The Urban Poor as a Relevant Actor

The urban poor in Jamaica can be identified as an unavoidable factor when trying to understand the economic policies of the state. Firstly, it is necessary to define who this group is composed of. According to Gray, the urban poor includes (but are not limited to):

“-Those who stoutly reject what they regard as the “slave wages” paid to the poor, and who turn to petty hustling, street trading and other self-supporting entrepreneurial pursuits as various as artisanry, street vending and popular singing.

-Those who fall into the ranks of the militant lumpenproletariat and who turn to crime and predation, drug-dealing and social banditry.”

-The contingent within the lowest rungs of the working poor who retain a tenuous attachment to the wage nexus. ...barmaids, menial workers in the service sector, those hiring themselves out as domestics, gardeners, casual labourers...” (Gray, 2004, p. 15)

Gray makes mention of these as sub-groups within the urban poor but points out that the individuals in one category sometimes fall into another. A key point worth mentioning in discussing the urban poor is the nature of the problems they suffer from. Gray states that the problems of the urban poor can be summarized as following:

- Loss of political freedom, personal liberty and citizenship rights in select inner-city communities where party linked militias treat residents as captive populations.
- Political victimization on the basis of political affiliation
- Imposition of humiliating stigmas based on class membership, residence and cultural attributes of class.
- Harsh state violence, cultural inferiorization and discriminatory application of the penal code.

(Gray, 2004, p. 18)

Each of these problems and reactions of the urban poor will be seen throughout the following chapters. Understanding these problems helps to shed light on some of the reasoning behind this social group's actions.

The urban poor express themselves in a number of ways which tend to influence the actions of those who hold power in the Jamaican Government. Gray points out in his book, "It is apparent that the poor are capable of fighting back in their own way, and they at times may even capture the powerful..." (Gray, 2004, p. 12) The necessity of mentioning this rests in the fact that "local dynamics" also entail understanding the methods for each group's social expression. It is to this end, that evidence is necessary for establishing the urban as a significant actor in Jamaican politics. Gray mentions additionally, in reference to the urban poor specifically that, "These pressures from below are now so well institutionalized that they have come to define the political culture of parties." (Green, 1997, p. 203) The urban poor play an integral role in helping to secure power for political party members. Specifically, through the use of "benefit

politics”, the urban poor have gained some degree of autonomy in the Jamaican political system. This point will be established further on in the other sections.

Two prominent examples of the urban poor’s expression can be found in contemporary Jamaican history. Firstly, consider the reactions of the urban poor during the gas riots of April 1999 in Jamaica:

“Demonstrators yelling "Down with the government" stoned and robbed motorists who tried to get past barricades of flaming tyres, household appliances, wrecked cars and rubbish.

Police firing tear gas and warning shots were unable to stop the looting or dismantle the dozens of roadblocks that sprang up across the island. The military deployed in the streets, some in armoured cars, and ordered all National Reservists to report to barracks.

Fuel price rises have led to the downfall of two Jamaican governments. Nine people died in fuel riots in 1979 and 1985.” (*The Independent News on Sunday*, 1999)

These examples provide an example of how the urban poor can be mobilized and also their ability to contest state actions. This example specifically demonstrates how Jamaican governments have been heavily challenged using violence as a means. As the citation pointed out, previous Jamaican Governments have been ousted because of the price of gas. This type of social expression can be seen as a backlash to the first problem sighted by Gray above. Another example can be seen in how the state is forced to address the needs of the urban poor by developing a two housing schemes- Tivoli Gardens and Concrete Jungle. (Sives, 2010) Had this

social class group not been influential, addressing them by providing housing to whole communities would not have been necessary.

Both examples demonstrate that this group must be seen as an actor who has a role to play in the Jamaican state. Later on in the paper, these occurrences of the urban poor mobilizing and contesting the state will be examined further to accentuate this point. In summation, to understand the important role of the urban poor, Gray states that, “Their power [the urban poor] has altered the dynamics of power relations...” (Gray, 2004, p. 21)

The International Monetary Fund and World Bank

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) were established in 1944. Both institutions are also commonly known as Bretton Woods institutions. According to the IMF website,

“The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization of 186 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world.” (IMF, 2009)

Essentially, the IMF functions as a type of last resort lender when a country is facing economic hardships. The IMF, since its inception, has been a very neo-liberal and capitalist organization. The IMF’s structure is similar to that of a financial cooperative. “A member country’s contributions to the IMF (called “quotas”) are based on its weight in the global economy. This weight also determines its voting power and borrowing capacity.” (Kapur, 1998, p. 116) When a nation-state approaches the IMF for funds, they have to adhere to certain economic and fiscal

policies which are called “conditionalities.” These policies are geared towards lowering, and if not completely eliminating the country’s domestic and external deficits.

Conditionality policies are monitored using five tools by the IMF. According to the IMF website, the tools are as follows: The first one is Prior Actions. Prior actions are actions taken before the loan is dispersed in order to set the foundation for program success. An example of this could be readjusting the foreign exchange rate. The second tool is called Performance Criteria. These are definitive standards that must be met in order for the agreed upon credit to be dispersed. There are two types of Performance Criteria: quantitative and structural. Quantitative usually refers to attaining certain fiscal balances and credit aggregates. Structural Performance Criteria has to do with structural policies which are imperative for the success of the program. The third mechanism used in monitoring is Structural Benchmarks. These “...are measures that cannot be monitored objectively to be PCs or are small steps in a reform process that would not individually warrant an interruption of IMF financing but that are part of a reform that is critical for program success.” The fourth component is Inflation consultation clauses. This is used in countries which have an inflation targeting policy. If the inflation policy is violated the country cannot borrow any more funds until the executive board consultation has been completed. Last but not least is the fifth tool: Program Review. Program review is a process by which the board reviews a program to ensure that it is meeting its specific goals. These reviews are also used to see if an alternative policy might make more sense.

The World Bank on the other hand serves a different purpose. According to the World Bank,

“The World Bank is a vital source of financial and technical assistance to developing countries around the world. Our mission is to fight poverty with passion and professionalism for lasting results and to help people help themselves and their environment by providing resources, sharing knowledge, building capacity and forging partnerships in the public and private sectors.” (WB, 2009)

The World Bank works with two closely affiliated organizations to facilitate its goals: The International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Agency (IDA). Both organizations provide low to no interest loans to developing states that do not have access to international credit markets. (WB, 2009)

The IBRD’s main source of funding is payments from 185 countries which are shareholders. Additional revenue is attained through selling top-rated AAA bonds in the financial market. The IDA’s funds are refreshed every three years by 40 donor countries. Through both of these organizations, the World Bank offers two types of loans: investment operations and development policy operations.(WB, 2009) An investment operations loan is used for a wide range of social and economic development projects while development policy operations are used for institutional restructuring projects. The World Bank also provides advice for developing states. This is done by data collection and research into various sectors in the economy which include banking, financial markets, trade and poverty.

These financial institutions have the ability to influence economic, as well as social stability in Jamaica due to the role of the urban poor and their connection to “benefit politics”. These institutions’ abilities to supply funding based on specific conditionalities of their choosing,

allows them to have a great degree of leverage on political party behavior. This point is addressed in great detail in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: INTERNAL ACTORS

The relationship between political parties and social class groups in Jamaica is a complex one. The interaction between both groups and the motives behind each type of interaction sometimes has an effect on government actions and furthermore economic policy. However, this interaction changes over time due to the fact that the motives for action change based on circumstances and condition. Understanding these interactions and motives in light of economic policy is the focal point of this section. The relationship between political parties and the urban poor is examined throughout segments of time in order to demonstrate how the relationship changes. Violence, clientelism, and “benefit politics” are mechanisms which are embodied in Jamaican political culture and have been used by both sets of actors in order to influence each other. The primary use for each of these mechanisms is to attain either more resources, political power, or reduce political competition, and in some cases all three. The time frames are as follows: 1943 to 1960, 1961 to 1971, and 1972 to 1976.

The Development of Identities (1943-1960)

This portion of Jamaican history is embodied by the development of identities. Firstly, a quest for a national identity is evident by the anti-colonial movements of this period, and secondly, more importantly for the discussion, the development of political identities. According to Beckford and Witter, this national identity was constructed carefully by the “mulatto petit bourgeoisie”. (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 61) He makes the point that contrary to popular belief, the Jamaican identity is not a product of the people. The focal point for this discussion however, is the political identities which were created. And as this section will

demonstrate, these political identities developed by both the JLP and PNP are foundational in understanding the relationship between both parties and social groups.

The 1930s consisted of various protests by the urban class and peasantry due to their dissatisfaction with the economic condition they were in. On the premise of assisting the working class to improve their economic condition, trade unions were created and then soon after, the PNP and JLP. However, formation of these trade unions and political parties can also be viewed as a means of attaining power by both Alexander Bustamante and Norman Manley. Gray points out that both leaders, shared "...residual cultural loyalty to the British..." (Gray, 2004, p. 24) And in conjunction with this, when Bustamante was released from his detention in 1942, he claimed that the organization was being used to advance personal agendas. Sives raises a crucial point on this argument stating that unity could have provided, "...a formidable opposition to the colonial state." (Sives, 2010, p. 7) What these facts bring to light is the idea that the motives for action, the ultimate goals of political leaders, and that of different social groups do not necessarily coincide, even when they may appear to. And more importantly, this point highlights the fact the first set of interactions taking place between political leaders is one which based upon each actor having different goals.

