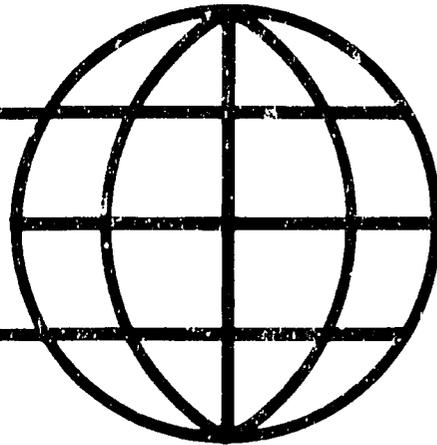


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**COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS
AND NATURAL RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS**



Clark University
International Development Program
950 Main Street
Worcester, MA 01610

Institute for Development Anthropology
99 Collier Street
Suite 302, P.O. Box 2207
Binghamton, NY 13902

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An Approach for Considering Intra-Group
Diversity in Targeting Agricultural
Development Support for Smallholding
Farmers

By

Hamilton Bims
Institute for Development Anthropology

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Cooperative Agreement for Human Settlement and
Natural Resource Systems Analysis

Institute for Development Anthropology
99 Collier Street, Suite 302, P.O. Box 2207
Binghamton, New York 13902 USA

There is ever greater recognition of the subtlety of development issues, some analysts appealing to an undiscovered "ghostly" factor, which, according to some accounts, is responsible for up to 50 percent of a productive gain (Meier 1976). This could be one of several things: competitive pressure, relative organizational efficiency, or the lubricant of local precedent. Another issue, recognized as imprecisely, is what is called, in broadest terms, a "human" or subjective factor. But concessions to attitudes as further keys to patterned acts are undermined, to some extent, by wildly inappropriate modes of grouping and perceiving folk. Commitments to an enterprise do not reflect a kinship unit, nor, except in special cases, class, tribal or ethnic differences. Yet these and other attitudes subdivide a human group in ways that are relevant to productivity. With special emphasis on rural Jamaica, the present paper does the following: (1) assesses the behavior of the island's so-called "peasantry" as reactions to a denigrated history in servitude (through the medium of symbols); (2) explores ways of isolating methodologically useful strata; and (3) discusses their significance to a broad range of development goals.

The Special People: A Historical View

Jamaicans are among a class of fairly recent groups with histories of subjugation (as slaves, peons, similar groups) and who later won deliverance to a self-determined economic role. This circumstance has implications for much of their implicit culture. Mexican ejido tenants and rural Zambians are other examples.

The former are descended from the peons given plots of land in one of the major social reforms of the Mexican Revolution. Initially

collectivized, most units now are private land, and are consequently subject of a jealous pride among their tenants. As a study in the 1950s noted, "They, who had been half-slaves before, could now feel and act as free men" (Infield and Frier 1954:130). The membership of La Partida, in Laguna state, had, as peons, lived in huts, were overseen, and physically punished; and at neighboring Nueva Italia folk recalled the "long days of hard work, the whipping post, and the hunger wages of 45 centavos a day . . ." (ibid.:73). With recollections such as these, many bore material wants (of income, nutrition, housing) with something like draconian pride, for did not the authors know the depths from which this group of folk had pulled themselves? Attitudes toward other folk (the non-select) are shown in their perception of landless and despised libres, men who work for ejidatarios and other farmers as "free" laborers.

In Zambia Jehovah's Witnesses, anthropologist Norman Long found strong lexical indications that factors other than class discriminated this community, as markers of status. Rivaling the wealthy person (bawini) were two other categories: bena tauni ("townsfolk," identified by attitude) and basambashi (individuals widely felt to "govern" themselves). Such groupings often crosscut class. These reflected "style of life," not attributes like education, wealth, and so on, as folk tended generally to "interpret the various status distinctions . . . in terms of a single major division between those of the New World [moderns] and those of the Old World [traditionals]" (Long 1968:200).

