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Refuge and Deliverance: Religion and Politics in Modern Jamaica

Bloomfield, Kijan

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REFUGE AND DELIVERANCE: RELIGION AND POLITICS IN MODERN JAMAICA

Kijan Alexia Bloomfield

A DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Refuge and Deliverance: Religion and Politics in Modern Jamaica is an interdisciplinary study on religion and politics in Jamaica. Using historical, archival, and ethnographic methods, this study centers religion, specifically Christianity, as the primary framework to analyze national and community discourses around progress and social change during the late nineteenth century; the 1972 and 1980 elections; and a 2010 security operation in Tivoli Gardens, a garrison community in West Kingston.

Though religion permeates public discourse, it is undertheorized in the historiography about Jamaica's transition from a colony to an independent nation. Folk culture, economic dependency, and political factionalism are major themes through which scholars examine Jamaica's challenges on the path to sovereignty. Caribbean philosophers, also, in examining normative ideas about freedom during slavery and the postcolony, have largely reduced religion to an apolitical aspect of culture. *Refuge and Deliverance* advances the view that religious commitments and practices are part and parcel of Jamaica's political and economic history. Focusing on religion generates a different view of progress and social change that is not limited to the mechanisms of statecraft such as voting and formal interactions with representatives of the state.

To this end, *Refuge and Deliverance* explores forms of political action undertaken by members of a Holiness-Pentecostal church located in Tivoli Gardens, Kingston. Established in 1996 during a period of political violence in Tivoli Gardens, the church ministers to residents, mostly women and youth. Through participant observation of services and outreach initiatives, and interviews with youth and women members of the church, this study examines the interplay

between doctrine and action in a religious community situated in a milieu characterized by uncertainty. *Refuge and Deliverance* demonstrates that residents use their personal faith and religious values to negotiate the daily economic, social and political forces that characterize life in Tivoli Gardens. The ministry at Deliverance Tabernacle exemplify how Pentecostals build community around a set of ethical expectations. Their methods, however imperfect and contradictory at times, create a value system and alternate space of belonging that provides hope and encourages practices that are necessary, if not sufficient, for systemic social change.

Dedicated to the women and young people of Tivoli Gardens;

and to my parents, Evangelist and Pastor Bloomfield, who exemplify love and service.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

DEDICATION v

TABLE OF CONTENTS vi

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS viii

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1

"We Are More Than the Sins of Slavery" 40

CHAPTER 2

"Better Must Come:" Black Radicalism and Religious Conservativism in the 1972 Elections 84

CHAPTER 3

Singing the 'Red Flag:' Socialist Ideology and Social Change, An Interregnum 127

CHAPTER 4

Deliverance 159

CHAPTER 5

"Tivoli for Jesus:" The Incursion as Spiritual Warfare **193**

CHAPTER 6

"Time for Change" **225**

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS **272**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **279**

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In the Fall of 2009, I arrived an hour late for the Religion department's information session for prospective students. The day began with a series of setbacks and the traffic while I drove from Queens, New York, was unforgiving. On my arrival, after the lunch was packed away and prospective students dispersed to their individual meetings, the department's faculty members took the time to speak with me about my research interests and advised me on what I could accomplish as a doctoral student. My journey over the past eight years was much like the commute to Princeton that day; one filled with obstacles and unexpected turns. The care and support I received as a prospective student continued throughout course work, field research, and writing this project.

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INTRODUCTION

It was a one-day convention service. In the past, conventions had spanned three days at a minimum. The church hall of Deliverance Tabernacle held about one hundred attendees, including children. Seated in the pews were familiar faces, mostly. The rostrum was filled with visitors from a visiting local church, musicians, and the choir. Per usual, I sat at the back, near the door. This was my way of being inconspicuous, but the strategy rarely worked. It was also a practice I developed as a young woman growing up in a Jamaican-American Pentecostal church in New York City. Sister Diane walked over quietly, hugged me, and offered to sell me a pamphlet for a price of $100JA or less than one US dollar.[1] It was a tradition to have a commemorative pamphlet on sale for major events. The cover boasted the church's new name and charter. The name change occurred in 2013 when the pastor, Desmond Morrison, decided it was time to break ties with a well-established Pentecostal church organization. The decision came after months of prayer and fasting about the direction of the church and seeking God's wisdom about growth and progress. Pastor Morrison was concerned about the "sex demons" that plagued the church and suspicions that some members practiced Obeah, or witchcraft. There were also competing views on doctrine and governance among veteran members who had been present since the founding of the church. This new name signified the church's new direction and a break from the past. I purchased the pamphlet, the proceeds from which went towards the latest fundraising effort. This time, it was to fix the roof and repay a loan taken out to purchase a new drum set. Structural progress was already evident. The building that housed the pastor's office and two rooms were completed. During my first summer conducting field work, when the rooms

[1] The name of the church, its location, and names of the research participants have been changed to protect their identities. The names of witnesses whose testimonies appear in the West Kingston Commission of Enquiry Report and its televised proceedings have not been changed.

were being used as classrooms for summer vacation bible school, they were basic concrete walls and floors, hot from the lack of ventilation and dusty from the ongoing construction. Now, the walls were painted, windows were installed, and the rooms were generally off limits except when the pastor used them for counseling sessions or meetings. The church had also built a new vestibule. Now it was impossible to see directly into the church hall from the courtyard and the main gate, and your gaze from the pulpit met a blue wall.

The service entailed hymns, readings from the Bible, ecstatic worship, and a sermon by the guest pastor. This was the usual order of events. On my first visit in June 2013, for over two hours, members of Deliverance Tabernacle sang, worshipped, and danced in the Spirit. Women wailed. Men cried. A deacon wiped away his tears with a handkerchief printed with the flag of Great Britain. Between cries of "hallelujah" and "praise the Lord," the deacon shifted his attention to a preteen boy who kept looking up from his seat at a group of other boys his age, who were congregated on the zinc roof of a shed right next to the perimeter wall. Eventually, the boy escaped and spent the rest of the church service with his friends, sitting casually on the wall. On the rostrum, a woman lay prostrate. Another stood crying, speaking in tongues, nested between two women who formed a circle by holding hands. Care and submission were evident. Church members embraced, prayed, and offered their physical bodies to the movement of the Spirit.

At the end of my first visit to Deliverance Tabernacle, I met Sandra. She walked towards me dressed in a skirt suit because she was singing with the choir that day. We shook hands and walked together through the front entrance, into the courtyard, and through the gate in the brick wall surrounding the church. It was warm and humid. I smelled rancid odors; marijuana; and periodically rice and peas, a staple in Sunday afternoon dinner. We walked towards her home

along the only road traversing Reptile Row, a set of high rises that was built at the edge of Dudley Square, one of approximately seven subcommunities that make up Tivoli Gardens. After engaging in small talk, I nervously asked if she was in Tivoli during the 2010 incursion. In May of that year, Jamaican security forces entered Tivoli Gardens in search of Christopher "Dudus" Coke, a don (or community gatekeeper) wanted for extradition to face gun and narcotics charges in the United States.[2] The ordeal, referred to as "the Incursion" by residents, lasted a week and ended with a loss of over seventy lives and $1.8 billion USD in overall damage.[3] During the incursion, Sandra stayed home to protect her younger brother who had a developmental disability. She was severely injured. "[On Monday] I was shot two times. One in my leg and the other in my breast. I didn't reach the hospital until the Wednesday." We approached her apartment building. She identified the window and door of her apartment. They were set behind a low wall that enclosed a small balcony on the second floor. The building walls, painted a bright light blue, were freckled with holes and indentations from bullets used during the Incursion. We stopped to say hello to her friends standing in front of the building where she sold various goods during the week. Sandra lost her only son to gun violence in 2011, a year after the Incursion.

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[2] Christopher Coke emerged as a don, or area leader, within the context of the Jamaican state by providing access to resources and opportunities for marginalized Jamaicans. Amanda Sives demonstrates that the clientelist nature of Jamaican politics (in which politicians operate as patrons for their constituencies by administering benefits and providing material goods) created patron-client relationships. Loyalties and class solidarity were configured vertically in alignment with party affiliation in the communities with which these parties were associated. This system stymied the development of class alliances amongst poor and working-class Jamaicans. Violence was used to secure political strongholds. As early as the 1950s, politicians used gunmen to intimidate voters from opposing parties. By the late 1970s, strict economic development policies minimized politicians' capacity to distribute goods and resources. This, coupled with the increased trafficking of drugs from Jamaica to the United States during the 1980s and 1990s, shifted the balance of power. Gunmen, with greater access to money (as a result of the drug trade), were able to fortify their strongholds and build their capacity to acquire and distribute resources. Sives notes, "In the absence of the resources, civic education, and training to build community networks, power is represented by violence and money, hence the position of the community don." Amanda Sives, "Changing Patrons, from Politician to Drug Don: Clientelism in Downtown Kingston, Jamaica," *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 5 (2002): 66–89.

[3] *Report of the Macro Socio-Economic Effects of the Events in Western Kingston Area, 22 May–7 June 2010* (Jamaica: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, October 27, 2010), 42.

Now she lived with her husband and teenage daughter in another apartment building. But she still kept her old apartment.

The perimeter walls around Deliverance Tabernacle demarcated the end of the church courtyard and physical road that runs through the community. The new vestibule and the walls around the church courtyard create a physical division between the church and the road. The saints in Omar McRoberts's ethnography on storefront Holiness-Pentecostal churches in Chicago described the street as a place of vice and moral depravity—"a place where people encountered forces operating directly against the work of salvation and holiness."[4] In Tivoli Gardens, the road functions symbolically much like the street does for McRoberts's informants. The place beyond the churchyard connotes the vice and dangers of life outside of the protective care of God and the spiritual community. However, for those who lived through the Incursion, and for the youth and women of Deliverance Tabernacle who live with danger and vulnerability on a daily basis, bodily experience on the road shapes the church's mission to effect change in Tivoli Gardens. In this way, the road and the church exist in symbiotic relationship. The mission of the church deeply affects the lives of members and those in their orbit. Likewise, the challenges of living and thriving in Tivoli Gardens shape the messages and outreach initiatives of the church. The message of social uplift, progress, and living in the will of God are tailored to the unique experiences of life in Tivoli Gardens, a community that until 2011 was under the rule of one man who was judge, jury, and executioner.

Deliverance Tabernacle's crusade meetings, prayers, Bible class, Sunday services, and youth outreach bear the characteristics of Pentecostal Christianity. The church's focus on individual transformation through moral codes, the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and the

[4] Omar M. McRoberts, *Streets of Glory: Church and Community in a Black Urban Neighborhood*. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2003), 85.

incontrovertible truth of the Bible as a plan for salvation is reinforced through rituals of ecstatic worship, the practice of speaking in tongues, and water baptism. Members' spiritual conversion from sinners to saints occurs in a context of life chances that have been compromised by political and economic conditions in Jamaica, particularly for women and young people. In this way, the religious practice and ethical edicts that accompany Pentecostal Christianity are in constant interaction with the experiential dimensions of living in an urban community nicknamed the "Mother of All Garrisons." Life in Tivoli Gardens reflects the challenges of a country still reckoning with a long history of colonialism, economic underdevelopment, and social inequity.

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Refuge and Deliverance takes up this history and examines the relationship between religion and politics in Tivoli Gardens. The term "refuge" refers to the ways Deliverance Tabernacle—its mission, doctrines, and rituals—offers spiritual sanctuary for those who enter its doors. The church as a refuge in Tivoli Gardens was an especially radical act when the community was governed by a powerful don. Deliverance Tabernacle rejected the vices and control of a human leader, who through violence and coercion demanded deference and silence in exchange for relative safety and material provisions. One Sunday, the assistant and youth pastor, Mrs. Samuels, preached about Nehemiah's courageous act of rebuilding Jerusalem in the face of considerable opposition. In the sermon, titled "Arise and Build," Pastor Samuels drew parallels between Deliverance Tabernacle's renewal and Nehemiah's faithful work.[5]

[5] Neh. 1–4

When [Nehemiah] started building there was opposition. "How him come a Jerusalem 'bout him a build wall?" [Nehemiah responded], "Me lef' my high position come Jerusalem how can I stop? I start a work and me nah stop fi please unnu. A God work me ah do!"

> We come time and time [again and say] that we want change. How can we get this change? What are the walls in love that have been broken down? Which walls do we need to build? We need to examine ourselves. Some of us [sic] commitment is broken down. When the walls are broken down we are exposed. We are exposed to drugs, demons, sexual immorality, suicide, guns.
>
> We cannot be in our comfort zone and build. We need to come out our comfort zones. We want to see change in our life, the church and community.

Pastor Samuels offered the sacred city of Jerusalem and its walls as a model for Deliverance Tabernacle to serve as both refuge and beacon for its members and its community.

The term "deliverance" refers to both the fictional name given to the church in this project, and a political slogan used by Edward Seaga, elected Prime Minister of Jamaica in 1980. Seaga, who served as the Minister of Parliament for West Kingston from 1962 to 2005, led the Jamaica Labor Party (JLP) in a landslide election victory against Michael Manley, leader of the People's National Party (PNP). It was an ideologically charged time in Jamaica's history. After nearly a decade of socialist policies, close ties with Cuba, and a foreign policy agenda that favored collaboration between nonaligned countries in the Global South, Jamaica was economically and ideologically primed for a shift towards neoliberal arrangements. Successful anticommunist efforts by the United States and Britain stifled Jamaica's economic growth and fomented suspicion of a possible communist takeover amongst all sectors of Jamaican society. "Deliverance" was the name the JLP gave its program of economic and social change that favored previous models of dependency on the United States and weakened government protections in industry and social services. The JLP framed its message of deliverance from the

specter of communism and protracted economic downturn under the PNP in Christian terms. Neoliberalism became the handmaiden of a Christian God. Communism became synonymous with ungodliness, and democratic socialism was painted as a vehicle for an anti-Christian order. Seaga's victory led to a program of structural adjustment that "delivered" Jamaica from the failed experiment of democratic socialism into a new order that deepened the national debt, strengthened the business class, and weakened the social safety net through budget cuts. Servicing loans the government acquired under strict conditions from multinational lending organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank diverted funds that could otherwise have been used to develop infrastructure necessary to sustain Jamaica's growing urban and underemployed population. Like other urban areas in Kingston, parts of Tivoli Gardens—though the favored garrison of the Jamaica Labor Party—remained underdeveloped. The high rises in Reptile Row, for example, had insufficient indoor running water. Electricity was often stolen via informal "throw-ups" or rigs. Garbage disposal was infrequent and remains so. Violence was quotidian. In the 1980 election, therefore, deliverance signified a process of social change that was ideologically consistent with Jamaica's history of social change informed by Christian ideals. Deliverance also signaled an ironic shift away from a system of governance that sought to minimize social inequity and provide a safety net for Jamaica's most vulnerable populations. Structural adjustment policies continue to affect low-income Jamaicans.

Defining Pentecostalism

Pentecostals are the fastest-growing group of Christians globally. Between 1970 and 1990, the number of Pentecostals grew from 4.4 percent to 26.9 percent of the world's population.[6] The majority of Pentecostals and charismatics reside in the Global South—Africa, Asia, and Latin America. According to a 2006 Pew Foundation report, approximately 25 percent of the world's population are members of these faith communities.[7] The Pew study disaggregates Pentecostals and charismatics, referring to them collectively as Christian renewalist traditions. Pentecostals in particular represent 36 percent of Christians in the Americas (which includes Latin America and the Caribbean) and 43 percent of Christians in Sub-Saharan Africa.[8]

One scholar has defined Pentecostals as "Christians who belong to [classical] Pentecostal denominations and churches such as the Assemblies of God, the Church of God in Christ or the Universal Church," whose church services include "people practicing the gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as speaking in tongues, prophesying or praying for miraculous healing."[9] Charismatics, on the other hand, are denominationally diverse, and include Catholics and mainline Protestants. Charismatics, like Pentecostals, manifest spiritual gifts or *charismata* such as speaking in tongues, healing, and prophecy. The terms used in the Pew report reflect the challenge of creating a scholarly definition of Pentecostalism. According to Allan Anderson, it is better to

[6] "Overview: Pentecostalism in Latin America," Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life. (Washington, DC: Pew, October 5, 2006), http://www.pewforum.org/2006/10/05/overview-pentecostalism-in-latin-america/.
[7] *Spirit and Power: A 10-Country Survey of Pentecostals*, Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion and Public Life (Washington, DC: Pew, October 5, 2006), http://www.pewforum.org/2006/10/05/spirit-and-power/, 3.
[8] Ibid., 68.
[9] Ibid., 3.

refer to a "diversity of forms of 'Pentecostalism.'"[10] The overlaps between charismatic churches that belong to mainline Protestant denominations, classical Pentecostals who trace their origins to North American movements such as the Azusa Street Revival, and independent churches that demonstrate Pentecostal-like worship styles complicate efforts to distill the tradition to a basic set of institutions, principles, and practices. In this dissertation, however, Pentecostalism refers to Christians who belong to churches that belong or belonged to classical Pentecostal denominations. Deliverance Tabernacle once belonged to a denomination that came out of the New Testament Church of God—one of the oldest Pentecostal organizations established on the island in the early twentieth century.

Theological Origins

Pentecost is the Greek term for "fifty days" and for Shavuot or the Feast of Weeks, a Jewish festival that takes place fifty days after Passover. Originally an agricultural festival, Shavuot commemorates the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai, where Moses received the Decalogue or the Ten Commandments. Pentecost in the Christian tradition came to signify the fulfilment of prophecy. According to the New Testament, after Jesus was crucified and resurrected, he told his apostles that they would soon be "baptized with the Holy Spirit." This promise was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost: "When the day of Pentecost came, they were all together in one place. Suddenly a sound like the blowing of a violent wind came from heaven and filled the whole house where they were sitting. They saw what seemed to be tongues of fire

[10] Allan Anderson, *An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 12.

that separated and came to rest on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other tongues as the Spirit enabled them."[11]

Modern Pentecostalism can be traced to three religious movements—German Pietism, Wesleyan Holiness, and nineteenth-century US revivalism.[12] German Pietism emphasized conversion through personal experience with the Holy Spirit. This message of being "born again" directly influenced the Wesleyan Holiness movement, which preached sanctification through purging sin and loving God and one's neighbor. In the words of John Wesley, founder of the Methodist tradition, "Entire sanctification or Christian perfection is neither more nor less than pure love—love expelling sin and governing both the heart and life of a child of God."[13] The Wesleyan Holiness movement embraced this message of entire sanctification. In addition to this message of sanctification, the Holiness movement emphasized "biblical literalism, the need for a personal, emotional, and individual experience of conversion, and the moral perfection or 'holiness' of the Christian individual."[14]

The message of moral perfectionism, the experience of ecstatic worship, and baptism by the Holy Spirit marked revivals across the United States and Europe in the nineteenth century. Revivals that demonstrated "Pentecostal characteristics" were also reported in India starting as early as 1860, in Latin America by 1909, in China in 1907, and in Liberia by 1914.[15] The simultaneous outbreak of Holiness revivals in the United States and throughout the non-Western

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[11] Acts 2:1–4, New International Version, Anglicized.
[12] Melvin E. Dieter, "The Wesleyan/Holiness and Pentecostal Movements: Commonalities, Confrontation, and Dialogue," *Pneuma* 12, no. 1 (1990): 8–13, 13.
[13] John Wesley to Mr. Walter Churchey, of Brecon, February 21, 1771, in *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford*, 3d ed. (London: John Mason, 1831), v. 12, 432; quoted in Wesley D. Tracy, "Spiritual Direction in the Wesleyan-Holiness Movement," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 30, no. 4 (Winter, 2002): 323–35, 323.
[14] Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 15.
[15] Ibid., 13, 23, 32, 34, 37.

world demonstrate also that, as Anderson writes, "Pentecostal origins are complex and varied, polycentric, and diffused."[16]

Azusa Street Revival

The Holiness revivals gave way to the Azusa Street Revival, a major turning point in the growth of the Pentecostal movement in the twentieth century. On January 1, 1901, in Topeka, Kansas, a woman attending a Bible class taught by Charles Parham at Bethel Bible College reportedly spoke in tongues. In 1905, Parham travelled to Houston, Texas, to preach. While there, Parham allowed Blacks to sit outside his classroom during Bible study. One day, William Seymour, a Black preacher from Louisiana and the descendant of three generations of slaves, was in attendance and received the spiritual gift of speaking in tongues. Seymour later traveled to Los Angeles to preach under Parham's guidance. The week of April 8, 1906, Seymour led a revival service attended by African Americans at 216 North Bonnie Bray Street. The revival was so immense that on the final night, while attendees were on the street speaking in tongues, the porch fell in. The police arrested seventy-two people and put them under psychiatric care for twenty-four hours. The police ordered Seymour to relocate his revival services, and the group moved to 312 Azusa Street. The *Los Angeles Daily Times* ran a news article describing the ongoing revival services at the new location as a "Weird Babel of Tongues," a group of fanatics who worked themselves up "into a state of mad excitement in their peculiar zeal."[17] With time, Seymour established the first Black-led Pentecostal ministry in the United States. Charles Mason, an African American preacher from Tennessee, also traveled to the church at Azusa

[16] Ibid., 37.
[17] "Weird Babel of Tongues: New Sect of Fanatics Is Breaking Loose," *Los Angeles Times*, April 18, 1906, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Street where he received the baptism of the Spirit. On Mason's return to his church, he preached about the importance of the experience of the Holy Spirit and designated the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) as Pentecostal. Mason's experience is important here because COGIC is one of the largest African-American Pentecostal Holiness organizations in the United States. The Azusa Street Mission was the beginning of African-American Pentecostalism in North America. Contemporary Pentecostalism is a varied tradition with three main features. The first is an end-time Messianic apocalyptic vision—that is, a conviction that the return of Jesus Christ, which will mark the end of chronological time and the beginning of eternity, is imminent, and that these are therefore the "last days" when the prophet Joel prophesied that the world would witness an outpouring of the gifts of Holy Spirit. Peter's quotation of Joel in the Book of Acts is important to Pentecostals: "In the last days it will be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."[18] The second feature is an emphasis on restoration of the apostolic age. In other words, things that happened in Jesus's time, such as healing and miracles, have contemporary parallels. Healing, both physical and emotional, and deliverance from difficult circumstances serve as signs that the power of the Holy Spirit that was demonstrated in the days of Jesus still operates in the lives of believers. Lastly, the third defining feature of Pentecostalism is its egalitarian and democratic ethos. Everyone can receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, which grants all believers access to God's divine power regardless of nationality, race, and gender.

Pentecostals fall into two main doctrinal categories. Trinitarians believe that Jesus is the revelation of God the Father, and that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and was revealed in Jesus. Oneness Pentecostals reject the traditional Christian doctrine that God, Jesus Christ, and

[18] Acts 2:17, *King James Version.*

the Holy Spirit were "separate but equal." Oneness Pentecostals believe that the same God that appeared in the Old Testament as Yahweh was revealed in the incarnation of Jesus in the New Testament and God's transcendence takes present form in the Holy Spirit.[19]

History of Pentecostalism in Jamaica

A history of working-class cultural and political resistance gives Jamaican Pentecostalism its unique form. Diane Austin-Broos argues that Pentecostalism on the island is part of a tradition of "fundamentalist religion historically intertwined with political causes of the poor."[20] The Native Baptist tradition carried a strong legacy of direct social action on the part of enslaved and working-class Jamaicans.[21] The Baptist faith was first introduced into Jamaica by George Liele, an African American Baptist minister from Georgia who was allowed passage to Jamaica after the American Revolutionary War. In Jamaica, Liele began preaching in homes and small congregations in 1784, and by 1791 he established the first Baptist church on the island. Liele's dynamic ministry sparked the growth of Black Baptist churches across Jamaica.[22] Black or Native Baptist ministries combined African religious beliefs with Christian theology. The churches "emphasized the 'spirit' rather than the 'word' of the Bible. Their practices included speaking in tongues, providing esoteric interpretations of Bible texts, and seeking after the Holy Spirit through penance, fasting and sleeping in the open air."[23]

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[19] Anderson, *To The Ends of the Earth*, 52.
[20] Diane J. Austin, "Born Again ... and Again and Again: Communitas and Social Change among Jamaican Pentecostalists," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 37, no. 3 (1981): 226–46, 226.
[21] Roxanne Watson, "The Native Baptist Church's Political Role in Jamaica: Alexander Bedward's Trial for Sedition," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 42, no. 2 (2008).
[22] Ibid., 233.
[23] Ibid.

The Native Baptists' liturgical and spiritual practices reflected the cultural and social history of enslaved Africans. Native Baptists viewed themselves as social equals to Whites and separated themselves from mainline Baptists, whom they considered "disseminators of the doctrines of White men."[24] Native Baptist theology and institution-building were markedly race-conscious, and Native Baptists also confronted the state through direct action. An enslaved African and Native Baptist minister, Sam Sharpe, led the Christmas War in December 1830, also known as the Baptist War. Using the Baptist church as institutional base, Sharpe organized a rebellion that strengthened the call for the formal emancipation of slaves in 1834. His rebellion was neutralized quickly, however. Over two hundred slaves died, and five hundred coconspirators were executed. More than thirty years later, Paul Bogle, also a Native Baptist minister, with evangelical leader George Gordon, led the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865, a violent uprising protesting unfair wages and demanding a fair distribution of land. The political and economic concerns of the Afro-Jamaican working class drove both the Christmas War and the Morant Bay Rebellion.

These class concerns were also at work in twentieth-century religious movements in Jamaica. Alexander Bedward, a charismatic Afro-Jamaican, challenged the predominance of White interests and leadership in Jamaican affairs in the tradition of Sharpe and Bogle. Bedward, a Native Baptist preacher, founded a church in St. Andrew[25] that claimed at least fourteen thousand followers by 1895. There were also reports that his church included adherents in Cuba, Panama, and Costa Rica.[26] He raised the ire of White and middle-class Jamaicans and the government for his ability to reach many Jamaicans disenchanted with the inequities that

[24] Ibid.
[25] A. A. Brooks, "History of Bedwardism, Or, The Jamaica Native Baptist Free Church" (The Gleaner Co., 1917), http://kobek.com/bedwardism.pdf.
[26] Ibid.

persisted after Emancipation. Temporarily imprisoned for sedition, he was ultimately charged with insanity and later released.

During the same period in which Bedward started his ministry, a White English preacher from Bristol, Raglan Phillips, founded the Light Brigade. Working closely with Baptist churches in Clarendon and Westmoreland, Phillips convened revivals in 1906–1907 and in 1915, in which attendees received healing and spoke in tongues. In 1924, Phillips travelled to Kingston and held similar revival meetings. The Light Brigade grew and became City Mission, a Jamaican Pentecostal church.[27] It evolved into one of Jamaica's "more prominent indigenous Pentecostal churches, with a similar religious profile to the Churches of God…."[28] Comparing Phillips's success in establishing a Pentecostal movement to Alexander Bedward's struggles highlights the importance of race and religion in the early twentieth century. Whereas Bedward's influence was viewed as a threat, Phillips was able to eventually gain approval for his faith practices.[29] The endorsements Phillips received from Baptist leaders set a precedent of White male ministers from the United States appointing and ordaining Jamaican ministers.[30] This contributed to what Austin-Broos calls the "pervasive indigenization" of Pentecostalism as local Black ministers established churches across the island.[31] Affiliation with US-based church networks, such as the Church of God based in Cleveland, OH, offered Jamaican Pentecostal churches resources and the legitimacy that came with ministerial credentials.[32]

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[27] In his 1933 novel, *Banana Bottom*, Jamaican poet and novelist Claude McKay used Phillips as a model for the character Evan Vaughan who led a revival service, quoted in Diane J. Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis: Religion and the Politics of Moral Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 91.
[28] Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 87.
[29] Watson, "The Native Baptist Church's Political Role in Jamaica."
[30] Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 91–2.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Diane J. Austin-Broos, "Churches and the State: Aspects of Religious Ideology in Colonial and Post-Colonial Jamaica," *Caribbean Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (December 2001), 15–22.

Early Pentecostalism and Social Class

Pentecostalism in Jamaica emerged from the Native Baptists, who broke from their White US counterparts and established the Jamaica Baptist Union in 1849. After this break, ministers began formalizing their leadership through training and organizational strategies. The church largely withdrew from political life but established colleges and training institutes across Jamaica. Social change was now measured by social mobility through education. As a result, what had been a working-class movement transformed into a middle-class organization.[33] During this time, American missionaries from the eastern seaboard such as George and Nellie Olson established Holiness churches as early as 1907 in Clarendon and St. Mary parishes. These parishes were predominantly made up of lower-class and small-scale farmers. At this historical juncture, Clarendon, where the Olsons established their church, was a transition zone for migrants moving in from more distant parishes and those moving out to Kingston.[34] The Olsons' church "preached sanctification or 'holiness' through the in-filling of the Holy spirit."[35] However, Holy Ghost in-filling was characterized by a "quiet receipt of the Holy Ghost" and was an "intellectual experience" rather than ecstatic worship and speaking in tongues.[36]

Austin-Broos argues that Pentecostal churches in the early twentieth century drew followers from the same socioeconomic class that the Native Baptists had in the nineteenth, but that the former could not reproduce the institutional reach of the Jamaica Baptist Union and often lacked

[33] Austin-Broos, "Churches and the State," 10.
[34] Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 97. The Holiness Church was a predecessor for a number of Pentecostal organizations in the United States. The Church of God in Christ (1897) founded by African America Charles H. Mason, the Church of God (Cleveland), and the Pentecostal Holiness Church were outcomes of the Holiness Church's fragmentation over the issue of speaking in tongues as evidence of the in-filling of the Holy Ghost. See Anderson, *To The Ends of the Earth*, 52.
[35] Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesi*s, 97
[36] Ibid.

the radical fervor of the Native Baptists. For one thing, the state was now responsible for elementary education, which removed an important area of public life from the purview of the church. Secondly, unlike Native Baptists, American Pentecostal missionaries were largely dissociated from Jamaica's colonial history. Newly arrived missionaries understood that "churches should desist from overt political engagement with the state."[37] Yet despite the absence of cultural and historical links to the island, Pentecostalism offered "a major status reversal to people left behind by the upward mobility of the Baptist Church.…"[38] Pentecostalism in Austin-Broos's view offered working-class Jamaicans a theology focused on moral orders that would "radically transform their status into that of a chosen spiritual-elite; and all within a [church] endorsed by a metropolitan power."[39] Women constituted the majority of followers, but men were appointed as leaders. In this way the church offered a means of mobility and respectability for men that was unavailable through traditional economic and social channels. Though early Pentecostal churches offered ministerial training for male leaders, they did not require ministers and pastors to demonstrate knowledge of the word through formal training. Instead, Pentecostal theology, in its egalitarian approach, recognized leaders who were guided by revelations from the Holy Spirit, whether or not they were formally trained.

Pentecostalism and Globalization

Today Pentecostalism is the largest tradition in Jamaica. Currently, 27.5 percent of Jamaicans who claim a religious affiliation are Pentecostals and Church of God members (including Church of God in Jamaica, Church of God of Prophecy, and the New Testament

[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.

Church of God). In Kingston, more specifically, 26.6 percent of religious affiliates are Pentecostal. In each denomination, women represent over 56 percent of the members.

Pentecostalism spread through both missionary networks and globalization. The growth of Pentecostalism in the Global South is part of a long history of Christian missionary work in the New World. European nations expanded their empires and accumulated wealth as early as the fifteenth century by extracting resources through the forced labor of indigenous people and enslaved Africans. Christian missionaries provided the ethical and moral justification for colonialism through efforts to civilize indigenous people and enslaved Africans.[40] In the New World, missionary outreach had paradoxical outcomes—it further entrenched European authority but also provided spiritual spaces for enslaved Africans to meld their ancestral practices with Christian teachings.[41] Through a process of assimilation and resistance, enslaved Africans created life worlds that affirmed their humanity and agency within oppressive systems built on violence, economic exploitation, and deprivation. Twentieth-century globalization, the process by which world economic and political systems become integrated under a neoliberal order, provided new networks in which ideas and goods traveled.

Most recently, colonialism took new form in structural adjustment and development initiatives. Economic progress and social uplift were incorporated into the spirit of capitalism and worked in tandem with a revitalized Protestant ethic.[42] Meanwhile, Pentecostalism spread

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[40] Mary Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*: *The Disintegration of Jamaican Slave Society, 1787–1834* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Shirley Gordon, *Our Cause for His Glory: Christianisation and Emancipation in Jamaica* (University of the West Indies, 1998); Bartolome de las Casas, *A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, trans. Nigel Griffin (London: Penguin Books, 1992).
[41] Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).
[42] Dena Freeman, "The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Development," in *Pentecostalism and Development: Churches, NGOs, and Social Change in Africa*, ed. Dena Freeman (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012); Joel Robbins, "The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004): 117–43.

throughout the Global South by means of modern communication technologies. Marla Frederick has observed that contemporary evangelists who reach worldwide audiences via religious radio and television programs "are as much about how to overcome abuse, get out of debt, and secure a home as they are about how to reach heaven. If nothing else, these messages demonstrate the porous boundaries between the 'sacred' and 'profane.' Under democratic liberalism, theologies … pass as fluidly over borders as ideologies like American capitalism."[43]

Problem in the Field

Scholars of Pentecostalism often describe believers as disengaged and uninterested in formal politics. Many studies also characterize Black Holiness traditions in terms of accommodation or resistance. This contrast obscures myriad forms of purposive action. In my study, I use "political" to signify all actions that further individual and collective flourishing, not solely practices of statecraft or electoral behavior. According to Amos Yong, politics and the political, broadly conceived, "are concerned with the structures, processes, and relationships constituting the *polis*, the public square."[44] While formal politics, economics, and society constitute this public square, the project assumes an intimate look at the lives of Pentecostals. For the purposes of this project, political action encompasses a host of activities meant to secure material goods, encourage healthier social behaviors, and create positive attitudes towards civic

[43] Marla Frederick, *Colored Television: American Religion Gone Global* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015), 20.
[44] Amos Yong, *In the Days of Caesar: Pentecostalism and Political Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2010), 3.

engagement.[45] Through these actions, individuals and communities are rendered visible and their lives meaningful.