The use of violence can be identified early on Jamaican political culture. It can be seen early on in Bustamante's methodology for exercising his power upon his release from detention in 1942. Alexander Bustamante was considered to be the charismatic 'hero' for the working class people, while the PNP was simply a group of middle class organizations (Sives, 2010, p. 10). Each party started to develop its own core base of supporters as it progressed towards the

first election in 1944. Both the JLP and PNP had each established a trade union wing by 1942. The JLP was connected to the BITU and the PNP was connected to the Trade Union Congress (TUC). These trade unions were used as hubs to secure more votes since they were attractive for the working class. According to Gray, the PNP had gained additional strength through the TUC from Kingston's working class and unemployed. (Gray, 2004, p. 25). This increased popularity in PNP support only created further tension between both groups. In order to hamper the success of the PNP, Richard Hart a former PNP/TUC activist claimed that,

...a Bustamante union follower just gets up on the fence and conducts the audience in the singing of God Save the King...making the speaker quite inaudible and making it impossible to continue the meeting. (Interview Richard Hart, April 17 1996 in Sives, 2010)

This disruptive behavior caused the PNP to start arming itself with strongmen to protect the meetings. However, this only caused further altercations between the parties. Sives points out that the National Workers Union (NWU), which superseded the TUC, only possessed 19 percent of the of the total union membership in 1944, and by 1958 membership was 45 percent. (Sives, 2010, p. 10) She emphasizes the point that this was due to violence. Gray makes mention of an incident where TUC workers went on strike at a local hospital and "...a fracas ensued in which Bustamante was struck by a rock..." (Gray, 2004, p. 27) After the 1944 election, which was won by the JLP, the violence increased greatly due to the partisan fervor which was developing and the creation of gangs by the PNP in order to support the vote.

This high degree of partisan fervor can be linked to the desire of the urban poor (which

consists of the working class and unemployed) to attain economic resources. It is identified by Richard Hart, a PNP activist himself that these gangs which were created consisted of the “...working class... unemployed or underemployed...” (Sives, 2010, p. 14) Also, the survival of the PNP hinged upon the creation of these violent groups. Both political parties and members of the urban poor need each other for their survival. Bustamante used his position as Prime Minister and head of the trade union, to reward only his supporters with funding and employment. Eaton makes mention in his biography that since Bustamante was also Minister of Communications, it gave him the power “...to determine the levels and allocation of public funds for public works and in the process control the distribution... employment opportunities.” (Eaton in Gray, 2004, p. 26) This type of relationship, which is somewhat mutually beneficial for both groups, entails a high degree of political fervor and which is rooted in the idea of “benefit politics” for the poor, (Gray in Green, 1997, p. 204) has cemented itself in Jamaican society. Sives mentions that the siphoning of funding for specific groups was not seen as, “...corrupt use of state resources but as a legitimate reward for loyalty.” (Sives, 2002, p. 74) The violence during the 1949 election was particularly high given the number of incidents that took place between party supporters. During that year, the Governor had even banned campaigning for a period of 28 days and had both Bustamante and Manley sign peace pledges. (Sives, 2010, p. 25) The JLP won this election as well, although the PNP had gained a significant amount of votes since the 1944 election. The JLP attained 42.7 percent of the vote gaining 17 seats, and the PNP attained 43.5 percent gaining 13 seats. (Electoral Office of Jamaica)

In contrast to this tumultuous period during the 1940s, the 1950s was fairly calm with

consolidation of both parties. By the end of the 1950s, both parties had established trade union wings, developed their own bases of support within communities, and interestingly enough were both ideologically centrist. (Sives, 2010, p. 34) The political identities were being solidified. The PNP won their first election in 1955, attaining 50.5 percent of the vote and 18 seats while the JLP only gained 39.1 percent of the vote, and 14 seats. (Electoral Office of Jamaica)

With consolidation of political parties with their respective districts, clientelism was a developing trend. According to Sives the allocation of resources throughout the previous years was quite evident, but at this point, "... both political parties were now in a position to dispense state resources, whether national or local, to their own supporters." (Sives, 2010, p. 38) The reason for this type of allocation was to acquire political loyalty to the party from the poorer classes. Sives defines clientelism as, "The patron who, who has access to either private or public wealth, distributes it to favored clients who, in return, offer loyalty or some other nonmaterial benefit." (Sives, 2002, p. 69)

The last election of this decade in 1959 was particularly more violent and contentious. The reason for this is not exactly identifiable. However, during this election, the introduction of guns into the realm of garrison politics, and the numerous allegations of electoral fraud could be considered as reasons for the increased violence. Sives mentions that the development of violence in this election campaign, "... relate to the continuing development of partisan identity in an area of socioeconomic deprivation and to the extension of clientelist based politics based politics, although a direct connection is difficult to prove." (Sives, 2010, p. 47) Many election advertisements contained elements of denouncing violence in order to appeal to voters.

However, during this period, a 13 year old was shot during a shootout between rival gangs (based on party affiliation) and six people were hospitalized because of gang beatings. (Sives, 2010, p. 44) The PNP also won this election with 64.4 percent of the vote, attaining 29 seats. The JLP attained 35.6 percent of the vote, gaining 16 seats. (Electoral Office of Jamaica)

The use of violence and the development of clientelism have had a profound impact on the Jamaican political culture. This is evident due to the fact that the characteristics of the political culture discussed during this period, are still prevalent in contemporary Jamaica. The relationship that is established between political parties and social class groups is essentially built upon the desire to attain power and benefits. Sives points out that, “Clientelist policies tend to develop when there is a small group with access to material resources and a large group in need of material relief.” (Sives, 2002, p. 72) The political parties seek to gain power through the use of offering resources specifically to those who are poor and unemployed, with the idea of gaining their support, through the use violence at political rallies or at the voting booths.

This type of behavior has had undesirable effects on developmental economic policy within the state. As it was stated previously, at the end of the 1950s both parties had similar economic ideologies for economic advancement. In a state where a significant portion of the population lived under harsh socioeconomic conditions, diversity in the spectrum of economic ideology would have given the urban poor a chance to better express their grievances via the democratic model. However, with the lack of choice in the matter, the urban poor continued to suffer due to their lack of improvement. During the 1950s and 60s both PNP and JLP governments decided to try the “Puerto Rican Model” which entailed the idea of providing,

“...incentives to attract foreign capitalists to come and establish manufacturing activities.” (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 64) This model only provided a quite limited number of jobs although there was economic growth. This form of economics was based on making the economy highly attractive for foreign investors by, “...Tax free holidays, duty-free imports of raw materials, depreciation allowances...”(Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 64- 65)

The WWII spending policies of the United States, which were geared towards helping to rebuild Europe and combat the effects of the Great Depression contributed to the development of this capitalist model through the use of foreign capital and investment. It was a part of official government policy to support foreign investing. The influx of capital led to the development of branch plant manufacturing and the tourist industry. Beckford and Witter point out that although this capital led to a diversification of the economy, it was “peculiar”. The areas which were diversified were not linked to each other. And this was especially the case in regards to agriculture, which was one the state’s primary resources. (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 66) Essentially, the areas which were funded did not contribute to, or stimulate the other sectors of the economy. Despite these issues, economic growth during the 1950s was at a record high. Although significant growth existed, due to the “unequal distribution of property”, unequal distribution of wealth was the outcome. (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 72)

The root of each party can be seen from the initial split between Manley and Bustamante after Bustamante was released from his detention in 1942. This split was based on the suspicion of usurping power from Bustamante. At that point, there existed no significant ideological dilemma between both groups. Although the PNP was a nationalist movement, they had the will

to work with the trade unions. This shows the creation of identities which have been simply based on personalities and regions, and not on principle. “Political parties were seen as extended families ruled by charismatic leaders who would assist in their political supporters in times of need.” (Sives, 2002, p. 74) However, members of the urban poor were not simply “family” members or static units which obeyed party leaders. Gray makes note that “benefit politics” could only provide a limited amount of resources to a select sub-group of the urban poor. (Gray, 2004, p. 61) Based on this limited access to resources, individuals would routinely switch parties causing instability and uncertainty in the clientelist relationship.

In summary this time period in Jamaican history demonstrates the use of violence, the initiation of clientelism, and therefore the establishment of a particular political culture. This type of political culture fostered a lack of any significant diversity in each party’s economic or fiscal platform. Both parties established import substitution industrialization (the Puerto Rican model) which in turn did not improve the material conditions of the urban poor on any wide scale. The number of individuals employed through this program over a decade was, “less than the growth of the labour force in a single year.” (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 65) Sub-groups such as a Rastafari, and other black nationalists groups arose in order to challenge the political system, and both parties. However these groups did not yet secure a large enough base to have significant political clout.

The Post-Independence Period (1961- 1971)

The post-independence period of Jamaica, which was under the reign of the JLP, marked the end of the decolonization process and can be viewed as one of the most pivotal periods for

the discussion. The establishment and active role of Black nationalist groups and counter-hegemonic movements in the political process caused a great deal of instability in the newly independent nation. In conjunction with this, the beginning of what can be labeled as garrison politics, takes a stronghold in the Jamaican political system. Also, specifically during this time an entire housing scheme, Tivoli Gardens, had been built to facilitate and strengthen the loyalty of JLP party members. On this basis, this subsection examines the factors that further consolidated political identities as well as the sharpening of the political lines. The increased degree of political clientelism used by the JLP, the heightened violence caused by youth gangs in the political process, and also the continuation of "...foreign investment by invitation..." (Bernal, 1984, p. 58) by the Bustamante Government, are examined closely to demonstrate some of the reasons for the growing chasms.

During the latter half of this period, approaching the 1967 election, there was a significant increase in violence and the sharpening of party lines based on patronage-based politics. Sives identifies this by mentioning the increase in the use of guns and bombs in the West Kingston area and also the development of Tivoli Gardens and Concrete Jungle, two communities built for the sole purpose of housing party supporters. The heightening of clientelism can be witnessed early in the decade, during the 1961 referendum. This referendum addressed the question of whether or not Jamaica should remain a part of the British West Indies Federation.

The British West Indies Federation began in 1958 with ten member states: Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, Jamaica, Montserrat, the then St Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla,

Saint Lucia, St Vincent and Trinidad and Tobago. According to CARICOM's official website, "The Federation was established by the British Caribbean Federation Act of 1956 with the aim of establishing a political union among its members." The federation was headed by the Governor-General, who was appointed by Britain, by a Prime Minister, a Cabinet, a Council of State, a forty-five member House of Representatives and a nineteen member Senate. While the Federation existed only from 1958-62, a number of important issues which would strengthen the institution arose. Some of these issues included, direct taxation from the Federal Government, and "...Central planning for development, Establishment of a Regional Customs Union and Reform of the Federal Constitution." (CARICOM Official Website) The most controversial issue at this time was the issue of taxes. Many nations differed as to how the tax system should have been implemented. This being the case, many nations' leaders had different expectations as to what type of governance would be acceptable, and therefore eventually questioned whether or not the Federation was of any really benefit.