While these cases are special in many ways, their example supports the conventional wisdom that change occurs at different rates among different sociocultural units, whether these be "objectively defined [by] age, sex and marital status, occupational status, religious affiliation, ethnic origin,

stage in life cycle and cultural background or more subjectively by the local classification of the people themselves" (ibid.:200). All of this may indicate the usefulness of reconceiving other groups of liberated, post-colonial populations, utilizing novel modes of grouping and perceiving them.

Stereotypes as Policy Guides

The perception of Jamaicans as a homogenous "peasant" folk is traceable to 60 years of patronizing scholarship, and is not without consequence for policymaking. While Beckwith, who studied folklore, did not project her observations (Beckwith 1929), those students who succeeded her were more explicit: farmers were exotic folk toward whom certain policies were best adapted. Further they were everywhere the same sort of human beings. Even though an islander, with sympathies for rural folk, Smith abetted this approach by understating differences within the island's lower classes and contrasting them in boldest terms with middle class urban folk (Smith 1965).¹ Clarke had softened this to some extent, in viewing the cultures of three communities as reflecting people's economic and other material circumstances, rather than an a priori "peasant" culture (Clarke 1957). But even she fell rather short of recognizing proper strata, as a concept for operations. Such oversights constrained the work of Edwards in the Yallahs Valley (1971) and Kruijer in Christiansa (1956), both of which unfortunately were linked to projects. Such attitudes have set the tone for modern field activity, characterized to some extent by a stereotypic view of farmers, a circumstance which may account for many of the contradictions of its literature. Wage labor is variously called a

1 This orientation co-existed with the then-current orientation of the "pluralism" of some societies.

small farmer's last resort and alternately a cherished means of supplementing farm earnings. Some observers emphasized the symbolism of private land while others tend to view it as a resource and little else, etc. Such anomalies may well reflect the error of inappropriate grouping. But the consequence is this: that very large proportion of farmers whom I perceive as serious men (and could contribute much to almost any development initiative) are in danger of being aggregated right out of existence. This assessment probably holds for many other populations students tend to stereotype, simplify, and misperceive.

The Past in Rural Jamaican Culture

Jamaica is a hundred miles due south of Cuba in the western Caribbean, one of the so-called Greater Antilles. Like those of other American colonies, its chief commodity, sugar, depended on the forced labor of Indian and, later, African slaves, the latter arriving in significant numbers from about the 1650s. In 1658, writes Patterson, some 1,400 were on the island, increasing to 205,261 by 1758 and to 371,070 at the time of freedom in the 1830s (Patterson 1967:95). For reasons still obscure, slaves were allowed, and indeed encouraged, to grow their food while marketing surpluses, and they soon exerted a major role in the island's domestic farm commerce. According to Long, Jamaica's principal 18th Century historian, 20 percent of the 50,000 pounds in local currency in the 1770s was controlled by slaves, who also dealt in many exports; including hides, tumeric, supplejacks, castor oil, goatskins, cow's horns, arrowroot, oil nuts. This unexpected enterprise---reflecting a level of commercial involvement of long standing---suggests to Mintz and Hall that "patterns of human and horticultural occupance, the system of cultivation, the paths of distribution of products, and the economic relationship of the

peasantry to other classes, formed one interwoven system¹ that preceded freedom by generations (Mintz and Hall 1960).

