As I indicated in my remarks at the beginning of this chapter, I saw in a July 2001 *Weekly Gleaner* article that blockades were put up all over the Kingston-St. Andrew area, including uptown areas like Barbican, Stony Hill, and Red Hills Road. There was also mention that these popular rituals of solidarity against police oppression—Babylon—took place in neighborhoods east of the West Kingston inferno. Not surprisingly, Oceanview is listed among them. According to the newspaper article, "members of the security forces, who attempted to clear the roadblocks ... came under heavy fire from gunmen and had to retreat. Some roads which were cleared by police were immediately blocked again by residents" (*Weekly Gleaner* 2001a, 2).

It takes an indefatigable spirit to survive as sufferers, outlaws, and rebels in a setting that many define as Babylon. This is especially true in a case in which the common-sense practices of everyday survival and resistance are incarcerated by a tragic logic of myopic pragmatism and opportunism that works against the kinds of far-ranging transformation that would free bodies and souls from many of the worldly burdens that daily assault their humanity. I cannot help but think that the freedom, justice, and equality that elude the oppressed now resonate with the emancipation for which many of our ancestors, both African Jamaican and African American, lived and died. We, the descendants of those ancestors, know now that emancipation day came but with strings attached to it. The struggle to disentangle ourselves from those sturdy strings, which at times feel like ropes and chains that bind our hands together while cutting into our flesh, persists into the present. As part of that compromised emancipation's legacy, everyday rebels in places like Oceanview continue to struggle, albeit with unreliable weapons for their trial-and-error advances. I offer these inadequate words of anthropological imagination as an expression of affinity and solidarity and as my yearning for an eventual future of peace and one love.10

### 7. The Gendered Violence of Structural Adjustment

**An Ethnographic Window on the Crisis**

"The ghetto not'ing [nothing] but a sad shanty town now." This is what one of my friends and research consultants sadly remarked to me upon my 1992 visit to Oceanview, a pseudonym for an impoverished slum neighborhood with a roughly 74 percent formal unemployment rate in the downtown district of the Kingston, Jamaica, metropolitan area. Times were so hard that the tenements had deteriorated beyond repair. The conspicuous physical decline was a marker of the deepened socioeconomic austerity that has accompanied what some critics (e.g., *Race and Class* 1992) now consider to be the "recolonization" of Jamaica by "the new conquistadors"—the policies and programs that the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the successive administrations of the United States government—designed to "adjust" and "stabilize" the country's revived export-oriented economy. These strategies for delivering developing societies from collapsing economies are informed by a neoliberal development ideology that euphemizes the widening social disparities that have been the outcome of policies imposing an unbearable degree of austerity on living conditions. Hence, these policies have sacrificed ordinary people's—especially the poor's—basic needs in health care, housing, education, social services, and employment for those of free enterprise and free trade.

Since 1978, I have observed and conversed with Oceanview residents about the social, economic, and political conditions that shape their lived experiences and struggles for survival in this neighborhood (e.g., Harrison 1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1991a, 1991b). The late 1970s was a time of economic hardship...
and political turbulence, a time when the People's National Party's (PNP) democratic-socialist path to economic development and social transformation was vehemently contested, blocked, and destabilized by political opponents both in and outside of the country and by the concerted economic force of international recession, quadrupled oil prices, and a massive flight of both domestic and foreign capital. Life was certainly hard then, but, as one resident commented, "Cho, mahm; tings worse now." Despite the bright promises of political and economic "deliverance" made by the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and its major backer, the Ronald Reagan and later George Herbert Walker Bush administrations of the United States government, the 1980s and early 1990s—under the leadership of a much more conservative PNP—brought only a deepened poverty to the folk who people the streets and alleys of slum and shantytown neighborhoods like Oceanview. This deepening poverty was reflected, for example, in a serious decline in the conditions of public health. Structural adjustment policies implemented over a thirteen-year period brought about alarming reductions in government health care expenditures and promoted the privatization of more costly and less accessible medical care (Phillips 1994, 137). Those most heavily burdened by the impact of these deteriorating social conditions and capital-centered policies were women (Antrobus 1989) who served as the major "social shock absorbers" (Sparr 1992, 33; Sparr 1994) mediating the crisis at the local level of households and neighborhoods. Nearly 50 percent of all of Kingston's households are female headed, giving women the major responsibilities for absorbing the impact of these deteriorating social conditions and capital-centered policies were women (Antrobus 1989) who served as the major "social shock absorbers" (Sparr 1992, 33; Sparr 1994) mediating the crisis at the local level of households and neighborhoods. Nearly 50 percent of all of Kingston's households are female headed, giving women the major responsibilities for making ends meet out of virtually nothing (Deere et al. 1990, 52-53). Concentrated in the informal sector of the economy, these women along with their children are most vulnerable to the consequences of malnutrition, hunger, and poor health: rising levels of morbidity and mortality (Phillips 1994, 143; Pan American Health Organization/World Health Organization 1992).