Two problems distort prevailing views about Pentecostalism: an inadequate understanding of the tradition's historical and geographical origins and overly narrow definitions of political action. My project demonstrates that how we tell the story of Pentecostalism and the terms we use to describe believers' actions limit our conclusions about the ways individual and collective religious commitments inform (political) action. Too often, the term "politics" is a shorthand for electoral behavior, government activities, and the interactions between the state and citizens. Religion is often considered an opiate, dampening political action, due to its "otherworldly" orientation. This is especially the case for the study of Pentecostalism. Challenging the generalization that believers are apolitical, Yong argues that Pentecostals engage in a spectrum of political activity. In disenfranchised communities, "socio-economic survival has been the priority, and thus there has been much less interest shown in voting, lobbying, statecraft, etc."[46] Other Pentecostal communities and organizations, however, demonstrate much more formal involvement with politics. In Brazil, for example, Pentecostal churches created an organization that actively campaigned for candidates in national elections. Pentecostals and Evangelicals represented two-thirds of newly elected Brazilian Protestant congressmen in 1998 and 2000.[47] In between these extremes, Yong argues, there are Pentecostals who are "indirectly political, but nonetheless political."[48] For example, Pentecostal leaders may offer prophetic critiques of the social order. In Nigeria, Reverend Tunde Bakare, the pastor of a charismatic

[45] Robert D. Woodberry, "The Economic Consequences of Pentecostal Belief," *Social Science and Modern Society* 44, no. 1 (November 2006): 29–35.
[46] Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 6.
[47] Paul Freston, *Protestant Political Parties: A Global Survey* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate 2004), 42–50, quoted in Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 8.
[48] Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 11.

church in Lagos, publicly prophesied the eventual fall of President Olusegun Obasanjo, a born-again Christian who served the maximum two terms in office and faced corruption charges. Prior to Obasanjo's election, charismatic churches across Nigeria had participated in national prayer meetings and crusades in support of his candidacy. Yong asserts that such actions on the part of Pentecostals and charismatics constitute engagement with politics through mobilization, public endorsement, and critique. Pentecostals may also engage indirectly with politics by forming spiritual communities that provide alternate networks of care and resources. In countries where political clientelism, or the practice of patronage that binds citizens to a political party, govern citizens' access to resources and goods, Pentecostal churches provide different conduits to "bypass the clientele networks that political parties establish, and [provide] free space to local organizations."[49] Building such alternative communities is the preferred political activity of Pentecostals on the socioeconomic margins of society. While the extent of disenfranchisement renders them nonparticipants in formal politics, Yong recognizes that they are creating life worlds that challenge the status quo of political clientelism. Deliverance Tabernacle, the church at the center of this project, exhibits this kind of indirect political engagement. The connections and engagements that occur within the space constitute a type of politics.

This study departs from Yong's conception of politics by locating the starting point of political action elsewhere than in engagement with the nation-state and its formal mechanisms of representation. This study's intervention is to center the quotidian, intimate interactions that get at the heart of what formal politics seeks to accomplish—that is, social arrangements, decision-making, and connections that create change. My project corrects a limited understanding of the

[49] Daniel Míguez, *Spiritual Bonfires in Argentina: Confronting Current Theories with an Ethnographic Account of Pentecostal Growth in a Buenos Aires Suburb* (Amsterdam: CEDLA, 1998), 135, quoted in Yong, *In the Days of Caesar*, 13.

nature of politics by centering Pentecostalism, a religion largely considered apolitical, at the center of my discussion on political action, broadly defined.

I also offer a perspective on the Anglophone Caribbean that differs from the dominant one. Too often, scholars reproduce a public perception of the Anglophone Caribbean as an extension of North America. Studies about the region take up the topics of economic development, tourism, and multilateral efforts to contain the trade in narcotics and guns, thus restricting our understanding to narratives about political dysfunction and images of pastoral beach resorts.[50] On culture and the arts, the study of letters and African-derived folk religious practices are mainstays.

I contend that regional foci in the field of Pentecostal studies are related to the way in which the Caribbean figures within the North American popular imagination. Although the academic study of Pentecostalism has blossomed within the last fifty years, there is very little written on the non-Hispanic Caribbean. Studies on Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the United States continue to dominate the field. Much of this literature focuses on mission work by African church organizations, the relationship between Pentecostalism and liberation theology in Latin America, and the strong tradition of Black Protestantism in the United States.[51] Meanwhile, in the study of Jamaican religion, an abundance of research on African-derived religions is inversely proportional to the dearth of scholarly investigation on modern religious practices (Rastafari being a notable exception).

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[50] Jamaica Kincaid, *A Small Place* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1988).

[51] See Leonard Lovett, "Black Holiness-Pentecostalism: Implications for Ethics and Social Transformation," (PhD diss., Emory University, 1979); Walter J. Hollenweger, *Pentecost Between Black and White: Five Case Studies on Pentecost and Politics* (Belfast: Christian Journals Limited, 1974); Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

Studying Jamaican Pentecostalism

The Anglophone-Caribbean offers a unique context in which to explore political dimensions of the modern Pentecostal movement. The region has a rich religious history, a multiracial population, and a long history of popular protest. The history and politics of the Anglo-Caribbean are specific and cannot be subsumed under the religious history of Latin America. As William Wedenoja observes, "several scholars have produced very illuminating studies of Pentecostalism in Latin America ... but presumably Pentecostalism has different forms and functions in Latin-Catholic cultures than in Anglo-Protestant traditions."[52] Despite being a global movement, Pentecostalism has to be studied regionally. Pentecostal self-expression takes on different valences based on the practitioners' social and political milieu. It is practiced in a particular way by Jamaicans living on the island and throughout the Diaspora.

In 1962, Walter Hollenweger published the earliest study of the emergence of Pentecostalism. His theological history of the movement emphasizes the various "roots" of Pentecostalism and its multivalent origins. Using the imagery of "roots," Hollenweger views Pentecostalism's growth as a rhizomorphic process. The Wesleyan-Holiness movement and the Protestant revivals of the late nineteenth century form part of the historical and theological backdrop of Pentecostalism. Hollenweger argues that African-American slave religion and the Azusa Street Mission must also be counted among the movement's founding traditions.[53] European and American White Protestant movements are antecedents, but should not be the sole standard against which to define and understand Pentecostalism in all its multiplicity.

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[52] William Wedenoja, "Modernization and the Pentecostal Movement in Jamaica," in *Perspectives on Pentecostalism*: *Case Studies from the Caribbean and Latin America*, ed. Stephen D. Glazier (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1980).

[53] Walter J. Hollenweger, *The Pentecostals: The Charismatic Movement in the Churches* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Pub. House, 1972).

Allan Anderson agrees that centering the African-American history of Pentecostalism is necessary to contest narratives that minimize the contributions missionaries and early church leaders who were people of color.[54] Anderson is not convinced, however, that North American Pentecostalism is the historical anchor for the emergence and spread of Pentecostalism to the Global South, even when African-American contributions are fully appreciated. He argues, "Pentecostalism is neither a movement with distinct beginnings in the United States or anywhere else, nor a movement based on a particular theology; it is rather a series of movements that have taken several years and several different formative ideas and events to emerge."[55] Anderson sets out to provide instances of revival activities outside of North America that fostered the "acceptance of pentecostal [sic] ideas."[56] Anderson asserts that Pentecostalism should be viewed from a wider perspective that encompasses revivals and missionary initiatives that were unrelated to the American experience. He contends that the revival movements in Europe, North America, Latin America, India, and China challenge the authority of studies that identify Parham's Apostolic Faith in Topeka, the Azusa Street Mission in Los Angeles, or the Church of God movement in North Carolina during the 1890s as the beginning of global Pentecostalism. To use Anderson's terminology, the story of "Pentecostal transnationalization" implies a simplistic

[54] Anthea Butler's historiography on the role of women in the early Church of God and Marla Frederick's indispensable ethnography on women's agency in a southern Black Baptist church have advanced our understanding of women's experiences and contributions to Black religious institutions. Chapter 2 of Judith Casselberry's new ethnography on gender and power in Black Apostolic Pentecostalism provides a moving discussion on the role of women in building the Church of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the Apostolic Faith in New York City. Anthea D. Butler, *Women in the Church of God in Christ: Making a Sanctified World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Marla Faye Frederick, *Between Sundays Black Women and Everyday Struggles of Faith* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Judith Casselberry, *The Labor of Faith: Gender and Power in Black Apostolic Pentecostalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).
[55] Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, 47.
[56] Ibid.

story about the origins of the movement. Where did it begin? How did it spread? And what factors make this movement so prevalent in the Global South?

Anderson offers a more historically nuanced approach to the question of origins and spread. Scholarly diligence in this regard, he argues, "[enables] us to better understand the contextualization of the Pentecostal message in different cultures, nations, and contemporary contexts."[57] Seeking a metanarrative about a diverse movement, Anderson and Hollenweger remind us, will inevitably result in theoretical gaps and historical omissions. My project responds to their demand that Pentecostalism must be studied in local terms. Failure to do so ignores the unique faith experiences of believers within a specific sociopolitical milieu.

Diane Austin-Broos's groundbreaking research on Pentecostalism in Jamaica responds to Wedenoja's and Anderson's observations. Through deep ethnographic research, she conceptualizes this global movement in a local Jamaican context. Her study demonstrates the importance of cultural creativity and self-formation within a specific political and cultural context. She traces the creolization—a syncretic and intricate cultural process—in which Pentecostalism becomes distinctly Jamaican. Austin-Broos succeeds in representing Jamaican Pentecostalism as more sophisticated than simple mimicry of North American practices and blind capitulation to North America's hegemonic influence.

Austin-Broos's approach to the study of Jamaican Pentecostalism improves upon narratives that privilege "political economy and … histories of 'Africa' or 'Europe' as they appear in the Caribbean."[58] She foregrounds important cultural processes that make Jamaican Pentecostalism unique. She places great emphasis on creolization of folk religion and evangelical practices evident in Revivalism in order to demonstrate that Jamaican Pentecostalism is not

[57] Ibid.
[58] Austin-Broos, *Jamaica Genesis*, 6.

simply derivative of North American forms. Framing her research as an anthropological study with some historical details ensures readers will grasp the processes of meaning-making that characterize the everyday for Pentecostals in Jamaica. However, her desire to account for the creolization process independently of the political history that shapes Jamaica's development raises some concerns. Her approach—while fruitful in its analysis of the quotidian aspects of Jamaican Pentecostal life—obscures the actual political import of Pentecostal rites and beliefs. She asserts that Pentecostals' notions of communal living and religious rites emphasize spiritual identity and moral behavior. As a result, she finds that Pentecostals "distance themselves from institutional politics …" even though these communal practices and spiritual beliefs "carry the potential to criticize or to reinforce the established orders of governance...."[59] Her analysis focuses on the *potential* and not the *actual* ways in which Pentecostals use their faith beliefs to support and challenge institutional politics.

Austin-Broos's claim about the political implications of Pentecostal practice point to a distinct understanding of social change. In an earlier exploration of Pentecostalism in Jamaica, Austin-Broos drew on Victor Turner's concept of "communitas" to describe the power of Pentecostal Christianity to generate social change. A communitas, according to Turner, emerges in circumstances of "liminality, marginality, outsiderhood, and structural inferiority."[60] The rites and practices of communitas consist of "astructural behavior[s] set in opposition to normative social structures."[61] These behaviors reflect "creativity … spiritual renewal, and artistic realization."[62] Turner's conception of a voluntary, alternative community assumes that its members are "purposive agents" who choose to exist outside the status quo or whose precarity is

[59] Ibid., 10.
[60] Austin, "Born Again... and Again and Again," 228.
[61] Ibid., 227.
[62] Ibid., 229.

nonpermanent. The insights gained in communitas generate critiques of the status quo. In Turner's logic, members of this alternate community are still able to critically participate and agitate within the public sphere; they "re-enter normative social life and pursue autonomous dialogue within it."[63] The model of communitas helps make sense of the ways a shared experience of socioeconomic marginalization inspires working-class Jamaican Pentecostals to create alternate, affirming spaces. However, it does not account for their inability to agitate and create change. Austin-Broos finds that Jamaican working-class Pentecostals are unable to reenter the public sphere to the extent Turner describes. She states, "the creativity claims for communitas in general is here completely lacking, or else channeled into politically ineffective forms.… [T]he normative and ideological communitas of Jamaican [Pentecostals] today reflects but cannot act to alter their inferior position."[64] Ultimately, argues Austin-Broos, "what makes the enterprise ineffectual is not a lack of vision, but a structural position that confines their communitas to the sphere of representation rather than political organization."[65] In the final estimation, she reflects, Pentecostal communitas "might be a source of social change only when the symbolic experience of release from structure can be used to remold that very structure. This depends not so much on the nature of communitas itself, but on the structural position of those who experience it."[66]

However, what are the possibilities for social change that a narrow definition of politics may have caused us to overlook within an urban community in which social change and renewal are part and parcel of the church's message and mission? My study addresses this question by attending to actual practices that have implications for the goals of formal politics. I argue that

[63] Ibid., 229.
[64] Ibid., 242.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.

these actions are consistent with Pentecostal views on personal transformation and the power of individuals and church communities to contribute to a more perfect society.

Theoretical Framework

The dissertation intervenes in two areas: the study of lived religion and scholarship on religion and social change in Jamaica. The study of lived religion offers a methodological approach and guides the theoretical framework for this project. Robert Orsi defines lived religion as the study of "the subtle, intimate, quotidian actions on the world" by humans in an effort to "make something of the worlds they have found themselves thrown into…."[67] Religion, understood this way, "makes desire and imagination possible."[68] Its practices and beliefs are human attempts to endure suffering. Paradoxes emerge when we examine the social and historical context of religious agents and how they utilized their belief systems to inform their decisions on right action. Lived religion reveals the ways religion disciplines and constrains the actions of adherents. "Religious practice," Orsi states, does not "obliterate social contradictions or liberate humans absolutely from their place in particular social, political, and domestic arrangements."[69]

This understanding of religious practice hinges on Sylvia Wynter's conception of religion. According to Wynter, religion functions *a priori* to structure "all human orders." She argues that every society has "mapped their 'descriptive statements' or governing master codes on the heavens…." Embedded in each master code is a "specific criterion for being human, of

[67] Robert Orsi, "Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion" in *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7.
[68] Ibid., 16.
[69] Ibid.

what it [is] 'to be a good man and woman of one's kind.'"[70] In the Judeo-Christian world, these master codes engender binaries that divide the world into Spirit/Flesh. Wynter explains that this binary functions as a "behavior-motivating schema," offering a salvific plan to redeem mankind from the "threat of nihilation/negation."[71] These master codes develop into supernaturally sanctioned objective truths that demand obedience, structure human interactions, and determine how we define difference. Examining religion as a set of master codes, and investigating the history of how they were used to acquire power and authority—particularly in the colonial enterprise—concretizes the inextricable relationship between belief and action.

Similarly, Talal Asad offers a historical and contextual approach to studying religious symbols.[72] Religious symbols, Asad argues, represent more than religious ideas about the order of the world. They point to a "mutation of a concept and a range of social practices which is itself part of a wider change in the landscape of power and knowledge."[73] That is, religious symbols derive their authority through practice and through a history of discursive processes. For believers, religious symbols have an ontological quality, intelligible through spiritual experiences. However, as researchers interested in the significance and role of these symbols within a religious tradition, we must also attend to the history and context of these symbols. They are not sui generis, existing unto themselves. Their meanings are as much a product of time and the actors who define their significance and use as doctrine. In this way, the study of religious symbols, rituals, and what they represent for believers and outsiders is fraught with interpretive challenges.

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[70] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument," *CR: The New Centennial Review* 3, no. 3 (2003): 257–337, 271.
[71] Ibid., 279.
[72] Talal Asad, "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category," in *A Reader in the Anthropology of Religion*, ed. Michael Lambek (Blackwell Publishers, 2002).
[73] Ibid., 122.

In Pentecostalism, biblical teachings about spiritual perfection organize the temporal world. Baptism of the Holy Spirit and speaking in tongues affirm God's direct and personal activity in believers' lives, the cross represents redemption, water baptism and speaking in tongues mark conversion. Codes of dress and daily comportment differentiate members of the beloved community from the world around them. Scholars have interpreted these practices and rites as apolitical. This perspective, I argue, is a result of discursive processes that overemphasize the political as solely connected to practices of statecraft. Asad's insistence upon historical and social contextualization of symbols, rites, and practices leads me to a more expansive interpretation of political action and efforts on the part of Pentecostal toward social change.[74] Following Wynter's conceptualization of religion, we can make sense of the choices that Pentecostal believers make in their everyday lives as a result of their faith commitments.[75] In the context of Jamaican culture and politics, Christianity provides the master code for right action. Christianity in Jamaica informs notions of right and wrong, good and evil. In politics, Christian values and principles dominate the language and symbols politicians use to stake their claims on the best courses of action for Jamaica's future, even when these claims also serve to further marginalize vulnerable communities and justify state-sanctioned violence.

Asad's historicization of religious symbols and practices and Wynter's observation that religion authorizes action complicate common assertions about Pentecostals and political action. Claims about Pentecostalism's apolitical nature may merely reflect narrow assumptions about what counts as political action. Defining politics as formal processes of statecraft confines our

[74] Saba Mahmood's study of Muslim women's community movement in Iran during the Islamic revival movement argues that that these women's efforts to assert Muslim piety was not a reversion to fundamentalism but a reclaiming of religious agency. Interpretations of its fundamentalist nature are conditioned by a "secular-left" commitments that situate religion as a private affair. Saba Mahmood, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[75] Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being."

interpretations and obscures a host other activities and values which in fact constitute a type of politics, even if the activities themselves are not explicitly connected to state processes. With Yong, I argue that political engagement falls on a spectrum and is not limited to the practices that directly engage the state. I conceptualize politics as including all social actions and behaviors geared towards human flourishing, whether or not they involve direct interaction with the formal mechanisms of the state. For example, a church feeding program or a youth career development seminar drawing on Bible stories may meet the same needs as a government food subsidy program or earmarked government funds for in-school career programming. The latter requires negotiations between state power brokers while the former relies on ideas of Christian charity and excelling in temporal endeavors using biblical principles, but the church's activity is directed toward the same goals as the interactions with politicians and state institutions. Here, Michael Oakeshott's definition of politics is useful:

> Politics, it appears, are a form of practical human activity; they are practical activity concerned in the arrangements of a society. Those who engage in this activity seem to be moved by a desire to impose upon the human world as they find it a character which it does not already possess. The world which consists of what is good to eat and what is poisonous, the world in which the sea incites to navigation and the earth to cultivation, a world in which everything exists to be made use of, is the world of politics.[76]

Oakeshott's conception of politics as the practice of tending to social arrangements highlights the political importance of practical, daily activities. It also lends itself to the study of lived religion in Tivoli Gardens. Deliverance Tabernacle members' decisions, interactions, and practical activities provide rich material that illustrates how religion structures everyday work upon social arrangements.

[76] Michael Oakeshott, *The Politics of Faith and the Politics of Scepticism*, ed. Timothy Fuller (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 148.

My approach to the study of Pentecostalism in Tivoli Gardens, drawing on the insights of lived religion and an expansive idea of the political, allows me to attend to both the global and local dimensions of race, class, religion, and unequal power relations between nations. This theoretical framework helps me make sense of religious meanings within a specific time and place without neglecting the impact of global power. The conceptual tools of lived religion and a broad definition of politics, I believe, have made it possible for me to construct a field of vision both narrow enough to recognize the religious significance of Sandra's walk from Deliverance Tabernacle, along the "road" to her home, and broad enough to place that walk in the context of policing by the United States government and economic control by multinational organizations. Tivoli Gardens, and by extension the island of Jamaica, pushes scholars to think critically about the overlaps of religious practice and political action, and to grapple with the challenge to understand the impact of local and global forces on the lives of religious agents.

Methodology

This study explores the relationship between religion and social change in Jamaica. I conducted primary historical research using newspapers, pamphlets, and other documents in the National Library of Jamaica and the University of the West Indies' Special Collections.
My work in Tivoli Gardens began in August 2012 during a brief trip to identify a possible field site. I visited two churches, one in Kingston and the other in Mandeville, both affiliated with the New Testament Church of God, a US-based Pentecostal founded by A. J. Tomlinson in Cleveland, Tennessee, at the turn of the twentieth century. A scholarly contact introduced me to a local resident who encouraged me to visit Deliverance Tabernacle in Tivoli Gardens.

Considering my research interests, I decided to conduct a micro-ethnography on the church community and Dudley Square, the subcommunity where the church was located. The church was relatively small, with approximately fifty attendees at Sunday services. The church membership was largely drawn from the local neighborhood.

From July 2013 to February 2014, and again in August 2014, I engaged in field work in Deliverance Tabernacle and Dudley Square as a participant observer. I attended Sunday services, Wednesday Bible classes, and Thursday youth meetings. I observed two week-long outdoor prayer crusade services, one in the courtyard of the high-rise apartments that make up Dudley Square and another in the church courtyard. I served as an assistant teacher during the week-long summer vacation bible school (VBS) in the summers of 2013 and 2014. During the 2013 session of VBS I supported Pastor Samuels with the kindergartners, helped register students, and floated around the primary and intermediate classes to take notes and offer classroom support. Due to the fast pace of VBS, monitoring classrooms and serving as a teaching assistant was no small feat. I was in constant awe of the patience and discipline that the teachers, who were also church members, displayed in managing the classrooms and delivering the lessons. Between services, I organized two focus groups, one for parents and the other for young people, to discuss their experiences living in the community before, during, and after the Incursion. In the focus groups, my informants told me about their experiences attending Deliverance Tabernacle and how their connection with the church affected their lives. I also conducted individual interviews with church members, some of which were scheduled formal interviews where I used a recorder and took notes in my field book and others that were informal. I learned much about Dudley Square and its residents by sitting for a twelve-hour hair-braiding appointment, spending time with Sandra and her family, doing a three-hour walk through all of Tivoli Gardens, and talking

informally with residents and church members. I once reluctantly participated in an outreach initiative to invite community members to attend an upcoming crusade service.

This research method brought distinct challenges and rewards. Prior to the 2010 Incursion, when Christopher Coke and his enforcers controlled Tivoli Gardens, the community was virtually impenetrable to outsiders. Only during the popular street dance, Passa Passa, were outsiders allowed to enter the community. After the Incursion and Coke's extradition, the physical and social boundaries of Tivoli Gardens were more permeable. Conducting this research several years after the Incursion, I was able to physically move through the community with relative safety and minimal scrutiny. My association with the church and friendship with Sandra allowed me access to domestic spaces that might otherwise have been off limits to an outsider. Sandra, whose family has lived in Tivoli Gardens for generations, helped me arrange informal interviews with her relatives who do not belong to Deliverance Tabernacle. Their views ranged from disappointment that the pastor did not engage the community with the same depth and frequency as they remembered the church's founder, Norma Thomas, doing, to appreciation for the healthy environment the church provides for youth to socialize and learn about God and right-living.

Although Sandra helped me hear from nonmembers, this project focuses almost exclusively on the views and experiences of people who were both Deliverance Tabernacle members and Dudley Square residents. The insights presented in the dissertation remain powerful in their own right and my association with the church and participation in almost all its activities undoubtedly led Dudley Square residents to make assumptions about my own faith commitments and may have obstructed possible connections with members of the community

who did not belong to the church, but it also provided an in-depth look at the lived experiences of Pentecostal Christians navigating real challenges.

Field work is never an objective exercise. As a researcher, I had to navigate relationships with residents and members along with the demands of my scholarly agenda. I occupied intersecting identities—a researcher, a native, a returnee, Black, female—and the work frequently drew on my predilection for code-switching. Karla Slocum, a Black female anthropologist who has studied women's economic activity in Grenada, has discussed the unique challenges for Black female anthropologists conducting research in culturally familiar settings. Identity politics both generate and limit opportunities in the field: as Slocum writes, "We may purposefully 'tug into the open' particular strands of our identity to make a point. The politics of research can be based on this interplay of how we view ourselves, how we position ourselves in terms of our socially constructed identities, as well as how others (in a community we have defined as 'ours') receive and perceive us."[77] In my field work, I blended in with the rest of the community. I was reminded of the difference my skin color and status made when a colleague from Belgium, also conducting research in West Kingston, visited the church to help me hand out school supplies from a donation drive I had coordinated amongst friends and mentors in the United States. The goods were packaged and handed out to young people during an end-of-summer/back-to-school prize-giving service organized by Pastor Samuels. The young people, particularly the teenagers, were excited by my colleague's visit. She is a brown woman of French and Jamaican heritage. By the end of her visit she had received "love" letters from two young women in the church expressing their gratitude for the donations (to which she did not contribute). At this point, I was a church "regular"—and though the pastor and adult women

[77] Karla Slocum, "Negotiating Identity and Black Feminist Politics in Caribbean Research," in *Black Feminist Anthropology: Theory, Politics, Praxis, and Poetics*, ed. Irma McClaurin (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 129.

expressed gratitude, it was my colleague who received most of the adoration and attention from the young people that night. During our discussion afterwards, my colleague and I joked that she had been the added bonus for the evening. Both familiar with the history of skin-color privilege in Jamaica, we were aware that a brown-skinned Belgian woman with wavy hair was an unusual presence in a congregation of darker-skinned Jamaicans. Her difference inspired fascination and triggered the learned favoritism towards lighter-skinned persons.

My consistent attendance and involvement earned me the honorary titles of Sister Kijan and Aunty Kijan amongst adult church members and youth, respectively. I made it a point, however, to never testify or address the congregation, even when opportunities presented themselves. Despite years of having to address a congregation during of my own upbringing in a Pentecostal church, my own social awkwardness and anxiety about holding on to my persona as a researcher may have limited my intimacy with church members. Some were uninterested in my presence, and others did not follow through on requests for interviews. In her ethnography on New York City sanitation workers, Robin Nagle experienced a similar dynamic.[78] She found that some sanitation workers were uninterested and some were antagonistic. Nagle concluded that rapport was overrated, and that it was more important to be a consistent member of the community. Researchers must accept varying levels of engagement with members of the host community and understand that our relationships with some will shape our interactions with others. We can never know the extent to which our host communities have accepted us or what impact our physical presence alone has had. Knowing this, I tried to make choices about engagement and disengagement that would minimize my spiritual impact on the site.

[78] Robin Nagle, *Picking Up: On the Streets and Behind the Trucks with the Sanitation Workers of New York City* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2013).

Chapter Outline

The dissertation considers events over a period of more than a century, beginning in the late nineteenth century and ending in 2014. It is organized thematically, but I have also tried to respect chronology. As a result, my presentation of the historical record is not comprehensive. In the footnotes, I have indicated primary and secondary sources that provide more background on historical events. The first three chapters examine historical antecedents of religious language and politics in contemporary Jamaican society, paying special attention to three key periods in Jamaican history: the post-Emancipation period at the turn of the twentieth century, Michael Manley's election campaign in 1972, and the introduction of structural adjustment under Edward Seaga in 1980.

The first chapter analyzes a nineteenth-century treatise on Jamaican progress by a Presbyterian minister, Robert Dingwall. Dingwall argued that Christian values were the answer to the social problems of the post-Emancipation period. This chapter is the first scholarly analysis of this document and considers its claims about economic progress and social advancement through education, strong nuclear families, and Christian faith. The Native Baptist movement and its tradition of social protest provided grounded for Dingwall's claims about nationalism and religion. The chapter argues that Dingwall's treatise established religion, mainly in the form of conservative Christian values, as the primary framework for current and subsequent articulations of political strategies to achieve social progress.

The second chapter continues this argument on the role of religious values in Jamaica's public life by exploring the use of religious symbols, discourse, and institutions leading up to Manley's 1972 election. Manley's campaign appealed to disaffected, young, and lower-class

Jamaicans who challenged creole nationalism and its embrace of neoliberalism. Manley utilized Rastafarian religious symbols and received endorsements from religious leaders in the Jamaica Council of Churches, an ecumenical organization, and from Claudius Henry, the leader of the International Peacemaker's Association (IPA), an independent religious group that synthesized Rastafarian and Revivalist Christian theologies. Henry proved to be a controversial figure who interpreted Jamaica's social and political situation through a radical theology based on racialized nationalism. The backlash against Henry demonstrated the importance of religious symbolism in politics, foreshadowing the power that political and religious conservativism would exert on Manley's experiment of democratic socialism.

Chapter 3 diverts from the pattern of the first two chapters to explore the political landscape of Jamaica under democratic socialism between 1972 and 1980. The chapter is an interregnum of sorts in the dissertation, in the same way that this time period was a departure from Jamaica's usual models of political governance. Under democratic socialism, Jamaica increased diplomatic relationships with Cuba and affirmed its connections with nonaligned countries. The assassination of a prominent politician, Roy McGann, exacerbated ideological rifts amongst Jamaicans, dredging up deeply entrenched class divisions and clarifying the importance of religion in Jamaican views of proper governance and social progress.

Chapter 4 returns to ethnographic and historical analysis, analyzing the 1980 election and its effects on structural and economic conditions in Tivoli Gardens. Under Edward Seaga, Jamaica returned to pre-1972 neoliberal policies. Structural adjustment programs were touted as an antidote to the economic and ethical failures of democratic socialism. Ending democratic socialism and cutting ties to Cuba's influence were viewed as a return to godliness. Meanwhile, however, structural adjustment increased the strain on already vulnerable communities. The

current socioeconomic conditions in Tivoli Gardens are a direct result of these decisions during the 1980s and beyond.

Chapter 5 examines the spiritual aspects of the 2011 incursion. The socioeconomic conditions in Tivoli Gardens, the history of clientism between political leaders and dons, and Jamaica's diplomatic deference to the United States coalesced in a security operation to arrest and extradite Christopher Coke. This security operation forever altered the lives of children and adults in Tivoli Gardens. The chapter examines the ordeal as spiritual warfare in order to better apprehend residents' actions during and after the incursion. Using the testimonies of Deliverance Tabernacle members, the chapter presents their religious conceptions of evil and right action.

The final chapter looks more closely at Deliverance Tabernacle's faith claims and outreach initiatives in the wake of the incursion. It offers deep ethnographic exploration of the church's activities, the theological claims that drive those activities, and the socioeconomic conditions that inform the church's theology and practices of outreach. For members of Deliverance Tabernacle and residents of Tivoli Gardens, Pentecostal teachings on morality, family life, and social progress chart a path for change.

The conclusion summarizes the insights of the previous chapters and analyzes the church's effectiveness in generating sustainable positive change through its ministry. It also includes a meditation on the promises and complexities of confronting ongoing precarity in a country shaped by a long-standing structural and class inequality.

CHAPTER 1: "We Are More Than the Sins of Slavery"

In the courtyard of buildings 28 and 30, Deliverance Tabernacle Church hosts a summer prayer crusade. This year's theme is "It's Time for Change." Over the course of the next two weeks, the senior pastor, Steve Morrison, will assign different members to lead prayers calling for change in the life conditions in the Dudley Square neighborhood, the community of Tivoli Gardens, and the nation of Jamaica.

Members slowly bring chairs and benches from the church hall and arrange them in the courtyard. There are amps, a podium, microphones, a drum set, and the piano. As they set up, music plays from a phone connected to the speakers. The benches are set up facing the inside of the courtyard along the walls, and also facing the podium and instruments, set up in front of the perpendicular wall. The podium and instruments also share space with a fast-food eatery constructed of zinc, painted in blue with the words "fry fish and chicken" in red letters, carefully outlined in red and yellow. The large amps are facing the street. Extension cords run from the church hall to power the fluorescent light bars, a painter's lamp, the piano, the microphone, and speakers. Electricity is expensive in Jamaica. The Jamaica Public Works Service is the sole distributor of electrical power across the island.[79] In Tivoli Gardens a man was arrested in January 2013 for tampering with the new meters. He reconnected electrical lines that were

[79] Outside corporations in Japan and North Korea own 80 percent of the company. Also, JPS relies on private providers to boost their energy and output capacities. In 2014 the company launched an aggressive campaign to recover much of the electricity that's lost through illegal connections, or "throw-ups." They also upgraded the existing manual meters to digital ones and charged residents retroactively for electricity that was underreported with the old meters. In addition to the crackdown on throw-ups, fuel costs change monthly to account for exchange rates between the US dollar and Jamaican dollar. See J. Paul Morgan, *Office of Utilities Regulation—Jamaica Report: Investigation of the Jamaica Public Service Company Ltd (JPS) Billing and Metering System for Electricity Consumption*, October 2011, http://www.our.org.jm/ourweb/sites/default/files/documents/sector_documents/investigation_of_jps_billing_and_metering_for_electricity_consumption_oct_2011.pdf.

disconnected by JPS for residents in Tivoli Gardens and the neighboring Denham Town community.[80] The church's commitment to the nightly crusade over the next two weeks is clearly a big financial investment.

As they set up, Luther Vandross songs are blaring loudly from large speakers in front of a container tuck shop that also doubled as a hair salon. Many of these shipping containers dot the landscape of Tivoli Gardens. Next to sheds made of corrugated zinc and wood, these large metal containers serve are home microbusinesses run by community residents. The containers that carry foreign imports to the Kingston Harbor about a twenty-minute walk from Tivoli Gardens, gain a second life to house commercial activities such as this hair salon/tuck shop.

I approach the tuck shop before service to inquire about buying coconut water. Several women sit outside the entrance, not doing much it seems. I see this often. Women sitting with babies or with other women in the courtyard and around food stands; just sitting and watching. The woman proprietor doesn't have any bottled coconut water but offers me soda and juice as alternatives.

Service begins at 7:30pm. Back in the courtyard, a handful of women from the community sit in the benches but the majority of those seated were children. By 8:30 there are approximately fifty people in attendance. Men and women stand behind the imaginary boundary created by the benches and music equipment. They watch from balconies, open windows, and sit on the wall separating the courtyard from the street. Still, some look on from the foyers of the surrounding buildings, conversing drinking, smoking, playing ludi (a board game) or a heated game of dominoes.

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[80] "Police Catch Man Tampering with JPS Equipment," *Jamaica Observer*, January 27, 2013, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/Police-catch-man-tampering-with-JPS-equipment.

Vice and virtue vie for your attention. Often, vice wins. The prayer service competes with the smell of marijuana, loud conversations, and cars zooming by along the main road. Most would rather gamble and smoke than attend the prayer crusade. I witness some youth observe the service for a moment only to be distracted or pulled away towards some other unknown activity. This act of sitting, watching, or waiting is common at all hours of the day. During school and work hours, it's not unusual to see adults occupying the courtyard on benches next to the buildings, in the courtyards, and in the small foyers of the high rises. One observes toddlers playing carefree among emaciated stray dogs, and women manning tables to sell cold drinks and snacks. Some women fry chicken or fish over makeshift stoves to sell as dinner plates priced at about JA$100 (approximately eighty cents). There is always activity.

Tonight's prayers are part of an elaborate program created by the pastor to address the "works of darkness." Each night, a member of the church or a visiting minister would pray over vices that inhibit moral change in the lives of the people in Dudley Square. For the first week, the prayers focus on "binding the spirits of immorality, incest, concubinage, fornication, adultery, and homosexuality." During the second week, members will pray to "loose the works of righteousness" such as "responsible parenting, peace in the homes, decency, employment, and prosperity." There will be a total of fifty-five prayers for the moral, spiritual, and material health of Dudley Place.

Brother Christopher, a long-time resident and father of four girls, all of whom attended the church along with his wife, prays for the God to help fathers be present and responsible. "We ask you to give them a heart, to let them to move positively! We pray for positive fathering. We pray for the fathers to take a stand for the children them. Lift them up! Restore the fathers! Let them take responsibility for them children. Make the children them grow up and see the father in

the house. Let them have a positive mind, not a confusion [sic] mind." Brother Christopher knows intimately the challenges of raising children in the community. His prayer at times veers into a testimonial. "When the children them grow up and look to them father, them don't have the respect in the house. God, I know it, I'm telling you! Dudley Place me know it! And when them grow up and don't see the right father, them mislead and can't control them." He ends his prayer with a declaration of hope, that God will "remove the stony hearts" of the absent fathers and help them "stand up with a conscious heart and a conscious mind."