But slavery could hardly fail to leave its mark on institutions. Its organization and social forms have been more than amply catalogued (see especially Patterson 1967 and 1982) and what are more important here are legacies and consequences. Some cite the devastation of modern institutional slavery while others tend to minimize its consequences.² But, even anthropological treatments lack the present emphasis of symbols, meanings, representations as action-guiding paradigms. After freedom many farmers readapted as yeoman farmers, reflecting a consistent theme which dominates the rural sector's personality to this day: a fierce defense and jealousy of economic "independence" (via access to affordable land) and commitment to behaviors, like frugality and hard work, deemed vital to perpetuate this privileged status. Even though to some extent assisted by external forces (metropolitan liberalism under Wilberforce, funneling money and other supports through nonconformist Protestant missions),³ these movements were the stuff of legend, involving many deprivations (physical, nutritional) reflected in the rural sector's physiognomy to this day. Their non-material motivation is supported by the circumstance that other viable options existed: continued work in cane fields and cattle pens where participants were slaves. But generally

2 Greatest stress is assigned by sociologist E. Franklin Frazier (e.g. *The Negro Family in the United States*, 1939) and sociologist Fernando Henriquez, a native Jamaican. In *Status and Power in Rural Jamaica* (1973), Nancy Foner stresses the rural sector's sociocultural integration into national life.

3 They represented Moravian, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist sects, the latter largely dominating at later stages. Some prominent leaders were the Reverends Knibb, Clarke, Phillippo, Burchell, and Dendy.

the 1830s and 1840s saw strong rejection of wage labor and the rapid, often arduous rise of "new" communities.

While total farm production declined (by about a third) between 1832 and 1850 (Eisner 1974; this included estate production), settlers won the reluctant respect of many hostile planters themselves. But glimpses into social life are mainly through the sketches drawn by sympathetic missionaries and social working stipendary magistrates.⁴ While these reports are not disinterested, they indicate that changes in other spheres of social life accompanied yeomanry. While these need not be detailed, a glimpse of Clarendon parish, in 1840, underlines the "industry" and perseverance of early yeomen, while emphasizing their economic disadvantages. An observer wrote, "The quality of the land is so bad, and freeholds so small . . . that it is almost an impossibility that [the people] can reap any produce from them, and this the settlers know well; I was informed by them they only wished for homes where they could not be troubled, and that they might have the liberty of working where they might choose their livelihood" (quoted in Paget 1964:44). Other comments emphasize the "cleanliness" and "neatness" of the villages and fledgling farms, the incipient labor specialization, and in general the energy and "progress" of this new society (see especially Curtin 1955; Paget 1964; and Hall 1959 and 1978).

There is very little to indicate why these events invariably assumed a private tenure, "freehold" form, when there were other options. This is especially so for enterprises formed by missions. Their pattern was

4 These combined the functions of social workers and something that was similar to a modern farm extension worker. They further served as ombudsmen for the interests of former slaves, reflecting the growing liberalism of Britain's metropolitan government, by now frequently at odds with the mercantilist interests of planters.

consistent: the joint purchase of large tracts to be resold, in smaller parcels, to the denominations' land-hungry memberships. As the sizes of these hilly plots were economically insupportable, why this land did not remain consolidated is not clear, inasmuch as it was tied to otherwise near-communal village structures. But cooperatives do not appear in rural Jamaica till the 1920s,⁵ and these were either credit unions or market-focused enterprises neither having much to do with compromises of personal "freedom," and generally Jamaicans have never shown much interest in a co-op structure, exhibiting from their earliest history (as a free people) symptoms of their present-day extreme economic individualism. Receptiveness that does exist is probably interpretable as strategies for perpetuating yeoman farming.⁶

Supporting these assessments are the recent reanalyses of two events of later history: the so-called Morant Bay rebellion (1865) and the civil

5 Their concept was introduced by Turner's Cooperative Land Purchase Society. Other, later cooperative efforts included the Lucky Hill and Grove Farm schemes, the Jamaica Poultry and Farmers Federation, the Christians Potato Growers Association, the Blue Mountain Coffee Growers Association, and various Friendly and Benefit Societies. But, land reform has generally assumed a private-tenure, household form. Between 1929 and 1971, nearly 40,000 rural Jamaicans became small-time capitalist farmers, purchasing small plots of hilly land via the island's pivotal Land Settlement scheme, which involved the purchase of under-used large estates by the government and their resale to peasants. In recent years, large numbers of people also have taken part in the extension of this scheme, the Land Lease program.