To appreciate and understand the effects, contradictions, and meanings that constitute the reality of a structurally adjusted pattern of production and trade—the effects of which persisted even after the program officially ended in 1990—we must examine the everyday experiences, practices, discourses, and common sense of real people, particularly those encouraged to wait—and wait—for social and economic benefits to trickle down. In the interest of an ethnographically grounded view of Jamaica's political and economic policies, I present the case of Mrs. Beulah Brown, an admirable woman whose life story I have collected over several years, to help elucidate the impact the ongoing crisis has had on the everyday lives of so many other Jamaican women. Mrs. Brown was once a community health aide with a government program that provided much-needed health services to a population to which such care would not have been available otherwise. Mrs. Brown would not have gotten or held that job for the years that she did without the right political connections, something, unfortunately, that too few poor people ever obtain. Although visible benefits from membership in the local PNP group may have set her apart from most of her neighbors, the centrality of patronage-clientelism in local and national politics makes a former political client's experience an insightful window on the constraints and vulnerabilities built into Jamaica's political and economic policies.

Highlights from Mrs. Brown's life story will, then, lead us to the more encompassing story of postcolonial Jamaica's experience with debt, export-oriented development, and structural adjustment and their combined impact on women workers as well as on neighborhood-level negotiations of crisis.

A Hardworking Woman's Story within a Story

In the 1970s, Beulah Brown, then a middle-aged woman responsible for a three-generation household and extended family, worked as a community health aide under the combined aegis of a government public health program and a local urban redevelopment agency, two projects that owed their existence to the social policy orientation of the reformist PNP administration. Mrs. Brown had begun her employment history as a worker in a factory manufacturing undergarments; however, she preferred household-based self-employment over the stringent regimentation of factory work. A woman with strong civic consciousness and organizing skills, she had worked her way into the leadership of the PNP group within the neighborhood and wider political division. By the late 1970s, she was no longer an officer; however, her membership in the party was still active.

Mrs. Brown was so effective at working with patients and exhibiting good citizenship that she was widely recognized and addressed as "Nurse Brown," the term nurse being a title of utmost respect. When Mrs. Brown made her daily rounds, she did more than what was expected of a health aide. She treated her patients as whole persons with a range of basic needs she felt obliged to help meet. To this end, she saw to it that they had nutritious food to eat, clean clothes to wear, and neat and orderly rooms in which to live. She was especially devoted to the elderly, but she also invested considerable energy in young mothers who were often merely children themselves. She shared her experiences and wisdom with them, admonishing them to eat healthy foods, read good books, and, given her religious worldview, "pray..."
to the Lord Jesus Christ" so that their babies' characters and personalities would be positively influenced while still in the womb.

When I initially met her, Mrs. Brown was responsible for caring for her elderly father, her handicapped sister, her sister's three daughters, and her own two daughters. At earlier times, she had even minded a young niece who eventually joined her other siblings and mother, another of Mrs. Brown's sisters, in Canada. Despite many hardships, Mrs. Brown managed her household well enough to see to it that the children were fed, clothed, and schooled. Indeed, one of her nieces, Claudia, is now a nurse in New York City, and—"by the grace of God"—her eldest daughter, Cherry, is a graduate of the University of the West Indies. Unfortunately, Marie, the daughter who still remains at home, has had difficulty getting and keeping wage work, whether in the office or factory—and she has tried both. She decided to make and sell children's clothes so that she could work at home while minding her children. Despite the economic uncertainty of informal-sector work, Marie appreciates its flexibility, the freedom from the "downpressive" (oppressive) industrial surveillance about which a number of former factory workers in Oceanevview complain.