Political leaders quickly turned the national dilemma into a political one. A year before the referendum, 1960, during a federal-by election, Bustamante had pulled one of the candidates out of the election demonstrating his rejection of the federation. There are two identifiable reasons for this. The first was the party's disappointment with the Federation on the issues of "...taxation and economic development..." and also the need for the party to re-establish itself after losing the last election. (Sives, 2010, p. 54) Manley responded by saying the following:

Now that one party, the Jamaica Labour Party, has officially resolved to oppose the Federation it is right that the issue of Federation should, without the intervention of any

other issue, come before the people for decision. (“Referendum on Federation.” *Daily Gleaner*, June 1, 1960, p1.)

On September 19, 1961 the referendum was held. The question on the ballot was, “Should Jamaica remain in the Federation of the West Indies?” The whole issue became politicized and was based upon party affiliation. According to one contributor to, *The Gleaner* (a popular Jamaican newspaper),

“...the referendum which is supposed to be a national issue has crumbled to sheer party politics. Pro- and anti-federalists instead of setting forth clearly the advantages of federation are firing broad-sides of abuse on one another.” (Letter from Harry G. Smith, ‘Crumbled to sheer party politics.’ *Daily Gleaner*, September 5, 1961 found in Sives, 2010)

The end result was that the referendum was rejected. Jamaicans chose not to be a part of the Federation. The results are as follows: 54.1 percent (251,935 votes) of voters answered “no”, while 45.9 percent (216,400 votes) of voters answered “yes”, taking into consideration that 62 percent of the electorate voted. (Electoral Office of Jamaica) This was essentially a win for the PNP since they were the more nationalist of the two parties initially.

Several altercations between party members, once again, took place. Individuals who visibly supported the other party were attacked. However, although this type of behavior was widespread during the campaign, Election Day ensued very smoothly. (Sives, 2010, p. 56) Compared to previous elections the amount of incidents which occurred was lower. The reason for this can be identified by examining the clientelist relationship. The election did not have any

immediate major, or at least apparent, effect on the material conditions of the urban poor. This referendum dealt with the question of whether or not the people felt as if they should be part of an overarching supranational body, and that being the case, the political fervor at this point was not lost, but decreased. The stakes were not high enough as it pertained to “benefits politics”.

An important point for consideration at this juncture, is examining what such a stance from the voters actually means for the populous. According to Sives, the result of the vote demonstrated the domination of the PNP in Kingston and St. Andrew which were high population centers for the urban poor. (Sives, 2010, p. 55) The decrease in fervor as it pertained to the referendum indicates a certain outlook by the poor, an outlook which only sees immediate attainment of state resources as a worthy concern. As it was pointed out, the benefits and disadvantages of being a part of the Federation were not focal points for discussion. Rather, they were simply issues which were subsumed under each party, and voters generally supported them on this basis.

In 1962, Jamaica gained its independence and the JLP also came back to power. The JLP attained 50.04 of the votes (26 seats), while the PNP acquired 48.6 percent of the votes (19 seats). (Electoral Office of Jamaica) The campaign in this election had decreased violence. Sives explains the decrease by pointing out that since the nation was on the verge of independence, “...there was more impetus on the political parties to ensure ‘responsible’ behavior among supporters.” (Sives, 2010, p. 59) The return of the JLP to power can be linked to their successful anti-federation campaign. In conjunction with this, the lack of socio-economic mobility for the urban poor had not changed. The foreign investment policies did not

do enough to satisfy the urban poor.

In the decade following independence, a number of interesting developments on the island took place. The establishment of Tivoli Gardens and the use of youth gangs in the political arena would have a tremendous impact on politics in Jamaica for decades. In conjunction with this, violence increases in intensity with the use of high powered weapons. These developments are important for consideration due to the fact they contribute heavily to understanding the future political culture of the island.

a. Tivoli Gardens

An important event in Jamaican history to consider when analyzing the evolution of clientelism is the development of the Tivoli Gardens housing scheme. One of the most significant problems for the urban poor in Kingston during the 1930s and 40s was the issue of housing. Many individuals resided in dilapidated shacks made of zinc and plywood. These areas had no real privacy in that individuals would routinely share public toilets and baths. In order to address this issue the PNP after their win in the 1955 election, began a housing program in the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate area. Between 1955 and 1962 the PNP built two neighborhoods for middle class citizens, the Mona Heights and Harbor View housing schemes. Also during the same period they developed plans to build low income housing in the Western district. Tivoli Gardens was a part of this plan. (Gray, 2004, p. 72) As preparations were being made for the scheme in 1963, the PNP lost power. Losing power meant that they no longer had the ability to distribute the housing as they saw fit. The JLP's win during this period gave them the power to set up the criterion for acquiring housing in the region. The real tension started

when residents of the area were starting to be evicted during the commencement of building in 1963. According to Sives on October 2, 1963 the scheduled start for construction, 3600 residents were still living in the area. At this point in time many of these residents were “hardcore” PNP supporters, members of “youth gangs” as well as “militant” supporters of the Rastafarian movement. (Gray, 2004, p. 73)

Supported by PNP political organizers, non-PNP left wing activists and PNP-organized gangsters, these residents demanded assurances that they would be housed... (Gray, 2004, p. 73)

During the first 2 days of construction protests remained peaceful, however, on the third day, violence erupted. (Sives, 2010, p. 65) The JLP responded by unleashing riot police and bulldozers. Then during 1966, the JLP decided to do an expansion of Tivoli Gardens. Despite all of the protest, the JLP once again, did not back down. The police, with the assistance of bulldozers quickly dispersed all the protestors. (Gray, 2004, p. 74) According to former JLP leader Edward Seaga, the housing scheme was necessary because,

JLP supporters sought to live in an enclave where they could protect themselves... [from PNP supporters] They [the police] could never be depended upon to assist or protect anybody on the JLP side, and that is for more than one reason for the people of West Kingston to have sought to put themselves in an area, where they do not have to look over their shoulders... (Interview, Edward Seaga, September 7, 1955 found in Sives, 2010)

This was the reasoning articulated by the JLP for housing. Once again, it is noticeable that that

violence and activity from the urban poor become heightened when material benefits are at stake.

b. Youth Gangs

The violence and deep chasms that were growing during this three year period (1963-1966) contributed significantly to what was about to take place in the 1967 election campaign. A significant contribution to the violence was the establishment of youth gangs. These juvenile gangs which already existed consisted of young men who resided in a certain region where membership was usually based on geographic location. Because political lines were usually drawn by geographic location as well, gangs which resided in a certain constituency were enticed by political leaders to become politically active. Edward Seaga, a member of parliament in the West Kingston area, and the minister in charge of youth and community development, would use his power to bring youth in the political scene. When youth were already involved in local community activities, the Youth Development Agency would undercut their autonomy, and encompass "...these activities under the umbrella of the Youth Development Agency." (Gray, 2004, p. 75) Gang enforcers would routinely look out for individuals who displayed the ability to lead and incorporate them into the gang's activities. These individuals would be enticed through offers of athletic gear for football teams and the funding of community development projects. (Gray, 2004, p. 80)

c. Heightened Violence 1966-1967

The run-up to the 1967 national election was different from other years because of the dynamics mentioned previously in this sub-section. These dynamics caused an increase in tension, and partisan fervor. Also, violence did not only occur between rival gangs but also

between trade union members. (Sives, 2010, p. 68) Sives points out that the violence during this time frame (1966- 1967) was of a qualitative and quantitative difference in light of the intensity, number of individuals, number of battles and the length of time in which conflicts between groups lasted. (Sives, 2010)

The use of higher powered weapons such as Molotov cocktails and dynamite are notable during this period. In June 1966, there were two weeks of clashes involving dynamite. (Sives, 2010, p. 69) Also, during this period a conclusive link was made between political parties and weapons. Numerous weapons were found in multiple party headquarters around the Kingston area. According to Sives raids on both parties' headquarters in West Kingston on October 4, 1966, "... led to the discovery of a number of guns, homemade bombs, ammunition... and knives." (Basil Wilson, *Surplus Labor*, 278-9 found in Sives, 2010, p. 69) Another correlation was made between gangs and political parties. When these raids occurred wanted men were found on the premises of political headquarters. (Sives, 2010, p. 72) During the month of October in 1966 two rival gang leaders were killed, and a bomb exploded in the Queens Theatre. This caused the JLP government to declare a state of emergency on the island. (Sives, 2010, p. 71) The JLP ultimately won this election attaining 50.04 percent of the vote (26 seats), while the PNP gained 48.6 percent of the vote (19 seats). One point to take into consideration is the allegation of electoral fraud which took place during this election. (Gray, 2004) This type of widespread violence and animosity amongst the urban poor contributed significantly to the political partisanship already existent in Jamaican society. And in conjunction with, this a lack of access to resources only compounded the clientelistic relationships which were being built.

d. Economic Policy

Economic policy during this time was simply a continuation of the foreign direct investment plan of the previous decades. According to Sives, “The economic policies pursued did not benefit the majority of the population but rather were designed to ensure a stable climate for foreign investors, highlighting the limits of “independence”.” (Sives, 2002, p. 75) Although the real rate growth per year was 3.6 percent from 1960 to 1968, unemployment had skyrocketed from “13 percent in 1960 to 23 percent in April 1972” (Bernal, 1984, p. 58). The lack of ownership of national resources and the rapid deterioration of the lower classes allowed for a great deal of social unrest and unpredictability. Even resources which were extracted from Jamaica that had the potential to remedy the economic situation were exported in an undeveloped and unprocessed form. This meant that “...secondary and tertiary incomes were lost to local economies and minimal backward and forward linkages were generated.” (Griffith, 2002, p. 85) Jamaica had also acquired a great deal of debt; “The current account deficit increased throughout the 1960s and early 1970s from J\$21.2 million in 1960 to J\$103.0 million in 1969...” (Bernal, 1984, p. 58) This, in summation, caused social and economic underdevelopment in the region. This period raised a lot of questions pertaining to what the future of Jamaica might be. Also during this period, ideas of integration were advanced and also initiated amongst Caribbean nations. Organizations such as CARIFTA (Caribbean Free Trade Association) and CARICOM (Caribbean Community) were initiated in order to address the developmental problems of the era. However, these organizations had no significant impact on the country and thus a new approach was needed to address the deplorable situations for the poor masses.