6 This evaluation particularly describes cooperative labor institutions: morning sport, work partnerships, and lend day. The first of these, as the name suggests, is recreational. A party of up to a dozen men assembles for a peak job like ground breaking. After four, five, or six hours (in the relative cool of morning), the host provides a lavish "tea" at mid-day, and afternoons are given over to rum drinking and socializing. In work partnerships, two to a dozen men will form a circle of trusted friends for long-term, periodic mutual aid. The same applies to lend day, with the exception that the reciprocity is short-term, specified, and generally more businesslike. Most farmers I observed also exploited cash labor. In none of these relationships do farmers cede their independence of decision-making. Some degree of cooperativism is probably indispensable to a yeomanry.

disturbances of the 1930s, both now perceived by revisionist historians as land fights: the former over estate monopoly in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, the latter reflecting discontent over land allocations generally.⁷

This all too brief delineation of currents in Jamaica's past will indicate the usefulness of history in complementing structural analyses. A Marxian interpretation, even in the loosest sense must view the world in terms of process. If actions mirror present structures, they often may be understood as products of dynamic forces. Not all problems are so dependent. But Jamaica (and other colonial cases) exemplify the relevance of structures of a recent past in understanding attitudes and actions which reflect these symbols.

The island's present yeoman farmers number nearly 200,000,⁸ concentrating generally in the hilly 80 percent of the island, growing cane, bananas, citrus, yams, and other export-focused crops and an immensity of (mostly) food for low-priced domestic consumption. Yet for all of their importance to the island's rural productivity, they nonetheless are forced to struggle---for space, markets, infrastructure---with ever-resilient sugar estates, "middle" farms and (latterly for land room) bauxite mines. Further victims of urban bias in the allocation of public resources, growing numbers of small farmers are reluctantly exiting this vital sector.

7 One such revisionist of Morant Bay is historian/archivist Clinton Black. While earlier writers emphasize a wealth of other relevant issues (taxation, drought, unemployment), recent views reflect his stress of the "difficulty the small planter had in getting land to cultivate" (Black 1976:197). Another rash of violence, in 1937 and 1938, was initially labeled as a "labor" crisis, consistent with the Marxist view of conflict in the 1930s; but, it is now seen as emanating from tensions over land control.

8 This estimate is based on figures presented in the Yearbook of Jamaica, Jamaican Department of Statistics, 1981.

Most, however, perservere, being groupable in three broad classes: a sizeable minority who only seem to want to subsist; others who use a farm to supplement their wage earnings; and a final group who constitute the proper yeomen: who are not afraid to lift a cutlass (machete), who seem to know what they are doing as entrepreneurs, and convey to one what I have called a sense of mission, or mandate, as small farmers.

A workday of a dozen hours is not at all unusual, and this does not reflect that some must walk a mile or so up twisting hills to get to work. A man will often leave church to "look upon some animals." His wife will rise at dawn, transporting 60 pounds of yellow, white or Lucea yams to marketplace, sustaining an abrasive sun till every single one is sold. There is great mystique in owning land, and while farmers often disavow this sentiment (in joking terms) they often seem delirious in showing off their piece of the world ("See it there; the line is so; that piece is mine").

These are the island's so-called "trying" or "progressive" folk, a less than modest self-description reflecting their subjective sense of distance and discrimination from other folk, the non-select. Their features are these: (1) an extreme individualism; (2) relatively high labor investment; (3) high regard of owned land; (4) much concern with being a "man" (self-supporting, heading a household); religiosity; (6) economic sophistication; and (7) a subtle feature variously labeled "self-assurance" (Mintz 1974),, "respect for learning" (Foner 1973), and "respectability" (Wilson 1973), and what I myself prefer to call "inversion"⁹ of the features that associate historically with denigrated slave status. A further feature marking them is high (often naive) ambition,

9 This notion derives from my perceptions of American ethnic groups, like Blacks, regarding thier reactions to perjorative stereotypes.

sustained by faith that rectitude, probity and godliness will find reward. Those who "have" deserve their lot while those who do not own possessions (and what these command: status, respect) either do not please the Lord or have yet to gain their earthly kingdom. These attitudes, as we have seen, reflect conditions out of which Jamaicans' social forms emerged.