The assistant and youth pastor, Doreen Samuels, offers the next prayer. She petitions God to speak to the hearts of mothers:

> We ask that you will continue to guide these parents. Help them that they will grow the children in the right way. When you look around, so many around the gambling table. And these are mothers God, who should be in the home, helping their children with their homework. We call upon you tonight, that you will speak to the hearts of the mothers. We pray that you will help them to remove from around that table of gambling and that they will be in the home around the table, mighty God, helping those children with their homework.

In addition to helping mothers give up gambling, she prays for God to show mothers how to communicate positively with their children. "Instead of cursing the children they now pronounce blessing upon their children. And that you will help them from speaking negative in the children's lives. That they will speak positive in the children's lives." Like gambling, smoking marijuana, or ganja, caused mothers to spend less time tending to their children's growth and learning. "Father when I look around, so many women who are kneading in their hand middle ganja spliff. And expecting the children to light the cigarette or the ganja. But tonight God, we come against that spirit in the name of Jesus! Help them to teach the children to hold pencil in

their hands instead of rubbing up ganja. That they will hold pencil in their hand and learn to write!"

Women's sexual practices figure prominently in Pastor Samuels's prayer. She warns that the act of living unwed with a man, or in some cases, with more than one man (who presumably are not the father of their children), leads to teenage pregnancy, "many with the belly before them, [and] no education." It is common that many women rely on men to help meet their material needs. Pastor Samuels worries that children see this pattern and will emulate it. And prays that these women will find husbands.

When the children see more than one man, and it's not their husband, in the same bedroom with the children. Mighty God, and these children are growing up, just seeing what their mothers are doing. Help these mothers so that they can trust you, that they can wait upon you, to provide a husband. And don't have to have two are three men to get what they want. Help them that they will seek your face, that they will cry unto you. Help them to know they don't have to live a prostitution life. They don't have to be around the gambling table. They don't have to be smoking spliff, mighty God. But they can trust you!

Pastor Samuels's prayer centers mothers as the primary example for modesty. She declares that mothers should pattern for their children, healthy relationships with men—which includes dressing properly. (I often see children playing around wearing only diapers. In some cases, they are fully naked. Tonight is no exception.) Pastor Samuels petitions God to help mothers to "teach the children to dress proper. So many children from they are two years old coming up, they start to expose their body parts. Father so many children are being abducted, so many are being raped, and because of the parents, God. Help them tonight, [to] take a stand to cover up these children."

The prayers, interspersed with songs and worship, continue throughout the evening. As if by prophecy (self-fulfilling, perhaps?) a screaming match erupts, punctuated by the usual Jamaican profanities. About five yards from the prayer space, two young women argue loudly, the reason for which is unclear. Flailing hands, and lots of yelling! Eventually, one young woman runs inside the building and returns, wearing only a pair of shorts and a brassiere, with what looks like a sharp metal object in her hand. Some young people attending the service get up and walk towards the melee. A few of us turn around to see what's happening. A woman sitting directly next to me expresses disgust at the ruckus. Pastor Morrison chastises us for being more attentive to the fight than the service and goes on to issue a stern warning about this outburst. "Don't pay any attention to that distraction! That is what we're praying against. "Don't go down there!" he warns, "Don't go down there! You must learn to reject it!" Over the sound of dogs barking and murmurs from the congregants, Pastor Morrison speaks angrily.

> This place is packed with all sort of [negativity]. And we are asking God, to drive out the contentious demons out of town! Their esteem is very low. Their self-worth is very low! And they create mischief in order to get attention. And it's because of absent fathers. You go and check them! They who creating the noise, if them have any positive fathers. It's attention them looking! Is attention them looking! If they had positive fathers, they'd have respect. Let me tell you that! That the father would tell them how to respect community. Them no have no positive father! So they don't have no self-worth. They don't have any self-worth! That is why they are doing all of this.

The absence of positive fathers created a lack of respect for the community in which they live and this also affected their attitude towards the church, he argues. "They have no respect even for the church! But we leave them to God. We leave them to God! Remember that I tell you this night, we leave them to God!" In a noticeable shift from his usual learned and deliberate diction, Pastor Morrison exclaims, "Unnu have no respect for God. Unnu have NO respect for God!

Unnu have NO respect for God! You grow up wild! WILD. No respect. And all the while we are trying to encourage you, but there's a day coming."

The fighting dies down eventually and the young people, including those who cheered on the contenders, hang out in the foyer of a nearby building, seemingly to discuss the fight. No one is hurt as far as I can tell. Throughout the evening, police gather at one of the main entrances to the community. They periodically drive through Dudley Square as part of their usual patrol. By 8:40pm though, they leave. This is a common practice since the 2010 Incursion. Police officers, sometimes accompanied by soldiers, walk through the neighborhood as part of a peace-keeping effort. They conduct random searches on men, often looking for guns or marijuana possession.[81] (On one occasion I witnessed a tense exchange between police and a friend's male relatives during a random search.) The timing of the police going away coincides with the increase in activity within the community, namely, towards the back of the compound. Folks start setting up speakers and a small table with liquor and beer.

Twenty minutes after the police leave, the service ends. Before the closing prayer, Pastor Morrison asks the audience to make a set of declarations, to "repeat the words of repentance." "Almighty God and Father, we the people of Dudley Square, repent of all sins against you, humanity, and the nation of Jamaica. Forgive us of sins against you and humanity." He instructs them all to raise their hands and repeat the following prayer, in unison:

[81] In 2015, Jamaican government passed a law allowing individuals to carry under two ounces of marijuana without the likelihood of facing a fine. Also, individuals can cultivate up to five plants without penalty. Rastafari, known to use marijuana for sacred purposes, are legally allowed to use marijuana and as a result they less susceptible to police harassment on the grounds of marijuana possession. See David McFadden, "Jamaica Decriminalizes Small Amounts of Marijuana," *Chicago Tribune*, February 25, 2015, http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/chi-jamaica-decriminalizes-maraijuana-20150225-story.html.

> In the name of the Jesus Christ, we reject every manifestation of immorality in Dudley Place. In the name of Jesus Christ we reject indecent exposure from Dudley Place. In the name of Jesus Christ we reject concubine living in Dudley Place. In the name of Jesus Christ we reject rape and incest from Dudley Place. In the name of Jesus Christ we reject fornication and adultery from Dudley Place. In the name of Jesus Christ we reject homosexuality from Dudley Place. We ask God to purge acts of immorality out of Dudley Place and cleanse us and make us pure.

He reiterates, "Dudley Square needs you! Change for Dudley Square!" He exhorts the community members that their immoral lifestyles were a result of the "sin of slavery which didn't allow Black to marry. God delivered us from the sins—men used as studs. We are more than the sins of slavery."

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On the first of August 1834, the British Crown abolished slavery in the Caribbean. News of Emancipation travelled across the Black Atlantic world. Across North America, where slavery would end almost thirty years later, Black Americans commemorated West India Day with festivals and public celebrations.[82] Although formal Emancipation was declared in 1834, the British government implemented a system of apprenticeship that required praedial workers (those working in agriculture) to serve as plantation laborers for several years. With the end of apprenticeship, Afro-Jamaicans were faced with the challenges of negotiating their new identities as free laborers and political subjects.

The transition to freedom was a protracted process filled with moments of upheaval and instability. A major turning point in this transition was the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. Paul Bogle, a Baptist deacon, with the aid of George William Gordon, a Baptist (formerly

[82] J. R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Rites of August First: Emancipation Day in the Black Atlantic World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2007).

Presbyterian) minister and ousted vestryman, staged an organized rebellion throughout St. Thomas in the East parish.[83] The rebellion triggered a series of legal reforms and rekindled claims about the cultural pathologies of Black people. The British government dismantled the Jamaica Assembly, which consisted of appointed and elected officials charged to directly oversee the economic and legal affairs of the island. Much to the chagrin of the local landowners and aristocrats, Crown Colony rule placed Jamaica under the direct purview of the British government. In addition to the legal shifts, missionaries, notably from the Baptist church, joined the public outcry against the rebellion. Prior to the end of slavery, the Baptist church was a key voice in the cause for abolition. After Morant Bay, they joined the chorus of voices consisting of planters and colonial officials decrying Afro-Jamaican cultural and political agency. Religious pathologies gained new traction. In the minds of the elite, creolized African religious practices such as Revivalism, which drew on African religious traditions such as Obeah and Myal, venerated ancestral rituals and encouraged social and family arrangements that ran counter to traditional Christian principles.[84] The cultural beliefs and practices, particularly among Afro-

[83] The vestry consisted of elected and appointed officials charged with running the affairs of each parish. Members were responsible for setting taxes and how they would be allocated for education, health institutions, and public works. The property requirement for the vestry was much lower than that of the Jamaica Assembly. As a result, more men of color were allowed to run for office. See Swithin Wilmot, "'The Old Order Changeth': Vestry Politics in two of Jamaica's Parishes, Portland and Metcalfe, 1838–1865" in *Before and After 1865: Education, Politics, and Regionalism in the Caribbean*, ed. Brian L. Moore and Swithin R. Wilmot (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1998).

[84] According to Dianne Stewart, Obeah and Myal were New World practices derived from African traditions that were communitarian, emphasized possession and dance, used divination and herbalism as healing rites, and held the Divine as a neutral mystical power. Myal was historically constructed as a force for good—the spiritual opposite of Obeah. Misinformation and ideologically biased accounts place both traditions as diametrically opposed. However, Myal is a component of Obeah. By triangulating various historical accounts, Stewart concludes that Myal was a ritual dance and also a "class of specialists within the institutional framework of Obeah." Myal priests held highly specialized knowledge about healing rites. Myal was also used to refer to the spirit possession that accompanied rituals. Whereas Obeah was a loose network of solo practitioners, Myal practitioners were organized with a leader and adherents. Myalists also demonstrated a greater tendency to assimilate their religious beliefs with Christian traditions such as the Native Baptists and Revivalism. Dianne M. Stewart, *Three Eyes for the*

Jamaican peasants, it was argued, enabled the widespread practice of polyamory and nonnuclear living arrangements. Colonial officials took note of these practices and their implications for religious affiliation. In 1891, the registrar general opted to remove "religion" as a category in the West Indies Census. The meaning of the registrar's symbolic gesture did not go unnoticed. In 1892, Black Presbyterian minister, Robert Dingwall, penned a treatise on the implications of the census findings and Jamaica's progress. Titled *Jamaica's Greatest Need* (*JGN*), Dingwall addressed what he viewed as an absence of "vital religion" on the island and the effects of this absence on Jamaica's future, and proposed solutions for the country's revitalization.[85] Cultivating "God-ordained patriotism," Dingwall declared, centered God, family, and religion and enabled the positive change Jamaica desperately needed.

Dingwall's claims within *JGN* provide a unique perspective on the type of social and moral reforms that occupied the public imagination after the Morant Bay Rebellion. As a Black male minister from a nonconformist missionary church, Dingwall maintained nuanced views about the roles of race, moral reform, and economic growth on the island. As we will discuss in the next chapter, his text foreshadows twentieth-century moderate views held by Jamaica's elite class on the role of religion in Jamaican politics. These conceptions of religion and political change continue to resonate in contemporary Jamaican discourse—evinced in Pastor Morrison's remarks during the prayer crusade. Speaking after watershed moments in the nation's history—Dingwall, in the aftermath of the Morant Bay Rebellion, and Morrison, speaking to a community still suffering from the effects of the 2010 incursion—both figures represent different historical

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Journey: African Dimensions of the Jamaican Religious Experience (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 44, 47, 131.

[85] Rev. R. Dingwall, *Jamaica's Greatest Need*, National Library of Jamaica Digital Collection, http://nljdigital.nlj.gov.jm/items/show/3068.

nodes of the ongoing discourse that conceptualizes social change and progress through a Protestant/Christian framework.

The Morant Bay Rebellion signified a turning point in Jamaica's political history, the details of which have been thoroughly mined and recounted by several scholars.[86] Bogle and Gordon, both members of the Baptist Church, acted within a religious tradition that historically challenged slavery and supported Afro-Jamaican uplift through education and land ownership. While other nonconformist churches were supportive of Afro-Jamaican's progress in the pre- and post-Emancipation period, the Baptist church in particular took on a more creolized nature, prompting the development of an independent Native Baptist church.[87] His conception of economic equality—one that gave the laborer his due power and rank—drew upon a religious worldview that valued the least among society and placed Black laborers at the top of the social and economic hierarchy. Also, the use of rituals and hymns, and rebels' use of various chapels as a base for organizing, demonstrates the profound influence of religion in preparing for and executing the rebellion. This radical embrace of religion joined with more conservative impulses. Pathologies around Afro-Jamaican cultural practices reignited. Missionaries, Jamaica's merchant class, and colonial officials united in a loose coalition to "struggle for the cultural soul" of Afro-

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[86] See the most definitive study on the rebellion by Gad Heuman, *"The Killing Time": The Morant Bay Rebellion in Jamaica*, Warwick University Caribbean Studies (London: Macmillan, 1994).

[87] George Liele, an emancipated African-American slave and Baptist minister, migrated to Jamaica from Virginia in 1783. He built a vibrant congregation in Kingston, which expanded into missions led by free and enslaved Jamaicans. The Native Baptist churches operated independently from Baptist missions from Britain and the United States. According to Roxanne Watson, "Native Baptist groups were often race-focused, refusing to accept the Bible as the undiluted Word of God, searching for the will of God in dreams, and disassociating themselves from the missionary churches, which they viewed as disseminators of the doctrines of white men." Roxanne Watson, "The Native Baptist Church's Political Role in Jamaica: Alexander Bedward's Trial for Sedition," *The Journal of Caribbean History* 42, no. 2 (2008): 231–54. For a history of Baptist missions in Jamaica see John Clark, W. Dendy, and J. M. Phillipo, *The Voice of Jubilee: A Narrative of the Baptist Mission, Jamaica, from Its Commencement; with Biographical Notices of Its Fathers and Founders* (London: John Snow, 1865). For a history of Jamaica Baptist Union see H. O. Russell, *The Missionary Outreach of the West Indian Church: Jamaican Baptist Missions to West Africa in the Nineteenth Century* (University of Michigan: P. Lang, 2000).

Jamaicans.[88] Creole religious practices came under heightened suspicion and Afro-Jamaican forms of family and communal life were critiqued. The nascent but growing urgency around self-rule and economic equality coupled with the late nineteenth-century struggle over the Jamaican soul formed the backdrop to Dingwall's call for "God-ordained patriotism" and a precursor to Pastor Morrison's declaration, "Change for Dudley Place!"

The Morant Bay Rebellion represented three central challenges within post-Emancipation society: first, it foregrounded the economic inequalities between the ruling class and the predominantly Afro-Jamaican laboring class; second, it pointed to the cultural and social anxieties that fueled public discourse on progress and racial uplift; third, it shone a spotlight on the failures of government and leadership. Over thirty years after the rebellion, Dingwall's demand for "God-ordained patriotism" drew upon Bogle's call for increased Black leadership in Jamaican life and deployed religion as the authoritative framework for Afro-Jamaican uplift.

Worse Than Slavery

James Williams, an apprentice, spoke of the unfair treatment he experienced as a free laborer. "Apprentices get a great deal more punishment now than they did when they was slaves; the master take spite, and do all he can to hurt them before the free come;—I have heard my master say, "Those English devils say we to be free, but if we is to free, he will pretty well weaken we, before the six and the four years done; we shall be no more use to ourselves."[89]

[88] Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnson, *Neither Led Nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920* (University of the West Indies Press, 2004).
[89] James B. Williams, *A Narrative of Events, since the First of August, 1834, by James Williams, an Apprenticed Labourer in Jamaica*, ed. Diana Paton (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 5.

Williams's experience was typical.[90] Under the system, praedial workers were required to labor on the plantation for an additional six years. Nonpraedial workers, such as craftsmen and domestics, worked for an additional four years. Children under six years of age, and those born to mothers who were enslaved, were granted full emancipation. The system of apprenticeship was a form of reparative justice for landowners who bemoaned the loss of profits as a result of decreased labor. In the absence of legal protections, former slaves such as James Williams continued to suffer physical abuse and unfair work hours without recourse for their grievances.

The period from 1834 until the Morant Bay Rebellion in 1865 was one of neglect and stagnation. Planters were reluctant to adjust their economic practices to align with the Industrial Revolution and relentlessly held negative views towards free laborers.[91] The local assembly refused to improve roads to ease internal trade and planters were slow to invest in new methods to increase and diversify their agricultural outputs. Economic growth came to a dramatic halt. These trends were already in motion when the Emancipation Act passed in 1834. According to William Livingstone, "Emancipation struck into a movement that had been going on for a long series of years. Prices were failing from increased production elsewhere, and the industry was gradually becoming less profitable. Emancipation was only an incident, one increasing the tendency of the movement perhaps, but not the cause of [the economic decline]."[92] Many planters did not value the former slaves as free laborers and were reluctant to enter into fair

[90] As a result of poor labor relations and a flailing economy, rumors emerged that slavery would be reinstated. There were also lingering suspicions that Jamaica would be annexed to the United States as a slave state. Undoubtedly this prospect was very worrisome, as chattel was still legal in the United States and African Americans lived under the repressive control of resident plantation owners. See Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *The Problem of Emancipation: The Caribbean Roots of the American Civil War* (LSU Press, 2009); K. E. Ingram, *The QC and the Middleman: Including a Reprint of the Report of the Cases Ingram vs. Lowry (1868) and Some Account of the Parental Background of Thomas Ingram* (Edinburgh: Pentland Press, 1997).
[91] W. P. Livingstone, *Black Jamaica: A Study in Evolution* (London: Slow, Marston and Co. 1899), 41.
[92] Ibid., 39.

contracts with them. Likewise, freedmen were less interested in devoting all their labor capacity to plantation work. Instead, they focused on cultivating their own produce to sell at local markets. Success as an independent farmer was an option only for the few who were able to legally acquire land. Others had to remain on the plantations, a precarious option given the legal power planters maintained over housing and work contracts. For example, the Emancipation Act made vague demands of planters to allow former slaves to remain on the land for at least three months after they were freed from their apprenticeships.[93] However, there was no provision that they would live rent-free during this time period. Those who had no choice but to remain on the land were required to pay high rents and, in some instances, planters charged rent for each member of the family. Planters were empowered by law to evict former slaves with a week's notice. Law enforcement had rights to "catch hold of and to imprison any individual who was found in a former home after he had received notice of ejectment."[94] Laborers therefore were coerced into accepting low wages and a high workload determined by the planter, in exchange for a place to live.

Precarious living arrangements and unfair wages were part of a larger matrix of challenges. Impediments to land ownership, competition from indentured servants from Asia, and the taxation on sugar exports threatened an already fragile economy. Outside of the estate, the former slaves claimed Crown lands, or land owned by British government, which was often uncultivated and located in areas without proper roads. Squatting was a common practice. In some cases, Crown lands were acquired illegally by nearby estate owners. And in the case where land was purchased legally, owners were subject to high property taxes. To compensate for the decreased labor force on the plantations, beginning in 1844, the British government offered loans

[93] Hugh Paget, "The Free Village System in Jamaica," *Caribbean Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (1964): 38–51, 39.
[94] Ibid., 39.

to cover the costs of importing indentured servants from East India and China. Changes in the global demand for sugar also altered the Jamaican economy. In 1846 the British legislature passed the Sugar Duties Act, which removed the preferential tax on sugar imports from its colonies. As a result, sugar plantation owners entered the European market on the same level as sugar grown from slave and free labor throughout the British empire. Economic competition placed Jamaican planters at a disadvantage and depressed wages.[95]

These dire economic and political conditions prompted several riots and rebellions after Emancipation.[96] Paul Bogle, and the leaders of the Morant Bay rebellion, looked to these rebellions as examples to strengthen their cause.[97] More specifically, the Christmas Rebellion, or the Baptist War of 1831, directly influenced Bogle's work as a radical organizer.

"So God Help Me I Will Fight For My Country"

On the 27th of December 1831, Sam Sharpe, a Native Baptist deacon and slave, orchestrated a widespread rebellion in the parish of St. James. Sharpe "united the Native Baptist traditions of slave leadership and free thought with the radical Christian tradition of principled resistance."[98] Sharpe and his coleaders recruited volunteers and secured their allegiance to the cause by issuing an oath on the Bible. What started out as an act of passive resistance, wherein slaves refused to work until their masters agreed to pay wages, transformed into a violent

[95] Afro-Jamaican peasants had less bargaining power in part because they faced competition from indentured workers from East India and China. The British government offered loans to planters to subsidize migration costs in an attempt to replenish the labor force on plantations after Emancipation. See Gisela Eisner, *Jamaica, 1830–1930: A Study in Economic Growth* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1961).
[96] The Goshen Riots of 1848 and the Florence Hall riots of 1859 were key uprisings that influenced the Morant Bay Rebellion. For a description of each, see chapter 3 in Heuman, *The Killing Time.*
[97] Heuman, *The Killing Time.*
[98] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 199.

rebellion that included over twenty thousand slaves and free Blacks.[99] The scale and success of the rebellion strengthened the ongoing campaign against slavery and hastened the passage of the Emancipation Act.[100] Sharpe became an example for Paul Bogle.[101]

Paul Bogle and George William Gordon worked aggressively to organize a collective action, protesting planters' illegal land claims and demanding fair wages.[102] Rebels were called to take up arms against Whites—namely estate owners and other colonial officials. In a clandestine letter to other organizers, Bogle declared, "It is now time for us to help ourselves—skin to skin. War is at us, my [B]lack skin. War is at hand from day to day.… Every [B]lack man must turn out at once, for the oppression is too great."[103] Leading up to the rebellion, Bogle, Gordon, and their coconspirators organized a series of meetings, usually held at around 10pm, at the Baptist chapel located at Church Corner in Morant Bay.[104] Only Black laborers were invited through word-of-mouth. "Coloured" men were not allowed to attend on account that "the White men were their fathers, and ["Coloured" men] would take advantage of [Blacks] the same as the [W]hites had done."[105] Women, the organizers reasoned, were not invited "because they were liars."[106]

James McLaren, a laborer on a sugar cane estate and one of the main architects of the rebellion, hosted some of these meetings in his home at Church Corner. McLaren preached

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[99] E. K. Brathwaite, "The Slave Rebellion in the Great River Valley of St. James, 1831–1832," *Jamaica Historical Review* 13 (1982): 11–30.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Robert J. Stewart, *Religion and Society in Post-Emancipation Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992).
[102] In 1863, Bogle worked as Gordon's election agent during his campaign to gain a seat in the Jamaica. It was argued that Gordon, formerly a Presbyterian minister, shifted his denominational affiliation to secure the political support of the Black majority—most of which identified as Native Baptists.
[103] John Eyre, "Reports from Commissioners: Twenty Two Volumes, Jamaica. Session 1 February–10 August 1866" (London: Great Britain Parliament House, 1866), 388.
[104] Ibid., 388
[105] Ibid., 141.
[106] Ibid.

occasionally at the Baptist chapel in Morant Bay. He served as captain—training volunteers to fight—and as secretary— recording the names of volunteers and occasionally writing correspondences.[107] McLaren required every volunteer, upon entering the meeting space, to take the following oath on the Bible: "So help me God I will fight for my country."[108] They were instructed "not to tell any one [sic], not your father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sweetheart."[109] After reciting the oath, they would kiss the Bible. On several occasions some men were denied entrance because they refused to take the oath prior to the meetings' proceedings. Each meeting closed with a hymn.[110]

The ritual oaths taken prior to the meetings and the closing hymns speak to the centrality of religious symbols and practices in organizing the rebellion. Paul Bogle, "the Arch-rebel," reportedly possessed a popular Baptist songbook.[111] He marked several verses from a hymn, "Doubts and Fears suppressed; or God our Defense from Sin and Satan:"

> 1: My God, how many are my fears! How fast my foes increase! Conspiring my eternal death, They break my present peace.
> 5: He shed soft slumbers on mine eyes, In spite of all my foes; I' woke and wonder'd at the grace, That guarded my repose.
> 8: Salvation to the Lord belongs; His arm alone can save: Blessings attend thy people here, And reach beyond the grave.[112]

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[107] Ibid., 84.
[108] Ibid., 421.
[109] Ibid., 69.
[110] Ibid., 421
[111] "Hymns Selected and Marked by Paul Bogle." *The Gleaner*, November 6, 1865, 6. Bogle's hymns were taken from a Baptist hymnal, *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Rev. Isaac Watts, D.D. To Which Are Added, Select Hymns, From Other Authors; And Directions for Musical Expression by Samuel Worcester D.D., Late Pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem, Mass*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster (1859). Heuman's and Stewart's analyses do not include *The Gleaner* in their list of primary sources, and therefore the authors do not cite the aforementioned snippet. The provenance of Bogle's hymn book and the songs he allegedly selected and marked is difficult to prove. However, his role as a deacon in the Baptist Church and testimonies about Bogle's conduct are evidence that this was likely his book and perhaps the songs were used as part of preparing himself for armed protest along with the oaths described above.
[112] Ibid., 56.

In another hymn, "Pardoning Grace," Bogle selected one verse that speaks explicitly of his awareness of the potential risks and dangers of the rebellion: "But there are pardons with my God, For crimes of high degree; Thy son has bought them with his blood. To draw us near to thee."[113] Bogle's private selections complemented the public rituals that galvanized rebels. These hymns, read in connection with his clandestine letter, symbolized his ethical and spiritual motivations.[114]

On October 11, 1865, approximately two months before the onset of the American Civil War, Paul Bogle and his coconspirators led a militia of volunteers in orchestrated attacks throughout St. Thomas-in-the-East. On their way to Morant Bay, volunteers "knelt down and take [sic] some dirt and swore that 'we will kill every [W]hite and Mulatto man in the Bay, and when we finish, we will return and go to the estates.'"[115] First, they descended on the police station. Officers were captured, and their weapons seized. Captives were forced to kiss the Bible and take an oath, "So help me God after this day I must cleave from the [W]hites and cleave to the blacks."[116] They walked to the courthouse brandishing sticks, cutlasses, stones, and guns. A crowd, already gathered there, joined the volunteers. A fire was set to the building to force out the vestry men. One begged for peace, to which the crowd responded, "No Peace! Hell today!"

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[113] Ibid., 256.

[114] These rituals were similar to those performed prior to the Christmas Rebellion. Bogle and his coconspirators looked to Sam Sharpe as an example. Both men used the church as a base to organize their rebellions and used oaths to unite volunteers. Similar to the oaths taken at Morant Bay, Sharpe's issued an oath: "We are free. Must not work again unless we got half pay." Another version of the oath instructed rebels "not to flinch till they had succeeded in getting their freedom." Heuman, *The Killing Time*, 87.

[115] Evidence of William Alvarenga, *Report of the Jamaica Royal Commission* (London: H.M.S.O., 1866), http://trove.nla.gov.au/version/42867603, 136. Henceforth referred to as *JRC*.

[116] Colonial Office Records 137/150, Storks to Cardwell, 19 February 1866, no. 28. Enclosure: Statement of William Fuller, Policeman, 5 January 1866. Public Record Office, London quoted in Heuman, *The Killing Time*, 5.

Many of those killed —a petty debts collector, a custom officer, and a reverend known to mistreat his laborers—were specifically targeted by the crowd.[117]

Women played a significant role during the attack on the courthouse.[118] Denied entry into the planning meetings, they encouraged the men to continue fighting when some withdrew to avoid gunfire from inside the courthouse. "Now you men, this is not what you said in the mountain. You said you would come to the Bay and do so and so, and now you leave all this work to the women.…"[119] A group of women also encouraged the volunteers to kill a black man named Charles Price, who, despite the order "to kill no [B]lack; only [W]hite and [B]rown," was beaten to death because "he has got a [B]lack skin and a [W]hite heart."[120] Price held close business and political ties with several politicians. According to the women, Price allegedly withheld payment to women laborers. "We work for him on the road and he not pay us, and we burn bricks for the church at Morant Bay, and he not pay us."[121] There is also evidence that women helped rescue some injured vestrymen and prevented harm. A police officer was almost stabbed when a woman interceded on his behalf.[122] Another woman helped provide safe passage to the wharf for a severely injured store clerk.[123]

By the end of the evening, eighteen officials and thirty-one others were captured or murdered. Bogle led his compatriots in attacking estates throughout St. Thomas in the East and inspired smaller insurrections in adjoining parishes. At the end of the uprising in Morant Bay,

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[117] Ibid.
[118] For a discussion on the role of Black women in the Morant Bay Rebellion see Clinton Hutton, "Women in the Morant Bay Rebellion: A Force in the Struggle for the Definition of Post-Slavery Society," *Jamaica Journal* 26, no. 2 (December 1997): 10–13. Also see Mimi Sheller, "Quasheba, Mother, Queen: Black Women's Public Leadership and Political Protest in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834–65," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 19, no. 3 (1998): 90–117.
[119] Evidence of Cecilia Gordon, *JRC*, 180.
[120] Evidence of James Harrison, *JRC*, 46.
[121] Evidence of R. J. St, *JRC*, 1070.
[122] Evidence of Romeo W. Drysdale, *JRC*, 360.
[123] Evidence of James Moore Ross, *JRC*, 444.

Bogle held a service in his chapel in Stony Gut. He prayed to "thank God, that he went to do his work and God succeeded him in his work."[124]

Bogle's "work" would come to a terrible end for all involved. The governor of Jamaica, Edward John Eyre, engaged in a violent and aggressive campaign to quell the uprising. Eyre called for the British Navy to intervene. Eyre also solicited help from the Maroons, an established nation of former slaves who received their freedom in the eighteenth century. With force, Eyre engaged in a widespread campaign to imprison and execute anyone thought to have a role in the uprisings. Over 439 persons died in the suppression and over 1000 buildings were destroyed.[125] Public floggings numbered in the hundreds. The precise number of which was unconfirmed because many were carried out without court approval. Investigations determining sentences were shoddy. Floggings were often determined "frequently at the instance of bookkeepers and others smarting under the sense of recent injury."[126] In one town, the floggings were carried out with wires and cords, and not the usual cat-o-nines used for such procedures. According to one official, "it was painful to think that any man should have used such an instrument for the torturing of his fellow creatures."[127]

Despite the harsh reprisal, the core message of the rebellion spread—one that called for black self-help and economic equality. Moreover, the rebels demonstrated the lengths to which Afro-Jamaicans were willing to assert their demands for fair labor and land ownership. Bogle and his comrades orchestrated a show of will and organization that disrupted the comfort and stability of the few and powerful. Eyre's response and the implementation of Crown Colony rule demonstrate the significance of the rebellion in the eyes of elite:

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[124] Evidence of Joseph Muir, *JRC*, 797.
[125] Summary of Punishments During Martial Law, *JRC*, 25
[126] Ibid.
[127] Ibid., 36.

> For nearly thirty years the negro had been languishing in barren neglect. When the situation became intolerable, the riot occurred. It seemed to be a necessary convolution; necessary to force aside obstruction that impeded development; without it development was impossible. It was one of the incidents of the world that appear accidental and meaningless, but which are the dynamic of evolution. A completed transformation ensured. The reign of the planters had ended; the ascendancy of the negro had begun. It was at this date, and not, as commonly supposed, at Emancipation, that the race made its real start on the path of progress.[128]

In 1866, the British Government responded to the "great crisis" by effectively dismantling the Jamaica Assembly. In the period known as Crown Colony rule, Jamaica came under direct control of the British. The intermediary class of bureaucrats consisting of creole Jamaicans and the planter class no longer held legislative power. With a new constitution, Crown Colony rule was viewed as "a buffer between contending factions, classes and interests." Considered a benign and impartial solution, British direct rule was considered the best means to "protect the interest of the poor and ignorant … [and] bring the society into equilibrium … the whole society would have learned the style of responsible politics appropriate to a free society."[129]

The Aftermath

The rebellion awoke latent fears of Black savagery and the threat of cultural regression. Many believed that the rebellion undid the civilizational and moral gains leading up to the end of slavery. In some ways the rebellion confirmed Darwinian ideas that motivated missionaries and others engaged in social reform. These views, according to Michele Mitchell, "suggested that a 'natural' biological hierarchy made it difficult, if not impossible, for different races to inhabit the

[128] Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 84.
[129] P. Bryan, *The Jamaican People, 1880–1902: Race, Class, and Social Control* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2000), 11.

same territory as equal beings since the manly, competitive Anglo-Saxon was bound, in theory, to dominate weaker colored races."[130]

For the missionaries, the cultural fear of Black ascendancy trumped their previous advocacy for spiritual growth and uplift. White Baptists were notably vocal. Once a champion of Afro-Jamaican self-determination, they joined the chorus of Jamaican elites who denounced Jamaican culture after the rebellion. According to Stewart, "revival and rebellion brought about a conservative reaction, a failure of nerve, on the parts of groups that historically were seen as allies of the slave or freed Black people."[131] The moral crusade to civilize Afro-Jamaicans gained new momentum. Home and family life were key areas on which missionaries and critics focused their efforts to assimilate Afro-Jamaicans to "respectable" cultural norms.

Afro-Jamaican folk culture allowed for alternate family arrangements and communal life that did not align with the views of missionaries and Jamaica's elite. As previously mentioned, many families were matrilocal, and polyamory was a common practice. These practices were especially prevalent among the poorer classes. The social conditions of Black Jamaicans fell into three categories.[132] The first group assimilated "customs and rules of civilized existence."[133] This included attending church services regularly, sending children to school, and engaging in the life of the church. The second group consisted of agricultural laborers, who in the historiography of the time were often referred to as the peasant class. They lived in small, poorly constructed homes with extended family. Their home arrangement, frowned upon by the Jamaican creole and Black elites, consisted of "father and mother, sons and daughters, and cousins—and there is

[130] Michele Mitchell, *Righteous Propagation: African Americans and the Politics of Racial Destiny After Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 16.
[131] Stewart, *Religion and Society*, 174.
[132] Livingstone, *Black Jamaica*, 92–93.
[133] Ibid., 92.

always a large number of 'cousins' in Jamaica—all slept together" in one apartment.[134] The third group, characteristic of communities on the outskirts of Kingston, "comprised of those who dwelt in wretched hovels or in single rooms with common yards, without settled ties, and steeped in squalor and sensuality."[135] Moral reform efforts focused specifically on the second and third class of Afro-Jamaicans. They were the target of public discourse about transforming Jamaican society to standards that encouraged growth and progress. For them, the answers to Jamaica's social problems in the post-Morant Bay era lie in "transforming the beliefs, values, customs, character, and behavior of the Jamaican people themselves."[136] Jamaicans had to be "anglicized in order to create both a consensus of values that would render British rule more palatable, and a stable environment for colonial economic growth."[137]

This loose alliance of moral crusaders supported key legislation along with the creation of social welfare organizations. The Anglican and nonconformist churches, for example, established purity and temperance societies.[138] Annual conferences and synods held by the traditional churches featured sermons and discussions about initiatives to stem the increasing number of children being born out of wedlock, or, what was seen as the "crisis of illegitimacy." For example, in 1915 the Presbyterian Church founded the Life and Work Committee, which advocated for compulsory registration for the fathers of "illegitimate" children.[139] The Church of England established a branch of the Social Purity Society in 1885, the objectives of which were to "promote 'purity' among men and women, to cultivate a chivalrous respect for women, to

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[134] Ibid., 93.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Moore and Johnson, *Neither Led Nor Driven*, 314.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Some notable groups are the Social Purity Society established by the Anglican Church and the Life and Work Committee founded by the Presbyterian Church of Jamaica in Central Bureau of Statistics Jamaica. Central Bureau of Statistics Jamaica. *Census of Jamaica and Its Dependencies: Taken on the 6th April, 1891* (Jamaica, 1892).
[139] Moore and Johnson, *Neither Led Nor Driven*, 123.

preserve the young from contamination, to do rescue work, and set a 'higher' tone of public opinion."[140] The majority of legislation on social reform passed in the 1880s focused inordinately on family life.[141] "Illegitimacy," "concubinage," and matrilocal households were—in the minds of Jamaica's elites—an impediment to social progress. Proposals to implement more legislation on compulsory birth registration gained traction. Despite the passage of the Registration of Birth and Deaths law in 1878, the number of births out of wedlock continued to rise. In the *Registrar General's Report on Marriages, Births, and Deaths, for 1881–1882*, one colonial official lamented:

> It is a sad fact that the four years of registration show no hopeful change in this direction (of increasing numbers of children born out of wedlock). Doubtless this widespread disregard of marriage is the fruitage of the days before emancipation, and the roots of evil struck at that time must have gone deep indeed, seeing that the face of the religious and social forces, now long in operation, the common distinctions of morality are in the present day so widely and openly disregarded.