Because the community health aide job did not bring in enough money to support the household, Mrs. Brown found extra ways to augment her income. The main thing she did was dressmaking, a skill and talent she had cultivated over the course of her life. Years ago, she even had a small shop in Port Antonio that catered to locals as well as some foreign tourists. That was before she gave up everything—her shop and her husband—to return home to Kingston to care for relatives who were going through some hard times. Besides her dressmaking enterprise, Mrs. Brown also baked and sold meat patties, bought and sold cheese, and sold ice from the freezer she had purchased with remittances from her twin sister in England and help from her church. Through political party connections gained through her earlier activism in the local PNP group, she also saw to it that her sister got a job cleaning streets in the government Crash Programme. Although her family managed better than most of their neighbors, survival was still an everyday struggle.

In the mid-1980s, Mrs. Brown lost her health aide job. The Community Health Aide Program suffered massive losses due to the retrenchment in public-sector employment stipulated by the structural adjustment and stabilization measures imposed by the IMF and World Bank (Le Franc 1994). Luckily, the layoff came around the time when the girls she had raised were coming of age and ready to work to support themselves and the families they were establishing. By 1988, the household was made up of only Mrs. Brown, her second daughter, Marie, and Marie's three small children. Everyone else
Between 1987 and 1992, Mrs. Brown traveled abroad twice for extended visits with relatives in England, Canada, and the United States. While away for nearly a year at a time, she “did a likkle babysitting and ting” to earn money that she was able to save for her own use and purposes. Her family treated her “like a queen,” buying her gifts (“good camera, TV, radio, and ting”), not letting her spend her own money for living expenses, and paying for her air transportation from point to point along her international itinerary. The savings she managed to send and bring back home were key to her Oceanview household’s survival. Her transnational family network, and the geographic mobility it offered, allowed her to increase her earnings by taking advantage of the marked wage differential between Jamaica and the countries where her relatives live (Ho 1993, 33). This particular financial advantage has led even middle-class Jamaican women to tolerate an otherwise embarrassing and humiliating decline in social status to work as nannies and domestic helpers in North American homes. International migration within the Caribbean region as well as between it and northern metropoles has been a traditional survival strategy among Jamaicans since nineteenth-century postemancipation society.

Harsh circumstances forced Mrs. Brown to join the larger wave of female emigrants from the Caribbean who, since the late 1960s, have outnumbered their male counterparts (Deere et al. 1990, 76; Ho 1993, 33). Thus far, Mrs. Brown has remained a visitor, but she acknowledges the possibility and perhaps the probability that some day soon she will join her sisters as a permanent resident abroad. Meanwhile, she continues to take care of business and her family at home by informally generating and allocating resources within the kinship-mediated transnational social field within which her local life is embedded.

Mrs. Brown’s story and many others similar to it are symptomatic of the current age of globalization, marked by a deepening crisis that policies such as structural adjustment and its complementary export-led development strategy attempt to manage in favor of the mobility and accumulation of transnational capital. Mrs. Brown’s story, however, is only a story within a story about the dramatic plot-thickening details of Jamaica’s nonlinear struggle for substantive development and decolonization. Let us now place Beulah Brown’s lived experience in broader context and, in so doing, illuminate the forces and conditions that differentially affect Jamaicans since the debt-constrained, export-led, and free trade-based development path that the Jamaican economy has followed. The debt-constrained, export-led, and free trade-based development path that the Jamaican economy has followed has failed to deliver the masses of Jamaican people from the dilemmas of persistent poverty and underdevelopment. Benefits from this development strategy have not trickled down the socioeconomic ladder. What have trickled down, however, are the adverse effects of drastic austerity measures, which are the strings attached to aid from the IMF and World Bank. These strings stipulate that the government denationalize or privatize public sectors of the economy, cut back social services and public employment, devalue the Jamaican dollar, impose restraints on wages, liberalize imports, and remove subsidies and price controls on food and other consumer goods (Antrobus 1989, 20). These measures along with
the stipulated focus on export production have resulted in increased unemployment, a decline in real wages for those fortunate enough to have regular incomes, a dramatic rise in the costs of living, and, with these, an increase in malnutrition and hunger, a general deterioration in public health, and an escalating incidence of drug abuse and violence—including violence against women (Antrobus 1989, 23). Conditions are so severe that economist Clive Thomas (1988, 369) poignantly argues that poor people cannot afford to live as well as nineteenth-century slaves whose access to protein, carbohydrates, fuel, and work tools was more adequate. Those bearing the heaviest burden in coping with the social and economic austerity are women, a large proportion of whom have the responsibility—whether they are formally employed or not—to support households and family networks (Bolles 1991).