There are other ways of grouping and perceiving folk in this society (whose complexity of organization reflects our own in miniature): by class, race, ethnic persuasion, religious and other symbolic systems, political and other special interests, and regional, ecological and urban/rural demarcations. Which of these to emphasize, while neglecting or ignoring others, is very much a consequence of problems that are being addressed: what it is a given study wants to know. For issues of productive performance, I myself cannot conceive a more relevant discrimination than one involving differential attitudes toward labor investment---whether these are overt thoughts or guided by implicit meanings.

Isolating Useful Strata

Recent work in inexpensive, rapid social survey methods parallels advances in the quantification of subjective features to render possible novel ways of understanding social phenomena. Some of these may be applied in isolating novel strata.

One such recent methodology is that of Associative Group Analysis (AGA), associated principally with anthropologist Lorand Szalay of the Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, Inc., in Bethesda, Md. By having them associate a list of culturally relevant words, the method yields a graphic view of how respondents view their world: what ideas are dominant, the strength of

their association, and their relative emotional force. Such attitudes are then assigned to broader, more inclusive "domains" (which, in their turn, are analyzed for relative association), describing a "semantograph" or map of people's inner space: how they view the universe implicitly. In probing for relationships (rather than ideas per se), the method further seeks to fathom less than conscious attitudes and meaning sets that govern acts. The "Group" refers to features that are very often shared by groups, marking them in covert and implicit ways. Testing done of white, black and Puerto Rican college students strengthens the assessment that non-explicit attitudes (even world views) parallel fairly closely ethnic and other subsocietal identity systems (Szalay and Bryson 1977); and there are various other applications of this method (e.g. Szalay et al. 1971; Szalay and Pecjak 1979). Another feature of AGA is an insistence on empiricism: the test assumes that meaning systems coincide with patterned acts (as norms very often do not). The method thus may represent a little-used alternative to normative interpretations of group-specific patterned behavior. Its development accompanies another trend of recent years: advances in cost-efficient, informal survey methods. Together they may constitute a novel means of isolating features which statistical data may obscure, and which are treated in ethnographies in subjective modes deemed unreliable, and suspect, by responsible planners.

The relevance to AGA of rapid reconnaissance methodology is its absence of hypothesis and possibility of genuine discovery. Theory is developed later, after a systematic inventory of economic, ecological and (with increasing frequency) cognito-semantic features. While students may insist upon the complement of formal designs (ideally with participant observation), often this

is not convenient, in which event the method may suffice for certain limited ends.

One of these is isolating useful strata: identifying the sociocultural heterogeneity, and complexity, that any large group reflects. Some of these divisions are obvious; but where populations manifest a certain kind of ethnohistory (reflecting leadership, sacrifices), we may suspect the presence of identities that are non-obvious. Their confirmation may in turn suggest the role of AGA, in mapping and identifying their cognito-semantic systems: who are these people; what motivates them; and why do they discriminate subjectively in such a way. If attitudes are non-explicit (are unreflected in norms) our understanding of "ideology" is thus expanded, and planners have another class of "data" to inform their work.