Not everyone believed that the living conditions and family norms of Jamaicans during this time period were the result of moral shortcomings. Sir Anthony Musgrave, governor general of Jamaica from 1877–1883, challenged widely held pathologies around Jamaican morality.[142]

> The true present condition and character of the negro population is also much misunderstood, and in treating of it sufficient allowance in not made for the condition 50 years ago of which the present state of things—so far as it is objectionable—is the outgrowth. Much stress is laid upon the terrible figures of illegitimacy, but few pause to remember that little more than 50 years ago it was not permitted to teach the fathers and

[140] Ibid., 122.
[141] Ibid. The authors cite several examples including laws passed on marriage rites (1879, 1880); birth registration (1881, 1882, 1885, 1890); and "bastardy and maintenance" (1881, 1882, 1887) laws.
[142] The governor general serves as the representative of the Queen of England in Jamaica. Currently, this role is largely ceremonial and the individual works closely with the Prime Minister.

> mothers of these people to read: they were prevented, or at least discouraged, from marriage, and were encouraged to breed like cattle.[143]

Musgrave's statement addressed the structural and historical dynamics that conditioned family life for Afro-Jamaicans.[144]

"God-ordained Patriotism": The Vision of Robert Dingwall

The rituals and symbolism of the Christmas Rebellion and the Morant Bay Rebellion demonstrate the deep connections between race, religion, and political action. This was especially the case with the Baptist Church. According to Marvia Lawes, resistance was always a central feature of the Baptist tradition in Jamaica. Baptist doctrine and Afro-Jamaican culture produced a Native Baptist tradition that at its heart maintained a "spirituality of resistance."[145] Early Baptist missionaries were "the most aggressive opponents to the institution of slavery and agitators for improved social conditions."[146]

The growth and proliferation of Native Baptist churches were directly linked to the Baptist outreach methods that encouraged lay teaching and the Great Revival of 1861. During this time, missionaries witnessed an increasing demand for prayer meetings and worship services throughout the island. However the style of worship raised concerns; it demonstrated the

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[143] Charles Spencer Salmon, *The Caribbean Confederation, a Plan for the Union of the Fifteen British West Indian Colonies, Preceded by an Account of the Past and Present Condition of the Europeans and the African Races Inhabiting Them with a True Explanation of the Haytian Mystery, in Which Is Embodied a Refutation of the Chief Statements Made by Mr. Froude in His Recent Work "the English in the West Indies"* (London: Cassell, n.d.), http://archive.org/details/carribeanconfede00salm.

[144] Musgrave's view echoed the Darwinist ideas characteristic of his time while also foregrounding competing discourses about culture and morality in post-Emancipation Jamaica. The same also holds true for Afro-Jamaican elites in the nineteenth century.

[145] Marvia E. Lawes, "A Historical Evaluation of Jamaica Baptists: A Spirituality of Resistance," *Black Theology* 6, no. 3 (September 2008): 366–392, 389.

[146] Lawes, "A Historical Evaluation of Jamaica Baptists," 366.

strengthened influence of Afro-Jamaican traditional practices. Trances, spirit possessions, and spontaneous prophesying testified to the presence of Myal, which to the dismay of the missionaries, showed that "the Great Revival had turned African."[147] This was especially the case in regions where Baptists had the greatest influence. Much to the missionaries' chagrin, the Great Revival did not produce greater membership for their congregations. Many attended the prayer meetings, but few converted. The revival instead provided greater space and leverage for Afro-Jamaican forms of spirituality to flourish. The number of Native Baptists swelled. Converts were able to practice a creolized spirituality that made room for political resistance. For them, the Bible coexisted with cultural practices that affirmed and celebrated Afro-Jamaican humanity and self-determination. The Native Baptists espoused a "particular political agenda and one which emphasized the plight of the blacks in post-emancipation society."[148]

This agenda did not make a distinction between the political aims of economic and political justice and the religious world views that supported these goals. According to Heuman, the oaths preceding the Morant Bay Rebellion and the Baptist War of 1831 "represent a fusion of religion and politics, but one in which political goals were dominant."[149] The rebellions were "political movements … based around religious meetings and partly inspired by Baptist and Native traditions."[150] Likewise, Mary Turner, in her study of missionary work and social change in Jamaica, states that in the case of the Christmas Rebellion, religion was subordinate to political aims.[151] Heuman's conclusion that the Morant Bay Rebellion was a political movement and Turner's claim that religion became secondary or ancillary to political goals suggest these

[147] George Eaton Simpson, *Black Religions in the New World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 336.
[148] Heuman, *The Killing Time*, 85.
[149] Ibid., 37.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Turner, *Slaves and Missionaries*, 93.

rebellions prioritized political goals over and against religious inspiration. Religion could only go so far as to provide the ideological justifications but was ultimately abandoned in order to achieve the rebels' political goals. While both authors do not define what they mean by "political," their views imply that both perspectives on social change relies on a hierarchy of approaches in which politics always trumps religion. That one could "subordinate" religious inspiration to political ideals suggests that religion has to be discarded in order to pursue political aims. But, the semiotics and leadership of the Morant Bay Rebellion demonstrate that religion is part-and-parcel of political action, and the reverse also holds true. Both worldviews worked simultaneously to offer the reason and method to agitate for a Jamaican society in which Christian love and economic justice coexist.

Dingwall's treatise exemplified these interconnections between race, religion, and political action. His clarion call for "God-ordained patriotism" centers a religious conception of self-help, nationalism, and reform. The treatise inserts an Afro-Jamaican voice within nineteenth-century public discourse on morality and political life dominated by missionaries and colonial authorities. Similar to Bogle and Sharpe, Dingwall—who lived and wrote at the crossroads of White Christian hegemony and the experience of slavery—held complex views about racial uplift. Progress entailed fostering a collective identity undergirded by the same Christian worldview often used to justify their subjugation. These same views also helped elevate their social status as ministers within their respective enclaves. For Dingwall, his Christian faith, used in service of positive transformation for Afro-Jamaicans and the nation as a whole, reveals the paradox of religion and social change. Dingwall's relative social privilege as a black minister in a denominational church, his fidelity to the expectations and religious norms of the church, and his cautious eye on the multicultural and creolized social landscape in which Afro-Jamaicans

lived as second-class citizens made for a unique perspective that made room for freedom and faith. *Jamaica's Greatest Need* exemplified these tensions as Afro-Jamaicans sought to imagine the future of the race as freedmen in a country still defined by its relationship to Britain, the complexities of Christianity, and the persistent legacy of slavery.

Robert Dingwall was born in the parish of Manchester and was ordained in the Presbyterian Church. He was a prolific writer. Among his literary achievements were poems and an article published in popular religious newspapers.[152] Dingwall's literary and ministerial success stands in contrast to his personal suffering with mental illness. In 1888, he enrolled in the church's theological college in Kingston. During this time, Dingwall had two acute episodes of undiagnosed psychiatric illness that resulted in hospitalization for several months at a time. He died there on June 19, 1896. The historical records do not state his specific diagnosis.[153] However, religious fervor was perceived as a form of mental illness.[154] Therefore, it is likely that Dingwall's mental illness was related to his religious life and his work as a minister.

Dingwall, it seems, was a well-known and respected writer. His manuscripts garnered much attention from supporters and critics, alike. In 1888, Dingwall along with four other Afro-

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[152] According to C. A. Wilson, a biographer writing in the early twentieth century, Dingwall wrote poems and often set them to music. He taught one of his poems, "Hope for Afric's [sic] Children," to the congregation at Mount Olivet. His obituary included a poem written about the "ideal feminine character" dedicated to a woman "who he used to call for the pleasure he had in talking with her the things of the Kingdom of God.…" The consensus was that Dingwall "took great pleasure in throwing his thoughts on almost every kind of subject into rhyme." Charles Augustus Wilson, *Men of Vision: A Series of Biographical Sketches of Men Who Have Made Their Mark Upon Our Time* (Kingston, Jamaica: Gleaner Company, 1925), 118.

[153] Records from the lunatic asylum indicate that two men, one of whom was a clergyman, were admitted between 1885 and 1886. The causes of insanity were listed accordingly as religious excitement and grief. This was the same time frame Dingwall attended the Theological College in Kingston. Further evidence suggests that the hospital acquired a chaplain or a minister to conduct religious services for the first time in 1885–1886. One can infer that there is a causal relationship between hiring a minister or chaplain during the same time a clergyman was admitted. This is also the first time services rendered by a minister were accounted for in the hospital's list of expenditures starting from 1864. See patient logs and overviews for 1889 in *Returns from the Lunatic Asylum in Kingston April 1864–July 1893*, Jamaica Archives and Records Department.

[154] Ibid.

Caribbean men, wrote *Jamaica's Jubilee* (*JJ*), a treatise on social and political conditions in Jamaica on the fiftieth anniversary of Emancipation.[155] *Jamaica's Jubilee* was the "first literary venture of black Jamaicans" post-Emancipation.[156] Throughout the text, Dingwall and his four coauthors emphasized the importance of thrift, economy, and godliness—central themes of Jamaica's "first published espousal of black Nationalism."[157]

Reflecting on the past fifty years, the "five literary pioneers" attributed post-Emancipation progress to the work of the churches.[158] They also criticized the British colonial government as "having failed to initiate any policy that would counter the destabilizing influences of slavery."[159] The authors' vision for progress focused on two areas: strengthening the island's infrastructure and bolstering Jamaicans' moral values. The economic progress of the country required building better roads to promote internal trade and enhancing the country's reliance on locally grown goods. Their vision for moral progress relied on thrift and industry. Working the land as independent farmers (as opposed to working on the sugar plantations) would result in a respectable peasantry that was economically self-sufficient. Respectability, argues Deborah Thomas, "was defined as owning a small plot of land in the mountains, being able to support a family through small-scale agricultural production, having a quiet disposition, and living simply."[160] The connections between disposition, values, individual effort, and national development was made clear in the concluding chapter of *JJ*. The "path to blessedness," declared Dingwall, required "enlightenment, industry, perseverance, thoughtfulness, economy, unity,

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[155] Rev. R. Dingwall, Rev. R Gordon, et al. *Jamaica's Jubilee: Or, What We Are and what We Hope to Be* (London: S. W. Partridge, 1888).
[156] Wilson, *Men of Vision*, 89.
[157] Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 36
[158] Wilson, *Men of Vision,* 89.
[159] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 35.
[160] Ibid.

open-hearted, warm-hearted love for each other, and, last and greatest, the fear of God."[161] He maintained that "there is hope for the people of Jamaica, and hope for the children of Africa!" Dingwall called on "every man woman and child whose veins are filled with Afric [sic] blood remember that for us there is but one road to success here and bliss hereafter, and that the safest road and best—'Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God.'"[162] Africa and progress were deeply connected in the vision of these five literary pioneers.

In *Jamaica's Greatest Need*, Dingwall expanded upon the ideas set forth in the concluding chapter of *Jamaica's Jubilee*. Like the first manuscript, *JGN* was considered an important contribution to Jamaican public discourse. Writing in 1925, C. A. Wilson asserted the text "[deserved] to be republished. No race climbing to the top can afford to neglect the first literary efforts of her sons, who surrender their lives in her service, and speak out of the fullness of their hearts to their day and generation."[163] One event, in particular, inspired his publication: the release of the 1891 census.

Religion and the 1891 Census of Jamaica

The Census of Jamaica and its Dependencies (1891) revealed the political and structural challenges with which Jamaicans continued to struggle.[164] Housing, living arrangements, education, health, and employment were key areas for which enumerators collected data. For

[161] Dingwall et al., *JJ* , 127–128.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Wilson, *Men of Vision*, 120.
[164] Central Bureau of Statistics Jamaica, *Census of Jamaica, 1891*.

many, the results of the census enquiry quantified existing conceptions of Afro-Jamaican life that warranted the bold civilizational efforts already underway.

The living conditions of former slaves continued to fuel negative perceptions about Afro-Jamaicans' civility. Census details about domestic life—the private domain—reflected the areas to which missionaries and colonial officials directed their attention. Housing and conjugal arrangements were of great interest. In the 1891 census, the registrar general observed that in rural areas: [The] generic term "House" is here applied to dwellings which, in many instances, are of such rude formation that is almost doubtful whether the dignity of the titles is properly extended to them. A few rudely cut posts stuck in the ground, wattled [sic] walls, roughly plastered with mud, and slight sticks or poles for rafters, form the framework of the structure, while the roof is of grass—thatch and the floors of bare earth; such are the habitations of some 50000 families in Jamaica.…"[165] In Kingston, housing arrangements known as yards or tenements proliferated. Here, the lowest class of Jamaicans lived, often without proper sanitation, in cramped conditions.

Despite missionary efforts, marital rites remained an option, not the standard. The census reports that even with the increase in population, and the consequent surge of home dwellings, the number of marriages remained steady since the last count in 1881. The reasons for this were the prohibitive costs for licenses and, despite the introduction of the birth registration law in 1878, the fact that cohabitation or nonlegal marriage were an entrenched social norm from the time of slavery. It was a common practice for planters to engage in nonconsensual relationships with female slaves. In the post-Emancipation era, cross-racial relationships persisted—often

[165] Ibid, 6.

producing children—but rarely culminated in marriage.[166] Therefore, nonlegal marriage, or the more derogatory term "concubinage," remained a general practice.

With nonlegal marriage came the crisis of "illegitimacy." Children born out of wedlock was the cause célèbre for social reformers. Social purity initiatives focused heavily on what they believed were the root causes of Jamaica's social problems—"bye-children, out children, or love children," who remained under the care of their mothers and without material and financial support from fathers. At the center of public discourse on social reform and purity campaigns lies an anxiety about the loss or lack of religious values, the absence of which compromised Jamaica's foundation. According to the census, this foundation was compromised by the absence of vital religion.

The Registrar General, in his summary of the census, made the following remarks about religion on the island:

> No enquiry as to "religion" was made on this occasion. In reporting on the 1881 Census, I remarked, "In England and Scotland enquiry is not made as to Religious faith on the account of the reluctance of many persons to give such information." In Jamaica enquiry might fittingly be abandoned on an entirely opposite ground, namely, on account of the too ready submission of such particulars. The tendency to show connection with some religious denomination in cases where the moral condition of the household so claiming was *utterly opposed to the idea of any vital religious influence or connection*, was so prevalent, and the *methods by which denominational relation was decided*, varied so much, that *the statistics of Religion were of little real value*.[167]

As a result, statistics on religion were abandoned. Enumerators were instructed to put their efforts into "other branches of enquiry."[168] This was the first census, since its inception in 1844,

[166] Moore and Johnson, *Neither Led Nor Driven*, 106.
[167] Central Bureau of Statistics Jamaica, *Census of Jamaica, 1891*, 1–2, emphasis mine.
[168] Ibid.

in which enumerators were ordered not to collect data on religion.[169] The Registrar General issued this order arguing that "concubinage" and "illegitimate" children, a common feature of Jamaican life during this time, was proof that "vital religious influence" was absent. The terms on which Jamaicans defined their connection to churches were, in the mind of the Registrar General, too disparate and therefore not useful. Dismissing religious affiliation, particularly those declared by Afro-Jamaican peasants who traditionally gravitated towards the Native Baptist churches, revealed the contrast between elite views of Jamaican peasantry and Jamaicans' self-understanding. As an Afro-Jamaican minister, Dingwall ideologically occupied a middle ground: he was an Afro-Jamaican attuned to the effects of slavery on the country's social climate and economic progress. His role as a minister in a large denominational church provided him the platform and reach to share his views of Jamaican society.

In the opening lines of the text, Dingwall declared that Jamaica's greatest need was godliness—"a life in which God is recognised [sic], loved, and obeyed."[170] He was careful to distinguish godliness from religiosity. Dingwall believed that religion existed throughout the island, but not in orthodox Christian form. This distinction is a direct corrective to the Registrar General's comments on the *absence* of religion among Jamaican peasants. Dingwall remarked: "The island is predominantly religious, but not predominantly godly. God is worshipped, but not remembered; praised on Sundays, but not obeyed for the six intervening days. Godliness is the rightful result of religion on a people. Religion was intended to make men godly. But somehow that result has not prominently manifested itself in Jamaica's religious life."[171]

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[169] Anthony J. Christopher, "The 'Religion' Question in British Colonial and Commonwealth Censuses 1820s–2010s," *Journal of Religious History* 38, no. 4 (December 1, 2014): 579–96.
[170] Dingwall, *JGN*, 7.
[171] Ibid.

The proliferation of unorthodox or creolized religions contributed to what Dingwall termed Jamaican Christianity. In his view, this form of Christianity made room for vices such as lust, adultery, and un-Christian religious practices. He lamented that Jamaican peasants maintained a "sign-system" where "all language, action, and movement is thereby rendered confusing and equivocal. Misunderstandings are unnecessarily created."[172] To his dismay, "even the holy words of God, the sacred songs of Zion, and the solemn exercise of prayer, were parodied and polluted, desecrated, and dragged into the mire of sensuality, till the very meetings, for worship of God become like dens of corruption...."[173] This sign system was a feature of Myal and Revivalism. Dingwall rejected these religious practices in favor of "vital religion." For him, the power of vital religion "shall dislodge carnality of mind, and which shall prepare the way for cultivation of true godliness in our land."[174]

Lust, Dingwall argued, was the "main root that bears Jamaica's ugly fruit."[175] Lust combined with unorthodox family structures promoted the practice of "concubinage"—men having multiple female partners—and "bastardy"—fathering children outside of wedlock. He described this practice as "a sort of undercurrent communism, in which friends 'have all things in common,' not omitting their wives, and daughters, and sisters, and mothers—and this among young and old, married and unmarried."[176] However, the problem of lust and carnality, argued Dingwall, was not limited to just Afro-Jamaicans. These vices "[defile] every class and defies every creed…. The poor practice it; the middle class practice it; the rich practice it. The [B]lack

[172] Ibid, 17. This is akin to what Henry Louis Gates refers to as "signifyin'—the practice of linguistic play in which words, actions, and material objects are assigned meanings and uses that are different from their intended purposes." The parallel in Jamaican culture is the Anansi Trickster motif. See Henry Louis Gates, *Figures in Black: Words, Signs, and the "Racial" Self* (New York Oxford University Press, 1987).
[173] Ibid.
[174] Ibid., 10.
[175] Ibid., 15.
[176] Ibid., 16.

practice it; the [C]oloured practice it; the [W]hite practice it.… the practice increases in order of wealth and color."[177] He concluded, "lust is Jamaica's general law."[178] Dingwall's preoccupation with lust demonstrated that family life had far-reaching implications for progress and respectability.[179] The nuclear family's stability earned them the privilege of belonging to the family of God. Gender and racial hierarchies persisted but were absolved in Dingwall's all-encompassing Christian framework. Male authority within the home was a pretext to his place as a political subject and citizen.

The spread of vital religion and Jamaica's progress began with the individual. In his analysis, if the "carnal mind makes a carnal man, and a preponderance of carnal minds makes a carnal people," Jamaica would be "better when its general mind feeds on better fare."[180] Strong families, virtuous ministers, and honest teachers would place Jamaica on the path to redemption. The responsibility of this task rested on "the holy pastor, the godly parent, and the enlightened educator."[181] Creating a culture based on the Christian principles, cultivating nuclear families, prioritizing education, and investing in training for local ministers were the foundation of Dingwall's "Godly nation."

Dingwall charged school teachers with training "citizens for the commonwealth, and to start the young on the paths of godliness, usefulness, and honor."[182] He believed that religious instruction and basic education were paramount to building a strong citizenry. Education must go hand-in-hand with evangelization and religious instruction. That is, religious teaching alone

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[177] Ibid., 22.
[178] Ibid.
[179] See Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, *Righteous Discontent: The Women's Movement in the Black Baptist Church, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).
[180] Dingwall, *JGN*, 11.
[181] Ibid.
[182] Ibid., 32.

could result in fanaticism, or a "low-type religion."[183] Dingwall concluded that education and literacy would ensure Jamaica reaches its full potential as a civilized Christian land. Small and inconsistent funding from the British Crown and the limited resources from the missionary organizations severely limited educational access for Afro-Jamaicans threatened Jamaica's potential.

Dingwall charged ministers and religious leaders to uphold the same level of moral purity as school teachers. This charge was two-fold: they must avoid corruption and hold other ministers accountable. Accountability extended to the home churches in Britain who frequently sent foreign ministers to serve in Jamaica. This, he said limited Jamaicans' opportunities to lead and prepare the way for a strong nation. He declared: No foreigner needs to come to Jamaica who is morally weak. We could find natives of that stamp among ourselves, and train them and ordain them.… It is a bad and mean principle to teach and uphold people to prefer foreigners as ecclesiastical or civil rulers."[184] Dingwall called for local ministers to remain at the vanguard of social and political progress. While foreign ministers were welcomed, he preferred Jamaican ministers be trained to serve and witness to Jamaicans.

An editorial published in *The Gleaner* on October 21, 1883, grieved the lack of black ministers within the denominational churches.[185] "Lex," the author, argued that "black men are

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[183] Ibid., 46.
[184] Ibid., 40.
[185] The name of the *The Gleaner* changed over time. In September 1834, a month after formal Emancipation, Joshua and Jacob deCordova launched the first edition titled *The Gleaner and Weekly Compendium of News*. The newspaper included advertising sheets for goods sold at auctions in Kingston. Three months later, the newspaper expanded its content to include lifestyle articles and the title changed to *The Gleaner: A Weekly Family Newspaper Devoted to Literature, Morality, the Arts and Science and Amusements*. The newspaper's headquarters were destroyed in 1882 in a fire and again in the earthquake in 1907, which destroyed most of Kingston and Port Royal. The newspaper was referred to its shortened name, *The Gleaner*, until 1939 when the name was changed to *The Daily Gleaner*, and *The Sunday Gleaner*. In 1992 the newspaper reverted to its current title, *The Gleaner*. Throughout the project, I refer to the newspaper title based on the time period in which it was published. "The Story of The Gleaner

studiously and persistently excluded from entering the ministry in this island.…" He was aware of only "five black ministers among the Presbyterians." He conceded that even though "complexional ostracism" was not as rampant in the Presbyterian Church, the denomination was not completely free of racist attitudes. "Lex" and Dingwall's grievances spoke directly to the racial imbalance within the clergy.[186] Their demand for more locally trained ministers was also a demand that Blacks or Afro-Jamaicans remain at the forefront of religious life.

And while every true man of God is a treasure, let it be definitely kept in mind by the Churches that, whereas the *beginning* of the Gospel must be from, abroad, the final elevation and establishment of a people in the ways of God is pre-eminently the work of a NATIVE ministry … to whom the country's shame is *their* shame, and the country's glory *their* glory. Patriotism is ordained of God for His Kingdom's good.[187]

God-ordained patriotism required native ministers and moral teachers to prepare and lead the nation towards its fullest potential. The call for black leadership in major areas of Jamaica's civic life reflected black nationalist discourses throughout the Atlantic world. Dingwall offered his globalist vision of African progress in the conclusion of *Jamaica's Jubilee*:

We seem born to live! Other savage national have perished under oppression and vanished before the advance of civilization; but in the most inhospitable climates of the globe, the children of Africa have lived and increased through centuries of different climates of the globe, and there treated as anything but men and women; and yet they have lived, and instead of being crushed

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Company," diGJamaica: Digital Information, The Gleaner, accessed May 16, 2018, http://www.digjamaica.com/gleaner.

[186] See Gale L. Kenny, *Contentious Liberties: American Abolitionists in Post-Emancipation Jamaica, 1834–1866* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010).

[187] Dingwall, *JGN*, 43.

beneath the tread of advancing civilization, they have joined the ranks of progress, and are today marching after the nations already in the van.[188]

Here Dingwall leveraged the rich history of African kingdoms and leaders to outline a vision for progress. He also explicitly leveraged Christian principles in his nationalist imaginary.[189] God-ordained patriotism was an ideological call to greatness and a precondition for Jamaica's purpose to evangelize other parts of the world. Dingwall believed that Jamaica's calling was "to seek God for itself, and to help darker lands like Hayti [sic], Cuba, South and Central America, and Africa, to seek and find the same God."[190]

Like men of his time, Dingwall argued that women and men bore specific duties to maintain a healthy family and promote a virtuous society. Young men wasted their youth by failing to "plan, work, and prepare for the future."[191] As a result, they married later in life "in sudden, unprepared haste, and then struggl[ed] with poverty til death."[192] Young women, on the other hand, were taught by their parents to be "fishers of men" or "young seductresses."[193] He accused parents (from all religious backgrounds) of encouraging "ante-nuptial incontinence" or sex before marriage.[194] Channeling the Victorian norms espoused by Jamaica's elite, Dingwall argued that young men should focus on industry and early marriage, and young women should practice modesty. He concluded, "marriage is the handmaid to morality."[195] It was essential to "create better homesteads, and a better generation to inhabit them."[196] Forward women, idle men,

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[188] Dingwall et al., *JJ*, 115.
[189] Wilson Jeremiah Moses, *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism, 1850–1925* (New York Oxford University Press, 1978).
[190] Dingwall, *JGN*, 49.
[191] Ibid., 29.
[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid., 23.
[195] Ibid., 47.
[196] Ibid.

and sex before marriage ran counter to gender expectations. The mark of progress was prudence, chastity, and strong work ethic. Strong virtues led to healthy families, the foundation of a thriving nation.

Dingwall's path to progress and racial uplift required men to be respectable and vigilantly resist immorality, personified here as feminine. For example, lust was likened to a destructive woman, "a demon that actually possesses men's bodies and souls," and carnality, a manipulative, deceptive woman.

> Carnality wears no blush; her cheeks betray no tinge of shame; her eyes are "full of adultery"; her brow is burnished brass; her deeds are a matter of course; at which to express surprise is to become in turn an enigma; which to condemn, makes one a target; to oppose constitutes him an enemy; to avoid, stamps him a fool.[197]

As a result of unchecked lust and carnality, anthropomorphized as a deceptive and destructive woman, the "general mind has become *thoroughly womanised* [sic]." If a "dewomanisation [sic] of mind or defeminisation [sic], if the other term be ultra-barbaric) does not occur…," Jamaica would risk stagnation. Only vital religion, or true Christianity, would "make her [Jamaica] abjure her present deeds and blush at the mention of them."[198]

Dingwall's conception of nationalism and patriotism were in part a response to ideological shifts at the turn of the century. Conceptions of nationalism entailed complex negotiations between masculinity, faith, and reason. Manliness, therefore, became an important trope for Afro-Jamaican men to assert their social position. The concept of manliness entailed overlapping ideologies of religion, empire, gender, race, and culture.[199] The influx of indentured

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[197] Ibid., 18.
[198] Ibid.
[199] David Tjeder, "Crises of Faith and the Making of Christian Masculinities at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," in *Christian Masculinity: Men and Religion in Northern Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed. Yvonne Maria Werner (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2011), 130.

servants, for example, from China and India generated competition over economic and social benefits. Christian moralism and appeals to masculinity helped strengthened Afro-Jamaican men's claims to rights and privileges. According to Mimi Sheller, the appeal to Christianity supported Afro-Jamaican freedmen's claims to British citizenship and to distinguish themselves from Indian and Chinese indentured laborers.[200] Afro-Jamaican men relied on Christianity to prove their civility and virtue. By invoking their Christian character, Afro-Jamaican men were able to bolster their claims to British rights. Freedom, as a result, was configured less as a universal right and instead was the privilege and right of British men.[201] Distancing themselves from Indians, Chinese, and other foreigners granted Afro-Jamaican men the platform to assert their right to higher wages in order to meet the needs of their families and communities.[202] Christian moralism and manliness were the conceptual ground upon which Afro-Jamaican men could stake their claims as progressive and enlightened Christians.

Dingwall detailed the Christian values that formed the ideological framework of his God-ordained patriotism. Towards the end of the manuscript, he offered practical suggestions on how to elevate these values on a national scale. In the chapter "What Must Be Done?" Dingwall recommended joint efforts by the churches to promote religious, educational, and community values. Ecumenical connections were one way to strengthen and expand church outreach across the island. He encouraged churches to look to political and philanthropic institutions as examples of how to model "ecclesiastical economy."[203] He suggested that similarly to the older established churches, interdenominational conferences should be held consistently to "stimulate the zeal, and

[200] Mimi Sheller, "Her Majesty's Sable Subjects: Subaltern Masculinities in Post-Emancipation Jamaica," *Political Power and Social Theory*, no. 17 (2005): 71–99.
[201] Ibid., 87
[202] Ibid.
[203] Dingwall, *JGN,* 44.

foster brotherly kindness of God's people."[204] To this end, he also called for a day of national prayer and atonement. Doing so demonstrated the "necessity for the presence and power of the Holy Ghost in the churches."[205]

Dingwall also demanded that the popular press be used to encourage literacy and education. Engaging the press, in his view, made up for a lack of government investment in basic education. The press, in tandem with the schoolroom and the pulpit, were the basis of the "nation's higher life." The press served as means of holding politicians accountable for their decisions and inaction. For example, Dingwall encouraged government officials to honor petitions for roads and bridges in Jamaica's poor rural areas. He accused officials of prioritizing trivial projects such as "removing the weed and pebble from [roads travelled] by the rich and influential."[206] The "petitions from the poorer classes, in districts unfrequented by the rich '[W]hite people,' are tantalizingly laid on the shelf for a convenient season."[207] Building roads in the poorer areas, he argued, would "enlighten and enliven" these areas socially and economically.[208]

Finally, Dingwall advocated for stricter laws that would "tighten the moral curb."[209] The already existing laws on birth registration and child maintenance were inadequate to minimize or prevent the social maladies that threaten family life and the nation's moral fabric. He advised that these laws must originate from the specific conditions in Jamaica, and "not slavishly [copied from] another."[210] Stricter social welfare laws that addressed the particularities of Jamaica's social landscape, along with locally trained and appointed ministers and teachers were integral to

[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid. 45.
[206] Ibid., 47.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid., 48
[210] Ibid.

the country's future. These steps would help foster a genuine revival of vital religion and restore God's promises for Jamaica as a nation.

Dingwall ended his manuscript with a poem titled, "Adultery." This theme undergirds the entire treatise—he viewed adultery as a moral sin and a metaphor for norms and behaviors that threatened national progress and social uplift.

> Adultery! That serpent-vice,
> So mean, so crawling, sneaking-wise;
> Transforming God's once noble son…
> Into a miscreant abashed,
> Or sickening swine that must be washed:
> Which smites men's bodies with disease;
> Which banishes domestic peace;
> Which fills a land with poverty;
> Transmits a bad heredity;
> Brings curses on the innocent,—
> Born with a vice-inclined bent,—
> Born to a heritage of shame,—
> Heirs to a wealth they would not claim…[211]

Dingwall linked poverty and disease with morality and religion. Here, sexuality and the well-being of the nation were tightly bound with the disciplining of women's bodies and desire. The long shadow of Dingwall's assertions covered the prayers offered during the crusade at Dudley Square.

Pastor Morrison's declaration over a century later, "we are more than the sins of slavery," echoed Dingwall's invocation of slavery as the primary impediment to black progress. Slavery disrupted the most intimate sphere of black life—the family. Concerns around gender roles and sexual relations form the undercurrent to Dingwall and Morrison's prescriptions for change. For Morrison, positive fathers in the home meant that young girls would learn respect for themselves, the community, and God. Pastor Samuels's prayer built upon this notion of positive parenting by

[211] Ibid., 55.

admonishing mothers to teach modesty. Mothers, she prayed, should be fully clothed so their children would dress appropriately and discourage men's sexual advances. Helping with homework around the kitchen table was more important than drinking and smoking around the gambling table. For Morrison and Samuels, family life was the foundation of a healthy community, and ultimately a healthy nation.

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Afro-Jamaican religious leaders drew upon similar ideologies introduced by White missionaries to frame their views on institutional change and reform in the late nineteenth century. Both groups based their critiques on a rigid understanding of religion's role in national culture and progress. However, Afro-Jamaican ministers such as Robert Dingwall and his contemporaries differed from the missionaries and their sympathizers. They espoused a complex vision for change that promoted national identity and racial solidarity. Racial mobilization was possible through Africa's redemption, and guided by divine providence. For them, Black leadership was the beginning of systemic change. Throughout *Jamaica's Jubilee* and *Jamaica's Greatest Need*, religious conservatism stood alongside assertions for black autonomy. As Deborah Thomas observes, the ideologies of nineteenth-century Black elites foreshadowed the concerns and frameworks that directly shaped twentieth-century political discourse.[212] Dingwall's call for God-ordained patriotism and the social and economic reforms that he imagined were early examples of the religious themes Jamaican leaders would draw upon to mobilize voters in the twentieth century. The 1972 and 1980 elections were notable examples in which the theater of politics, replete with rallies, punditry, and what Thomas refers to as

[212] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 37.

exceptional violence—that is, the persisting repertoires of violence rooted in colonialism—played out largely in the press and in the urban landscapes of Kingston. And Dudley Square, the very place where I witnessed Pastor Morrison's prayers offered for the healing of the nation, would be dramatically affected by that violence and its intimate connection with God-ordained patriotism.

CHAPTER 2: "Better Must Come"

Black Radicalism and Religious Conservativism in the 1972 Elections

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After independence in 1962, housing opportunities in West Kingston were directly linked to the success of a political party. In the case of Tivoli Gardens, the Jamaica Labor Party's (JLP) victory led to the development of the housing scheme in the 1960s. Edward Seaga, then minister of development and welfare, oversaw the initial efforts to clear the area formerly known as Back O' Wall in order to lay the foundation for high rises and townhouses. The first eight acres, informally referred to as "Java," was the first area to be developed.