Although it has sacrificed ordinary people's basic needs, the debt bondage and free trade strategy has, however, been successful in restoring "the military and economic foundations of U.S. superiority ... incorporating the Caribbean Basin countries into the U.S. military-industrial complex" (Deere et al. 1990, 157). A central aspect of the CBI has been the increased sale of U.S. exports to the Caribbean (McCaffee 1991, 43). Exports from the Caribbean that receive duty-free entry into the U.S. market are produced in foreign-controlled free trade zones where items (usually apparel and electronics) are assembled from raw materials and capital goods imported often from the United States. In other words, the Caribbean has become an offshore site for branch plants that are not generating the backward linkages and horizontal integration necessary for stimulating the domestic sectors of Jamaica's economy.

Gender Inequality in Globalization

Transnational capital has appropriated the enterprising freedom to repatriate profits without any enforced obligations to invest in the host country's future; it has enjoyed the freedom to employ workers, to a great extent female, whose labor has been politically, legally, and culturally constructed to be cheap and expendable. As Cynthia Enloe (1989, 160–63) argues, economic globalization depends upon laws and cultural presumptions about femininity, sexuality, and marriage that help lower women's wages and benefits. For instance, transnational garment production has taken advantage of and reinforced the patriarchal assumptions that activities such as sewing are natural women's tasks requiring no special skill, training, or compensation; that jobs defined as skilled belong to men, who deserve to be remunerated for their special physical strength and training; that women are not the major breadwinners in their households and families and are really supported by their fathers or husbands (Safa 1995); and that women's needs should not direct the policies and practices of business management and development specialists.

The profitability, capital mobility, and structural power (Wolf 1990) constitutive of globalization are fundamentally gendered phenomena marked by a masculinist logic. Present-day strategies to adjust, stabilize, and facilitate capital accumulation implicate constructions of femininity and masculinity that, in effect, legitimate the superexploitation of the productive and reproductive labor of women, with women of color, racially subjugated women, bearing the heaviest burdens (see Enloe 1989; Deere et al. 1990; Antrobus 1989) and being the most vulnerable targets of structural violence—the symbolic, psychological, and physical assaults against human subjectivities, physical bodies, and sociocultural integrity that emanate from situations and institutions structured in social, political, and economic dominance (Köhler 1978).

The misogynistic symbolic assault against women is reflected in the language and pictorial representations of promotional materials addressed to prospective investors in trade journals and industrial magazines as well as in flyers and posters at trade shows. For instance, in a Jamaica Promotions Corporation (JAMPRO) advertisement promoting investment opportunities on the island, there is an image of a black woman's shapely lower back, protruding buttocks (in Jockey briefs), and upper thighs (National Labor Committee United States. Although it has sacrificed ordinary people's basic needs, the debt bondage and free trade strategy has, however, been successful in restoring "the military and economic foundations of U.S. superiority ... incorporating the Caribbean Basin countries into the U.S. military-industrial complex" (Deere et al. 1990, 157). A central aspect of the CBI has been the increased sale of U.S. exports to the Caribbean (McCaffee 1991, 43). Exports from the Caribbean that receive duty-free entry into the U.S. market are produced in foreign-controlled free trade zones where items (usually apparel and electronics) are assembled from raw materials and capital goods imported often from the United States. In other words, the Caribbean has become an offshore site for branch plants that are not generating the backward linkages and horizontal integration necessary for stimulating the domestic sectors of Jamaica's economy.