An Analysis of these two periods: (1943- 1971)

The creation and consolidation of political parties, their identities, and the identities of their followers, can be attributed to these two periods. The use of violence, the development of clientelistic relationships, and “benefits politics” were all used by political parties in order to win votes and secure power. At this point it can be established that a political culture had started to take root in Jamaican society. The development of each party was initially based on trade unions which signified Jamaican’s discontentment with their socio-economic situation. In conjunction with this, the lack of representation of the masses also allowed trade unions to seem as a viable option for having their views articulated. Although the trade unions and political parties provided a means for socio-economic mobility and representation, they failed to move beyond the initial phases of these goals. Both political parties established their basis for support on political personalities and geographic location. And as stated before, neither party had any significant difference in its ideology from the other. Both parties supported an economic ideology which was in opposition to solving the problem of poverty among the urban poor. This lack of diversity left the urban poor with no realistic options for fundamental change in economic policy. However, the urban poor did possess the ability to have meaningful impact. Gray makes the point that party politics in Jamaica is not defined by the “labor capital antimony”, but by competition to provide benefits. (Gray in Greene, 1997) As the evidence shown previously demonstrates, the desire of the urban poor to ameliorate their situation gave rise to counter-hegemonic movements, although these movements never fully materialized. So therefore, it can be understood that beyond the realm of benefit politics, the urban poor had no significant pull on

economic policy. Political parties would simply provide benefits, but at the same time would provide no real long term solution to any of the state's economic problems up to this point. It should be noted, that the urban poor's role in economic policy up until this point was only helping to cement the capitalist system. This lack of ability to push for serious change while at the same time playing an active role in political campaigns demonstrates this point.

The Manley Governments: (1972-1976)

During the 1970s, three changes can be identified in regards to clientelism and economic policy. Firstly, there was a massive increase in polarization and the use of violence in the political realm. Sives identifies the expansion of patronage based politics as the reason for this. (Sives, 2010, p. 79) The reasoning behind this increase in polarization and violence is worth examining due to the fact that elements of this type political behavior still exist in twenty-first century Jamaica. As it was pointed out earlier in this chapter, in regards to the Federation referendum, an increase in violence can be linked to the chance of receiving more benefits. Also, in regards to this period, Gray makes mention of what he calls, "badness honour." This "badness honour" which he identifies with this period is, "...a distinct dramaturgy in which claimants to respect and social honour employ intimidation and norm-disrupting histrionics to affirm their right to an honour contested or denied." (Gray, 2004, p. 129) The second change which can be identified is the use of popular street culture in election campaigns. (Gray, 2004, p. 125) Political parties would routinely use street terminology and simplistic popular phrases in order to appeal to the lower classes. An important point for consideration in reference to these two changes is that the use of "badness honour" and popular culture are indicative of the lower

classes gaining more power in the political and economic realm. And thirdly, it was also during this period that Michael Manley initiated Jamaica's first and only form of "democratic socialism". This type of economic policy was in sharp contrast to what Western powers defined as acceptable in light of the cold war environment. These three changes and the changing relationship between political parties and the urban poor will be examined throughout this section.

Polarization and Violence

At the beginning of the 1972 election campaign period, Norman Manley was no longer in charge of the PNP since he had retired in 1969. The party was now run by his son, Michael Manley. The PNP won this election attaining 69.8 percent of the vote, while the JLP attained 30.2 percent. (Electoral Office of Jamaica) Sives identifies Manley's coming to power through his successful use of popular culture in the local elections. In reference to Michael Manley, she states, "Known as 'Joshua,' Manley wielded the 'rod of correction,' which he said was a gift from Haile Selassie I." (Sives, 2010, p. 80) The PNP had ran on a campaign of "Better Must Come" and "Power to the People" highlighting the partisan behavior of the JLP, and the high degree of unemployment.

The increase in polarization can be linked specifically to a number of issues. One of them is the increase in the use of benefit politics specifically in the areas of housing and employment. (Sives, 2010, p. 83) There were several reports of PNP members showing up at construction sites and government offices requesting employment. In conjunction with this, the Minister of Housing's decision to build "political strongholds" such as Arnett Gardens also

known as Concrete Jungle, around the recently established JLP linked Tivoli Gardens only escalated the tension. (Sives, 2010, p. 78) Prior to the election PNP candidate Anthony Spaulding had advocated a 40-40-20 split for employment opportunities. Both parties would receive an equal amount of jobs and the remaining 20 percent would be for non-party activists. This formula was rejected. Later on during Manley's term he advocated that it would be a 60-30-10 split. However, this plan was rejected by the JLP. After the intervention of church leaders, Manley decided that jobs would be allocated on a first come basis. (Sives, 2010, p. 93) Also, individuals had become entangled in the ideological divide of communism versus capitalism. During Manley's first term, he had sought to implement "democratic socialism". This had caused a great degree of skepticism from JLP members and those who were a part of the business elite. This only brought to light the previous allegations of "communism" which were prevalent from the PNP's inception. Political leaders rallied around this issue and the negative sentiments towards each other only filtered down to rival political gangs and the rest of the urban poor. This only furthered the polarization between community and gang members in their respective areas.

Another factor that should be taken into account is Gray's "badness honour." This concept is one that is used by the disadvantaged poor and unrepresented in society in order to have their voices heard. Individuals will routinely threaten, or use direct violence against, rival parties in order to attain a desired goal. (Gray, 2010) According to Gray, "Acts of badness-honour constitute a gestural-symbolic system and a carrier of moral communication." (Gray, 2010, p. 129) This methodology of expression can work in favor or against a political party.

The use of badness honour can be identified among the urban poor since the 1960s. However, this form was denounced by both Manley in the 1950s and Shearer in the 1960s. The reason for this was the use of violence and the unnecessary complications it caused for both parties in light of political stability and the quest for independence. In conjunction with this, badness honour is a demonstration of the increasing power of the urban poor beyond the realm of simply attaining benefits. Gray points out that, “In this cannibalizing of the state, the poor gnaw at its vitals, taking huge and unauthorized bites out of its funds, its property, and even its time.” (Gray in Green, 1997, p. 205)

Essentially, the use of badness honour is an offensive and defensive weapon of the power.

Sives and Gray both demonstrate that there was a drastic increase in violence during 1976. According to Sives specifically, “...from January 1976...violence... included arson, bombings, gun crimes and murder.” (Sives, 2010, p. 84) In conjunction with this the Manley Government had implemented various curfews and had declared a national State of Emergency on June 19, 1976. Minister of National Security Keble Munn stated that the country was, “...sinking into a state of anarchy.” (Interview with Keble Munn, August 17, 1995) What is notable here is the intensity and prolonged amounts of violence taking place. This can again be linked to the increasing polarization.

Popular Culture

The use of popular culture and simplistic popular phrases during election campaigns is a trend that was developed during this period. During the PNP’s campaign in the 1972 election, reggae music and Rastafarian iconography were used in order to captivate the minds and hearts

of the disadvantaged. Jacobs points out in his article on advertising in the 1972 election that Prime Minister Hugh Shearer aligned his announcement of the election date with that of the church bell at 9:00pm. As the clock struck the hour he repeated the phrase “true word” which was a common phrase used amongst Jamaicans when the clock struck the hour. (Jacobs, 1973, p. 26) In another case the PNP used religion in order to captivate its audience. In a full page newspaper advertisement it stated, “Jamaica needs a moral and spiritual rebirth to heal the Nation’s ills.” (found in Jacobs, 1973, p. 37)

And,

If it is God’s will that the people of Jamaica chose the PNP as the next Government of Jamaica, these are some important ideas we would like to share with you. (found in Jacobs, 1973, p. 37)

The PNP additionally used a picture of a “healthy built, black woman” who was “...straining to pull an over laden donkey ... through a narrow pass.” (Jacobs, 1973, p. 26) The caption is as follows: “It’s time for better roads.” (found in Jacobs, 1973, p. 26) In making statements like these Manley appealed to the working class and urban poor. The PNP had generally recognized the volatility of this group and wanted to secure their vote.

Manley’s Democratic Socialism

Upon entering office, Michael Manley sought to implement “democratic socialism” in 1974. According to an interview, this system was described as:

A political and economic theory under which the means of production, distribution and exchange are owned and/or controlled by the people. It is a system in which political

power is used to ensure that exploitation is abolished, that the opportunities of society are equally available to all and that the wealth of the community is fairly distributed.

(Interview with Michael Kaufman, in Sives, 2010, p. 98)

One of the most noticeable changes was the expansion of the state's role in the economy via the acquisition of resources. Manley made the point that the "commanding heights" of the economies were considered as property of the people and thus required government intervention. Manley's government took over the "public utilities; about half of the major hotels; foreign-owned sugar estates; Barclay's Bank, a British Multinational Bank..." (Griffith, 2002, p. 85) This sort of government action was actually received with hostility from western powers. This was due to the Vietnam War, the Cuban revolution and other leftist ideological confrontations that were being propagated during the Cold war. Although this type of leftist ideology was unfavorable to Jamaica's capitalist neighbors, Jamaican's urban poor received it without much hesitation. The reasoning for this receptivity from the urban poor can be linked to the rapid increase in unemployment during the 1960's and early 70s. Some of the more noticeable changes in policy and ideology are as follows:

- a) the Bauxite Levy to increase government revenue and the country's foreign exchange receipts from the bauxite/alumina industry;
- b) numerous social welfare measures and programs like SEP for poor people unemployment, PLL for peasant farmers, the minimum wage for workers;
- c) raising the level of socialist political consciousness in order to support the assault (of capitalism)

d) helped to fortify the Non-aligned movement and the struggle for a New International Economic Order (NIEO) (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 90)

The increased polarization which was mentioned earlier had a lot to do with misinformation and misunderstandings by the JLP and the business class. An examination of the PNP's platform would indicate that the party was not purely communist; rather the party had taken a more left of center route. (Sives, 2010, p. 99-100) For example, when a number of young men were being trained in Cuba for construction work, the JLP alleged that this was military training. (Sives, 2010, p. 102)

Although these polices helped to ameliorate some of the deplorable socio-economic conditions at the time the polices, ended up being unsuccessful due to the international oil crisis and the retraction in US spending due to the Vietnam War. During this time the government kept on spending and incurred a great deal of debt. This is what fostered the necessity for Manley to eventually start seeking loans from the international community and then ultimately the IMF and WB.