Deirdre Sampson, along with her aunt and uncle, were one of the first families to move into Tivoli Gardens in 1969. She lived in a high rise until the community was expanded southeast into the area known as Dudley Square. The government erected twenty town homes in a cul-de-sac. Those homes were offered to JLP supporters. Later, a part of the wall separating the Dudley Square homes and the open land used for the Kingston railway terminus was demolished to make room for ten high rises, nicknamed Reptile Row. Deirdre recalls that it was a liminal space in Tivoli Gardens, a borderland of sorts. "When me come here first, it was a wall, a dead end. I was right at the dead end. No house was over there at the time. Just bush and a big wall. This was the dead end. No wall. And then after certain years, Mr. Seaga, minister of something, I don't remember. But I know it was in housing and they built those houses over there." These apartments were also intended for JLP loyalists. However, JLP supporters had to wait more than eight years to occupy them. Deirdre continued:

> Over there now [Reptile Row], the first set of people that live here first, was a set of PNP people. They come from all about. And then they put them in there. Cause remember what I told you that the houses finished, and the government changed! And they put in fi

> dem people! They won so them get it, because we out of power now so the minister of housing now.... the house them did finish but no water or light never run in yet. Them *win* now, so they fix it up and put in *their* people.

In Reptile Row, the community renewal and urban development symbolized the ongoing transition from colony to sovereign nation, and the political stakes involved.[213] Reptile Row signified the volatile political climate and the stakes therein for Jamaicans who needed secure housing and social services. The People's National Party's 1972 victory secured housing for a few constituents in Reptile Row—a defiant move on the part of the PNP. In many ways, placing PNP supporters in a decidedly JLP enclave demonstrated the clientism between citizen and politician. For the politician, victory guaranteed power, for the citizen, housing and opportunity.

> After he built those houses, before the houses finish ... well this is a political scene cause you know everybody in here is Laborite. After he built those houses when [I] used to live at Fleet Street they come and say they want some people to fill these houses. After he was done building those houses, they were finished but they didn't have in any water or light at the time. So they assess the people to move in, but then the government change and the PNP government come in. So when the PNP government come in, they put their people over there. Them [PNP] win now, so they fix it up and put in their people. So their people were living there for certain years til' the war start.

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[213] Seaga was both minister of parliament for West Kingston starting in 1962 and minister of development and welfare from 1962–1967. The goals of the Ministry of Development and Welfare were best described in the Five-Year Independence Plan in 1963. It sought to "tackle the old problem of ownership with a land-reform program, a housing program to satisfy an estimated need of 165,000 low-income units over 10 years" (Martin Henry, "A Development Plan For Independent Jamaica," *The Gleaner*, July 29, 2012, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20120729/focus/focus3.html). Housing development was a key strategy in Kingston to accommodate increased migration from rural areas into the capital city. By 1960, Kingston was home to 52 percent of the population. The transition from colonial slum to urban ghetto was quickly realized by the razing of squatter communities and redevelopment projects from 1960–1991. However, these projects began in 1930s with West Kingston redevelopment projects described in the West India Royal Commission Report of 1938, and the 1936 Central Housing Advisory Board Report. From 1960–1991 the population in Kingston became increasingly black. Urban development took on a markedly racial feature as more African-descended Jamaicans were largely represented in Kingston's slum and ghetto population. As a result, development in urban areas also became zones of social deprivation, measured by low social and economic status, high population density, high unemployment, high percentage of rented homes, and shortage of piped water (Colin Clarke, "From Slum to Ghetto: Social Deprivation in Kingston, Jamaica," *International Development Planning Review* 28, no. 1 (2006): 1–34).

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The story of Reptile Row exemplifies the high stakes of election cycles on the lives of ordinary people. For the supporters of each party, access to resources, stability, and jobs all relied upon election victory. Interdependence between politicians and their constituents made elections a high-stakes event. Gangs aligned with political parties. Elections were violent clashes of political ideology and gang allegiances.[214]

By 1972, Jamaicans still experienced the birth pangs of independence. In contrast to the nineteenth-century discourses among religious leaders and social elites, deliberations on the question of "who we are, and what we hope to be" moved into formal politics. The expansion of adult suffrage in 1944 "created a mass electorate which could legitimize and press for continuous constitutional progress."[215] Mimi Sheller observed that politics in post-Emancipation Jamaica up to 1865 largely played out in meetings convened by Baptist congregations. "As early as November 1838, seething dissatisfaction with labor conditions was being channeled into peaceful meetings and political petitioning among Baptist congregations, including demands for a broader franchise. It had been quickly grasped that there would be no progress in workers' social and political rights so long as former slave-owners continued to legislate for them."[216]

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[214] Sives, "Changing Patrons, from Politician to Drug Don."
[215] Robert Buddan, "Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica and the Caribbean Since 1944," *Social and Economic Studies* 53, no. 4 (2004): 135–62, 138. Extending voting rights to all adults twenty-one years and older served the purpose of granting more citizens greater control in electing representatives. The move towards greater self-government was however limited as the British Crown maintained the final say on legislation. Full representation and self-rule was realized with Independence in 1962. Buddan, "Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica," 136.
[216] Mimi Sheller, *Democracy after Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2000), 154.

The emergence of the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union and the PNP in the wake of the 1930s labor riots provided a new forum for politics. Greater representation through adult suffrage had great social significance. According to Buddan, "It brought black people, people without property, women and younger people, the poor and economically distressed, and the folk values … into politics."[217] Even with greater political participation, labor unions had to do much more work to advance the rights of Jamaica's poor and marginalized. Following independence, the Black Power movement across the United States and the Caribbean explicitly brought race and social economic progress into sharp focus.

Like other newly decolonized nations in the Caribbean and Africa, as well as the movement for civil rights in the United States, Black Power leaders and ideologues centered blackness and social class in their critiques and demands of the state. The 1972 election cycle brought to the fore the increasing agonism between the poorer, darker class of Jamaicans and those who held the most power and privilege. This was the first election that utilized the slogans and symbolism of the Black Power movement to galvanize voters and articulate party platforms.[218] Newspaper ads and editorials, and public rallies depicted a nation contending with its cultural and political identity in the wake of its new sovereignty.

A key event that encapsulates this discourse was the controversy over a radical religious leader, Claudius Henry, and his support of the People's National Party candidate, Michael Manley. Henry published and distributed a leaflet, referred to as the "Henry Pamphlet Lie," asserting Manley as the culmination of a divine prophecy. The JLP construed Henry's assertions as blasphemous and therefore evidence of the PNP's lack of Christian piety. The JLP's effort to

[217] Buddan, "Universal Adult Suffrage in Jamaica," 143.
[218] Anita Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols: Rastafari and Reggae in Jamaican Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1985).

discredit the PNP and Henry on the basis of Christian values speak to the centrality of religion as an organizing framework for progress on a national level. The controversy also points to the conservative contours of Jamaican politics during a radical moment.

Creole Nationalism and the Black Power Movement

The period following World War II marked a significant increase in nationalist sentiments and radical political thought. By 1968 nineteen Anglophone islands were transitioning to become independent nations; others were experiencing the birth pangs of forming new democracies. Global politics calling for the dismantling of European hegemony characterized this period. Protests against the Vietnamese War, growing militancy within the Civil Rights Movement, the fight for women's suffrage, and the ongoing decolonization of the "Third World" served as the backdrop for the emergence of radical political thought throughout the African diaspora.[219]

Constructions of race and national identity emerged as part of a discourse around dismantling European colonialism. Like many former colonies in the British empire, Jamaica was faced with the task of developing its national identity as a sovereign country. As discussed in chapter 1, Jamaican elites viewed individual behavior, identity, and national development as deeply connected to a value system based in Christian ethics. Godliness, family, and education were the foundations for progress and national development.

Jamaica's multiracial history lent itself to the development of creole nationalism. In Jamaica, creole nationalism—a practice and ideal that elevated a distinct Jamaican identity that

[219] Anthony Bogues, "Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics: Walter Rodney and the Politics of The Groundings with My Brothers," *Boundary 2* 36, no. 1 (February 1, 2009): 127–47.

superseded ethnicity—obscured the class divisions that relegated African-descended Jamaicans to the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. The national motto, "Out of Many, One People," was an aspiration and a prescription for what it meant to be Jamaican. The motto is also an affirmation of egalitarian beliefs intended to unite a multiracial society deeply divided by class differences.

Deborah Thomas provides a historical sketch of the roots of Jamaica's nationalist ideologies and the ascendancy of "creole multi-racial nationalist" politics.[220] These politics "ultimately emphasized self-help through moderate middle-class leadership and the transformation of (lower-class) people's cultural practices...."[221] The roots trace back to the turn-of-the-century perceptions of Africa, migration, and the emphasis on "cultural modernization and progress rooted in the values promoted by the sectarian churches."[222] The message of moral character and respectability echoed in the pulpits and the press.[223]

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[220] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 68.
[221] Ibid., 30.
[222] Ibid.
[223] In February 1965, the Jamaican government enacted a national courtesy campaign. From March to April, Jamaican school children, media outlets, civic societies, professional groups, and various government agencies participated in activities aimed at "[providing] an effective answer to the rising trend in hooliganism in the island." The campaign claimed to "impress on Jamaicans generally the need for courtesy as a major contribution to the building of better citizens." The campaign included student essay competitions, airing recorded statements on national radio stations, posters, and television advertisements. In December of that same year, Jamaica's Deputy Prime Minister Donald Sangster gave a speech at a high school regarding children respecting the authority of parents and teachers. The article stated that Sangster prefaced his speech by claiming that "there was a rebellion against constituted authority in many countries today. There is a wave of dissatisfaction with everything in the world." In his view "schools should not only be concerned with turning out academically brilliant scholars but perhaps even more importantly they should train the children to be responsible citizens of tomorrow." To this he added that teachers were working hard to educate students and poor academic results were due to parents' failure to supervise their children. Furthermore, "there was too much permissiveness instead of discipline and the children were not applying themselves." Sangster's view captures the exceptionalist view of Jamaican society as moral, harmonious, and cooperative. The national courtesy campaign represents the role of the Jamaican government in shaping social ethics by emphasizing conformity to a particular type of morality. This effort was aimed at building a national culture as one based on Christian virtues. *The Daily Gleaner*, "Plans for National Courtesy Campaign," February 20, 1965.

Proponents of creole nationalism touted Christian values and embraced a common cultural heritage that applied to all Jamaicans, regardless of ethnicity. The Jamaican "folk" were those who "prioritized the cultivation of respectability—a value complex that emphasizes education, thrift, industry, self-sufficiency via land ownership, moderate Christian living, community uplift, the constitution of family through legal marriage, and leadership by the educated middle classes."[224] One writer opined:

> Jamaicanism is not a colour ... or a fiercely aggressive attitude towards people who are not black. Jamaicanism is a state of mind, based on a sense of civic responsibility, on good manners, on respect for all others who inhabit our island.... Jamaicanism is not a "black man time." Jamaicanism is raceless.... Jamaicanism is realization and acceptance of the fact that Jamaica is neither a black nor a [W]hite nor a pink [sic] country, but a country in which all men may dwell together in unity and good fellowship.[225]

In this way, creole nationalism emphasized a shared national culture over racial difference. The effect was a universalism that obscured the importance of race in Jamaica's social hierarchy. The value-system based on respectability and Christian virtue also served to maintain the cultural hegemony of the ruling class.[226]

However, the demand for color-blindness, unity, and civility as pillars for what it meant to be Jamaican generated significant pushback. Rastafari and the Black Power movement offered powerful counternarratives that challenged principles of "Jamaicanism." The religious and cultural principles of Rastafari provided a framework for nationalist rhetoric. The religious movements pulled heavily on the teachings and philosophy of Marcus Garvey, the founder of the

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[224] Deborah A. Thomas, "Blackness Across Borders: Jamaican Diasporas and New Politics of Citizenship," *Identities* 14, no. 1–2 (2007): 111–33, 115.
[225] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Letters to the Editor," October 10, 1963.
[226] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*, 55. As discussed in the preceding chapter, at the turn of the century, progress was possible by embracing Christian values, which included mono, nuclear families; industriousness through labor; homesteads that discouraged incest; and a national ethic based on religion, education, and family life.

United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), a millenarian movement that emphasized Black progress through racial uplift.[227] A nationalist and separatist, Garvey believed that repatriation to Africa was the destiny of all Blacks in the New World. Like other Black nationalists of the early twentieth century, Garvey held to the Old Testament prophecy in Psalms 68, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." In a public address in Kingston, Garvey told a congregation, "Look to Africa for the crowing of black king; he shall be the Redeemer."[228] In his earthly role, Selassie was the emperor of Ethiopia. His ascent as emperor fulfilled the prophecy in the Old Testament and Garvey's predictions. Some considered Haile Selassie the reincarnation of the Christ-figure. For others, he was a living god, a descendant of the divine bloodline of King Solomon.

Spiritual leaders in lower-class communities in Jamaica viewed the coronation of Haile Selassie as emperor of Ethiopia in 1930 as the culmination of these prophecies. Believers referred to themselves by his precoronation name, Ras Tafari. Though Rastafari has grown into a diverse religion with various sects or "mansions" they maintained three core beliefs: the divinity of Haile Selassie, Old Testament scripture as a history of African-descended people, and the social and economic alienation of Africans in the New World aligned with Israel's captivity in Babylon. Repatriation to Africa was a practical and symbolic gesture of freedom from Babylon.[229]

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[227] According to Ennis B. Edmonds, Rastafari is a convergence of multiple religious and cultural movements in the early nineteenth century. In addition to the Garvey movement, the rise of black consciousness and activism across the Black Atlantic after World War I, diasporic identification with Ethiopia, and biblical messianism of Jamaican cultural vernacular all influenced the shape and content of Rastafari. As a result, the movement emerged within a "venerable history of resistance to the hegemonic power of European politics, economics, and culture in Jamaica and the African diaspora." Ennis B. Edmonds, *Rastafari: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 7.
[228] Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 45.
[229] Ibid., 47–48. For a description of the different mansions or houses within Rastafari, see chapter 1 in Edmonds, *Rastafari*. Though the religion generally eschews hierarchies and is highly individualistic, three

Undoubtedly, the founding of Rastafari in the 1950s and its synergy with the growing Black Power movement in in the 1960s profoundly shaped Jamaican national discourse on social change. Black Power ideologues centered race and class inequalities. This was a direct challenge to creole nationalism, which emphasized national culture over class and ethnic difference and rendered poor, working-class Afro-Jamaicans invisible. The Jamaican government's effort to neutralize and silence radical groups demonstrated the dominance of creole nationalism as a cultural project and its use for diplomacy and national security.

The reach of the Black Power movement extended beyond its North American origins and presented a threat to the neocolonial world order. The phrase "Black Power" was first popularized by Stokely Carmichael in 1966. Stokely, a native of Trinidad, later renamed himself Kwame Ture. He formalized the Black Power ideology in his coauthored text *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*.[230] In Carmichael's formulation "Black people in the United States have a colonial relationship to the larger society, a relationship characterized by institutional racism."[231] In his seminal work, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon described the psychological and social world of the colonized. According to Fanon, colonialism operated on a Manichean worldview that divided the world into binaries of Black vs. White, settler vs. native, etc. As a result, blacks formed an internal colony and were consistently subordinated psychologically,

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main groups or mansions emerged as the movement grew: House of Nyabinghi, Boboshanti, and the Twelve Tribes of Gad. The oldest, House of Nyabinghi, emerged during the 1940s under Leonard Howell. Howell was known to participate in local elections and members sent their children to government schools. Howell also established a commune at Pinnacle, which was government-owned land. Boboshanti, by contrast, adopted a more radical and antigovernment stance.

[230] Kwame Ture and Charles Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Vintage Books, 1992). For an exploration on the role bearing arms in the Black Power movement, see the documentary Sandra Dickson and Churchill Roberts, dir., *Negroes with Guns: Rob Williams and Black Power* (National PBS Broadcast, 2006). On the politically and regionally diverse radical movements in the United States emerging from the Black Power movement see Judson L. Jeffries, *Black Power in the Belly of the Beast* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2006).

[231] Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power*, 6.

economically, and socially.[232] These inequalities produced material conditions that made Black lives distinct. The cultural heritage of African descended people and the experience of slavery further defined Blackness. For Fanon, to be black was a historical, cultural, and economic construction, its facticity grounded in material conditions. Black Power ideologues sought to construct a new order based on cultural solidarity. According to Carmichael, "before a group can enter the open society, it must first close its ranks. Group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society."[233] Blacks would achieve solidarity only by reclaiming African history and culture and taking the lead in creating self-sustaining communities.[234] The specificity of blackness narrowed the boundaries of inclusion. However, gender, ethnicity, and nationality complicated Carmichael's prescriptions for solidarity.[235]

As the movement expanded globally, the term "Black" required greater nuance. In the Caribbean, for example, the call for Black Power could not fully accommodate the experiences of those of Indo-Caribbean descent. Such was the case in Trinidad and Guyana.[236] In the multiethnic context of Jamaica, Black Power tenets took on a distinct character. According to Anthony Bogues, "If in the United States Black Power was a response to the inadequacies of liberal legal legislation to end racial oppression, then in Jamaica and the Caribbean it was the

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[232] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Weidenfeld 1991).
[233] Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power*, 44.
[234] Ibid., 37.
[235] See Tracye Matthews, "No One Ever Asks What a Man's Role in Revolution Is": Gender Politics and Leadership in the Black Panther Party, 1966–71," in *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles Earl Jones (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), 230–256, and Michele Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Dial Press, 1979).
[236] See Kate Quinn, ed., *Black Power in the Caribbean* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 2014) and Victoria Pasley, "The Black Power Movement in Trinidad: An Exploration of Gender and Cultural Changes and the Development of a Feminist Consciousness," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 3, no. 1 (2001), 24–40.

political, cultural, and social response to the floundering of the formal constitutional decolonization project of political independence."[237] Caribbean nation-states, formerly under British rule, were granted constitutional sovereignty between 1962–1983. However, independence ushered in arrangements that sustained economic dependency between former metropoles and colonies. Neocolonialism, fueled by a long history of underdevelopment and exploitation, severely limited the prospects of newly independent countries to grow and compete globally. Old patterns of economic domination remained. The plantation hierarchy was supplanted by multinational organizations such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. To compete in the world market, newly independent nations were forced to accept agreements that granted access to fiscal resources but at a significant disadvantage: low import duties, limited export markets, and fiscal cuts to social services. As a result, leaders of these new nation-states in the Caribbean, though elected through democratic processes, were forced to be accountable to the whims of global organizations. As a result, the black majority or "sufferers," were without social safety nets and lacked the clout to access already minimal resources. For Jamaica, constitutional independence was granted in August 1962. The Jamaica Labor Party, led by Alexander Bustamante, won the first election in a sovereign Jamaica. The economic and political life of the country leaned heavily towards favorable trade and diplomatic relations with the United States, a pattern that began with the end of Crown Colony rule and enhanced with the flourishing of the banana trade.[238] The message of Black Power spread throughout the decolonized world as a clarion call to resist and replace oppressive political and economic systems.

[237] Bogues, "Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics," 130.
[238] Thomas, *Modern Blackness*.

The Black Power movement in the Caribbean gave "flesh to political speech and praxis."[239] The Abeng Group in Jamaica exemplified the Black Power movement's message of self-determination and maintained political and social agenda that addressed socioeconomically alienated communities.[240] Through print media and community forums, the Abeng Group worked to disrupt "hierarchical classifications and their disposition inherited from colonialism" by challenging colorism, namely White/Brown domination within Jamaican society.[241] Abeng members facilitated "Assemblies of the People" in various parishes. These assemblies served as public gatherings to discuss topics such as "Themes and Values in Caribbean Art," "Tourism or House Slavery?" and "What Future has Local Government?"[242] The group published a newspaper, *Abeng*. The newspaper was "a national project" that would serve as a medium for "the people of this country to ground together."[243] It was sold inexpensively and ran exclusively by volunteers. *Abeng* featured a weekly editorial section, "Blow the Horn Tell the People," and "The Sufferers Diary"—solo-authored opinion pieces on issues such as wages, healthcare, and housing.[244] *Abeng* provided a forum for ideologues and Black Power leaders whose articles were consistently rejected by the conservative, state-friendly *Daily Gleaner* newspaper.[245] The Abeng

[239] Bogues, "Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics," 131.
[240] The "abeng" is a trumpet-like instrument made from an animal's horn. The Maroons used it as a form of communication and for religious ceremonies. The group consisted of Robert Hill, George Beckford, and Trevor Munroe (former members of the New World Group (NWG) credited with developing Caribbean Dependency Theory, which called for the decrease in reliance on foreign capital and investment). The formation of Abeng mirrored ongoing differentiation and rifts in the Jamaican ideological sphere. The NWG, for example, focused more heavily on independent political thought as action while Abeng prioritized direct action and organizing the masses. The newspaper peaked at fourteen-thousand copies in April 1969. See Obika Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change in Jamaica* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 176.
[241] Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change,* 131.
[242] *Abeng* (Kingston, Jamaica: Abeng Pub. Co., February 8, 1969).
[243] Ibid., "The Horn Reaches the People," February 8, 1969
[244] Ibid,. February 1, 1969 – September 27, 1969.
[245] Ibid., "The Horn Reaches the People," February 8, 1969.

Group's approach to social change was deeply influenced by the life and work of Walter Rodney, a university lecturer and prominent Black Power activist in the Caribbean.[246]

Rodney's articulation of Black Power built on Carmichael's emphasis on Black history, culture, and the importance of political autonomy. However, in the multiethnic character of Caribbean countries, the term "Black" did not only designate skin color. According to Michael West, Rodney "insisted that [B]lackness was a material condition, that is, a function of one's relationship to power and wealth."[247] The pursuit of equality required a "break with imperialism," Black assumption of political and economic power, and cultural reconstruction of society in the "image of blacks [sic]."[248] As an Africanist, Rodney believed strongly in the value of African culture as the basis for proving the humanity of Blacks. African history and culture served as the lens to imagine new forms of social relations, law and public order, and social and religious tolerance.[249]

For Rodney, the pursuit of equality was not incompatible with living in a multiracial society. He justified this by reasoning that "the moment that power is equitably distributed among several ethnic groups then the very relevance of making the distinction between groups

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[246] Rodney was best known for his work *Groundings with My Brothers*, a collection of lectures and reflections on his intellectual and political experiences while engaging with the Rastafari community on issues of social importance. Anthony Bogues describes the process of "grounding" as a part of "Rastafari language and word play ... a site of meeting that breaks ... constructed barriers of race, class and education." Rodney's practice of grounding with Rastafarians and working-class Jamaicans "sought to create a radical political grammar that was routed through the immediate experiences of those who were formally excluded from Jamaican society." Rodney work within this community was notable because it provided a critical link between intellectual thought and the masses. In *Groundings*, Rodney explores the relevance of Black Power in the Caribbean and importance of African history and culture in revolution, and reflects on the lessons he learned communing with Rastafari. See Bogues, "Black Power, Decolonization, and Caribbean Politics," 136.

[247] Michael O. West, "Seeing Darkly: Guyana, Black Power, and Walter Rodney's Expulsion from Jamaica," *Small Axe* 24 (February 2008): 93–104, 98.

[248] Walter Rodney, *The Groundings with My Brothers* (London: Bogle-L'Ouverture Publications, 1975), 28.

[249] Ibid., 56.

will be lost."[250] Rodney believed "... that it is not for the Black Power movement to determine the positions of the browns, reds and so-called West Indian [W]hites—the movement can only keep the door open and leave it to those groups to make their choice. Black Power is not racially intolerant. It is the hope of the [B]lack man that he should have power over his own destinies."[251] One of Rodney's main arguments was that Black Jamaicans were the victims of the "myth of multiracialism." He challenged creole exceptionalist claims by asserting that Black Jamaicans were subordinated and exploited by cultural minorities who claimed superiority based on their social status.[252] The notion of multiracialism disguised these inequalities by downplaying the salience of race and class in Jamaica's social relations. For Rodney, Jamaica was a predominantly Black country and therefore constructed in the image of Blacks. His articulation of social change was formulated from the "bottom-up"; he used the voices of the working poor and unemployed to challenge exceptionalist notions of Jamaican-ness. These notions were predicated on an erasure of Black subjectivity and concentrated power in the hands of a select few.

In October 1968, on his return from the Black Writers Conference at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, Rodney was barred from reentering Jamaica. News of his expulsion reached students from the University of the West Indies in Mona, Jamaica. They attempted a peaceful protest to denounce the government's decision. As students marched to the state building in downtown Kingston, youth from nearby slums joined the throng. What began as a peaceful march escalated into a riot. Protesters were tear-gassed, beaten, and dragged. Buses were burned. Businesses were damaged, and dozens of fires spread throughout the downtown area.

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[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid., 29
[252] Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change*, 155.

Rodney's expulsion triggered antigovernment protests in Guyana, his home country, and the twin republic of Trinidad and Tobago. The Guyanese people rallied, marched, and protested in support of Rodney. The Guyanese government responded by banning his colleagues, who were also Guyanese nationals and lecturers at UWI's Jamaica campus. The fervor of Black Power spread throughout the Caribbean. A year later, Trinidad and Tobago declared a state of emergency when Black Power activists and sympathizers staged a demonstration against restrictive government labor policies. Collectively, these uprisings were fueled by discontent with the government's role in supporting racial discrimination (especially in employment) and represented a rejection of European cultural hegemony and exploitation by foreign capital.

The response to Black Power in the Caribbean was not limited geographically to the island nations. The work of Black Power activists in the United States amplified Rodney's influence. For example, in October 1968, the Jamaican government banned books written by Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, and Elijah Muhammad. A delegation of Jamaican writers and other West Indians in Britain marched to the Jamaican consulate on Brutan Street in protest. Andrew Salkey, a novelist based in London, remarked "All these authors are trying to do is to carry on the good work of Marcus Garvey who is now a Jamaican hero—officially."[253] Salkey, along with journalist Earl Greenwood, delivered a petition to the Jamaican high commissioner. The petition was signed by representatives from seven organizations, including the West Indian Standing Conference, the Caribbean Artist Movement, the Campaign Against Racial Discrimination, and the Movement for Colonial Freedom.[254] The ban on texts written by radical thinkers was one event among many that stoked the fires of Caribbean radicalism during this time.

[253] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Jamaicans in Britain," October 4, 1968.
[254] Ibid.

Several days after the protest in Britain, Robert Hill, then a postgraduate at the University of the West Indies, issued a call at the Black Writers Conference in Montreal, Canada to "solve their differences and join in a united [B]lack revolutionary movement."[255] He called on all "black brothers" to "recreate the international movement for black humanity." Hill also lambasted the United States: "President Johnson and the pigs of the US society are stupid fools if they think they can wipe out the blacks of America." Hill's comments were against the backdrop of racial riots and protests in major cities across the world.[256]

The Black Writers' conference opened the possibility for Caribbean and African American radicals to form a collective vision for Black progress. The people's power was a formidable threat to racial hegemony and government countermeasures were underway. Intelligence agencies in the United States and Britain surveilled key persons and events in the

[255] In attendance were renown Caribbean political philosopher C. L. R. James, American poet LeRoi Jones/Amiri Baraka, and Stokely Carmichael. "Black Writers' Conference urged to resolve differences," *The Daily Gleaner*, October 12, 1968.

[256] Following the assassination of Martin Luther King in April 1968, riots erupted in urban communities in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Detroit. Student protests spread across college campuses, many calling for the end of the Vietnam War and demanding that college curricula include the histories of Blacks, women, and other marginalized populations. Similar protests erupted in France during the month of May. Laborers in the air transport, railroad, and newspaper industries engaged in a month-long strike. Students at the Sorbonne College of the University of Paris demanded educational reform and greater employment opportunities. In Mexico City, the student-led protests against government violence escalated into a military intervention in October that left many students dead in the aftermath. It was also an election year in the United States. In August 1968, the Democratic National Convention took place in Chicago. Protesters filled the area outside of the convention center. Their encounters with the National Guard resulted in tear gas and physical abuse that matched the intensity of the verbal exchanges amongst politicians attending the convention. Nineteen sixty-eight was a landmark year of social movements across the globe. Radical leftists challenged capitalism and students organized against racism, war, and academic myopia. Global radical fervor demonstrated the potential for a shared global language of freedom and power. Students and laborers were part of an ascendant working class who worked collectively through action committees and ad hoc collectives. Their visions and aspirations promoted self-management and power exercised for the people and by the people. Their revolutionary tactics often took the form of occupying public spaces and contesting institutions central to everyday life. See George Katsiaficas, *The Imagination of the New Left: A Global Analysis of 1968* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), 18.

movement such as the first regional Black Power conference held in Bermuda in 1969.[257] Consistent with the COINTELPRO efforts to neutralize radical groups in the United States during the 1960s, agents from the CIA and Britain intelligence produced memos on the nature and scope of the Black Power movement across the Caribbean.[258] The memos' descriptions of Black Power in the Caribbean highlighted the breadth and variations within the movement. These reports also revealed how important it was to assess the threat of the movement in the Caribbean based on its potential growth and alliances among regional groups. According to the CIA's 1969 assessment, "available information suggests that for many people the recent meeting symbolizes a real and growing, albeit still relatively ill-defined, interest in the potential of Black Power as a political and social force in the Caribbean."[259] The "ill-defined" aspect of the movement highlights the varied cultural and ethnic differences among Caribbean countries.

These differences had great effects on articulating the tenets of Black empowerment in nations where a substantial portion of the non-Black population was of Indo-Caribbean heritage. Ethnic distinctions created challenges to articulate a global philosophy for Black empowerment. For example, in May 1970 Carmichael visited Guyana—a nation whose population was equal Indian and African descended. Addressing a mixed group of leftist organizers, Carmichael

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[257] The intelligence efforts began officially with surveillance of the Black Power Movement conference in Bermuda on July 10–13, 1969. This was the first joint activity amongst Caribbean nations to articulate a coordinated agenda on Black progress. Organized by Roosevelt Brown, a member of Bermuda's Progressive Labor Party, the conference drew radical groups from the United Kingdom, Canada, and the United States.

[258] As part of the Central Intelligence Agency, the Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) began in 1956 to investigate and disrupt communist activities in the United States. The program surveilled domestic groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Socialist Worker's Party, and the Black Panther Party. COINTELPRO designated the Black Panther Party, born out of the Black Power movement, as "Black nationalist, hate-type organization." COINTELPRO set out to expose "the pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious manueovers" in order to "have a neutralizing effect." The program ended in 1971. The official declassified memos can be found on the Federal Bureau of Investigation archive at https://vault.fbi.gov/cointel-pro/cointel-pro-black-extremists, accessed July 18, 2017.

[259] Central Intelligence Agency, "*Black Radicalism in the Caribbean*," Intelligence Memorandum, no. 1839/69, August 6, 1969, 1.

encouraged Indo-Guyanese leftists to form their own empowerment groups. Black Power, on his definition, was a Pan-African movement. Carmichael's comments generated much discord. Cheddi Jagan, leader of the largely Indo-Guyanese Marxist People's Progressive Party (PPP), the opposing party to the incumbent Forbes Burnham, head of the People's National Congress, accused Carmichael comments as "emotional, unscientific, and likely to cause confusion."[260] Carmichael's suggestions for Indo- and Black Guyanese to organize around their distinct ethnic identities revealed the varied perspectives of race and class within the movement. Inequality in North America took on a more distinct racial nature whereas in the Caribbean, with its history of ethnic diversity and migration, social class took on greater significance in political organizing and mobilization.[261]

Differences notwithstanding, a British intelligence memo published in 1970 (after the conference in Bermuda) mentioned increased coordination amongst Black Power groups. According to the memo, "Black Power movements in the Caribbean have at least doubled in number since the … Black Power Conference in Bermuda.... Regional coordination which the Bermuda conference was designed to stimulate, has increased, but the cooperation is largely confined at present to expressions of moral support and advice."[262]

The scale and scope of the Black Power movement presented a threat to the status quo. Rodney's expulsion evinced the strength and reach of creole nationalism in forging a national identity and body politic that embraced multiracialism at the expense of erasing the distinct experiences of Jamaica's "sufferers." The ideological stage for the 1972 elections was set along these lines and set the tone for JLP and PNP campaign platforms. Most importantly, these

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[260] *Black Power in the Caribbean*, June 1970. FLO 63/380, 2.
[261] Brackette F. Williams, *Stains On My Name, War In My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Struggle.* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).
[262] *Black Power in the Caribbean*, June 1970. FLO 63/380, 2.

ideologies provided the content and boundaries around which political parties set their agenda for national progress.

"Better Must Come"

I've been trying a long, long time
Still I can't make it
Everything I try to do seems to go wrong
It seems I have done something wrong
Why they're trying to keep me down

Who God bless, no one curse
Thank God I'm not the worst
Oh my people get a seat
They're trying to take advantage of me

Better must come, better must come
Better must come one day
Better must come, yeah, yeah...

In 1971, reggae artist Delroy Wilson wrote the song "Better Must Come." The song originally described his travails in the music industry.[263] The song however spoke to the myriad social and economic struggles experienced most acutely by lower-class Jamaicans. Unemployment was a major concern. By the end of the first decade of independence, unemployment doubled to 23 percent.[264] For rural dwellers, the search for greater employment opportunities was a result of unequal land distribution. The number of farms of less than five acres increased from 70 to 82 percent from 1954–1978/79; however, they only account for 16 percent of farmable land. On the other hand, farms of 25 acres and up represented less than 2

[263.] Michael Turner. *He Was Soul: A Tribute to Delroy Wilson*, vol. 14, 1995, Los Angeles: Claudia C. Smith.
[264] George L. Beckford and Michael Witter, *Small Garden, Bitter Weed: The Political Economy of Struggle and Change in Jamaica* (London: Zed Books, 1982), 74.

percent of the farms in Jamaican but accounted for 65 percent of farmable land. These larger farms accounted for more lucrative agricultural exports such as crops and livestock, whereas the smaller farms produced domestic crops.[265] With tighter emigration restrictions in Britain, many rural dwellers seeking employment flocked to Kingston. Despite economic growth, the economy could not absorb the labor force. Such was the case with the increasing population in Kingston ghettos. The population of underemployed persons continued to swell, creating greater division between the lower and upper class. According to Beckford and Witter, "The contrast between wealth and poverty was visibly displayed in the Kingston Metropolitan Area as mansions climbed up the hillsides while ghettoes spawned along Spanish Town Road."[266]

Access to housing for the urban poor was also an important issue. In an election rally, several PNP ticket candidates accused the JLP of victimizing PNP supporters through housing discrimination. At a PNP election rally, Councilor Maloney of Havendale, a middle-class community in Kingston, shared the testimony of a woman who sought housing for her family of five and was denied based on her party affiliation. The PNP, he declared, "We don't want to victimize anybody, we are here to help all Jamaicans, regardless of their political affiliation. They [JLP] are using their houses for victimization purposes, but we are going to build houses too and everybody will be allowed to live in them. We are not going to share them only among comrades, but all Jamaicans." He left the platform to shouts of "Power, Power, Power for the people!" Another speaker described the JLP as "people who were soon to face the wrath of the

[265] Derrick Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups: The Case of Jamaica, 1973–1985," in *Adjustment with a Human Face* 2, ed. Giovanni Cornea, Richard Jolly, and Frances Stewart (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).
[266] Ibid.