Gendered Violence of Adjustment

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the investor, from the vantage point of the worker, this wage purchased less than 40 percent of a family’s food needs (24).

Beyond its decided class bias, Jamaica’s approach to development has a definite gender bias in that women’s productive and reproductive roles are expected to bear the brunt and absorb the highest risks of both the export-growth and austerity facets of present-day policies. Caribbean feminist Peggy Antrobus argues that structural adjustment policies in particular presuppose “a gender ideology [that is] fundamentally exploitative of women’s time, labor, and sexuality” (1989, 19). Poor women, whether employed in free trade zone factories or informally eking out meager livelihood in their ghetto households and neighborhoods, bear the burden of policies and programs that, in effect even if not in design, contribute to what George Beckford (1972) called the “persistent poverty” characteristic of plantation and postplantation societies
definite gender bias in that women’s productive and reproductive roles are expected to bear the brunt and absorb the highest risks of both the export-growth and austerity facets of present-day policies. Caribbean feminist Peggy Antrobus argues that structural adjustment policies in particular presuppose “a gender ideology [that is] fundamentally exploitative of women’s time, labor, and sexuality” (1989, 19). Poor women, whether employed in free trade zone factories or informally eking out meager livelihood in their ghetto households and neighborhoods, bear the burden of policies and programs that, in effect even if not in design, contribute to what George Beckford (1972) called the “persistent poverty” characteristic of plantation and postplantation societies.The free trade or export processing zones established under JAMPRO and the program organized under section 807 of the U.S. Special Tariff Provisions represent a “type of unregulated trade, investment and employment . . . that the World Bank believes ought to be in effect worldwide” (McAfee 1991, 84–85). The recipients of generous incentives, free trade zones do not pay “import duties and taxes on stock dividends” (84–85), and they are free to transfer their profits from host countries. A state within a state, the free trade zone is unfriendly to unions (84), and it has been given the license to exploit its host country’s laborers, who are often forced to work overtime without any notice and are denied sufficient time and facilities for rest and lunch breaks. In some cases, workers are frisked before they are allowed to use the restroom and, in the worst situations, are permitted access to the restroom only once per day (Ferguson 1992, 68–69; McAfee 1991, 85).

When export processing zone workers contest the free trade zone’s cheap labor policy and, consequently, organize for better wages and work conditions, they risk being fired and blacklisted, which precludes their finding work in any other free trade zone factory. Despite the severe risks, Jamaican women have not accepted dehumanizing conditions without responding organizationally. For instance, in March 1988, 2,000 women from Kingston’s free trade zone went on a three-day strike (Weekly Gleaner 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d). The women complained of verbal and physical abuse, unreasonably low pay, and the lack of union representation. Initially, then Prime Minister Edward Seaga appointed a joint union–management council to investigate the workers’ complaints; however, he eventually gave in to pressure from factory owners, who threatened that they would close their plants if the government failed to live up to promises it made and if workers continued to exhibit “poor work attitudes” (Weekly Gleaner 1988a).

Economic Desperation in the Informal Sector
Seaga’s attitude that, no matter how bad the situation, free trade zone jobs are better than no free trade zone jobs is shared by many workers, who prefer these jobs over the insecure, unstable, and aggressively competitive work found in the informal economic sector (Deere et al. 1990). Free trade zone workers, nonetheless, are extremely vulnerable to losing their jobs. If they exhibit behavior that management construes as nonproductive and reflective of poor work attitudes, they face abuse or summary termination. Moreover, they are apt to be made expendable if factory owners decide to move on to more lucrative grounds in a country better able to enforce a cheaper wage labor force.