Some Insight on Manley

Michael Manley's radical shift in ideology has caused him to be one of the most controversial leaders in Jamaican history. With his messiah-like role in Jamaican politics during the 1970s, and his fame a broad in the lesser developed world, it is worth understanding some of his stances on the lesser developed segments of society, which thus provides some inferences on his stance on the urban poor.

One of the problems that Manley identifies in Jamaican society is the problem of

“remoteness”. He identifies lack of connection between the lower classes and the rest of society, and furthermore, policy construction. Note carefully, that it is not a disconnect between politicians and the constituents, but rather a disconnect in the area of meaningful change. Manley sees the solution to this as involving “...the country in the decision making process.” (Manley, 1975, p. 76) In addressing this problem in more detail he mentions the relationship between the government and people, and the necessity of it being grounded in morals, else “circumvention of the relationship by fair means or foul...” will become a possibility. (Manley, 1975, p. 77) A major point worth noting at this juncture is how this “circumvention” can be seen in the establishment of clientelistic relationships. The lack of access to the economic policy process by the working class and urban poor is linked to their shift in focus towards the methodology of benefits politics. Furthermore, consider how Manley explains the power of the lower classes.

In Manley’s book, *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament*, in the second chapter which is entitled the “Strategy of Change”, he identifies eight characteristics of the Jamaican state after universal adult suffrage (1945) until 1972. Of these characteristics, he points out the gap between the rich and poor by stating the three social class groups which he sees in society. One of which is of primary importance: workers and peasants. According to him, this group “...had a little income with no assets and the second, little assets with virtually no income.” (Manley, 1975, p. 96) Additionally, in the section he points out how the Jamaican economy is two-tier: one segment being filled with “favourably placed industries”, “an entrepreneurial and worker aristocracy” and growth in salaries; and the other segment remaining “unemployed” and

“stationary”. The social class group identified previously resides in the latter segment of the economy. These points are crucial because of what Manley identifies next. He states that in reference to the declining status of the latter segment, “The social tensions that result from this process are intolerable and represent a threat to the existing social order if remedies cannot be found and the process reversed.” (Manley, 1975, p. 101) It was to this end that Manley decided to pursue an economic path that would allow for this segment of the society to gain socio-economic mobility. Manley’s insight into understanding Jamaican society provides useful information for understanding much of the policies he was pursuing during his initial two terms in office.

An Analysis of these Three Decades (1943-1976)

The main goal of the trade unions during the 1930s was to allow for proper representation in order to acquire better socioeconomic conditions. The initial relationship established with the leaders of these movements was built upon the attachment to a specific personality. Both Bustamante and Norman Manley had a very similar political outlook at the time. Both leaders wanted representation for the people and independence from the British (although Manley was more nationalist). And although this movement for representation and improvement had been built, it had failed to fully materialize. Even up until the late 1960s both parties had a capitalist orientation which had failed to make any wide-scale improvement for the urban poor or working class. In reference to the failure of unions, George states that,

“Consequently, the unwillingness of the unions to pose an autonomous challenge to state political power and the ability of political elites to ‘buy out’ political protest and generate

electorate support from the labor sector meant that once again political exclusion of the mass public by a powerful elite became the organizational feature of politics within the Caribbean. (George, 2003)

Additionally, the failure to attain serious change can be attributed to the establishment of parties around personalities and not actual around any clear ideology. Party leaders would establish clientelist based relationships with members of the urban poor and indirectly promote violence in order to reduce competition. The urban poor would participate in this relationship because it was economically beneficial for them. Political leaders would even use gangs and youth to propagate their political dominance in the community. In return for following party leaders, supporters, gang leaders and youth would be rewarded with cash, employment or even housing. The term for this according to Gray is “benefits politics”. In summarizing the clientelistic process, Edie’s interviews with PNP and JLP activists provide a detailed list of actions in regards to employment:

Step I: The Councillors [local political representatives] tell party activists at the grass roots level that jobs are available.

Step II: Party activists are given a list with a specific number of slots indicating how many jobs are available. They are to then contact their brokers and together they should come up with a list of party people who need jobs.

Step III: The Councillors then recommend those people to the Parish Council’s civil servants for the available jobs.

Step IV: The Parish Council’s civil servants then give out the jobs based on the

Councillor's or MP's recommendations which may not have anything to do with qualifications. (Edie, 1989, p. 9)

The urban poor had oriented itself in such a fashion that they could not be ignored. However, this social power which they had was used to acquire material resources for respective communities and nothing else. This is evident in the partisan methodology of disseminating political rewards. The power of the urban poor was increased due to some external forces such as Black Nationalist and communist movements. The increase of political consciousness due to these movements prompted political leaders during the 1970s to find new methods of attaching themselves to the urban poor. At this point political leaders started using popular culture and local identity issues to appeal to the urban poor and working class. This proved to be a success in regards to Manley's initial win in 1972 and also his re-election in 1976. Although Manley's socialist reformation did not take hold completely, it was received fairly well by most citizens in the society. This can be identified by his reformation's ability to rectify the condition of the urban poor and working class. A unique way of describing this type of clientelism in Jamaica is Szeftel's "politicized identity" (Szeftel, 2000), which states that essentially, the primary identity of party adherents is embodied with their political affiliations.

In summary, the urban poor did not ultimately have much impact on economic policy. The urban poor's ability to affect policy up to this point, once again, was limited to receiving material rewards on the basis of political partisanship and local constituency. The allocation of these material rewards was specific to the party supporters who were dominant in each local constituency. However, this does not mean that the urban poor were not legitimate actors or

players in the political scene considering the fact that politicians found it necessary to address their concerns and eventually co-opt sub-movements. Using the socialization process model of political culture it is evident that throughout these three decades a particular political culture has developed. This political culture which is embodied by the use of clientelism and violence, evolved from simply using scare tactics to dismantle political rallies to the use of high powered to actually kill political supporters of the opposing party.

According to Gray, “Making war on the urban poor through methods of clientelist “democratic factionalism” was our method of exercising political domination and our way of securing our legitimated position in the interstate system.” (Gray in Henke and Reno 2003, 246)

CHAPTER FOUR: THE INTERVENTION OF EXTERNAL ACTORS

The intervention of intergovernmental organizations in the Jamaican economy started during December 1976. As it was stated in the previous chapter, Manley's government embarked on the path of democratic socialism. This entailed an increase in state spending by nationalizing many privately owned resources and also increasing state expenditure on social welfare benefits. This increase in spending, along with world inflation which had increased by 125.7 percent between 1972 and 1976, and a decrease in exports, caused the state to run into a debt payment crisis. "The government's budget deficit increased from J\$66.8 million in 1972-1973 to J\$278.2 million from 1975-1976." (Bernal, 1984, p. 64) In conjunction with this, commercial banks had stopped lending to the Government of Jamaica. These were the premises on which the IMF and World Bank had become involved with the Jamaican economy. The intervention of the IMF and World Bank in the Jamaican economy adds to the complexity of understanding how other non-state actors interact with each other, and the economy. Specifically, the intervention of the IMF during the first three years of Manley's second term, affected political party behavior and throughout the next decade, ultimately caused a noticeable change in the clientelist relationships which had been developed between the political parties and urban poor. The World Bank is mentioned during this period because of the cross-conditionality programs which link both inter-governmental organizations. And in conjunction with this, the change in this relationship, and the increase in weapons use, caused violence to increase drastically during the early 1980s. This violence was indicative of what Gray called a "gangsterization" of politics. (Gray, 2004) Along with changing the relationships which had

developed, the IMF and World Bank staunchly advocated neo-liberal policies causing a great degree of change in the economy. This chapter will examine these organizations' involvement and assess how both they influenced the economy as well as interacted with political parties. Also this chapter will discuss the Seaga administration's relationship with the IMF and World Bank. According to Payne, the terms which were agreed on during the Manley terms were not the same as the ones discussed under the Seaga administration. (Payne in Sutton, 1993)

The IMF Steps In (1976- 1979)

Essentially, the Manley Government was forced to seek IMF assistance since no other institution or state would lend them the money. As Van Horne points out, many of his socialist and communist international allies had refused him loans leaving him with no choice. (Van Horne, 1981) Requesting help from the IMF was a quite difficult and sobering task for Manley, since he had sought to reform the nation from the very type of ideology which was promoted by this organization. Discussions were initiated in December of 1976 and agreed on a two year Stand-By agreement in June 1977. (Bernal, 1984, p. 64) Because the balance of payments deficit, public funding for the Manley Government's socialist programs could not be attained. Therefore the Manley Government sought to take out a loan with the IMF. The discussions ensued and the first drawing of US\$22 million was made in September 1977. Soon after, in December of that year, the state failed the "net domestic assets test" which caused the IMF to terminate the agreement and renegotiate another plan. (Bernal, 1984, p. 64) An important factor to take into consideration, are the policies of conditionality which came along with the IMF loan agreements. The policies are as follows:

- (1) Devaluation to discourage imports and make exports more competitive;
- (2) Minimizing wage increases to (a) reduce aggregate demand as to reduce import demand and (b) reduce cost of production to increase profits and reduce cost-push inflation;
- (3) Deregulation of the economy by removing price controls, subsidies exchange controls, import licensing, and import restrictions;
- (4) Reduction of government expenditure and the elimination of the budget deficits. This would reduce the ability of the state to intervene in the economy;
- (5) Promotion of capitalist enterprise by eliminating state enterprises and programs that support non-capitalist forms of production; and
- (6) Restrictive monetary and credit policies including reduced money supply, higher interest rates, and limits on borrowing by the state and state enterprises. (Bernal, 1984, p. 65)

IMF policy makers held the belief that the prescription of the above policies had the ability to fix the nation's balance of payments crisis and in conjunction with this increase productivity by making more foreign funds available.