AGA is extremely simple and cost-efficient to implement. It is further adaptable to situations. Attitudes are ascertained in responses to culturally relevant lexical items. A word such as "manhood" is entered on a prompting card, with 50 to a hundred respondents writing in related words. The word is then repeated for as many as a dozen times, the ordering of associations reflecting their subjective priority. As responses are unconstrained by obligations to make sense (as discourse must), their reliability rivals that of psychology's free association method. But answers are generally not erratic or nonsensical. Among a group of Venezuelans, "manhood" might call to mind notions of courage or toughness, while rural Jamaicans might consider that independence, or land control, are more relevant associations. Coders then review results, scoring each response word according to its subjective rank. While personal data are best avoided, information should include enough detail

(re education, status, religion) as might assist a group-specific, or sociocultural, assessment of results.

Subjective meanings (themes) are organized in larger units (clusters, domains), being contemplated in three dimensions: dominance (the relative importance of themes and domains); affinity (the degree of their relatedness, based on content overlap); and "affect loading" (the intensity of positive or negative evaluations). "Given such an analysis, the distance between two cultures can [consequently] be inferred by comparing their representational systems" (Szalay and Maday 1982:111).

This outline is simplified for purposes of brevity, yet conveys enough to enable one to appreciate the relevance of AGA, and similar tests, to typical anthropological problems. It further suggests their operability--their relative ease of implementation. For in spite of the rigor of AGA (see Szalay and Deese 1978:23-37 for a further discussion of the method's procedures), there is nothing in its set of tasks that cannot be assimilated by reasonably competent social scientists, whatever their area of specialization. A specialization in quantitative methods is not required to administer the test. This, combined with other advantages, like freedom from dependence upon large, probabilistic samples, might well interest to budget-conscious Third World governments, and projects of whatever sort that labor under a time constraint. A competently administered test could, moreover, help resolve a common, if neglected, cause of many needless project failures, epitomized in Jamaica's recent Second Integrated Rural Development Project (IRDP).

An effort by the Jamaican government and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the plan was launched to assist farmers in managing erosive soil while enhancing their production and income. The plan had a

number of flaws (see Blustain 1985), but its biggest single error was its underutilization of farmers: its neglect of their potential as a committed and productive sector of the society. This attitude reflected views which represented "peasants" as a short-sighted, uncommitted, dependent class. This may explain the project's use of yet another welfare measure -- overly generous subsidies -- as "payment" for participation, with no attempt to isolate the "better," more committed farmers. Such policies defeat their purpose. As Blustain notes, soil conservation is a thing of short-term loss and long-term benefits; once study shows that " 'a farmer would 40-60 years before the benefits of averting losses in productivity would match the costs of undertaking the measures' " (Brubaker and Castle 1981). And if subsidies are generous, then farmers view participation in terms of its immediate rewards and not its long-term ecological benefits (Blustain 1985:127) Discretion in identifying and recruiting good participants would have enable other kinds of incentives.

Exploiting Special Strata

Disaggregating aggregates called "small farmers" would serve two ends: it would compensate for weaknesses of other kinds of identity systems (like kinship groups) as bases of concerted effort and cater to the merits of an independent, self-directed, individualistic ethos. One likely use of special strata: as models or exemplars in programs like the Local Leader component of farm extension strategies, with attention to their exemplary role. While Jamaicans share a veneration of traditional markers of social status--- education, income, family---the model for emulation are persons viewed as "getting on" or economically "bettering" themselves. Cases from around the

world support the role of model farms as centers for disseminating technological information, which diffuses from creative centers to more or less receptive periphery. This success is often linked to commonsense or obvious factors: the proximity of nuclear farms, and their emphasis on applied knowledge. Less acknowledged are attributes and qualities of nuclear farmers, as culture models.

Another kind of enterprise that special strata might assist are massive farmer resettlement schemes, of which Brazil's is probably the best known.¹⁰ While differences between the groups which populate the Amazon Highway are not precisely those we stress, Moran discusses variations (in attitudes, productivity) of two vastly distinct farmers, noting the wisdom of stratifying a target group for certain features:

The most significant indicators [of farm success] were whether persons had been owners or managers . . . and whether they had relatively stable residence . . . The profile of rural persons with unstable rural residence and with no previous ownership of land or durable goods is as follows: they are persons who have customarily worked many years for others in low-skill agricultural work, having little experience with farm management. They have repeatedly failed to do well economically and have been tied to the landowner/patron by symbiotic master-client bonds . . . Persons with this background demonstrate less initiative and ability to manage production than those with markedly different background . . . Rural persons with a background of stable rural residence, previous ownership or management of a property or business, possession of durable goods, and some experience in urban areas in dealing with banks and businesses are effective entrepreneurs (Moran 1979:359).