Although wage workers frequently augment their income with informal means of generating additional income, close to 40 percent of Jamaican women—as compared with 12 percent of the male labor force—work primarily in the informal economy, in which they predominate in household services and petty commerce (Deere et al. 1990, 67; Boiles 1992; Harrison 1991b). To maximize survival, informal-sector workers have to balance the competitive spirit of “aggressive hustling” with the cooperative spirit that sustains the extended kin and friendship networks through which goods, services, and cash are circulated for the sake of basic survival. In light of the increasing scarcity of cash, these extended exchange networks allow their impoverished participants to meet basic needs outside of formal market transactions (Deere et al. 1990, 71).

Although many women prefer having factory jobs over informal means of subsistence, the reality is that there are few such job opportunities available. Moreover, the built-in expendability of free trade zone labor means that the export processing proletariat cannot enjoy any real distance from the day-to-day reality of the informal sector and the persons—like Beulah and Marie Brown—who operate within its sphere. Although the full-time informal workforce includes those with no recourse but the underground economy, there are, nonetheless, petty entrepreneurs for whom small-scale self-employment represents a meaningful source of livelihood preferable to work conditions in the free trade zone. Local residents’ social criticism of the factory regime may be unemployed workers’ rationalization of the resentment they feel for being excluded from a wage-work opportunity. On the
other hand, their criticism may also be an expression of a local knowledge cognizant of the contradictions and inequities of the prevailing model of development and its structure of employment/unemployment.

Many analysts claim that the individuated and present-day-oriented aggressive hustling characteristic of informal-sector activities "hinders the development of a sense of collective struggle" and contributes to "the fragmentation of the working class and a deterioration of its institutions" (Deere et al. 1990, 11, 12). This predicament, they argue, "further deepens the social crisis" (11, 12). Under what circumstances can a sense of collective struggle emerge among those without any recourse but hustling to survive? What role does gender politics play in the development of collective consciousness of kind in the sociopolitical space of structural unemployment and informal-sector work? These are questions that inform the ensuing analysis of the structural violence of poverty in the slum where Beulah Brown's story began.

Negotiating Crisis in a Downtown Constituency

Everyday life is literally a struggle against "sufferation" in a place like Oceanview, where chronic wage unemployment is extremely high; the violent rivalry between gang-organized clients of the country's two major political parties, the PNP and JLP, runs rampant; "Babylon," what the Rastafari call the oppressive society and its repressive state apparatus, reveals the fullness of its terror-provoking face; and (paraphrasing Roger Abraham's [1983] book title) questions concerning the meaning of freedom and sovereignty for sufferers.

No-Man's-Land and Centerwomen's Space

According to most Kingstonians' cognitive maps, the uptown-downtown division is a central dimension in local social class and political geography. Also, within the space of the expansive downtown ghetto zone, partisan boundaries demarcate loci of safety, danger, and neutrality, all of which are contingent and subject to recodification. The neighborhoods that are viewed as anathema to most middle-class people who are afraid to be "caught dead" in Oceanview, the primary and most visible loci of power are government- and political party-based domains along with the rival street-corner gangs that have traditionally been aligned with the two major political par-
ties. (Since the 1980s, gangsters—who rival the national security forces in their gun power—have increasingly operated outside of party and government control.) At certain junctures in local history, violent conflicts arising from partisanship and other significant divisions have been contained by truces negotiated and sustained for varying (but usually limited) periods of time. During peaceful phases, women-centered networks and associations (particularly the nonpartisan and multipurpose Blessed Sacrament School Parent Teacher Association, or PTA, to which Beulah Brown belonged) have been visible agents of the microcultural change that has heightened social solidarity and consciousness of kind (cf. Velez-Ibanez 1983). These periods of calm and collective identity, however, are vulnerable to being subverted by the victimization and violence that accompany electoral campaigns.

The Structure and Meanings of Violence

The worst case of political violence was in 1980 when the heated rivalry between the PNP's democratic socialism and the JLP's free-market strategy set the stage for an unprecedented level of violence. Kingston came to be described as the "Beirut of the Caribbean," and life in Oceanview was "the worst nightmare," as one local resident described to me. More recently, in early 1993, the Weekly Gleaner (1993a, 1993b, 1993c) published numerous articles, some with front-page headlines, on violence amid the general election that took place in March of that year. Whether the expected level of violence could be contained was a major concern expressed by journalists, politicians, the police commissioner, and a respected priest who runs a mission in a downtown ghetto.