These policies were part of the IMF and World Bank's cross-conditionality agreements. This plan was developed after 1973 because of the sharp increases in the price of oil, a worsening in the terms of international trade and an increase in the interest rates of debt repayment. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 30) This "balance of payments crisis" was so consist in developing countries that one political economic theorist stated that, "...there can be little doubt that it can only be described as 'structural' or 'fundamental' in its nature." (Brett in Sutton, 1993, p. 30) So because of this "structural problem" existing in the international loaning system this additional set of policies was added to the IMF loan agreements.

These policies were in opposition to the Manley Governments path to economic stability and independence. However, the government being left with no choice in the matter decided to take the bitter medicine proposed by the IMF. Bernal makes mention that these policies were intended to:

- 1) promote capitalist enterprise and enhance its profitability by reducing real wages and eliminating price controls
- 2) reduce to a very minimum the role of the state and its ability to undertake production and regulate the economy
- 3) establish free markets as the main mechanism of resource allocation
- 4) increase the openness of the economy, maintain its integration with world capitalism, and facilitate the penetration of foreign capital.

(Bernal, 1984, p. 66)

These policies had a series of mixed effects within the state. The policies stated triggered an undesirable domino effect on non-state actors. The implementation of these IMF mandates affected the economy first. And this change in the economy affected the behavior of the urban poor and ultimately the behavior of political party members. Firstly consider the macroeconomic indicators in the following table:

Figure 1 Macroeconomic Indicators Under IMF Programs Years

	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Policy Indicators					
Average Real median weekly income(%change)	+15.1	+18.1	-1.6	-25.9	-
Real GDP: percentage change	-0.6	-6.1	-1.9	-0.3	-1.4
Balance of payments: change in US\$ million	+127.7	-164.1	+233.5	-64.5	-78.6
Unemployment rate: percentage (October)	20.9	24.2	23.8	26.0	31.1

(cited from Bernal, 1984, p. 67)

The three year Extended Fund Facility which was initiated during the renegotiation of 1978 called for another devaluation of currency. In conjunction with this, the agreement entailed a

cutback in operations of the State Trading Corporation, and an additional \$180 million in new taxes. “The consequent 40% increase in the cost of living and the 15% ceiling on wages meant a 25% cut in the real wages of the employed working class in a single year.” (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 95) All the measures which were proposed by the IMF failed to produce the desired results. “The Jamaican dollar was devalued 40 percent, “...social programmes were scaled down to curb inflation, ... and unemployment was allowed to rise... forcing Manley to return to the IMF in 1980 to request an additional US\$180 m.” (Van Horne, 1981, p. 431) In conjunction with a reduction in spending, the IMF and World Bank had mandated that a number of steps be taken to increase accountability in government spending. (Harrigan, 1998) These policies made it more complicated for government administration on the local and national level. (This point will be addressed in more detail later on in this section.) Consider the following table which discusses some key socio-economic indicators:

Figure 2 Key Socio-economic Indicators, 1977- 1980

Variables	1977	1978	1979	1980
Unemployment	24.6	23.0	24.4	27.9
Youth Unemployment (%)	44.6	43.5	45.4	50.6
Rate of Growth				
a) GDP	-2.4	0.4	-1.7	-5.8
b) Agriculture	2.9	9.7	-10.4	-4.3
c) Mining	17.5	2.5	-1.6	9.9
d) Manufacture	-7.4	-4.7	-4.9	-11.6
e) Construction	20.8	3.6	-0.6	-28.3

(Davies, 1986, p. 88)

These statistics show that the conditions of the lower classes could have only worsened. The rise in unemployment and reduction in growth of GDP, agriculture, manufacturing and construction demonstrate this point. Taking into account the Extended Fund Facility as well as the Stand-By Agreement it only makes sense that these policies would be the cause for the general deterioration of socio-economic conditions.

In addition to changing the economic ideology which was to be pursued by the government, securing the IMF funding also required that the PNP cut ties with its leftist wing early on in the negotiations. This was the same leftist wing that had helped to propel the PNP into power during the 1976 election. (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 95) This had destabilizing effect on the party. The IMF had become a bitter point of contention between the 'social democrats' and the 'democratic socialists'. (Bernal, 1984, p. 70) In conjunction with the high rates of unemployment during 1979, the internal fracturing of the PNP and the heavy support of the JLP by business and middle classes caused the PNP to lose the 1980 election. Consider the following table provided by Stone:

Figure 3 Support for Political Parties (in percentages)

Parties	December 1976	November 1977	November 1978	December 1979	March 1980	October 1980
PNP	48	39	29	37	32	35
JLP	37	36	33	49	46	51
Uncommitted	15	25	38	14	22	14

(Stone, 1982)

As PNP policies began to fail with the intervention of the IMF, the party lost its support. Bernal

points out that the “lumpenproletariat” went to the group with the most money, which was the JLP during this period. The JLP had also launched a successful anti-PNP campaign. Gray points out that during 1977-1979 the JLP initiated a campaign that, “...included civil disobedience; whipping up public fears of communism; identifying the country’s plight with PNP tyranny and economic mismanagement...” (Gray, 2004, p. 262)

The tightening of the social welfare spending, austerity cuts and increase in unemployment caused widespread social discontent among the urban poor and working class particularly. These issues coupled with an increase in the price of fuel caused the 1979 fuel riots. During May of 1978 the government had raised the price of gas from \$J2.25 to J\$3.00 per gallon. However, due to “...shortfalls in revenues, a widening budget deficit...” and an “...IMF demand for deficit reduction...” the government again decided to raise the price from J\$3.00 to J\$3.75 in 1979. (Gray, 2004, p. 257) Even before a formal announcement of the hike in price had been made, the JLP along with its campaign of civil disobedience, and help from the National Patriotic Movement rallied the urban poor and working class to engage in an island-wide national protest. Gray states that,

“Kingston protestors employed the well honed tactic of the roadblock. They dragged tree trunks, piled-up rocks and cobbled debris to block both major and secondary arteries to the capital city.”

“When not blocking thoroughfares in city and residential streets, demonstrators marched with placards that ridiculed the government... By night fall on Monday, PNP thugs were already on the streets in search of JLP demonstrators, as the government imposed a

curfew in West Kingston.” (Gray, 2004, p. 258)

In conjunction with the actions of the urban poor, constituents in rural areas and workers who were a part of the National Workers Union (a PNP affiliated trade union) were also engaged in the protests. This signified a complete nation-wide disenchantment with the PNP. These protests eventually caused the government to rethink the gas hike and only raised the price by 25 cents. On Wednesday the government had become fed up with the protests and decided to act with force. The government sent in policemen to dismantle protests in the Kingston area. Protestors ultimately fought back and where the policemen failed to succeed, “...the marchers [protestors] were forced to retreat before the surly threats of PNP gunmen who brandished their weapons.” (Gray, 2004, p. 260)

These three years in Jamaican history are a turning point for the discussion. The IMF and World Bank mandates immediately caused a dramatic change in the economic policies of the state. This unwilling change in policies was due to the PNP’s lack of choice in the matter, taking into consideration the deficit crisis. The shift in economic ideology also came at the cost of abandoning the left wing of the party. The leftist members were the primary supporting base who had allowed the PNP to win the 1976 election. So, here it is quite evident that the IMF and World Bank were quite influential in affecting economic policy as well as political party behavior. In conjunction with this, the economic policies of the IMF forced the party to raise the price of gas in an already disgruntled atmosphere causing a nationwide uproar. This uproar signified two things: the end of simple loyalist personality politics and a massive increase in the use violence. Gray states that, “...the public became more issue-oriented, blind allegiance to

partisan positions diminished.” (Gray, 2004, p. 261) The increase in violence through this “gangsterization” (Gray, 2004) of politics can be linked to the drug trade and a minor breakdown of the clientelist relationships which had been established before. The topic of the drug trade in Jamaican politics is a separate discussion. However, the increase in violence and breakdown in the client-patron relationship will be examined further in the following sub-sections.

The JLP Years: (1980- 1983)

As made evident in the previous sub-section, the years leading up to the 1980 election demonstrated a small change in the clientelist and also an increase in violence. A war had started between the armed forces and the more violent elements among the urban poor. (Gray, 2004, p. 264) These violent elements had taken on a more first-hand approach in acquiring resources through the use of common criminality. Sives points out that the murder rate in 1980 was 153 percent higher than that of the previous year, jumping from 351 to 889. (Sives, 2010, p. 107) This increase in violence can be tied to three issues: an increase in polarization and political propaganda, an increase in the use of high powered weaponry along with militarized training among the urban poor, and a reduction in resources available to the urban poor.

As it was stated previously the anti-communist and pro-capitalist agendas fueled the antagonism and tension between party supporters. But what fueled the increase in violence was the influx of high powered weapons. Sives points that during this election guns came from a “...number of sources.” (Sives, 2010, p. 108) She points out, that guns came from “...abroad, they were stolen from legal owners, bought from the security forces or were distributed by politicians. As one respondent stated when asked where the guns came from ‘these were

furnished through political channels... we had a member of parliament, we had other political agents through which we got our weapons.” (Sives, 2010, p. 108) In conjunction with the increase in gun use, there was formalized training abroad.

“The violence was more organized than previously. Allegations were rife that supporters from both parties had received training abroad: the PNP in Cuba and the JLP in Florida. One PNP respondent stated he had been involved in the organization of a military training programme in mid-1980.” (Confidential interview A, C, 1995 found in Sives, 2010, p. 108)

These two factors intensified the violence. There were more than 152 cases of politically related violence recorded that year. Of these cases, 102 were reported as being against the JLP. (Gray, 2004, p. 265) In the battle area of Rema-Newton, these political clashes claimed the lives of 150 people. (Gray, 2004, p. 265)

In February of 1980, Manley had declared that as soon as the Electoral Advisory Committee (EAC) was ready to support an election he would call for one. Later on that year in October, the JLP beat the PNP attaining 51 seats and 85 percent of the vote while the PNP attained 9 seats and 15 percent of the vote. (Electoral Office of Jamaica) The primary reason stated by Evelyne and John Stephens were the economic concerns:

“By far the most important reason for the PNP’s dramatic loss of support was the state of the economy, followed by violence and the communism issue. In a September 1980 poll voters were asked which was the most important issue in the election. Economic issues, predominantly unemployment, economic recovery, and shortages were mentioned by 51

percent of respondents...” (Stephens and Stephens found in Gray, 2004, p. 266)

A contributing factor to these economic conditions and ultimate reduction in resources can be identified in the breakdown and change in some of the clientelistic relationships. These breakdowns can be further traced right back to the IMF.