Almighty." Michael Manley was the "prime messenger who shall redeem his people and return them to God."[267]

The despair and frustration expressed in Wilson's song aligned with Manley's election platform—one that spoke directly to Jamaicans disaffected by the incumbent JLP and the state of Jamaica's economic affairs. The song was played at rallies and chanted at public meetings, and the title appeared in election ads. The use of Wilson's "Better Must Come" along with other songs and slogans in Manley's campaign spoke to the importance of music, and the urban culture with which it was closely associated, to mobilize voters and spread the party's message.[268]
In her study of elections in Jamaica since independence until 1980, Anita Waters documents how politicians used religious symbols associated with Rastafari in their campaigns. She explores why particular symbols were chosen and their usage changed with each election cycle. Waters

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[267] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Accuses JLP Gov't of Using Victimization to win PNP Votes," February 18, 1972, 20.

[268] One example of this is the use of hymns and songs during mass meetings and public rallies. The pages of *The Daily Gleaner* were filled with advertisements for rallies at which candidates would connect directly with constituents. The tone of the rallies took on an almost religious fervor. The PNP, for example, circulated a bound copy of "Songs and Hymns of the People's National Party and the National Workers Union." During the rallies, supporters would sing selections from the book. The songs were based largely on Christian spirituals. Some were reconfigurations of popular songs from all over the world. For example, the lyrics of the hymn, "Toilers," sung to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers," read:

> Onward, Friends of Freedom
> Onward for the strife
> Each for all we struggle,
> One in death and life.

Another song, "PNP Is Calling," sung to the tune of "Hark the Herald Angels Sing," was a call for new supporters to join the party:

> Hark I hear a voice that's calling
> Come and join the PNP
> Sons and Daughters of Jamaica
> Join the best of policy
> Hark Jamaicans one and all
> Come and answer to the call
> Now to fight for better life
> Join and conquer social strife
> Hark Jamaicans young and old
> Join the fight with heart and soul.

argues that the ways in which symbols were used in party propaganda reflected how politicians viewed social groups and their interests. In her view, the use of Rastafari symbols in elections served two important functions. First, Rastafari's deep connections to the lower class, which was the majority socioeconomic group in Jamaica, made each party's platform attractive to a wider base of supporters. Secondly, Rastafari ideology offered critiques of British imperialism and praised Jamaican independence.[269] These features enhanced the appeal of Rastafari and its radical ideologies within formal politics in a cultural environment already suffused with Black Power ideology. Citing Jamaican cultural historian Rex Nettleford, Waters states, "He [Nettleford] predicted that the Rastafarians' philosophy would 'inform the thinking and even the public policy of the nineteen seventies.'"[270] And indeed this was the case. The 1972 elections marked the first election in which Rastafari symbols and language were used by a political party for a national campaign.[271]

Waters's study sheds important light on how politicians appropriated counterhegemonic symbols during the 1972 elections. She focused her discussion exclusively on Rastafari and its impact on politics and culture following Independence. However, there is something to be said about the extent to which these symbols were taken up in a political culture deeply characterized by Christianity. The prevalence of Rastafari music and symbols during the election was an interesting turn given the conservative nature of Jamaican politics. In fact, prior to 1972, Rastafari ideology was considered analogous to communism. A 1960 report by social science researchers at the University of the West Indies stated that in more militant Rastafari enclaves,

[269] Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 10.
[270] Ibid., 7.
[271] Ibid., 11.

"Marxist interpretation and terminology predominated over the racial-religious."[272] Likewise, some Rastafari expressed preference for a one-party state and that "the Communist system is far preferable to the present capitalist system of the [W]hite and [B]rown Babylonians."[273] Even with these shared ideas about the state, there was no evidence that Rastafari were manipulated by groups holding communist beliefs.

In addition to Rastafari, Black Power symbols and ideology continued to permeate public discourse. For example, in a pro-JLP full-page ad, titled "Election News" with the JLP bells on either side, a man was photographed, facing the camera, holding a clenched fist, furrowed brows, mouth agape, yelling "Power." In it the JLP warns readers: "Beware of Power! Beware of the Fist!" followed by the same slogan used in prior ads, "Who Trusts the PNP? Not You! Not Me!"[274] In an editorial, O.C. Stewart from Lionel Town wrote, "It is also disgusting to hear the slogan 'Power for the people.' Romans Chap 13 verses 1–2 tell us clearly about power. This is an indication to show the country that the PNP under the present leadership is not fit to leader. The annoying thing Mr. Editor, is that up to now the Church has remained silent on this poster.[275] In another editorial from the same day, T. Johnson from Falmouth questioned the meaning of the word "power" in the PNP slogan: "How do you define your slogans "Power for the People"? What is "power"? Who is "people"? In what ways would "power for the people" be different from the present power we now have today in being able to vote, to speak freely, worship freely,

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[272], Michael G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford. "Report on the Rastafari Movement in Kingston, Jamaica." Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1960, quoted in Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 6. Mortimer Plano, a Rasta, petitioned the principal of the University College of the West Indies, Dr. Arthur Lewis. Three social scientists, Smith, Augier, and Nettleford conducted research over two weeks and published the aforementioned study. According to Edmonds, the report "made clear ... Rastas in general promoted peace and communality." Edmonds, *Rastafari,* 21–22.

[273] Smith, Augier, Nettleford, "Report on the Rastafari Movement," 21, quoted in Waters, Race, Class, and Political Symbols, 4.

[274] *The Daily Gleaner*, February 26, 1972, 30.

[275] Ibid., "The Bell Shall Ring," February 28, 1972, 20.

to do business, etc".[276] Johnson inquired about the popular clenched fist, a gesture commonly associated with the Black Power movement. "What is symbolized by the clenched fist? Do you think the clenched fist symbol might be misconstrued by members of our society who are poor, uneducated and dissatisfied as a symbol that he can exercise individual personal power over what or whom he might believe to be the cause of his dissatisfaction?"[277]

James Samms of St. Ann, who referred to himself as a "Modern John the Baptist—The Warner Man," addressed the danger of political slogans in swaying public opinion favoring the PNP. He reminded Jamaicans, "… we have been hearing such slogans like "Hail the man," "Power: Power for the people," "Better must come" and "Beat them with the rod of correction"... Let us look back on the elections after independence: Do you remember that these same things were happening?... Do not the slogans of 1962 mean the same thing as the slogans of 1972?"[278] The similarities between these two elections, in which Michael Manley's father Normal Manley campaigned under similar slogans, prompts Samms to caution readers: "Let us therefore think as wisely as we had done then and let us continue to maintain our Christian thinking in those directions." To further demonstrate his point, Samms pointed to Manley's rod, supposedly presented to him by Emperor Haile Selassie, as an indication of the un-Christian elements of the PNP and its campaign. Samms echoed public opinion that accepting the rod from Selassie proved that "the leader of the PNP [has] taken side [sic] with the dissident group which HAILS Selassie as God...." He warned, "can a Christian people accept the interpretation?... must we accept that Selassie is God and must we accept that as God he has commanded the Leader of the PNP to do as he, the Leader of the PNP, has been telling us?" The conclusion here, though stated indirectly, was that Christianity and Manley stood in contradiction. Samms closed his statements

[276] Ibid.,, "What Power?" February 28, 1972, 21.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Ibid., "Slogans and One's Political Thinking," February 23, 1972, 17.

with nostalgia—"We salute you Rt. Hon. Sir Alexander Bustamante and as there is a modern Joshua, so there must be a modern John the Baptist!!"

The Henry Pamphlet Lie

Others held different views on the religious significance of Manley's rod and his role in Jamaica's progress. On November 10, 1971, four months before the national elections, a pamphlet written by the "Sons of God (Peacemakers)"—a religious group that melded Rastafari doctrines, separatism, and Black ascendance through a theology of liberation—circulated throughout Kingston. A photograph of Reverend Claudius Henry, also known as the "Repairer of the Breach," Emperor Haile Selassie, and Michael Manley were depicted holding phallic objects: Henry, a rod, Selassie, a "righteous" scepter, and Manley, a staff. Their symbolic names were written under each image: Moses, The King, and Joshua, respectively. In the pamphlet, the "Sons of God" enthusiastically endorsed Michael Manley's candidacy for prime minister. "Why AS SONS OF GOD, we have accepted, and are supporting the People's National Party?" God, the writers argued, gave Manley, the "leader Joshua," a "new heart of righteousness," and "visions of Jamaica's last condition." Under Manley's leadership, peace would be restored in Jamaica. The country would become a New Jerusalem, a Holy City. The promise of peace would come to pass if Jamaicans wrote their names in "Michael's Book: Meaning VOTE for him, AS GOD'S APPOINTED LEADER [sic]." Here, faith and prophecy were in the hands of voters. New life was within reach via the ballot box. In January 1972, the Peacemakers circulated another pamphlet depicting Manley, Selassie, and Henry under the title, "The Trinity of the Godhead." The pamphlet declared, "Now the time for change has come. This change will be brought about

by Moses, Joshua, and the King of Kings and Lord of Lords.... This will be the greatest Religious Event to take place on earth since the beginning of the creation of God."[279]

Claudius Henry's pamphlet added fuel to the election fire that consumed the pages of the *Gleaner*. The JLP used the leaflet in a campaign advertisement, "The Trinity of the God Head," in which they accused the PNP of religious blasphemy. The ad proclaimed, "Jamaicans were taught that the Trinity is God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost." The JLP sought to raise questions about the PNP's loyalty to Christianity and therefore the Jamaican people. "Is the pamphlet saying that the event is greater than the birth of Christ? Greater than the Resurrection of Christ? Greater than the Ascension of Christ? The Church and the People will want to know if this is the promised change that is coming with the P.N.P." The ad declared that the JLP believed in God in contrast to the PNP who believed in Michael's rod.

The JLP came under fire from the PNP. Editorials lambasted the JLP for insinuating that the PNP were anti-God, heretics. The PNP referred to the ad as the "Bogus Pamphlet Lie," that Jamaicans would not believe the "deceitful political trickery of desperate politicians." The PNP denied any knowledge of the printing and mailing of the pamphlets. They accused the JLP of using lies to bolster their political campaigns.

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[279] *Courier Press*, "Surely Thy Rod and Thy Staff Shall Comfort Israel" Sons of God (Peacemakers), November 10, 1971. Thanks to Professor Deborah Thomas for access to this document. Thomas's forthcoming manuscript *Political Life in the Wake of the Plantation: Sovereignty, Witnessing, Repair* (Duke University Press, forthcoming) locates Henry and the International Peacemakers within a larger discourse on the affective dimensions of development and political life in Jamaica. Thomas describes Claudius Henry's vision for progress as rooted in the affective experience of expectancy and hope. This expectancy "[undergirds] rational planning and prophetic realization" towards a sure future. For Thomas's earlier discussion on Henry and the IPA, see Deborah A. Thomas, "What Development Feels Like: Politics, Prophecy, and the International Peacemakers in Jamaica," in *Contradictory Existence: Neoliberalism and Democracy in the Caribbean*, ed. Dave Ramsaran (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2016).

In an interesting turn, representatives from the Jamaica Council of Churches (JCC)—an ecumenical organization consisting of Catholic, mainline Protestant, and Jewish clergy—also denounced the JLP's actions. In a half-page ad, the JCC stated their demands for a fair campaign.

> There has been too much violence in the present election campaign. Both Mr. Shearer and Mr. Manley met representatives of the Jamaica Council of Churches and pledged to avoid violence in the elections. From newspaper accounts, no one Party seems to be more or less at fault than the other in this regard. Any candidate or Leader who declares that is only the other party which is at fault is in fact inciting his own followers to violence. Once again we appeal to all Candidates to discuss issues and not personalities. Signed. Jamaica Council of Churches.[280]

Typically during election cycles partisan violence erupted in various constituencies. This election, by the standards of *The Gleaner*, was more peaceful.[281] However, there were reports of violence at rallies and intermittent clashes in which several persons were injured or killed.[282] Both parties did little to condemn election violence. Instead, they continued to shift blame and feed antiparty sentiments.

The JCC inserted their religious authority in the election on the side of the PNP by condemning the JLP's use of Henry's pamphlet. The JCC denounced the JLP "dragging the name of God into the election fight for Party advantage" but tried to strike neutral ground by stating that members and leaders of both parties were faithful to God.[283] Despite their attempt at neutrality, the JCC leaned favorably towards the PNP.

The JCC's statement on the JLP's politicization of the Henry pamphlet demonstrate the conservative nature of Jamaican politics during a time when radical ideologies proliferated

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[280] *The Daily Gleaner*, February 25, 1972, 23. At this point, Hugh Shearer, the head of the JLP and prime minister was the candidate. The JLP changed its party strategy and Shearer was replaced by Edward Seaga.
[281] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Manley Hopes to Heal Some of the Bitter Divisions," March 1, 1972, 1.
[282] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Vote for JLP is a Vote for Democracy," February 16, 1972, 9.
[283] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Statement By The Churches on the 'Henry Pamphlet,'" February 26, 1972, 23.

across the Caribbean. The PNP's strategic use of Black Power tenets on cultural pride and economic autonomy created a political platform that challenged the procapitalist, creole nationalist stance of the JLP government. This approach was effective until this radicalism went too far left—such was the case with Claudius Henry. In many ways, equating Selassie, Manley, and Henry as theological and political equals further stretched Jamaicans' conservative religio-cultural boundaries. Such conservatism was grounded in a Protestant framework that could accommodate the political and cultural aspects of Black Power. However, Claudius Henry challenged the Protestant theological core, which from the nineteenth century, shaped national discourses around progress and social change.

"The Repairer of the Breach"

Who was Claudius Henry and why did his pamphlet spark such outrage? Claudius Henry represented a radical voice in Jamaican politics. He gained notoriety as the visionary leader of the International Peacemakers Association (IPA). Blending Christian and Rastafari principles, Henry's IPA was a self-sustained community that relied on the prophetic voice of its leader to work actively for Black progress and uplift. His strategies made room for violence and armed struggle which drew the government's suspicion and ire.

Interest in Claudius Henry dovetailed with nascent research on Rastafari. The 1960 study shed light on the religion and temporarily halted government antagonism.[284] Leading up to the study, Rastafari leaders were consistently scrutinized by law enforcement and young men thought to be associated with Rastafari were routinely harassed and surveilled. Rasta communes

[284] In 1963, on Easter weekend, state violence reignited against Rastafari in Coral Gardens. See the documentary, Deborah A. Thomas and John L. Jackson, Jr., *Bad Friday: Rastafari after Coral Gardens*, videodisc (New York: distributed by Third World Newsreel, 2011).

were raided and residents and leaders were imprisoned on suspicion of secret operations to overthrow the Jamaican state. In 1941, for example, police raided Pinnacle, a Rasta commune in St. Catherine, led by one of the early Rasta founders, Leonard Howell. Howell was arrested and imprisoned for two years. Henry and the IPA raised similar suspicions.

Henry's acolytes were predominantly from Kingston's urban community and nearby rural areas. Kingston's population in the mid-twentieth century continued to polarize around class status—with the richest living in the outer suburbs and the itinerant and underemployed living in the western and southern towns. The rural areas were the poorest with the least amount of infrastructure and industry besides agriculture. The Plain of Vere in Clarendon parish was temporary home to many migrant sugar workers. Henry focused his efforts on this population and, by 1968, the majority of his followers hailed from these two areas. There were approximately four thousand followers from this area. Chevannes, who interviewed approximately twenty-nine members, characterized Henry's followers as those who "left home from childhood whether with parents or with relatives and non-relatives to whom they have been given, and a few ran away [from home]."[285] Almost half of the members were unable to read. Of all those interviewed, four were skilled workers; two of which had some formal training. Henry's miracles provided strong evidence for a people beset by financial and social precarity. For example, on one occasion, heavy rain showers threatened to end a service in which Henry preached. As the rain fell, Henry prayed "Father you have given me a job to do, you cannot rain now to wet up these people who came to hear the word."[286] Reportedly, the rain ceased immediately. Henry was born April 28, 1903, in the parish of Manchester. Thrice he received visions wherein God instructed him to create a new religious path. In 1929, Henry received his

[285] Barry Chevannes, "The Repairer of the Breach: Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," in *World Anthropology: Ethnicity in the Americas* (Stuttgart, DEU: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), 268.
[286] Ibid.

first vision to read Jeremiah 1:5, "Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest [sic] forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations."[287] Seeking clarity on this vision, Henry consulted a minister at the parish church. However, he was sternly chastised for attempting to assert his religious authority. The record remains unclear on how Henry acted upon this vision. However, weeks later, he was arrested and imprisoned for lunacy. Henry's imprisonment confirmed that the "Church had colluded with the authorities as one arm of the same body."[288]

During his imprisonment, Henry received a second vision: "There he saw God the Father in the form of an eagle, the Son in the form of a brown man, and the Holy Ghost in the form of a black man." In the vision, he was instructed to read Isaiah 58:12: "…thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."[289] The last vision inspired his moniker, "The Repairer of The Breach," signified by the initials R.B. after his surname.

During World War I, Henry and his family migrated to the United States and remained there for thirteen years. During this time, he received the third and final vision to read the scripture Isaiah 45 to prepare him for his return to Jamaica. This final vision, in addition to his earlier revelations, was the catalyst for Henry's founding of a sect that espoused Rastafari principles.[290] He later lost favor with Rastafari, however, after he encouraged his followers to cease growing locs and a failed repatriation effort, discussed later in the chapter.

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[287] *KJV*.
[288] Chevannes, "Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," 265. The parish church was Anglican and followed the teachings of the Church of England. Until its dissolution in the 1870s, the Church of England in Jamaica was the established church of the island. The Anglican Church, due its abundance in funding and influence, represented "high church" in contrast to the nonconformist churches such as the Baptists, Presbyterians, and Methodists.
[289] *KJV*.
[290] Chevannes, "Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," 265.

Upon his return to Jamaica, Henry established his authority as a prophet and God's chosen on the basis of two photographs he claimed were of the Virgin Mary and Jesus. He acquired these photos during an unconfirmed trip to Africa. In 1958 he was invited to speak at a local chapter meeting of the Ethiopian World Federation, a global organization established by Haile Selassie.. Here, Henry met Edna Fisher, a fish vendor and key member of the Ethiopian World Federation, who later played a central role in establishing Henry's religious following. Fisher owned the land on which Henry built his church. In a few months, the membership grew from thirty-five to almost two hundred.[291] The early success of Henry's movement demonstrates the appeal of nonmainstream religious ideology during a time where political radicalism was on the rise. It had a direct impact on Henry's socioreligious program and his rise to become an influential figure.

Miracles played an important part in the conversion experience. For some followers, Henry's miracles were the initial act that inspired them to convert. Some spoke of dreams that presaged Henry's rise as a religious authority. Chevannes recounts Sister M.'s testimony, rich in symbolism and a strong example of how Henry's mission resonated spiritually and culturally.

> She found herself in a yard. A churchful of people were there, but she was on the outside. Suddenly out of the northeast came a bright star; it grew bigger and brighter the nearer it came. "Come," she shouted to the people in the church, "unu come look 'pon a bright star! It comin'!" But they took no notice. From the same direction she heard a voice say, "Is not a star, is the planet Neptune!" "Come and see the planet Neptune," she shouted to the church people but they still took no notice. Finally, the planet landed on the earth and turned into a man. His head was like a ball of light, but she could still make out what he looked like. In his hands was a flag of red, gold, and green, with a big star in the centre. Behind him, pushing him, were seven smaller stars. He said nothing but looked first to west, then to the south, then to east whether he flew away, landing in St. Thomas. Then she awoke.[292]

[291] Ibid., 266.
[292] Ibid., 269.

Two years later, Sister M. encountered Henry preaching in a marketplace about repatriation and righteousness. He handed out blue cards that read, "From the Ancient and Mythical Realm of Neptune Rex, Court of the Dawn, 'The Rod and the Star' 'Ensign' 'The Red, Gold and Green'" and the sun in the center. The blue card confirmed Sister M.'s vision.[293] Henry's charismatic flair drew converts into a religious system that resonated with the material and spiritual needs of the urban poor and itinerant laborers.

Between 1959 and 1960, Henry engaged in rigorous proselytizing through pamphleteering. Like the blue card acquired by Sister M., his pamphlets contained mystical claims and promoted ideas central to Rastafari ideology. A July 1959 pamphlet declared the urgency of repatriation to Africa and self-rule:

> Dear Readers, should we at this time sacrifice such a righteous Government for Jamaican [sic] Self-Government, or any other Self-Government, in the world?... shall we sacrifice the continent of Africa for the island of Jamaica? Shall we refuse God's offer for repatriation back home to Africa and a life of everlasting peace and freedom, with Him under our own vine and fig tree, and go back into slavery, under these wicked, unrighteous and oppressive rulers of Jamaica? God forbid.

Like his early days with the Church of England, Henry's views and methods drew disfavor from Jamaican authorities. The most notable of which was the failed 1959 Decision Day gathering in which Henry promised a miraculous return to Africa, Henry's public denouncement of Protestant clergy, and his vocal stance against the Jamaican government. Similar to Rastafari communities, Henry's influence on the marginalized and poorer communities generated unease amongst government authorities. On April 6, 1960, the police raided Henry's compound. He, along with approximately fifteen followers, was arrested and tried on account of "plotting to incite insurrection against the Government of their island in order to intimidate and overawe the

[293] Ibid.

Governor, Legislative Council and House of Representatives."[294] The details of the trial reveal the extent of Henry's vision to establish a self-sufficient community that would lead the way in repatriating Jamaicans to Africa without the assistance of the government.

In one testimony, Clarence Allen, the manager of the Metro Press print shop located at 33 Charles Street, reproduced between five thousand and fifteen thousand of Henry's flyers and pamphlets. One print job entailed certificates of membership that read, "A certificate of membership 'The Lepers Government'" and referred to Henry as the "Founder and pastor of the African Reform Church of God in Christ, the First Fruit House of Prayer, Pioneering Israel's scattered children of African origin back home to Africa this year, 1959."[295] Known as Decision Day, October 5th was designated as the day on which Jamaicans would begin their journey towards Africa. These certificates were required in lieu of a passport for the "miraculous repatriation back home to Africa" for which "no passport will be necessary for those returning home to Africa." Information for the repatriation would be presented at an Emancipation Day celebration held at the East Race Course on August 1, 1959. In an invitation to the public "'Standing in the Gap' with Unquestionable Truth—Pioneering Israel Back Home to Africa," printed in May 1959, several months prior to Decision Day, the document stated that attendees would obtain "the declaration of the establishment of God's righteous government of everlasting peace on earth which is Creation's second birth and the presentation of a group of well-known Jamaicans who had volunteered at the sacrifice of their lives to build and establish God's righteous government." Approximately five hundred people gathered at the Henry's

[294] Henry maintained a somewhat paradoxical relationship to the PNP. His imprisonment took place during the time Norman Manley (PNP) was prime minister of the country. *The Daily Gleaner*, October 11, 1960.

[295] "The Leper's Government" was a metaphor for the underprivileged class and not a literal government. See Chevannes, "Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," 274. For further details of the case, see *The Daily Gleaner*, "Treason Felony Trial," October 11, 1960. All quotes and details about the trial going forward (unless otherwise noted) are from this source.

headquarters.[296] Henry issued another call for supporters on July 14, 1959 that encouraged all who were "sincere and would love to have a Righteous Government established in the earth to write to 78 Rosalie Avenue 'now.'"

Another flyer issued for reproduction on July 27, 1959 reiterated a call for repatriation. "They have nothing to offer us! All their sweet promises and what they hope to obtain out of self-Government under British Colonial rule can only lead us into destruction and captivity because their leaders are all "Blind" leaders of the "blind." And they all fall into the ditch of God's judgment, captivity, war and slavery." The commissioner of police thwarted the Decision Day march by refusing to grant a permit. Approximately fifteen thousand Jamaicans showed up to board ships that never arrived.

In January 1960, Henry ordered another pamphlet printed in which he denounced the Catholic and Protestant churches. According to Henry, "… these two great elements of false religion—have banded themselves together to defeat the purpose of Jehovah God and the establishment of his Righteous Government of Everlasting peace on earth." He continued, "From the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Gibson in Jamaica; from Pope John the Catholic's god to John J. McEleney Bishop of Jamaica," they were all "enemies of God" and "wolves in sheep [sic] clothing." Henry declared, "We are tired of this 'lying tradition' which cause us to err" and advised "these religious gangsters study another new and 'lying' doctrine to preach after our Emancipation Jubilee celebration on August 1, 1959." Henry also called out other religious leaders as "traitors to Israel and the Gospel of God's Righteous Government of Everlasting Peace on Earth."

Allen testified that there was one circular he refused to reproduce. In this document, ordered on January 28, 1960, Henry made incendiary remarks that Allen believed were "very

[296] Chevannes, "Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," 275.

rash" and Allen feared being accused of libel. In the document, Henry made a statement regarding two key government institutions and their treatment of his organization: "The blood-stain government of Jamaica with the Police Department and the Gleaner Company threatening to put me away to hold my peace [...] because her managers are all haters of God and the Black Race." He accused the police commissioner and *The Daily Gleaner* of "not realizing that I am God's Approved Prophet and his Anointed One, sent by him to free Africa and to pioneer Israel back home." Henry stated *The Daily Gleaner* "refused to publish a word of 'truth' for my organization, although I agree to pay whatever they charge me...." Henry's accusation was accompanied by an implicit threat, "But they have a hard and bitter battle to fight this time because I am God's battle 'ax' and his weapon of 'war.'" The notice went on to quote a biblical passage from James 5:16: "Ye have condemned and killed the just and He doth not resist you." Henry's call for repatriation and his references to "weapons of war" bolstered by scripture were used by the authorities as proof of Henry's intent to overthrow the government.

The testimony of Rupert Brammer, a photographer, added more evidence to substantiate the government's claim of treason and conspiracy. Henry invited Brammer to 78 Rosalie Avenue, the church's headquarters, several times to take photographs. One occasion, Brammer was invited to take photographs during an outing with Henry and his followers to Rocky Point in St. Thomas. Brammer along with Henry and his followers loaded into three vehicles. On their arrival to Rocky Point, Henry led a thirty-minute service that included singing and people brandishing swords. In one photo "the people held swords over their heads, Henry was standing under the tree with flowing black robes holding a sword in his hand."[297] Brammer was keen to mention that this was the first time he witnessed the group holding swords while singing.

[297] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Treason Felony Trial," October 11, 1960, 5.

Brammer was also commissioned to photograph a convention on October 5, 1959 (the day Henry declared as the day of repatriation). However the latter photos were not entered into evidence.

The final witness was police corporal John Humphries. On April 6, 1960, Humphries made an unwelcomed visit to the Peacemakers' compound along with two other police superintendents. While there, Humphries and his colleagues mapped the buildings on the compound and their uses. Humphries's testimony revealed the self-sufficient nature of the community. He identified a bakery, a shoemaker and shop, an armory, a fish depot, and living quarters. This plan was used as a basis for subsequent raids on the compound. After all the evidence and testimonies were submitted, Henry was sentenced to ten years of hard labor. His followers were given lesser sentences.

Rebuilding the Kingdom

Henry served seven out of ten years of his sentence. After his release in 1967, Henry returned to a smaller, but thriving, congregation. During his imprisonment, some members returned to their homes in Vere Plains. Others who had no prior homes to return to, remained. They set up thatched huts on land owned by a member and conducted Sabbath services, which steadily drew new converts.

After his imprisonment, Henry's religious principles transformed. He engaged in direct support of local politics, his views on repatriation shifted, and required that members no longer smoke marijuana and they were instructed to shave their locs and beards. Henry desired to remove any degree of suspicion and police harassment.[298] Henry's organization changed from the African Reform Church to that of the International Peacemakers Association (IPA). One can

[298] Chevannes, "Reverend Claudius Henry and Jamaican Society," 281.

assume that his confrontation with state surveillance, being tried in a court of law, and his imprisonment shifted his strategy for interfacing with Jamaican authorities.

However, these changes brought much scandal to the group. Orthodox Rastafari were outraged by Henry's Decision Day movement and chided his followers: "No clean-faced man shall lead us."[299] The failure of Decision Day and presumably imprisonment shifted Henry's energies from repatriation to advocating for black empowerment in Jamaica. Henry's earlier emphasis on leaving Jamaica to build an African utopia morphed into direct efforts to challenge and transform Jamaica's political and social landscape. Haile Selassie visited the island in 1966, a year before Henry was released. For Henry, this was proof that Jamaica was Africa. According to Henry, "the Kingdom was to be built starting right here in Jamaica and then extend throughout the entire world."[300]

Henry's first effort to rebuild this Kingdom was improving the commune in which his members lived. He acquired a hand-operated block-making machine and designated three men to oversee building new homes for members. The huts were replaced with six two-room homes. They built a church capable of seating three hundred members. The church was adorned with pictures of a Black Christ, Henry, and Haile Selassie. It was outfitted with nyabingh drums, an organ, and benches. Henry ordered the bakery rebuilt and added a water supply tank to the compound. The bakery was a profitable enterprise and gained a strong reputation throughout the island. Profits went towards sustaining the community.[301]

The International Peacemaker's Association continued to grow and thrive. Henry's influence steadily rose with the publication of two pamphlets in 1969, both stamped with a seal that read "God's Righteous Government of Everlasting Peace, With a New Covenant." The

[299] Ibid., 270.
[300] Ibid., 281.
[301] Ibid.

pamphlets outlined the organization's stance on violence and its political views. One such pamphlet was titled "Violence in Jamaica."[302] In the opening lines, Henry states, "The Public should know, that our Black Power for Peace movement, is not Subversive. It has nothing to do with segregation and discrimination, neither are we practicing racial hate because of the color of our skin." From the onset, Henry clarified that the ultimate goal of the organization was to serve the interests of Black Jamaicans in a way that neither sought to subvert the status quo nor engage in discriminatory practices. Racial segregation, in his view, was not the same as securing material resources towards self-sufficiency. Their mission was racial uplift through a message of peaceful existence and exercising their God given powers of self-rule. For Henry, the movement "stands for Justice to all mankind, freedom of service, freedom of movement and freedom to worship God." Henry's declaration about progress and racial uplift echoed nineteenth-century ideals on the importance of morality and that of national development. Henry's iteration of Black Power called for "International security ... the preservation of the Youths [sic] and their morality ... Black Power for Peace means the Black-man's Integrity." This integrity, for Henry, was ancient, and "God has given us Power to rule the World ... in uprightness." The charge of Black Power, then, was to build "God's Kingdom, a righteous government of Love and of everlasting Peace, for all the Humble poor and the meek of the people to enjoy, whether you be Black, White, Yellow, Pink, or Brown...." Black Power for Peace therefore could not espouse violence, as it contradicted the movement's charge to "eliminate crimes and their spreading wave of violence in the earth ... it will stop wars and fightings [sic] in the earth."[303]

Henry's position on violence in the Black Power for Peace movement was a strategic move to minimize the stigma and suspicion that often surrounded his enterprise. He sought to

[302] Thanks to Deborah Thomas for sharing this valuable resource. Rev. C. V. Henry R.B., "Violence in Jamaica", April 28, 1969
[303] Ibid.

position himself as a willing partner with the government to bring about social change for Black Jamaicans. Henry's frequent encounters with the state—from his days as a young minister, to his Decision-Day fiasco, and finally his imprisonment for treason—prompted a more conciliatory tone. "The Public should know that I have no vindictiveness or hatred in my heart for anyone. No! Not even the P.N.P. [sic] which sent me to prison for ten years for my works of Love and Righteousness. Neither am I cherishing any evil for the Jamaica Labour Government; although the Leaders thereof are trying daily to retard my work of Love and the Building of God's Kingdom for the freedom of suffering humanity."[304]

Henry's commitment to Black Power and his desire to fulfill a divine mandate was greater than the offense he experienced from imprisonment. In fact, his encounter with the state convinced him that the job of peace building "cannot possible [sic] be done by the Police, the Army or the gallows." According to Henry, the work of law enforcement was closely linked to the imperatives of the incumbent government, the JLP. "There must be a conversion of Government," Henry argued "to stop this wave of crimes and violence, and to free the people, sleeping at nights in their homes, and walking on the streets. This also must be done now!"[305]

With the national election approaching, Henry went on to endorse then candidate for the People's National Party, Michael Manley—son of Norman Manley, the former prime minister. In September 1969, Henry issued another pamphlet titled, "Michael Manley Is Our Political Leader."[306] Pictured on the front, were the "Sons of God (Peacemakers)"—Henry, at the center, surrounded by eleven men, all dressed in suits, standing upright. This was a marked contrast to the IPA's group photograph submitted as evidence during Henry's trial where the group was

[304] Ibid.
[305] Ibid.
[306] Sons of God (Black Power for Peace), Rev. C.V. Henry R.B., "Michael Manley is Our Political Leader," September 25, 1969.

pictured wearing black robes and brandished swords. This pamphlet presented the most comprehensive explanation of the IPA's political theology and its prophecies. It declared the members' agency as citizens to elect a leader, empowered by their status as Sons of God. The pamphlet opens with the declaration, "The Public should know, that we are Sons of God, having Power, with Authority, from our Father God, to reconstruct the whole world which is destroyed and brought to destruction, by covetous men of conquest."[307] The Sons of God, with the divine authority could translate their power into real politics. "We have the power to select, and appoint suitable men to administrate God's righteous Kingdom which we are now building for the liberation of the world."[308]

Henry affirmed that his power as a religious leader surpassed that of any earthly politician. The politics of the temporal world were subject to the Kingdom of God. He drew his authority from a divine mandate, for which he suffered imprisonment. Henry declared:

> The Jamaica Government and people are greatly concerned about the work I am doing ... this Building of God's Kingdom, started in the Prime Minister's Constituency in Clarendon over which he was elected and appointed by a few people.... The Prime Minister making his big boast about his Government; Its in my Kingdom! For which I have suffered ten years of humiliating imprisonment ... and no man great or small, rich or poor, will take this Kingdom away from me; because it is given to me by my Father Jehovah God the Creator of all earth, and not by a few people.[309]

Henry, divinely appointed as leader of the Sons of God, and his believers possessed the authority to directly influence temporal politics. This belief enabled Henry to make direct connections between political history and biblical history. Prophecy played a significant role in Henry's conception of Jamaica's history, its present, and its future. In his view, Norman Manley, like David in the New Testament, "should have brought complete deliverance to Israel, God's people

[307] Ibid.
[308] Ibid.
[309] "Violence in Jamaica," 1969.

here in Jamaica." However the task was incomplete. Norman's son, Michael, like Solomon, would "finish this work, building God's temple in Jerusalem." The younger Manley was also fondly referred to as "Joshua" in public discourse. Contemporary parallels to biblical precedent were enough to convince Henry that Manley would become Jamaica's new prime minister. Henry declared, "As Sons of God, making peace in all the art, be it therefore understood by all people in Jamaica, and those abroad, that we have with one accord chosen Mr. Michael (Joshua) Manley to be our Political Leader. A man having visions Jamaica's lost condition and will be able to solve all her political problems, Mr. Michael Manley will save Jamaica from the spreading wave of crimes ad political violence, and give rest and peace to this troubled New Nation."[310] Manley's leadership was based on "unquestionable Truth, religious facts which the public should know before it is too late...."[311]

Henry grounded his conception of history and politics on biblical precedents. Time was the handmaiden to divine mandate. The coming decade, eight years after Jamaica received its independence in 1962, was for Henry a turning point in Jamaica's history. It was the "end of this Dispensation when the Kingdom of God will take full control of all the earth."[312] Henry, was a god, his Kingdom was Clarendon, and the election was the domain in which Henry would exercise his divine mandate to "rule the World in righteousness."[313] Electing Manley was his God-ordained duty.