Violence—whether perpetrated by politicized gangs, criminals, the police, or men against women—is an integral feature of life in Oceanview. It is a phenomenon that conditions the climate affecting not only local and national politics but also economic activities and patterns of association and social interaction. Oceanview residents are forced to live with and against violence that provides a basis, though not the sole one, for the meanings invested in local evaluations of the legitimacy of government, its policies of development, and political participation. As an instrument and process in power contests, violence is constitutive of the sociocultural forms and meanings that inform and negotiate the terms of interaction, conflict, and political culture. Throughout Jamaica's history, violence has generated politically and culturally salient meanings since the initial colonization of the island and the subsequent formation of an exploitative plantation slavery society. Violence has not only served as an instrument of domination, it has also been deployed in protest and resistance, as exemplified in the case of slave rebellions and maroonage (the escapes and struggles of runaway slaves) in which the moral economy and cultural politics of slavery were forcefully contested (Campbell 1977).

In its duality, violence is salient in Jamaicans' historical memory and present-day experience, and in places like Oceanview its salience is reproduced in a local Realpolitik that has been buttressed by the growing pattern of militarization affecting the state as well as criminal forces like drug posses. State militarization has been underwritten by CBI aid from the United States, which has determined that regional security and U.S. dominance be achieved in the Caribbean Basin by any means necessary (see Harrison 1987a, 32; Barry et al. 1984). The broader context within which physical violence in its various forms can be situated is that of structural violence. According to Köhler's (1978) and other peace researchers' conceptualization, structural violence encompasses such assaults and violations against human rights and dignity as food shortages and hunger, pollution and environmental degradation, and police brutality—conditions engendered by the "situations, institutions, and social, political, and economic structures" (Haviland 1990, 458) that characterize the polarized economic growth associated with the concerted IMF/World Bank/CBI strategy for development.

As suggested previously, the structural violence of free-market development relies upon constructions of masculinity and femininity that help produce and reproduce the mobility and accumulation of transnational capital. Violence-legitimating constructions of masculinity are implicit in U.S.-supported military-industrial policies implemented in Jamaica. In either direct or indirect ways, the managers and protectors of the postcolonial—or neo-colonial—social order (namely, politicians, policemen, and army officers) are expected to take high, "manly" risks and negotiate danger to ensure such desired outcomes as profitability, law and order, and counterinsurrection. Even tourism advertisements appropriate images of legitimately militarized males in police or army uniforms (and welcoming, available, and compliant females in colorful peasant attire) in order to sell the comfort and safety of Jamaica's beach resorts to prospective foreign tourists (Enloe 1989, 32).

In Jamaica's clientelist political system, a form of "democracy by default" (Edie 1990), the managers of the postcolonial social order commonly employ and enforce their power through paramilitary means: deploying ghetto forces or partisan street gangs. The success of this tactic depends, of course, on a social construction of ghetto masculinity that privileges the dauntless toughness of living by the gun. Such a value is rooted in the forms of complicity and co-optation embodied in the current hegemonic structure of masculinized power.
Gendered Fields of Regenerative Power

Oceanview's struggle over war and peace, over repressive militarism and people-centered democracy, is also a struggle over the reconstruction of both gender and development. On the sociopolitical terrain of peace mobilization, local agents contest and renegotiate the terms and meanings of gender identity, power, work, and development, especially as they apply to local community life.

Sociopolitical agency is constituted in gendered fields of power. Gendered politics, through which dominant gender ideologies are sometimes challenged and refashioned, plays an integral part in the microcultural processes that periodically give rise to emergent forms of class-cognizant solidarity. Such episodes enable wider networks of men and women to coalesce and defy the legitimacy of the state, whose seductively divisive rituals of marginality periodically give rise to emergent forms of class-cognizant solidarity. The challenge to the gender and class ideologies embedded in the syndrome of political violence and in current poverty-perpetuating policies is a key element in the grassroots politics of survival and rehumanization found in places like Oceanview. Underpinning this woman-centered praxis is a deep, potentially subversive knowledge of the legitimacy of the state, whose seductively divisive rituals of marginality is believed to be the source of cosmopolitical and physical regeneration for both biological reproduction and folk-centered economic development (Carnegie 1987). Through truce-making efforts, centerwomen and their male allies constituted their base of survival by reclaiming contested urban space and converting it into a shared place of community.