The IMF mandates that were imposed upon Jamaica had a significant effect on government accountability. (Harrigan, 1998) A portion of the IMF mandates included that the Jamaican government maintain better records on the allocation of all revenues. Although these policies can be viewed as positive from economists, they actually had the opposite effect on local government affairs. The mandates required that government officials meet very difficult standards. Harrigan points out in his piece that, “Accountability to the Washington institutions has been a more important goal for the political leadership than accountability to Parliament and the public. Hence the process of budgetary debate has tended to be taken out of national institutions.” (Harrigan, 1998, p. 13) This has created what he calls a “‘meet the target at any cost’ mentality”. This type of behavior has reduced parliament members’ ability to disperse funds to local constituents as they used to in past decades. This new type of accountability, along with the cuts in government spending has affected the “partisan identities” and thus the clientelistic relationships that had been developed previously. (Sives, 2002, p. 82)

After taking office Seaga renegotiated with the IMF. The terms on which Seaga had renegotiated were not as strict as the ones agreed to under Manley. Specifically, there was no demand for currency devaluation, the restrictions on domestic public sector borrowing were not made to apply to the private sector, and the cap on foreign government borrowing excluded loans

to repay existing debts. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 34) This more relaxed behavior towards Edward Seaga can be linked to his more right leaning orientation. These more flexible terms allowed for a large flow of foreign capital in the nation, increasing the national debt from US\$1.2 billion in 1980 to US\$3.1 billion in 1983. This renewed confidence in the system, fostered big expectation for the JLP government. For example, in 1981, Seaga stated that he had plans to increase bauxite production from 12 million tons to 26 million tons over the next three years. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 34) In conjunction with this, the opening up of the economy was supposed to draw in more foreign investors and thus increase the flow of foreign dollars. However, both expectations failed to come to fruition. At the same time when Seaga announced his great expectations, ALCOA, an alumina production company in Jamaica, announced cutbacks to due to a reduction in world demand. Instead of bauxite production increasing, it fell significantly to on 7.3 million tons in 1983. Also, because of the foreign belief that Jamaica was a violent, politically unstable, and inefficient environment foreign investors hesitated to invest in the nation. In conjunction with this, when they did decide to invest, they borrowed from local banks and therefore did not increase foreign capital. Also, the opening up of the economy prompted foreign agricultural producers to start selling in Jamaica. Because of the fact that foreign producers could produce agricultural goods so much more cheaply, their induction into the Jamaican market had devastating effects. Many local industries such as the banana and potato industries suffered terribly with a high drop in demand for their goods. Consider the statement by Ahmed in regards to the 1980s in part,

“During the past two decades, Caribbean agriculture has been experiencing declining

production. This decline has been attributed to various factors including increasing dependence on foreign food, inadequate help to small farmers...high level of imported inputs... and the impact of regional and international organizations.” (Ahmed ,2001)

All of this can be linked in part to the IMF, World Bank, and JLP as evidence was presented earlier in this chapter.

The JLP Years: (1983- 1986)

In 1983, the destruction of the Grenada revolution led to further anti-communist feelings within Jamaican society. Based on this, the JLP took the opportunity to call for an election during this same year in December, a full two years before the next national election was to take place. (Gray, 2004, p. 283) The JLP won this election since the PNP had decided to boycott the unconstitutionality of it. Although the JLP took all 60 seats because of the boycott, (Electoral Office of Jamaica) the JLP support base had diminished significantly due to the high unemployment, and the failure of the economy to rebound using the IMF and World Bank policies. During this election, only 28.94 percent (Electoral Office of Jamaica) of the electorate participated in the election versus previous elections when participation was upward of 60 percent. The JLP had effectively taken advantage of the anti-communist rhetoric and used it to propel itself to another five years of power.

Since the JLP had secured power for another five years they had decided to renegotiate with the IMF. Two major issues that the IMF decided to confront before and after the election were cost of the Jamaican dollar and the size of the government’s budget when compared to its gross domestic product. Due to the high increase in imports, the cost of the dollar had gone up to

\$3.15. The IMF cited this as an indication of the “lack of competitiveness” of the Jamaican market. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 38-39) The IMF had decided to fix this by setting the cost of the dollar at \$3.15 but allowing it to be changed every two weeks. In early 1984, the government budget was 15.6 percent of the gross domestic product. The IMF had decided that this should be reduced to single digits in one year. However, what further complicated the matter was the closing of Reynolds, a multinational bauxite company. Seaga stated that this shutdown could amount to losses of over J\$100 million from the 1984- 1985 budget. In order to solve these problems Seaga decided to raise taxes, cut public expenditure (laying off many civil servants), and also slashing food subsidies. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 40)

These tough economic circumstances lead to a great deal of widespread discontent among Jamaican society, particularly among the urban poor. By 1985, unemployment was 25. 6 percent, inflation was at 30 percent, and the exchange rate was at J\$5.00. (Payne in Sutton, 1993, p. 41) That same year, due to the lack of resources attainable by the urban poor, the second fuel riot occurred.

“The JLP had announced a \$1.91 increase in the price of a gallon of premium gasoline, the frustrated urban poor took to the streets on Tuesday morning, 15 January.” (Gray, 2004, p. 285)

This had caused the urban poor to dissolve many of their partisan underpinnings and unite in demonstrations. In the corporate area of Kingston and St. Andrew, there were roadblocks and clashes with security forces. Also, public transportation was hindered significantly, causing schools and business to close. (Gray, 2004, p. 285) What is noticeable in this riot is the

unification of party members from both sides in their discontent with Seaga:

“Pro-PNP residents in East Kingston threw up barricades, fought with JLP invaders and registered their contempt by scrawling graffiti that declared, “Away with Seaga. Elections now.” (Gray, 2004, p. 285)

The socio-economic turmoil induced by the IMF policies along with JLP support had caused a high degree of resentment by the public. These fuel riots can be seen as a representation of that.

In April of 1985, Seaga decided to do a nationwide television address. In this address he discussed how he would get the island back on track to economic growth with the use of another IMF deal. He stated that there would still have to be cuts in public expenditures, and higher taxation. The one way in which the country could still rebound would be through the use of a new government bauxite company, Clarendon Alumina Production Ltd. (Payne in Payne and Sutton 1993, 42) Sutton makes a crucial point regarding this new “government” bauxite company. It was small shift away from the neo-liberal policies that were being typically pushed by the IMF highlighting a slightly non-ideological stance when government is put to the test. (Payne in Payne and Sutton, 1993, p. 42) Based on these changes, the state would receive an extended fund facility of US\$120 million from August of 1985 to 1987. One of the restrictions of the loan was that public wages could increase no more than 10 percent; even though inflation was three times higher. Because of this, during June of 1985, the first nationwide strike since independence took place.

During 1986, Seaga decided to invite the IMF, World Bank and U.S. Agency for International Development to Jamaica to show them the current conditions, in order to slacken

the deflationary terms. He argued that the economy could no longer handle any more deflation, and at the same time the government would make further efforts to reduce government spending. However, the IMF was unshaken and argued that the JLP had not done enough to cut government divestment and currency devaluation. (Payne in Sutton and Payne, 1993, p. 44) It is also evident that during this period there existed pay disputes with, "...teachers, police, and junior doctors, as well as protests from students at the University of the West Indies about the introduction of tuition fees..." (Payne in Payne and Sutton, 1993, p. 42) It was at this point, finally, the society had reached a brink because of the IMF policies.

An Assessment of Years (1977- 1986)

The intervention of the IMF and World Bank restricted the leverage of political parties and the urban poor significantly. The basis of the intervention, as stated earlier, can be linked to the deficit crisis during the Manley Government of 1976-1980. Upon examination it is quite evident that when pre-IMF years are compared to that of their intervention, the latter demonstrates much more economic, political and societal change.

The years of democratic socialism and social democracy came to an abrupt end with the IMF. The PNP even had to cut ties with the more left leaning elements of its party. The IMF pushed the economy to the far right, via the PNP and JLP over the next nine years, by cutting the size of government, reducing social welfare benefits, currency devaluation, and the reduction of barriers to trade. These policies affected the urban poor drastically. However, even though these policies amounted in two fuel riots, widespread violence and one national bi-partisan strike among the urban poor, the policies did not shift in the opposite direction. Rather, IMF policies

were advanced further during 1983 and 1985, with further job cuts and devaluation. The bi-partisan fuel riots and national strikes, demonstrate a change of thought in the Jamaican society about how one affiliates with a political party. Although for the most part individuals did not abandon their political underpinnings all together, this change highlights the deeper desire of constituents to look beyond political personality, and capitalist-communist rhetoric, towards practical improvement of their condition.

In conjunction with this, the level of government accountability that was requested from the IMF had a domino effect on the clientelistic relationship between party leaders and constituents among the urban poor. The “exchange relations” (Szeftel, 2000) which describes the relationship between party members and the party leaders was affected to a noticeable degree. The increase in accountability amounted in a decrease in funding and more bureaucracy in the process. Ultimately, this lack of funding decreased the necessity of constituents to depend upon party leaders, and therefore caused many members of the community to fill this void of funding with the sale of drugs. (Sives, 2010) (Gray, 2004) This is not to say that the reduction in clientelistic behavior was the cause of the drug trade, but rather, that the drug trade became a viable option in providing resources for the poorer elements of society. This reduction in clientelism also heightened violence. As it was stated in the first chapter, partisanship and violence increased with the prospect of more resource allocation. However, in this case, partisanship decreased and violence increased due to elements in the urban poor resorting to criminality to fill the resource void. It is worth noting however that a decrease in the clientelistic behavior between politicians and the urban poor decreased, it was not completely gone.