The Rodney affair and the Henry pamphlet fiasco represented significant moments of encounter with radical politics and Christian values that framed Jamaica's political landscape. These events were deeply connected with a history of repression and surveillance in Jamaica's

[310] Ibid.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.

social and political history. The emergence of radical groups during the Black Power movement was a necessary response to the deleterious effects of creole nationalist principles on Jamaica's poor and disenfranchised. The contestation about Jamaica's future between the adherents of creole nationalism and radical groups reflect the struggle for self-determination. Religion provided an authoritative framework through which Jamaicans asserted their rights as laborers and, in the aftermath of slavery, religious ethics shaped their views on progress and racial uplift. In the case of the Morant Bay Rebellion, religion offered a language for rebels, Paul Bogle and George William Gordon, to challenge illegal land claims on the part of White plantation owners and demand fair wages. Almost four decades later, the calls for labor redress and land ownership moved towards more explicitly nationalist claims that drew heavily on biblical teachings to promote education, Christianity, and moral codes as the pillars of progress for Afro-Jamaicans. These two trends continued into the latter decades of the twentieth century and shaped how Jamaicans engaged the state to access necessary resources. The outcome of the elections often meant that constituents received benefits like priority for job placement in government work projects, funding for housing development, and favor in acquiring government financing for business development. This high level of interdependence between politicians and their constituents make elections a high stakes event. One's well-being is therefore tied to the community in which they reside and the success of their representative at the voting poll.

Ensuring this victory, however, came at a large price. Towards the end of the twentieth century, dons, or local enforcers, were key in guaranteeing party loyalty and victory at the polls. Through intimidation and coercion, and sometimes fatal violence, dons maintained powerful positions within the community. They functioned as gatekeepers to basic resources such as access to electricity and water. They also maintained law and order—operating as judge and jury

for local infractions ranging from theft to rape. They operated with impunity as a reward for their work to secure politicians' positions within the government on the local and national level. Dons created alternate spaces of governance and order that functioned as a state-within-a-state. Dons commanded loyalty and deference that elevated them to a god-like status. Their political power and deification were a threat to the state but they remained necessary for local communities to experience economic security, and safety. The Jamaican state's inability to provide a social safety net for vulnerable populations is in large part a legacy of colonialism and decades of underdevelopment. Policies aimed at securing Jamaica's place in the global market creates what I refer to as opportunity gaps, or unequal access to social services that ensure a viable standard of living. Structural adjustment programs, introduced largely during the 1980s, marked Jamaica's full inclusion as a sovereign nation into the capitalist order. The shift from a mainly socialist economy to one governed by neoliberalism widened the gap between the rich and poor.

CHAPTER 3: Singing the "Red Flag"

Socialist Ideology and Social Change, an Interregnum

In his weekly commentary on religion and politics in *The Daily Gleaner*, columnist Billy Hall opined on the lack of morality in politics under Michael Manley and the PNP.[314] "Prime Minister Michael Manley in 1972 declared to the applause of the Church, "Jamaica needs a moral and spiritual rebirth to heal the nation's ills." But after Mr. Manley has spent most of two terms in the office that special rebirth of which he spoke seems not to have taken place. What seems to have taken place in the eyes of many observers is a quite different kind of rebirth: one that is both immoral and political." Manley's call for a rebirth echoed nineteenth-century calls for social change grounded in morality and religion. According to Hall, this rebirth under Manley failed to accomplish its spiritual and moral aims—the most egregious example was the funeral services for a slain politician, Roy McGann.

On October 14, 1980, McGann, a People's National Party candidate for East Rural St. Andrews, was reportedly "killed by police bullets" in a clash between JLP and PNP supporters in Gordon Town.[315] The bullets were from guns used by Jamaica Constabulary Force officers on patrol during the rally.[316] The Manley's close relationship with Castro and increased diplomatic ties with Cuba generated anxiety and suspicion that Jamaica was on a path towards communism. Political factionalism within the government and various agencies coalesced around support or rejection of the PNP and democratic socialism.[317] The JCF was no exception. "Both the police

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[314] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Christians in Confusion," October 26, 1980, 8.
[315] Ibid., "McGann Laid to Rest," October 23, 1980, 1.
[316] McGann was one of the 168 people killed by security forces that year. See *The Daily Gleaner*, "Gunmen Kill 55 in 12 Days since McGann's death," October 29, 1980, 1.
[317] Stephens and Stephens argue that disenchantment on the part of security forces and civil servants was "primarily a turn against a politically weak government, not against democratic socialism *per se*." The

and the rank and file soldiers were very apprehensive of the PNP's Cuban connection.… The JLP took up the cause of the police and the security forces and the PNP in retaliation accused the security forces of being anti-PNP, anti-socialist and of joining up with fascist and imperialist enemies of socialism."[318]

McGann's murder took on great significance. His funeral was one of communist flair. On October 22, 1980, PNP supporters—politicians and clergy alike—honored McGann's contributions to the party with music and oratory at the St. Mary's Anglican Church in St. Andrew. One of the notable events during the funeral was the singing of the "Red Flag" a communist anthem, led by Dr. DK Duncan, the PNP General Party Secretary. In his weekly religion column, Billy Hall, considered the singing of the "Red Flag" at McGann's funeral immoral. "The immoral aspect is charged in the way the glory of socialism has been exalted over the glory of God … even the 'Red Flag' is sung in an Anglican church."[319] In a later editorial, Reverend Horace Russell expressed his disappointment that, during McGann's service, "The Bible, the word of God was given short shrift and Christian hymns took a second place to the Red Flag."[320] Reverend Ernie Gordon, known as the "Red Priest" preached the sermon.[321] There

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authors state that by the 1976 election, when all the policies and programs under democratic socialism were initiated, "security forces had remained neutral." At the point of the 1980 elections, support for government amongst security forces followed the same downward trend as the rest of society. John D. Stephens and Evelyne Huber Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica : The Political Movement and Social Transformation in Dependent Capitalism* (London: Macmillan, 1986), 314.

[318] Carl Stone, "Public Opinion and the 1980 Elections in Jamaica," *Caribbean Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1981): 1–19, 7. Also see Rupert Wilmot-Francis, "The Communist Threat to Jamaica," *The Daily Gleaner*, October 29, 1980, 6. Perhaps the antagonism between the police and government was also in part due to the palpable absence of government officials and the police commissioner at a funeral for four slain police officers in January 1976.

[319] *The Daily Gleaner*, October 29, 1980, 19. See also Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 245. An editorial also highlighted the JCC's silence over the matter noting, "Perhaps the JCC will remain mute…even after the substitution of the hammer and sickle for the crucifix at the altar." *The Daily Gleaner*, October 29, 1980, 11.

[320] *The Daily Gleaner,* October 26, 1980, 10.

were news reports that the day after McGann's death, JLP supporters took the streets in celebration. In his sermon, Gordon compared the revelry to "the drinking of champagne and the spirit of celebration in Germany the day after the Jews were exterminated … the ghost of Hitler walked the streets of Gordon Town."[322] Gordon went on to draw parallels between McGann's death and Judas's betrayal of Jesus and the same of Brutus and Julius Caesar. The "bullets that killed Mr. McGann," Gordon asserted, "were aimed at the democratic process ... the electoral process."[323] He ended his sermon by reciting "If We Must Die," a poem by Jamaican Harlem Renaissance writer, Claude McKay.[324] Reverend Gordon's theological and political views on the significance of McGann's death demonstrated the fluidity between politics and religion in Jamaica. A funeral service for a PNP candidate, held in "high church," featured a rendition of the "Red Flag" as well as a sermon that invoked fascism, and compared the deceased to Jesus and Julius Caesar. Campaign violence and McGann's death were an attack on democratic principles. In Gordon and the PNP's view, embracing socialism and the party's flirtation with communism

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[321] Reverend Ernie Douglas is an outspoken public thinker known for his communist leanings. In 2012 he retired as the rector for the Church of St. Mary the Virgin. See *The Gleaner*, "Dancehall Jesus," June 24, 2012, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/print/323614, accessed 16 November 2017.
[322] *The Daily Gleaner*, "McGann Laid to Rest," 1.
[323] Ibid.
[324] The poem was published in 1917 in an American periodical, *Seven Arts*.

> If we must die, let it not be like hogs
> Hunted and penned in an inglorious spot,
> While round us bark the mad and hungry dogs,
> Making their mock at our accursed lot.
> If we must die, O let us nobly die,
> So that our precious blood may not be shed
> In vain; then even the monsters we defy
> Shall be constrained to honor us though dead!
> O kinsmen! we must meet the common foe!
> Though far outnumbered let us show us brave,
> And for their thousand blows deal one death-blow!
> What though before us lies the open grave?
> Like men we'll face the murderous, cowardly pack,
> Pressed to the wall, dying, but fighting back!

were compatible with democratic processes. Reverend Gordon's smorgasbord of political statements to laud McGann's political contributions, and the singing of the Red Flag, fueled suspicions that communism infiltrated the most sacred of institutions, the Church.

For Hall, Christianity and Communism were at odds. It created an ideological and moral issue for Christians who voted for Manley during both elections. Hall opined that, "Because of this immoral and political rebirth instead of a moral and spiritual one, many of the Christians who gave Mr. Manley voting support in the 1972 and 1976 general elections are today unable to reconcile his earlier declaration and moral and spiritual rebirth which developments since which do not seem marked by efforts to bring about that kind of rebirth which was first applauded."[325] Hall concluded, "These Christians, and other are not thrown into a measure of confusion, for most of them are at least reluctant to go to the polls and vote for the PNP."[326] The 1980 elections in Hall's view boiled down to a choice of morality and spirituality, which he believed were at odds with socialist politics under Manley.

The scandal around McGann's death and funeral was the final blow in the ideological battle leading up to the 1980 election. The events of his death and the aftermath reflect the fraught period under democratic socialism—its policies, the ideological fervor, the violence, and the effects on the lives of ordinary Jamaicans. Centering a discussion on democratic socialism around the violent death of a prominent politician conveys a narrative of decline and chaos. Progressive policies were introduced under democratic socialism. Manley and the PNP were optimistic about charting a new course of governance and social change on the island, one that attempted to pull Jamaica from under foreign influence. However, the geopolitical climate—shaped predominantly by US interests and the Cold War—stifled the potential of democratic

[325] *The Daily Gleaner*, October 29, 1980, 19.
[326] Ibid.

socialism to create sustainable change. Politically motivated violence and factionalism within the party and security forces foreground the gains, challenges, and failures of this bold experiment in political self-determination and economic independence.

The chapter explores Jamaica's political landscape between 1972 and 1980, an interregnum in Jamaica's political history. During this time period, the PNP government led by Michael Manley made an ambitious attempt to shift the nation away from dependency on North America and increase diplomatic and economic relations with smaller independent nations in Latin America and the Caribbean. As a result of the destabilization efforts on the part of the United States and the JLP, the Jamaican public responded to this shift as a threat to the nation's long tradition of "spirituality and morality." Godliness was supplanted by policy and progress was justified by new infrastructure and greater distribution of resources.

In the context of the dissertation, this chapter functions as a break in the arc of the ethnographic narrative of the preceding and remaining chapters. It explores the religious and ethical dimensions of democratic socialism in the 1970s to better understand the government's sweeping embrace of neoliberalism and structural adjustment in the 1980s. The policies of the 1980s gave way to subsequent development initiatives that created the socioeconomic conditions that shape daily life in Tivoli Gardens.

Manley's 1972 election victory signaled that "better" was possible for marginalized and disaffected Jamaicans. As discussed in the previous chapter, Manley's campaign dovetailed with the global Black Power movement, which gave voice to the racialized experiences of the subaltern. His victory was in part due to growing disenchantment with Jamaican politics that since independence, under both the JLP and PNP, favored the business class and encouraged

foreign dependency.[327] Under what became known as the "Puerto Rican model"—a strategy of economic growth that encouraged industrialization through economic diversification and development of the manufacturing sector—Jamaica witnessed economic growth between 1952–1972. However, gains under were tempered by "tragically inadequate social results."[328]

Manley's vision for progress, what he described as a "third path" that stood between communist models of economic development and the neoliberal capitalist strategies pursued by the United States, generated anxiety for Jamaicans from the working and business class. There was widespread suspicion that this third path of democratic socialism and Cuba's influence in the island's domestic affairs signaled Communist infiltration. Public opinion largely favored close economic and cultural ties with the United States, despite the deleterious effects of this relationship for Jamaica's underclass. Suspicions of a communist takeover dominated public discourse. It has been argued that the JLP capitalized on these fears by orchestrating media campaigns in *The Gleaner* and the party also collaborated with the CIA to destabilize the government.[329]

National development was driven by a policy of "industrialization by invitation." Economic policies encouraged foreign investment in local industries thereby continuing a legacy of dependency. Dependent capitalism increased economic growth in the import, tourism, and bauxite industries, which favored the business class and Jamaica's elite. Between 1962 and 1972,

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[327] The New World Group (NWG) developed the "dependency theory" to explain Jamaica's lack of economic growth. Comprised of economists including Lloyd Best and Trevor Munroe at the University of the West Indies, NWG theorized that Jamaica's economy was still entrapped neocolonial arrangements it was forced to accept. The NWG "repeatedly advanced that Jamaica's socio-economic salvation lay in breaking the bonds of dependency on the metropolitan powers. Self-reliance, and when necessary, 'negotiated' dependence were the preferred options." N.W. Keith and N.Z. Keith, *The Social Origins of Democratic Socialism in Jamaica* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 6.
[328] Michael Manley, *Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery* (London: Third World Media Limited, 1982), 35.
[329] These types of covert interventions were typical of the United States during this time period. The CIA was notorious for destabilization efforts in Guatemala in 1954, Dominican Republic in 1965, and Chile with the oust of President Allende in 1973, to name a few. Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 7.

the national GDP grew 6.5 percent annually. Imports increased from $86.6 million in 1953 to $416.8 million by 1968.[330] The tourism industry more than doubled. The export market however did not keep apace. Part of the logic of industrialization by invitation is to also increase the amount of goods sold on the foreign market through exports. This would generate foreign currency flowing into the country and prevent a trade deficit. However, manufacturers in Jamaica imported raw goods and supplies (instead of purchasing locally). In 1953 the export market accounted for 83 percent of all trade. This number dropped to 78 percent by 1968.[331] As a result, true profits and reinvestment in the Jamaican economy were hardly realized. Dependency proved to be lucrative but at the expense of economic sovereignty. Unemployment doubled from 12 percent to 24 percent between 1962 and 1972, with women and youth representing 30 percent. Post-primary school enrollment stalled where 15 percent of 15 and 16 year olds were able to access secondary education and training. By 1972 only 40 percent of adults were literate and over 30 percent of children were malnourished.[332] Jamaica was unable to build enough houses on par with the population growth particularly in urban areas. In short, Jamaica's economy expanded but the benefits did not reach the most vulnerable of society. As a result, social inequality increased.

Manley attempted to reverse the effects of dependent capitalism by promoting wide-scale economic growth and social change through a third path. Manley's populist approach engaged community stakeholders in offering basic services and emphasized service to one's nation through participation and education. Democratic socialism sought to shift the terms of national development by concentrating on government ownership of key resources and providing a social safety net for the country's most vulnerable. Women were some of the key beneficiaries. The

[330] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 36.
[331] Ibid.
[332] Ibid.

gendered effects of policies under democratic socialism is important to contextualize the shifts that adversely affected many when the country reverted to neoliberal, market-driven policies under structural adjustment. This chapter continues the argument of chapter 2—that the demise of democratic socialism foregrounded the role of the United States in the war against communism and the radical nature of Manley's third path was diminished and eventually dismantled by a longstanding tradition of Christian-informed views on development and progress. A specific focus on atheism associated with communism and its implications for Jamaica as a Christian nation was at the center of ideological debates against democratic socialist policies. The threat of communism was in part a diplomatic concern—that is, Jamaica would be closer aligned with Cuba and lose its place in the privileged orbit of North American economic interests. Concerns about communism were also a result of what many considered ideological disparity between a "Red State" and the Christian foundation of Jamaican politics. Manley's program of national development under democratic socialism was ideologically misaligned with Christian views on progress and national development, dating from the nineteenth century. These views prioritized Christian godliness and vital religion—which were missing from Manley and the PNP's vision for Jamaica's future.

"We are with the West": Dependent Capitalism

In a 1962 parliamentary debate, then Jamaican Prime Minister Alexander Bustamante declared, "I am for the West and I am for the United States of America."[333] Bustamante's statement summed up Jamaica's stance on US economic and political relations that predated the country's independence from Britain. The JLP, Bustamante's party, and the PNP governed

[333] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*, 32.

Jamaica under a pro-US stance. National development was dependent on foreign investment in the local economy—an approach that favored industrialization by invitation.

Under democratic socialism, Manley implemented economic policies that sought to reduce foreign ownership of the local economy. Prior to the PNP's victory, Jamaica engaged in several initiatives to reinvigorate the economy. Between 1952 and 1972 Jamaica experienced rapid economic growth. This was in large part due to the state's role in providing infrastructure, protections, and incentives to encourage foreign investments in the local economy. "Operation Bootstrap," or the Fomento Program in Puerto Rico, provided a model to revive Jamaica's struggling economy in the wake of World War II. With most of America and Europe's manufacturing and trade industry turned towards the war effort, Jamaica sought to renew its role in the global economy by attracting foreign business and investment. Jamaica passed incentive legislation for the manufacturing industry that provided tax abatements, duty-free import of raw materials, and site rentals at a reduced rate. Operation Bootstrap was implemented with the creation of the Industrial Development Corporation under the PNP in 1952. Both the PNP government from 1955–1962 and the JLP government from 1962–1972 vigorously pursued the program. Under this strategy, public sector costs and insufficient income from foreign exchange did not yield the expected outcomes. The manufacturing industry did not source their raw materials locally. And trade agreements on refining and exporting bauxite/alumina—Jamaica's most lucrative industry—did not generate the capital and jobs as anticipated. As a result, "the strategy was not reducing Jamaica's dependence on outside sources for its needs but increasing it."[334]

[334] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 36.

Manufacturing, Tourism, and the Bauxite Industry

Jamaica's policy of industrialization by invitation encouraged foreign investments into the key markets. Manufacturing, tourism, and the bauxite alumina were lucrative industries. The government provided the infrastructure and tax protections to spur competition and attract investors. To accommodate the growing interest in manufacturing goods in Jamaica, the government set up a corporation that provided logistical and financial support to companies seeking to build factories or rent factory space to produce goods for the export market. This was in addition to incentives that reduced and, in some cases, eliminated taxes outright. Imported goods saturated the local market. Domestic goods were uncompetitive by virtue of prices and availability. Dependent capitalism spurred significant growth in these sectors. But the gains were tempered by inadequate returns and profits and the reluctance of multinational corporations to reinvest their profits into the local economy. Foreign ownership of these sectors brought well-needed capital into Jamaica, but it was not at the level that would create the types of economic growth that was sustainable and far-reaching. For example, in 1965 Jamaica 28 percent of the world's bauxite.[335] However, the industry was almost entirely owned by foreigners. As a result, the Jamaican government had very little influence on the development of the bauxite industry. The industry was also vulnerable to foreign economic cycles of supply and demand, dominated by the United States and Canada. Also, most of the conversion from bauxite into aluminum occurred offshore. One study demonstrated that smelting aluminum locally would yield greater income and produce more foreign dollars for the economy. The Jamaican government tried to pressure companies to smelt more aluminum locally. However, 57 percent of mined bauxite was

[335] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica,* 26.

exported, unprocessed.[336] As a result, the profits from a key part of the production process remained in foreign hands. Mining bauxite also required land. Foreign aluminum companies bought tracts of arable land, upwards of 142,000 acres.[337] The tourist industry followed the same pattern. By 1968, 68 percent of hotels on the island were owned by foreign companies. Land usage by hotels, manufacturers, and the aluminum industry had diminished the availability of arable land, which stunted growth in the agricultural sector.

Diagnosed as the "sick man of the Jamaican economy," agriculture "bore the mark of dependence, both current and historical."[338] Continuing the legacy of colonialism, land ownership shifted from the plantocracy to the capitalist class. Large estates and the most farmable land were owned by multinational companies. Smaller farmers were relegated to cultivating land in the hills and far-reaching areas often inaccessible by traversable roads. The Ministry of Agriculture was "hampered by [party] patronage and inefficiency."[339] Funding for agricultural projects was distributed on the basis of party affiliation.[340] The fate of the banana and sugar industry could have been worse if not for protected markets in the United Kingdom. Multinational companies were less interested in the process of cultivating sugar and instead shifted resources to marketing, transport, and processing for export. Unable to compete with the global production prices, by 1969 the sugar industry could not meet its quota even in protected markets. A diminished agricultural sector had grave results for the domestic food market. The supply of locally grown affordable food could not compete with the abundance of foreign food

[336] Ibid.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid., 28.
[339] Ibid.
[340] Ibid.

imports. In the 1950s and 1960s, the demand for food grew 4 percent annually, while domestic production lagged at 2 percent.[341]

This model of industrial growth, driven by foreign capital and interests, primarily benefited the Jamaican bourgeoisie who were liaisons between privately owned foreign companies and local production. As an incentive to attract foreign businesses and investors, taxes were kept to a minimum. As a result, the relationship between local and foreign capitalists facilitated the creation and movement of private untaxed capital. Much of this capital remained in the hands of Jamaica's business class and foreign investors. In sum:

> Almost all the inputs, raw materials, services and events skilled manpower were imported by the mining, manufacturing, and tourist industries. All of the bauxite and alumina and much of the manufacturing output was exported. All the tourists were North American. Further the exposure to North Americans and their higher standards of living whetted the appetites of the Jamaican people for the higher standard of living and the goods that went with it. Of course, few could afford it; for the masses without means, there were only hopes and dreams.[342]

Employment and Social Inequality

Although there was some class mobility with these expanding manufacturing, tourism, and bauxite industries, they provided employment for a small percent of the labor force. The bauxite and tourism industry employed 1 percent and 2 percent of the labor force, respectively.[343] The gains were unequally distributed. Consistent with Jamaica's racial hierarchy, those who benefited from this arrangement were the "socially White" class of Jews, Lebanese, and Jamaican White managers and middle managers drawn largely from the Chinese and Indian

[341] Ibid.
[342] Beckford and Witter, *Small Garden, Bitter Weed*, 66.
[343] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*, 27.

professionals. Continued migration from the rural areas contributed to an expanding black urban lower class who became casual workers performing sweatshop labor, hotel services, gas station attendants, transport workers, and simple clerical jobs. Though there were greater employment opportunities in these growing industries, the opportunities were insufficient to absorb the labor force. Economic mobility remained minimal as many did not earn enough for a living wage. Between 1960 and 1972, unemployment increased substantially from 13.5 percent to 23.2 percent. Lack of jobs and a livable wage was further compounded by urbanization. There was a greater need for housing. As the urban ranks in Kingston and St. Andrew swelled from 32 percent of the national population in 1960 to 42 percent in 1970, the percent of the gross domestic product from home ownership decreased from 4 percent to less than 1 percent in 1950 and 1970, respectively. This mirrored a decrease in construction projects during the same period from 16 percent to 1.6 percent.[344] According to Stephens and Stephens, these developments had a profound effect on Jamaica's existing structure of inequality. "Income distributions in Jamaica were already very unequal.… As the rich built palatial mansions in Beverly Hills and the middle class settled comfortably into the new housing estates in Mona Heights, the impoverished mass growing in absolute and relative terms poured into the West Kingston ghetto."[345]

Manley sought to lessen the gap of inequality and increased dependency by reversing foreign investment policies. Through a series of policy measures, Manley sought to remove North America's imperial claws in Jamaica's economy. In 1974, democratic socialism became the official framework for governance. Manley's policies counteracted Bustamante's 1962 stance, "We are with the West."

[344] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*, 24.
[345] Ibid.

"The Christian Way of Life in Action": Defining Democratic Socialism

Since 1940, the PNP has declared itself a socialist party. Norman Manley, the party's founder and statesman, affirmed the party's Fabian-Socialist stance.[346] The PNP's brand of socialism was about "a fundamental change … a demand for the complete change of the basic organization of the social and economic conditions under which we live."[347] Michael Manley defined socialism as:

> A political and economic theory under which the means of production and exchange are owned/or controlled by the people. It is a system in which political power is used to ensure that the exploitation is abolished, that the opportunities of society are equally available to all and that the wealth of the community is fairly distributed. A process rather than a rigid dogma, its application must depend on the particular conditions which obtain from time to time in each country. It emphasizes co-operation rather than competition, and service rather than self interest as the basic motive forces for personal, group and communal action. Its ultimate objective is the building of a classless society by removing the element of entrenched economic privilege which is the basis of class divisions.[348]

As previously discussed, class divisions in Jamaica occurred along color and ethnic lines. Socialism, for the PNP, would disrupt this hierarchy via domestic policies that called for state ownership of key resources, a limited private sector, and a chance for all citizens to gain economic mobility through heavily subsidized education. Socialism under the PNP contrasted with the JLP's ideological stance on economic development, which promoted private enterprise,

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[346] Fabian Socialism was a left of center political theory that rejected Marx's radicalism and promoted a gradualist path to socialism. See Peter Lamb, "Fabianism," *Encyclopedia of Political Theory* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, October 13, 2017).

[347] Rex M. Nettleford, *Manley and the Politics of Jamaica: Towards an Analysis of Political Change in Jamaica 1938–1968* (Mona, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1971), 6.

[348] From *Principles and Objectivities of the People's National Party* (Kingston, Jamaica: PNP, 1979), 61–7. Quoted in Darrell Levi, *Michael Manley: The Making of a Leader* (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Publishers, 1989), 279.

capitalism, and close ties with Western countries. Whereas the PNP assumed a more radical approach to socioeconomic change, the JLP pursued incremental change. Radical change included fostering strong third world linkages and engaging leftist intellectuals in defining party goals and principles.[349]

After the 1972 election victory, the PNP set out to reexamine and clarify its position on socialism. In a commentary written in 1974, Manley summarized "democratic socialism" as "distinct political phenomenon" within in a Jamaican context.[350] Drawing on the politics of participation mantra, for Manley, "the adjective 'democratic' by the 'socialist' noun represents a significant development in socialist thought and practice" in Jamaica.[351] Democratic practice "introduces a moral measure accessible to any citizen's use."[352] Conceptualizing democracy as a "moral measure" forced Manley and the party to clarify the connections among Socialism as an ideology, democratic practice, and the Christian tradition central to Jamaica's history and politics. For Manley, democratic socialism affirmed Christianity, which for the first time was stated explicitly in the party's ideology and guiding principles.[353] But, the party had to contend with this history of socialism with relationship to atheist strains in Marxism.[354] To calm potential

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[349] Carl Stone, "Power, Policy, and Politics in Independent Jamaica," in *Jamaica in Independence*, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Caribbean, 1989), 21.
[350] Michael Manley, "Democratic Socialism, 'The Jamaican Model,'" in *The Search for Solutions: Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Michael Manley*, ed. John Hearne (Canada: Maple House, 1976), 154.
[351] Ibid.
[352] Ibid.
[353] The social and political compatibility between Christianity and socialism dates to the nineteenth century. See Rev. M. Kaufmann, *Christian Socialism* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888).
[354] Marx's earlier nineteenth-century writings were more philosophical in nature and contributed to a growing wave of critique of religion in German thought. In his critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Right*, Marx stated, "The basis of irreligious criticism is this: man makes religion; religion does not make man. Religion is indeed man's self-consciousness and self-awareness so long as he has not found himself.… But man is not an abstract being, squatting outside the world. Man is *the* human world, the state, society." Marx continues characterizes religion in the following way: "Religious suffering is at the same time an expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the

misinterpretations about the cultural and religious implications of the PNP's platform, Manley was sure to qualify his statement that the PNP was "not being committed to revolution or to godlessness."[355] The implications of potential revolution and atheism would place the party out of favor with the climate of pro-US attitudes and contradict the Christian norms deeply embedded in Jamaican society.

Manley acknowledged the deep tradition of Christianity in Jamaican history and the party's connections to socialism. He recognized that adopting a form of governance that rejected a capitalist system "provide[d] a point of departure for the attack on any movement seeking to change things."[356] The choice to pursue alternate paths of political and economic change created pressure for countries who were historically tied to the West under colonialism and dependency but existed on the periphery. After World War II, with the victory of Allied forces and the creation of international finance organizations that perpetuated relations of domination between industrialized and developing countries, there was growing need within the periphery to propose "new forms of management of the international economy."[357] The choice however was in the context of heavy anticommunist and pro-Western propaganda. According to Manley, Western powers were able to "invest the reality of their own view of power with a corresponding moral

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people." Abolishing religion was a necessary step in overcoming these conditions. "The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of men is a demand for their real happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their condition is a call to abandon a condition which requires illusions." Marx believed man possessed creative power to shape the world and was the only species capable of revolutionary practice. Communism was the revolution, "the most radical rupture with traditional property relations" and "involve[d] the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), 53–54, 489–490. Anxiety about revolution and "godliness" originated in the movement's communist emphasis on materialism and human agency. In Marxist thought, the basis of human agency was human activity. Religion was an illusion that quelled human agency. To truly understand the implications and necessity of human activity, religion should be superseded by a materialist interpretation of history and social relations.

[355] Rex Nettleford, *Political Leadership in the Commonwealth Caribbean: Responsibilities, Options and Challenges at End of Century.* (Kingston: School of Continuing Studies, The University of the West Indies, 1994), 59.

[356] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 63.

[357] Ibid.

authority by creating a philosophy in which profit was equated with virtue.…"[358] Virtue in this instance was linked to a Christian view of the world, one that Wynter has argued served as the master code for organizing difference.[359] In the pursuit of creating alternate economic and political order in the post-WWII geopolitical landscape, noncapitalist endeavors were labelled communist. As a result, "Socialism is dealt [sic] with by a form of guilt by association."[360] According to Manley, "the communist label provides a convenient point of departure for the attack on any movement seeking to change things."[361] The Christian master code that authorized colonial endeavors, which evolved into the capitalist world order, created "pressured nations in the periphery to "choose between one system or the other, between God and the Devil."[362] "Not to be with the West" Manley argued, "is to be against 'God.' To be with the East would certainly reveal an alignment with the "Devil."[363] Manley insisted on a third path, one in which independent nations in the developing world neither aligned wholly with the Eastern bloc or with Western capitalism. To do so would be to "surrender … the very sovereignty which had been missing for so long and struggled for so hard."[364]

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[358] Ibid.
[359] Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being."
[360] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 63.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid., 64. Robert Leiken argues that the Soviet Union's strategy in Latin America was hypocritical and worse than the West. Market prices on goods between the two regions were still governed by the world market. Trade agreements included clauses that created disadvantages for countries with devalued currencies. By 1976, the import and export trade between the Soviet Union and countries in the developing world mirrored trade patterns with the West. Whereas 85 percent of imports into the Soviet Union from Latin American were raw goods, the former exported machinery and industrial goods in excess of 75 percent (50 percent of which were arms). The Soviet Union also provided credit to Latin American countries at marginally lower interest rates but with shorter grace and maturity periods. Trade agreements, arms, and machinery accounted for the majority of Soviet exports and were part of a strategy that generated greater dependency. Robert S. Leiken, *Soviet Strategy in Latin America* 10, The Washington Papers 93 (New York: Praeger, 1982).

Leading up to the 1955 election, the PNP purged its leftist party leaders to stem anticommunist accusations from the JLP while maintaining a distinct platform from the procapitalist stance of the JLP. "Indeed, as the party membership grew to include more middle and upper-class members, and as Cold War sentiment gripped the party and the country, the radicals became more of a liability."[365] This political maneuver better positioned the party ideologically given the political tenor of the time. After the PNP's 1972 election victory, the party had to still contend with the implications of a prosocialist stance and its uneasy relationship to Christianity and Communism. Manley stated:

> Christian socialist was rejected on the grounds that it might sound like a political ploy. We decided not to use the word socialist alone because it seemed to invite too much speculation. Quite apart from communism, there were a number of African socialist states organized on a one-party basis. Then again, the local communists were at that time in semi-hiding under the term "scientific socialist." Since we are neither communist nor seeking to establish a one-party state, it seemed to invite unnecessary risk to use the terms socialist without qualification. In the end, we settled for democratic socialist. The democratic was to be given equal emphasis with the socialist, because we were committed to the maintenance of Jamaica's traditional and constitutional plural democracy; and more importantly, because we intended to do everything in our power to deepen and broaden the democratic process of our party and the society at large.[366]

Democratic Socialism in Action

Three major platform issues characterized the PNP's 1972 campaign: increasing social equality, economic self-reliance, and foreign policy that emphasized nonalignment. Michael Manley, the PNP's charismatic leader nicknamed, "Joshua" after the prophet, advocated "restoration of justice, dialogue with the people, and a national effort to heal the society and

[365] Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change*, 35.
[366] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 123.

bring it back together in some sort of unity, inspiration, and purpose."[367] As discussed in chapter 2, the party effectively mobilized Jamaicans to support their political agenda by appropriating popular culture, particularly reggae music, adapting forms of radical propaganda, and aligning itself with protest activity. Once in power, the party instituted a number of programs and initiatives were clearly inspired by the radical political thought of the time, most clearly articulated by the Black Power movement. In the party's first two years in office, it promoted and implemented several key programs and initiatives that reflected these radical influences.

Domestic Policies: Narrowing Social Inequality and Increasing Political Participation

Manley's domestic policies were driven by a "politics of participation." Government decisions were based on individual participation, which prioritized "communication and dialogue, its method involvement, and its purpose mobilization."[368] Through dialogue with representative of social institutions and community councils, Manley sought to create an egalitarian society—one that was distinct from a society based on elitism. Within the context of Jamaica's social hierarchy, Manley believed, "You are either an elitist, [or] an egalitarian …[and] must therefore choose between the elitist and the egalitarian model. Once committed, there is no more room for change."[369] In his recognition of class inequity, Manley pushed against the creole nationalist impulse that viewed Jamaicans as a unified nation based on shared culture.