Local articulations of social criticism and community solidarity confront nationwide and even global forces that reduce ghetto sufferers to dispensable clients and pawns sacrificed to the secular deities of what Vélez-Ibáñez (1983) calls "rituals of marginality." The challenge to the gender and class ideologies embedded in the syndrome of political violence and in current poverty-perpetuating policies is a key element in the grassroots politics of survival and rehumanization found in places like Oceanview. Underpinning this woman-centered praxis is a deep, potentially subversive knowledge of the long-standing tradition of resisting and contesting the status quo and of celebrating the power of the relatively powerless to imagine—and struggle for—a community that privileges freedom. The freedom imagined is not that of capital mobility and accumulation but that which is wedded to social justice and equality. Oceanview's centerwomen, like their counterparts throughout Jamaica and the Caribbean, are catalysts in grassroots responses to a crisis that reverberates transnationally, affecting both Southern and Northern Hemispheres. Grassroots mobilizations—in the form of action groups, cooperatives, nongovernmental organizations, and social movements—are expressing the urgent concerns and grievances of households, communities, and the informal sector in ways that the established political parties and trade
unions have not (Deere et al. 1990, 101). It is not at all surprising that in light of "the specific ways in which the crisis impinges upon women," they "have been among the first to protest and organize in new ways" (106).

End of the Story within a Story—For Now

Tired from feeling the weight of her sixty-three years, especially the past ten of them, Mrs. Brown complained to me about the prohibitive costs of living and the unjust formula being used to devalue the Jamaican dollar so as to make the economy more penetrable for foreign investment. "And all at the people's expense!" As we waited at the airport for my departure time, she remarked that she did not know how she could have made it through all her trials and tribulations if it were not for the grace of God who gave her industry, creativity, and a loving family as gifts; her church, upon which she had always been able to depend for both spiritual guidance and material aid; and Blessed Sacrament School, its PTA, and the various other activities and community services based on the grounds of that strategic local sanctuary from political warfare and economic desperation. When she was abroad, she raised a respectable sum of money from her relatives and friends for the church and school that have helped sustain her family through plenty of hard times. She insisted that no amount of "gunshot or war" could ever dissuade her from giving back to and continuing to be a part of the vital organs of support and solidarity that have been integral to her sense of moral and sociopolitical agency. Although committed to her Oceanview network of support and praxis, Mrs. Brown appreciated the freedom to go as she pleased, or needed, to and from the various sites of her transnational family.

It was time for me to go to my exit, so we kissed and hugged each other good-bye as we had done several times before. We promised to write and phone until we were able to meet again—whether in Jamaica or in the United States. After all, she smiled, she had many other stories to tell me about her life as a hardworking Jamaican woman making her way in a difficult world.

I am back home now, but I cannot help but think—and worry—about Beulah Brown and Oceanview in light of the glober restructuring that affects life in the Caribbean as well as in the United States, where the implementation of Northern Hemisphere versions of structural adjustment are being felt and confronted. The economic restructuring occurring in the United States is only a variation on a wider structural adjustment, neoliberal theme reverberating across the globe. Policies implemented in the United States resemble the austerity measures the IMF and World Bank have imposed on developing nations: cutbacks in social spending and public investments in housing, education, and health care; deregulation of airline, trucking, banking, finance, and broadcasting industries; corporate union busting; currency devaluation; divestment of public enterprises and the increasing privatization of public services; and dramatic alterations of the tax system, shifting the tax burden away from wealthy individuals and large corporations (Sparr 1992, 30–31).

Probing the political and moral economy of poverty in "the field" (cf. D'Amico-Samuels 1991) has led me to reconceptualize analytical units and boundaries in ways that discern and utilize points of articulation and conjunction between, for instance, Beulah Brown and myself and Jamaica and the United States for a deeper, more broadly situated, and more personally grounded understanding of structural adjustment's gendered assaults: its invidious structural violence.