Consider a statement by Edie, in reference to state-structures, “The concentration of this massive amount of aid in the State structures provided an incentive for the resurgence of clientelism under this new administration. (Edie, 1989, p. 22) An examination of the drug trade that developed during the 1980s would help to shed light upon this issue of criminality further.

Ultimately, the IMF’s intervention in Jamaica had an effect on all segments of society ranging from the party leaders, to the urban poor and even the business class.

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

Understanding the formation of Jamaican economic policy and furthermore the economic policy of lesser developed states is very crucial for international relations theorists as well as policy makers. This is important due to the fact that the dynamics of lesser developed countries is different from those of their more developed counterparts, signifying a need to look at them through a different lens. And in conjunction with this, the effects of globalization and the internationalization of markets makes this understanding even more important for states which play a role in global security and stability. The case of Jamaica demonstrates how various non-state actors each have a role in affecting the economy in some fashion. It is not simply rationality, or materialism which shapes policy. Political parties played a major role in rallying the urban poor for their own needs to secure power. The urban poor at the same time used the state, as well as political parties to supply themselves with basic resources via clientelism. However, the leverage which the urban poor possessed was limited and additionally, this class of society was used to help cement the power of political parties and the economic system which they advocated. Additionally, the IMF had the greatest effect on society by affecting economic policy, political party behavior and from there, behavior of the urban poor. Yet, it is particularly important to note that the initial power structure created between the political parties and urban poor cannot be examined fully, without taking into consideration their formation in the 1930s and 40s, and consolidation during the 1950s and 60s. The role of the IMF cannot be understood without first understanding the socialist context in which they intervened. It is these internal dynamics which are major focal points for international relations theorists to examine.

The Jamaican society and the actors within it have changed since 1943. Political parties, which used to be strictly tied to trade unions, are now loosely affiliated with them. Problems among society such as national independence and racial identity issues are now forgotten, and have been replaced with crisis socio-economic mobility for the working class and urban poor. Even the relationships which were established between political parties and social class groups have changed as well. Essentially, it can be said that political culture has evolved. The framework that this research focuses on for this explanation is constructivism. As it was stated earlier in the essay, understanding the importance of internal dynamics is important for the discussion since most mainstream theories have ignored these elements when making predictions about lesser developed countries. This is the reason for the use of constructivism. However, before a discussion of constructivism ensues, some additional failures of specific incidences are worth mentioning.

Specific Failures of Traditional Theories

Firstly, a consideration of some of the rationalist elements is useful for the discussion. The actions of Michael Manley during his terms in the 1970s when he advocated a socialist ideology was not in tune with this idea of rationality. He and his party advanced an ideology which isolated them from the United States, a key player in the state's national economy. In conjunction with this, the behavior of the urban poor is not exactly rational either. When the urban poor would collectively and routinely put their lives on the line to defend political parties for simply the chance of receiving meager resources, this cannot be seen as, "rational." Also, when members of other social class groups aligned with the urban poor and challenged the state

during the fuel riots of 1979 and 1985, these groups were aware of what the state was capable of yet they still engaged in the behavior. Also, if rationality was to be a primary factor in behavior, voters among the urban poor would have eventually transcended the simple idea of benefits politics and advocated for a regime change.

Neo-realism does explain the abandonment of socialism by Manley. And also it explains the reason for the Jamaican state not getting independence sooner. The powers that were dominant on the international scene during the height of the Cold War can be seen as forces representative of a certain paradigm at that time. That paradigm was anti-communism and pro-capitalism, and thus suppressed and shut down Manley's movement. After Seaga entered office, it was notable that the IMF, WB and U.S were instrumental in shaping economic policy for Jamaica. This once again, can be seen as a constraint on state behavior. But it is crucial to also consider that the state did actually become socialist for a certain period, which demonstrates another shortfall in explaining the causality of this shift.

Neo-liberalism's idea of shared goals and cooperation provide a framework for understanding the relationships between the political parties and the urban poor. The acquisition of material resources via "benefits politics" can be seen as a significant factor in the party leader-constituent relationship. However, an important question arises. If these shared ideas about benefit politics existed among both actors, why didn't this materialize into peace? This shared idea of benefits should have curved the tension and antagonism and partisanship in Jamaican politics. This is evident, as Sives points out that during the 1961 referendum violence was particularly low. She highlights the reasoning that as the material stakes rise in an election, so

does violence. (Sives, 2010) Another point worth mentioning for the discussion is the lack of understanding the role of power. Typically, the liberalist theory has been used in utopian way which underestimates the role of power. (Steele, 2007) The role of power in the case of Jamaica cannot be ignored if one is to accurately comprehend the state's leaning towards "foreign direct investment" in the 1960s and then its forced shift away from capitalism during the late 1970s. The exogenous forces of the United States and other capitalist oriented world powers can be linked to this behavior. Consequently, what one can further deduce from this is that idealism fails to explain the movement of the state into the realm of socialism. Neo-liberalism, on the other hand which focuses on the state's pursuance of absolute gains via international cooperation, may explain Manley's shift to socialism and also pose problems for the neo-realist in the explanation of Manley's behavior. However, another intrinsic problem is the state-based focus which does not take into consideration the support, or lack thereof, of the Jamaican people.

Constructivism

Particularly, understanding the role of identity construction in the context of actor motivation is pivotal for the root of the discussion. And although, constructivism may not answer all of the future questions as to what may come of Jamaica's internal actors and the external actors within its borders, it provides the most fluid framework for applicability. Firstly, an examination of the construction of identities is necessary to dissect the motivation.

Consider a statement by Wendt, "In one sense identity, ideology, and culture *are* distinct from power and interests, and *do* play a causal role in social life." (Wendt, 1999, p. 93) It is to this end that an examination of the actors ensues. The urban poor, one of the actors in the

research is define by Gray as (but not limited to): "...The contingent within the lowest rungs of the working poor who retain a tenuous attachment to the wage nexus. ...barmaids, menial workers in the service sector, those hiring themselves out as domestics, gardeners, casual labourers..." (Gray, 2004, p. 15) This segment is also predominantly black and during the early 1930s, 40s and 50s held the lowest position on Jamaica's racial totem pole. The cause for this situation can be linked back to slavery and the British domination of the state since the 1600s. The contribution of this understanding of the urban poor will be seen further on in this section. The race and class division within the society, as well as the desire for an increased standard of living, ultimately caused the 1938 rebellions. Beckford and Witter call this the first uprising of the Jamaican working class. (Beckford and Witter, 1980) This uprising of the working class sparked the creation of trade unions which were the pre-cursors to Jamaican's two main political parties: the JLP and PNP. These political parties which had been created were formed within the context of trying to improve the standard of living for the working class and poor via the democratic and nationalist process. In other words, the structural problems within society gave birth and legitimacy to these groups. This shared understanding of socio-economic problems between the "petty-bourgeoisie" (Beckford and Witter, 1980) and working class fostered a relationship. Moving beyond the bounds of the state, Beckford and Witter point out that the working class's rebellions could have led to a complete removal of the petty-bourgeoisie, but yet, leadership within the state was given to them. (Beckford and Witter, 1980, p. 59) The reason for this is that the colonial powers trusted them more, and in conjunction with this, the petty-bourgeoisie had a "vested interest" in the status quo. (Beckford and Witter, 1980) Thus, it can be

seen that the creation of two groups, the mobilized working class and the petty-bourgeoisie leadership, are linked to the power dynamic. In conjunction with this, it is worth noting that the petty-bourgeoisie had a cultural link to the British, seeing as the leaders of both political parties had British ancestry.

After both political parties had developed, they established a relationship with the urban poor. This relationship, as it was noted earlier, was formed on the basis of personality and regional constituency. The urban poor can be seen as lowest class within Jamaican society. Taking this into consideration, the political parties sought to use this to their advantage. The political parties would use members of the urban poor to dismantle other party rallies via the use of violence, and in return provide material benefits. This happened throughout the 1940s and 50s, which led to the development of a certain cultural understanding, which is identified in the paper as “benefit politics.” This point is very crucial because it is important to understand what exactly culture, and furthermore political culture is, in the context of this discussion, and how it relates to the political party-urban poor relationship. Consider a statement by Wendt, “...this perspective implies that culture is not a sector or sphere of society distinct from economy or polity, but present wherever shared knowledge is found.” (Wendt, 1999, p. 142) This understanding which had developed would then frame the political culture of the island for the following decades. Essentially, a political culture of “politicized identities” (Szeftel, 2000), violence, and benefit politics, was an established part of society. The urban poor’s awareness of their condition and awareness of the role of political parties fostered their willingness to eventually use high-powered weapons against political adversaries. It is important to note that,

both political parties from inception till the early 1970s had the same economic ideology. And although this capitalist model did not benefit them significantly, it was not addressed as a major concern by the urban poor. The urban poor simply fell into place on either side of the political lines of the JLP, or PNP.

When Manley shifted the state towards socialism, he had the support of a great deal of the urban poor due to the fact that many of them had attached themselves to the party and would also benefit the most from socialist policies. However, this movement was eventually stunted by the influence of the IMF. The IMF can be seen in this case as an actor that possessed the power to change an important cultural dynamic. With the intervention of the IMF, government accountability was increase and the role of “benefit politics” was reduced. In order to fill this void, the drug trade which was already established, came into place. The intervention of the IMF can be linked with another shift in cultural understanding. Because of the IMF and World Bank’s intervention the state would have a more capitalist orientation. The failure of the economy, and the world’s demonization of communism, led to the loss of the PNP in the 1980 election. This capitalist orientation which only proved to be useful for the middle and upper classes was embraced and pushed by the urban poor as well. This can be once again linked to the creation of an identity built around personalities, and benefits. The urban poor’s perpetual support of policies that in effect would only worsen their condition brings to light this issue of identity construction and highlights the relevance of the constructivism.

Although constructivism explains a great deal of the Jamaican experience, it does not explain everything. For example, the fuel riots of 1979 and 1985, as well as the nationwide

strike during 1979 proved to be anomalies in the sense that party allegiance broke down due to material conditions. However, taking this into consideration the constructivist school of thought provides a useful framework for understanding the formation of Jamaican economic policy in light of the non-state actors in the discussion.

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