The owners arrived at the settlement zone with small but significant amounts of cash, while the "others spent most of their small supply . . . on consumer goods before arriving . . ." The former established general stores, bought transport vehicles, invested in cattle, and turned the land to quality pasture, while the others sought to recreate the "paternal bonds they are

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¹⁰ The study was done in Altamira, one of several resettlement zones around the Amazon Highway system.

familiar with by seeking aid from entrepreneurs whom they increasingly serve as a labor force . . ." The owners made the greater use of household labor, cultivated more intensely, diversified their crop production, and rose to roles of leadership "in a relatively short period of time . . ." Moreover, very soon, they showed themselves as better farmers, having the highest total farm output and the greatest production of corn, beans, and rice per unit of cultivated land, etc. Various other project failures - in Mexico, Bolivia¹¹ - are diagnosed in like fashion, as failures to discriminate and reconceive a target group.

Efforts that are long-term, as in programs of conservation, represent a final case for segregating human groups. The literature on rural Jamaica is complemented more and more by studies of the ecological attitudes of small farmers, who are generally viewed as less concerned with long-term, deferred rewards than more immediately attainable ones, whatever the cost. But answers vary, in significant degree, from one small farmer to the next, reflecting basic differences of attitude and orientation. For the goal of many rural Jamaicans is to cultivate sufficient land as might comprise a legacy to children or other would-be heirs (assuring that the donor will be well remembered). The problem of deferred rewards is therefore not a problem at all---at least for many small farmers. Aggregated (or segregated in methodologically useless ways) the "resource" these represent is needlessly lost.

Culture vs. Ideology

11 They are Mexico's ill-fated Paploapan project, which sustained large numbers of dropouts, and efforts in Bolivia's Putumayo and Alto Beni regions, where attrition rates have been as high as 92 percent.

Practical implications aside, what these issues really show is the hidden or implicit sense of concepts that determine acts, and the problematic status of norms. Paraphrasing Marx, if the world were what it seemed, all science would be superfluous, and if ideology has a function, it is seldom to inform behavior. "The main finding of more than four decades of research on attitudes and behavior is that there is no clear relationship between them" (Cancian 1975:110), and this disturbing observation deepens and enriches quests for what we mean by culture in the context of development issues. Traditional ethnography is consequently "not an end but an important part of the larger task of discovery and description of both implicit and explicit culture. Now that [behavior] has been described, the way is open for a new approach -- the investigation of factors that underlie and determine that behavior" (Szalay and Maday 1982:110).

What recent work in ethnoscience (and symbolic studies generally) shows is the importance, not of "attitudes," as the foundations of cultural analysis, but how these associate in constituting paradigms. Rather than, as in the past, taking norms as prima facie evidence of shared ideas, may we view culture as to some extent a paralanguage: congruing in some obvious ways with what we call the "human spirit," but a fundamentally metahuman, and mysterious, level of organization? This point, though recognized, is seldom considered operationally.

If these remarks have emphasized symbolic or subjective forces (neglecting political economy somewhat), it is not to denigrate the role of non-subjective, structural forces. But cultures may be integrative, self-referring organizations, and understanding human things in terms of non-human structures does not deny the relevance of inner or subjective forces, as yet another kind

of structure (articulating with "outer" ones in ways which, unfortunately, we have yet to penetrate). The bifurcation of humanistic and institutional anthropology obscures the ways they may converge in illuminating many problems planners face.

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