As previously discussed, creole nationalism minimized the role of class and race in creating a social hierarchy. The lower class was largely comprised of Afro-Jamaicans. Social

[367] Manley quoted in Gray, *Radicalism and Social Change*, 200.
[368] Michael Manley, *The Politics of Change: A Jamaican Testament* (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1975), 83.
[369] Ibid, 82–3.

mobility and privilege were accessible mostly by lighter-skinned Jamaicans and the merchant class. Up until the Black Power movement and Manley's 1972 campaign, persisting "deep social forces remained active enough to spawn efforts to rid the society of categories of thinking and classifications that would work against the national mottos—'Out of many, One people.'"[370] Manley's statement on elitism reinforced claims against the PNP's allegiance to ideologies that did more to alienate than unite Jamaicans of different classes. Pointing out these distinctions provided little comfort to the elite class and challenged creole nationalist dogma.

In keeping with its campaign promises, the PNP implemented social welfare programs that targeted the educational and financial needs of Jamaica's poorest communities. For example, a National Literacy Board was set up to implement literacy programs for adults in urban and rural areas. The Special Employment Program (SEP) offered temporary assistance to individuals who were unemployed and offered seasonal jobs to PNP supporters who had been unable to find employment in the previous ten years. The government also increased spending on health initiatives, youth training programs, and housing. Most notable was the Status of Children Act, which abolished bastardy and provided children of single-mother households with access to more state benefits. And, the government lowered the voting age from twenty-one to eighteen years old, which registered more than thirty thousand new voters.[371]

Under democratic socialism, the PNP implemented various land reform programs to bolster domestic food markets. Prior to 1972, the Jamaican agricultural industry relied heavily on imports. The population growth far outpaced the amount of food produced on the island, along with increasing prices on imported food. As a result, the PNP sought to address the shortfall by reforming the industry under the Project Land Lease. Modeled after the program in Tanzania

[370] Rex Nettleford, "Introduction: Fledgling Years," in *Jamaica in Independence: Essays on the Early Years*, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Caribbean, 1989), 4.
[371] Levi, *The Making of a Leader*, 273–274.

under President Julius Nyerere, dubbed the Father of African Socialism, the land lease program attempted to raise the status of agricultural workers. The government provided materials for small farmers, purchased land that was then leased for a forty-nine year period, and built community centers and basic training facilities for young farmers. The program also tried to persuade large landowners to avail idle lands to poorer farmers. The most successful part of the program was supporting small farmers. The project placed over twenty thousand farmers and brought over forty-eight thousand acres of land into cultivation.[372] However, overall reform fell short of its stated goals. In practice, it did not undo the agrarian hierarchy. Large landowners circumvented the program by submitting plans outlining their intention to develop idle lands. In addition, the food farms set up to minimize imports and provide employment fell short on projected yields. To further complicate matters, young PNP supporters in rural communities in Portland and Westmoreland organized land seizures that were later condemned by Manley. These efforts to redistribute and cultivate land through government-sponsored projects were eventually discontinued.[373]

[372] Keith and Keith, *Social Origins of Democratic Socialism*, 257.

[373] Even with the PNP's emphasis on redistribution of wealth through socialism, the party also engaged in patronage tactics. According to Ambursely, "The Manley regime did little to break from the pattern of party political patronage and was in the end a victim of this very system." There were reports of party supporters receiving priority for trade import licenses, nepotism in the banking sector, and using government funding for fraudulent activities. "Jamaica: The Demise of 'Democratic Socialism,'" *New Left Review*, no. 128 (July 1, 1981), 85.

YEAR ANNOUNCED	POLICY & INITIATIVES
1972	Promotion of NIEO Special Employment Program Skill Training Program Literacy Program Community health clinics Operation GROW Land Lease Youth Training Lowering voting age to eighteen
1973	Cultural training center Food subsidies Free secondary and university education National Youth Service Women's affairs bureau & equal pay for women Promotion of nonaligned movement Nutrition initiatives Rent control

Adapted from Stephens and Stephens, 70–71; Source: Norman Girvan, "The IMF and the Third World: The Case of Jamaica," *Development Dialogue* 2 (1980): 113–55.

Domestic policy had a profound effect on elevating the status and well-being of Jamaican women. Indicators include greater inclusion into the labor force, increased political participation in party politics and civic sector, and policies initiated to address women's concerns as caregivers.[374] The Women's Bureau, established in 1974, was an experiment in providing a platform for women's issues. The Bureau only had advisory and coordinative powers. It lacked decision-making power and was not integrated into the main administration.[375] Lucille Mair, the part-time director of the Women's Bureau, along with Mavis Gilmour, were instrumental in creating the Women's Bureau. A position paper presented to Prime Minister Michael Manley made a "case for [women] becoming an integral part of any process of national

[374] Maxine Henry-Wilson, "The Status of the Jamaican Woman, 1962 to the Present," in *Jamaica In Independence: Essays on the Early Years*, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Caribbean, 1989).
[375] Henry-Wilson, "The Status of the Jamaican Woman," 246.

reconstruction."[376] Through a series of statements and arguments, the paper proved that women "are among the most suffering and sufferers."[377] The Women's Bureau was one of several government initiatives geared towards women's elevation under the PNP, but mainly at the level of advocacy, suggestions for policies, and demands for access.[378]

Prior to the party's reelection in 1976, the PNP implemented legislation that had practical outcomes for women. In his address to the World Council of Churches (WCC) in Nairobi in 1975, Manley expressed that he supported elevating women's status as part of liberation efforts and national development. Liberation, for Manley, "is about victims. And so long as there is one victim upon the face of the earth, the process of liberation must continue." Women, in Manley's view, comprised "the largest category of victims of all human experience." Manley boldly declared that "the concept of woman as created from Adam's rib is perhaps the greatest single example of the psychological techniques employed by the oppressor as a class in history." Consistent with a socialist materialist reading of religion, Manley asserted "The concept of the 'rib' is as revealing in its symbolism as it is unsound in its biology and unlikely in its theological implications." To this Manley added a rejoinder. "Presumably in the name of the 'rib' even as egalitarian a faith as Christianity has tolerated levels of injustice and sustained deprivation, as experienced by women, that beggar description even as they defy purely rational analysis." Manley rejected the "beggar description" of women as the 'rib' of Adam because it defied 'purely rational analysis.'" Churches were complicit in this history of domination, argued

[376] Mavis Gilmour and Lucille Mair, "Women and Social Change." Paper presented to Prime Minister Manley, 1972, quoted in Henry-Wilson, "The Status of the Jamaican Woman," 245.
[377] Ibid.
[378] The Bureau continued in operation under the JLP once they came to power in 1980. Like its existence under the PNP, the Women's Bureau did not have adequate resources and lacked legislative power. During the 1980s, the Bureau was successful in drafting and ratifying a National Plan for Women. Through a participatory process that included women's organizations across the country, the plan called for greater inclusion and integration of women's issues into the national agenda. Henry-Wilson, "The Status of the Jamaican Woman" 248–9.

Manley, by denying women leadership roles within ministry; "So subtle and familiar are the ways of domination and insidious the paths of oppression!"[379]

Manley's statements to the WCC spoke to the ideal of women's equality as part of liberation. Under democratic socialism these ideals were materialized through policies and initiatives such as the Equal Pay Act, the Status of Children Act, and the Minimum Wage Act, passed between 1974 and 1975. These policies increased women's participation in the labor force and provided greater social safety nets for women who were heads of household and youth. Eight months after the PNP's election victory in 1972, the Special Employment Program (SEP) was established. Through the SEP, young women entered the labor force for the first time and gained greater financial independence. Under SEP, smaller community units facilitated local job placement, which also allowed women to attend to their children while working. In addition to SEP, the PNP organized "backyard" daycare centers with local child-care facilities that were integrated with local basic schools. This arrangement alleviated the "costliness and inconveniences of crèches or other child-caring arrangements [which] had been deterrents to women holding steady employment."[380] The PNP also addressed child nutrition through health care and food initiatives. The Community Health Aide Program deployed trained practitioners into communities to offer preventative care for malnutrition and communicable diseases. The program was successful in Cornwall County, the island's westernmost parishes of St. James, Westmoreland, Trelawny, Hanover, and St. Elizabeth. In addition to existing policies that offered free secondary and university education, the creation of the Jamaican Nutrition Holdings in 1973 provided low-cost in-school meals for students. These initiatives collectively helped provide

[379] All quotes from Michael Manley, "Address to the World Council of Churches, Nairobi, November, 1975," in *The Search for Solutions: Selections from the Speeches and Writings of Michael Manley*, ed. John Hearne (Canada: Maple House, 1976).
[380] Henry-Wilson, "The Status of the Jamaican Woman," 248.

women with greater support and key resources to care for children. With the exception of the school nutrition program and paid maternity leave, which are still in effect, these programs were discontinued due to funding, poor long-term planning, and a change of government.[381] Women were acutely affected in the 1980s when the government under the JLP pursued aggressive neoliberal strategies for economic growth. Increased privatization, the removal of price controls on food and goods, and an end to tuition-free secondary and tertiary education had a direct impact on the quality of life for women. The relative disappearance of employment and family care initiatives weakened the safety net that helped women living in precarious economic circumstances.

The PNP's progressive social welfare policies mirrored the party's approach to foreign policy. Jamaica under the PNP "took on a more activist role in international and regional affairs." The country's involvement in the Non-Aligned Movement and its contributions to establish a New International Economic Order supported activism towards greater sovereignty and socioeconomic change across the "Third World."

Foreign Policy: Third Worldism, Non-Alignment, and NIEO

During the first two years of PNP leadership, Jamaica was the leading country in promoting the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and the NIEO (New International Economic Order). These movements called for cooperation between newly decolonized and independent

[381] A sample of programs that survived the change of government in 1980 include the tax levy on bauxite companies, government recognition of trade unions, and setting up a state trading corporation. Programs that were abandoned under the JLP include Project Land Lease, free tuition for university students, and nationalizing a major bank. Carl Stone, "Power, Policy, and Politics in Independent Jamaica," in *Jamaica in Independence: Essays on the Early Years*, ed. Rex Nettleford (Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Caribbean, 1989), 42.

countries in the developing world, united by the principles of "Third Worldism," a mode of thought that "emerged out of the activities and ideas of anti-colonial nationalists and their efforts to mesh … interpretations of pre-colonial traditions and cultures with the utopianism embodied by … Western visions of modernization and development."[382] NAM recognized the "forces of racism, apartheid, colonialism and imperialism continue to bedevil world peace … and perpetuate itself [by] means of economic and political domination over developing countries."[383] The movement resolved to safeguard national independence of member countries by "opting for an independent political orientation and development." Member nations aspired to "freedom, independence and equality, and their determination to resist all forms of oppression and exploitation."[384] Manley, guided by the principles "third worldism" and the practice of non-alignment, became a leading spokesperson of the movement. During his time in office he formalized diplomatic relationships with China and Cuba, and the PNP re-established its membership in the Socialist International.[385]

The diplomatic relationship between Jamaica and Cuba was of great importance for domestic and international relations. It was part of a regional effort to establish connections with other communist countries. In 1972, members of the newly formed Caribbean Community (CARICOM)—which consisted of Guyana, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago, and Jamaica—established diplomatic relationships with Cuba. The diplomatic ties between Cuba and Jamaica were solidified with technical assistance and educational support from Cuba. The Brigadista Program for example offered exchange opportunities, through which Manley's son studied in

[382] Mark Berger, "After the Third World? History, Destiny and the Fate of Third Worldism," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no. 1 (2004), 11.
[383] *Lusaka Declaration on Peace, Independence, Development, Co-operation and Democratisation of International Relations.* Third Conference on Non-Aligned Countries held at Lusaka, September 8–10, 1970.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*, 81–2.

Cuba. And Cuba also lent its support in constructing a rural high school. As Stephens and Stephens observed, the relationship between Cuba and Jamaica had consequences for US–Jamaica relations. The 1959 Cuban Revolution, in which Fidel Castro and Che Guevara ousted pro-US dictator Fulgencio Batista y Zaldívar, resulted in what Leiken argued was the "beginning of the end of the US era in Latin American history."[386] This revolution was an affront to over a century of US economic interest and intervention in Latin America.[387] The United States tried to persuade members of the Organization of American States (OAS) to cancel diplomatic relations with Cuba. As a result of the antagonistic history between the United States, Cuba, and the Soviet Union, Jamaica's stronger diplomatic ties with Cuba raised suspicions of a potential Communist takeover and stirred concerns about the direction of the country under Cuban influence.

Public discourse about democratic socialism in the 1970s reflect two trends. First, reactions to Manley and the PNP's approach to the economy and governance highlight the persistence of Christian values and rhetoric in shaping Jamaicans' views of national progress. Secondly, these perceptions point to the importance of the US interests in shaping local experiences. Financial security, economic growth, and quality of life were all linked to economic dependency on the United States. These two dynamics had an equal effect on the public's disavowal of democratic socialism. In this way, the cultural views about what it meant to be

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[386] Leiken, *Soviet Strategy in Latin America*, 3. Under President John F. Kennedy, the United States attempted to regain control over their interests in Cuba with the failed Bay of Pigs military invasion in 1962. This sparked a build-up of Soviet Union missile in Cuba resulting in the Cuban Missile crisis. See Peter Byrd, *Cuban Missile Crisis*, in *The Concise Dictionary of Political and International Relations*, 4th ed., ed. Garrett Brown, Iain McLean, and Alistair McMillan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018). http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199670840.001.0001/acref-9780199670840-e-305.

[387] Beginning with The Monroe Doctrine of 1823 and solidified with the Platt Amendment in 1902, the United States established a foreign policy that enabled American involvement in Cuban economic sovereignty. See chapter 1 of Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*.

Jamaican dictated the standards by which Jamaica would carry out its diplomatic and economic affairs. Likewise, the influence of Western diplomatic concerns, particularly concerns about the spread of communism, strongly influenced the rhetoric and justifications against democratic socialism. Like the Black Power movement, which broke with White, Western cultural modes of expression and critiqued capitalist modes of production, democratic socialism put Jamaica on a path to economic independence. However, the strength of conservative Christian views and the US agenda to stem the spread of communism worked to generate an atmosphere of disenchantment and rejection of democratic socialism.

Much like the election campaign of 1972, the pages of *The Daily Gleaner* were the platform for ideological disputes.[388] Public figures weighed in on the nature of democratic socialism and what it meant for the present and Jamaica's future. This strategy was used by the JLP to discredit the PNP and influence public opinion. In Manley's words, "By 1975 the Gleaner was on the warpath. It had not yet attained the levels of orchestrated venom which were to mark its performance later, but it was already a strident cacophony of abuse and sowing the seeds of discord and suspicion wherever it could. From that time on, the Gleaner was in fact indistinguishable from the opposition.…"[389]

The Daily Gleaner's anti-PNP stance was one facet of the assault on the party and its politics. Manley held suspicions that the violence was carefully orchestrated as a part of a joint destabilization between the United States and the JLP. Collaboration between the JLP and the United States later confirmed—with statements from the US ambassador to Jamaica from 1969–

[388] *The Daily Gleaner* was the only nongovernment-owned media during Manley's time in office between 1972 and 1980. However, nonalignment with the government did not spell objectivity. The newspaper's editor was Hector Wynter, who was the former chairperson of the Jamaica Labor Party. *The Gleaner* was partly owned and directed by Leslie Ashenheim, a member of the Jamaican oligarchy. Ashenheim was chairman of the Insurance Company of Jamaica and belonged to one of Jamaica's twenty-one ruling families. See *The Daily Gleaner*, June 10, 1976.
[389] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 134.

1973, Vincent De Roulet, and a former CIA operative, Philip Agee—that to stem the "socialist corruption" of the Jamaican government, the US government undertook "actions to undermine the Manley government and help its opponents in the form of reduced aid, negative news reports damaging tourism, and in all probability, covert funding of the opposition."[390]

Partisan Violence

An uptick in violence throughout Kingston also weakened public support of the government. Though extenuating economic circumstances fueled the violence, it was in large part due to a joint destabilization effort with the JLP and United States. It was reported that nearly hundred people were killed during the first five months of 1976.[391] Gangs loyal to political parties acquired more sophisticated guns, which were more prevalent than in 1972.[392] For example, in 1976, gunmen set fire to a crowded tenement block on Orange Lane in downtown Kingston. The fire left five hundred persons homeless and eleven persons dead, including children. In Trench Town, an outbreak of violence coincided with a meeting of the International Monetary Fund. Foreign journalists, on hand to report on the meeting, also related stories of the continued violence to foreign presses.[393] In that same year, a foreign shipment of flour was contaminated with a poison that killed eighteen people. Suspicions about the JLP's role in the increased violence was confirmed when Herb Rose, an organizer for the JLP, resigned his post and implicated Pearnel Charles, a deputy party leader. Rose stated, "From my inner knowledge of the JLP I am now satisfied that its whole strategy was based upon violence, and

[390] Stephens and Stephens, *Democratic Socialism in Jamaica*, 128.
[391] Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 144.
[392] Ibid.
[393] Leonard Silk, "Jamaica Worried by Slum Fighting," *New York Times*, January 8, 1976.

the use of violence as a means of obtaining victory at the polls."[394] The ongoing violence forced Manley to declare a state of emergency that lasted ten months. During this time over five hundred persons were detained on the grounds they were a threat to public safety. Curfews were implemented throughout the corporate area due to bombings in Trench Town, Jones Town, and Hannah Town. Two hundred families were displaced. In Tivoli Gardens, there were reports of PNP supporters throwing bombs at residences in the predominantly JLP community.[395]

Security forces were also involved in partisan violence. In 1977, rogue members of the Jamaica Defense force orchestrated a plan to entrap JLP supporters in Green Bay. As a result, five men were killed by the JDF on the grounds that they attempted to smuggle guns, though they were unarmed.[396] As Stone observers, the police force was also divided along political lines.[397] In the public eye, the ongoing violence, protracted economic downturn, and the threat of communism pointed to a failed state under the PNP. Responses to the 1980 election also reflect disillusionment about the Manley years under democratic socialism.

Reverend C.S. Reid, a Baptist minister, was a frequent contributor to *The Daily Gleaner*. In a postelection editorial, he argued that communism was an unfit ideology to guide the country's socialist policies. Reid argued that class differences were not distinct enough for a communist program of social change. In fact, the people maligned as bourgeois oppressors have roots in "urban poverty and the rural peasantry."[398] According to Reid, the PNP leftist strategies

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[394] Manley, *Struggle in the Periphery*, 233; *The Daily Gleaner*, June 19, 1976, 1, 26.
[395] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Trench Town-Jones Town Area Quiet," January 10, 1976.
[396] See Laurie Gunst, *Born Fi' Dead : A Journey through the Jamaican Posse Underworld*, 1st ed. (New York: H. Holt, 1995), 97–100; *The Daily Gleaner*, "Surprise at Target Practice by Security men," January 6, 1978, 1, 11.
[397] Stone, "Public Opinion and the 1980 Elections in Jamaica," 7. Also see Rupert Wilmot Francis, "The Communist Threat to Jamaica," *The Daily Gleaner*, October 29, 1980, 6.
[398] C.S. Reid, "Our Revolution," *The Sunday Gleaner*, November 16, 1980, 11.

"pushed them away from the thinking of the Jamaican people."[399] And the outcome of the PNP's approach distanced the party from Jamaicans, "people of piety who fear God and regard man."[400] The column ends with a call for a Jamaican Revolution that is "indigenous populist and non-ideological."[401] One that "represents the yearning and striving of the Jamaican people as a whole for a place in the sun."[402] Reid's views on ideology and politics in Jamaica resonated with black Presbyterian minister, Robert Dingwall's late-nineteenth-century perspectives on the centrality of religious piety and God in national progress. Dingwall stressed the importance of Christianity as a central pillar in Jamaica's national identity and progress. Though Dingwall rejected the indigenous cultural practices that informed creole religious forms, he stressed the importance of elevating local leaders, particularly in Christian ministry. Dingwall proclaimed, "The salvation of Jamaica, and every other Christian land, is in the hands of the ministry." Reid, a local minister, expanded Dingwall's demand for sound religious leadership to his contemporary moment by discarding a "godless" foreign ideology that was inconsistent with the class and cultural realities of Jamaica. For Reid, the JLP and Edward Seaga's victory was a sign that "the patient people of Jamaica have put their Revolution on course again.… This time they will be more alert to betrayals less tolerant of failure.… For we really hold to the civilized picture projected for us by our Founding Fathers in the motto of our Nation—OUT OF MANY ONE PEOPLE."[403] Consistent with the creole nationalist perspective of the previous decade, Reid conceptualized national progress as one that embraced Christianity and multiracialism, and minimized class distinctions.

[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Ibid.
[403] Ibid.

The 1980 election therefore was heavily influenced by anticommunism. While economic issues and sociopolitical upheaval were also major policy issues that factored into voting patterns, ideological issues played a significant part in the election. Stone's popular study about the 1980 election cited that ideological concerns were accountable for approximately 23 percent of voters' concerns and affected their decisions at the polls.[404] While Stone's earlier assessments under estimated the impact of anticommunism, compared to concerns about the economy and political violence, he adjusted his observations as the election drew closer. "In our September poll, when we asked voters what were the crucial issues in the election in Jamaica, ideology was ranked much lower than either the economic issues or political violence. That fact, however, disguises the impact of the communist issue in the election." Anticommunism was in his estimation, a large factor in the defection of persons from the JLP to PNP in the 1980 elections.[405] Perhaps the singing of the "Red Flag" at McGann's funeral shifted public opinion significantly in the time between Stone's national poll and Jamaicans casting their ballots on October 30th of that year.

Seaga's victory in the 1980 election was a repudiation of democratic socialism. Manley's "third path" failed to establish a sustained model for economic change in Jamaica. Ideological wars and destabilization efforts undermined the overall project of participatory politics and shifting a framework for development away from capitalist models. Seaga delivered, or arguably reverted, Jamaica back to economic order that supported dependency—but this time under the vigor of structural adjustment.

[404] Stone, "Public Opinion and the 1980 Elections in Jamaica."
[405] Carl Stone, "Ideology and Election" *The Daily Gleaner*, November 10, 1980.

CHAPTER 4: Deliverance

It was midday Thursday. Coronation Market in downtown Kingston was bustling with vendors, consumers, and trucks transporting produce. I spent time on the perimeter of the market place once, with a church member who set up a weekly stall. He sold spices, fruits, and sundry items. It was a tight space. He, along with the others who are not assigned an official booth in the center of the market, has to come early to stake out a space. Today the taxi driver was reluctant to venture further into Reptile Row. "I'll see how it look first," he said. The fear of violence was often a deterrent to taxis entering Tivoli Gardens. Frustrated, I asked him to drop me off at the entrance. I hopped out and walked into Reptile Row. Today I planned to walk through Tivoli Gardens with Sandra to distribute flyers of the public notice to collect witness statements for the Incursion in 2011. But first, I would spend time with Mariana, one of the founding members of the church. As I walked, I saw people with whom I was familiar from the prayer crusade. There were familiar scents and sounds. Garbage heaps that carried the sharp, lung-penetrating odor of burnt plastic. There were large puddles of stagnant water with green moss. Pastor Samuels once preached about the of omnipresent garbage and sewage on the roads as an analogy for community renewal. "Like Nehemiah, who built [the wall] on fasting and prayer, we have to pray and confess before God. Do it on behalf of your family, community, and the church. Like the concrete outside when it rains, dirt and sewage cover it. Clean it one day and the next it start to overflow again. We can't build with rubbish and things hindering us."

The ethers of stale trash persisted alongside exclamations from around the ludo and dominoes table. Children crying or laughing and women chatting loudly. Some women walk around well-dressed—elaborate hairstyles, colorful mini-skirts, and matching accessories. At

times I see some women outside in the equivalent of boy-short underwear and brassieres, walking confidently and comfortably. Some women are in regular house clothes and they sit in the foyers with their babies. Dancehall music blasted from someone's car or window. And the ever-present dank of marijuana mixed with grabber (tobacco). This was the set up during work hours, in the evenings, and on the weekend. But if you look towards the horizon, the mountains stared back at you. The clouds were fluffy and the sky, blue and clear. This was Jamaica—beauty and "sufferation."

Mariana was outside, praying for a young man, seated in a wooden chair, with a bandaged knee. He was shot, and the bullet was still in his knee and started to rust. She invited me to her apartment, the walls of which still bore the pockmarks of bullets and debris from explosions during the Incursion. She lived with her daughter and three grandchildren. I listened to her stories of brief migration to the Cayman Islands, and working as a helper for nurse at the university hospital. She no longer attended church consistently. She felt neglected by the pastor after she had surgery to remove an abscess. But some women in the church told a different story. Mariana was just unhappy with the direction of the church since Norma Thomas passed away.

We walked onto the balcony. In the middle of the street, where the road bends towards the gully, a woman sold clothing hung carefully on an improvised rack fastened to a handcart. I saw mini-skirts with matching mid-drift tops, shorts, and graphic mini-dresses. In the courtyard, a middle-aged woman was in a heated exchange with a teenage boy. Every sentence was laced with Jamaican expletives. Mariana turned to me, "you know intelligent people come out of Tivoli, too." We talked about her daughter who lived in the United Kingdom for five years and she shared stories about her grandchildren, who were "very smart and do things for themselves." We stood silently for a short time—listening, watching. It was time for Mariana to head to her

appointment. She changed out of her orange house dress and tattered slippers into a long denim skirt and white lace t-shirt. She secured the skirt around her waist with a blue rope. She put on a pair of matching blue slippers and a baseball cap.

I said goodbye to her and walked two buildings over to Sandra's apartment. She was already outside, waiting. For nearly three hours we canvassed the major subcommunities in Tivoli Gardens: Yankee Corner, Bustamante Highway, Java, Haiti, Dudley Square, and Rasta City. We walked on roads and gully banks, took short cuts through perimeter walls. The differences among the communities were stark. And there were harsh reminders of the Incursion: burned out buildings, mortar holes in perimeter walls, though some claim the holes were there prior and helped people move around discreetly. During my walkthrough with Sandra, I observed many women, in particular, selling their goods in the open space of building courtyards. One area had a large container and buckets filled with water that contained live fish. There was a makeshift fence made of plywood and netting surrounding them. Nearby, three women sat on stools between the buildings, scaling and cleaning fish. We continued our walkthrough into the more informal parts of the community. The squatter community, known as PWD, around the former Public Works Department building sustained the most damage during the incursion. Structures made from plywood and zinc were demolished. A concrete domicile that belonged to Sandra's brother was burned down. Only the yellow and white marble tiles remained. The infrastructure of PWD remained informal. Standpipes were the main source of water. And electricity was inconsistent and stolen from the main JPS lines. The abandoned office building was used as domiciles. It was adjacent to the area known as Rasta City—which, prior to the development of Tivoli Gardens, was an area of Back O'Wall predominantly occupied by

Rastafari. Currently, what remained of Rasta City was a shipping container that housed a community library and murals depicting Haile Selassie on the adjacent gully wall.

PWD was the most recent instantiation of Tivoli Garden's development. A government building informally repurposed into housing reflected the ongoing need for sufficient and affordable housing. It also symbolized the historical connection between housing and the outcome of changes in the government's priorities. Political parties always promised their constituents priority for government-sponsored housing. A change in government signaled a shift in who would directly benefit from housing opportunities.

After our walk, Sandra went to her apartment to rest. Ascending the stairs was fairly straightforward during the day time. At night the lighting is poor. Sandra taught me to count seven steps and three landings to avoid falling or tripping. There was always a hose of running water on the first landing. At times neighbors would also connect their washing machine there with multiple extension cords. Sandra's apartment consisted of two bedrooms, a living room with a dining table and refrigerator, and a kitchen. The walls were painted bright blue and had framed pictures of her son, her daughter, and a stock photo of a White man and White woman locked in an embrace surrounded by hearts, with the photo caption "True Love." The bedrooms contained twin-sized beds against the wall and standard furniture that seemed too oversized for the space. The logic of using the toilet and taking a bath required preparation because the bathroom rarely had running water. Filling gallon-sized water bottles was always a priority to wash hands, flush the toilet, and take a bath. The speed of filling water bottles all depended on the water pressure, how many people were using the water sources, and of course if water was even available. Sometimes, the National Water Commission would shut off water without warning. This was especially the case during a drought—which happened more frequently as a

result of climate change. But, that was only part of the problem. Deteriorated pipes need replacement and repair. The speed and frequency of which depended on available funding. In the "land of wood and water," consistent water supply remained an issue.

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The infrastructure of Tivoli Gardens told its own story of economic underdevelopment. The absence of efficient water, the existence of PWD, the young man with an untreated gunshot wound, and the women selling fish in the courtyard speak to the structural, social, and economic underbelly of structural adjustment programs. The origin of Deliverance Tabernacle and its outreach to the community was influenced directly by this period in Jamaican history.
The church's youth outreach programs and ministry that embraces "human development" has much to do with the circumstances that occurred outside of the church gates. The details are bleak, but they are also a testament to a persistent desire for change, even with its moments of despair and inertia. Middle- and upper-class Jamaicans often view the life circumstances of Tivolians as simply an outcome of bad choices. The narrative of personal responsibility often places the burden of culpability on residents. We see this emphasis on collective progress in Dingwall's prescriptions for nation-building. Individual decisions on right-living and comportment becomes the unit by which to measure progress. Culture and religion become the bedrock of national identity. This was formalized in the creole nationalist project. Notions of "who we are and what we hope to be" served as basis for articulating cultural identity that emphasized exceptionalist claims on Jamaican-ness, at the denial of class differences. But what is clear here is that prescriptions on cultivating behaviors, attitudes, and dispositions that lend

themselves to national identity and progress are never divorced from politics and the means by which policy shapes lived experiences. The irony of invoking personal responsibility with regards to the people of Tivoli Gardens is that political and economic policies shape the life chances of all Jamaicans, the most ardent of which were implemented under structural adjustment programs. Designed by multinational finance organizations, structural adjustment imposed austerity measures, fiscal cuts to the social sector funding, and liberal trade to generate capital to repay loans and put the country on the path to development. Though these programs began under Manley's leadership, they took on their most drastic forms with the election of Edward Seaga in 1980. Like other post-Independence African nations, structural adjustment programs were intended to provide much necessary capital to bolster economic development. In Jamaica, structural adjustment programs came into effect in 1978, under Manley. In a protracted period of economic downturn, Manley reluctantly accepted an IMF package to pay civil service workers. The package was later rejected in 1979 because it posed an additional burden to the poorer class.[406] What does the fall of democratic socialism and the ardent embrace of neoliberalism demonstrate about the role of Christian values in Jamaican politics during this period? What kind of ethical concerns are wrapped up in notions of progress in the late twentieth century, that is, the turn from socialism towards neoliberalism?

Under the campaign slogan, "Deliverance," Seaga and the JLP vowed to reverse the communist trend that characterized the previous decade under Manley and the PNP. The turn towards neoliberalism—in the form of structural adjustment programs—perpetuated more of the same for Jamaica's most vulnerable. Only this time it came with greater diplomatic and trade alliances with the United States. The intricacies of this transition and its aftermath have been

[406] Colin Clarke and David Howard, "Contradictory Socio-Economic Consequences of Structural Adjustment in Kingston, Jamaica," *Geographical Journal* 172, no. 2 (2006): 106–29.

fully explored by economists and political theorists. The role of religious values and rhetoric, however, remains undertheorized. What follows is an exploration of the 1980 election and its ethical significance for Jamaicans on the island and abroad. In many ways, the aggressive return to neoliberalism reflected the conservative politics explored in the previous chapter. The failure of democratic socialism has much to do with its unpopular socialist ideas in a world economy governed by US capitalism. The cultural and ethical values espoused by moderate Jamaicans and politicians played a significant role in the demise of democratic socialism.

The chapter seeks to contribute to the larger project of understanding the role of religious values and politics in Jamaica. The foregoing explores the ideological and ethical dimensions of the 1980 election and its outcomes. The chapter begins with a discussion of the slogans, advertisements, and opinion pieces that characterized the election cycle. These views were further elaborated upon in congratulatory letters written to Seaga after his election victory. The tone and content of the letters demonstrate that many viewed the JLP's political victory as a triumph of Christianity, God, and the country. These perspectives reflected the desire for change, and for Jamaica's restoration as a Christian nation. The next section examines the JLP's plan for change—its motivations and its outcomes. In the party manifesto, "Change Without Chaos," the JLP laid out a vision for Jamaica's economic recovery and national progress. This manifesto entailed the party's justification to undertake aggressive structural adjustment policies. These policies signaled a return to pro-Western, neoliberal policies between 1952 and 1972 under the Puerto Rican model. The effects of which continue to shape the lives of Jamaica's vulnerable populations.

The Campaign

The JLP relied on Christian values to frame their campaign message. The party positioned themselves as the saviors of Jamaica's spiritual and economic welfare. In Jamaica the connection between religion and politics stems from a tradition of messianic leadership. According to Anna Perkins, "There is a strong religious consciousness to the extent that religious imagery is part of everyday speech for a large portion of the population."[407] This religious consciousness found expression in public discourse. Prayers and editorials written by politically active ministers had a consistent presence in *The Gleaner*. And their perspectives aligned with that of JLP. Collectively, these perspectives validated popular sentiments that a JLP election victory would provide the moral, religious, and economic change that Jamaica desperately needed.

"The PNP Sun is Setting, Their Wickedness Exposed!"

A full-page JLP campaign ad featured eight photos depicting graphic scenes of violence that allegedly occurred under the watch of the PNP. The ad warned that the "PNP Must Go! Vote Them Out!"[408] In a later ad, a two-page advertisement in *The Gleaner* featured headshots of all JLP candidates represented "The Best Team for a Better Life."[409] The JLP claimed that under the PNP, "We have been battered and bruised by incompetence and mismanagement … by

[407] Anna Kasafi Perkins, "Some Theological Reflections on Exodus Politics and Messianic Leadership in the Pre-Independence English Speaking Caribbean," in *In Celebration of Black History Month, Gyro Colloquium Paper* VI (Chestnut Hill, MA: Boston College, 2001), 66.
[408] *The Daily Gleaner*, October 24, 1980, 16.
[409] Ibid., October 6, 1980, 6–7.

ideological madness … by a deliberate campaign of bitterness and hatred."[410] Drawing on a civic religion centered on Christianity, the JLP claimed, "Jamaica has the human capacity and God-given resources for economic recovery, social harmony and the achievement of the aspirations of all Jamaicans regardless of class, creed and political persuasion."[411]

On the eve of the election, the newspaper published an election prayer written by a Reverend Cleve Grant:

> Have mercy upon us O Lord
> We cry out as a nation
> We turn in these troubled times for clear vision
> Help us turn away from evil and seek good
> Keep our lips from guile and untruthfulness
> Teach us again the Golden Rule
> That we do unto others
> As we would have them do unto us
> Deliver us from pettiness and malice
> Give us the spirit of forgiveness today
> Through Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.[412]

Reverend Grant's election prayer exemplified ministers' engagement in political discourse, particularly around election time. Their views were part of guiding public opinion to "turn away from evil and seek good."[413] The JLP's ads and the election prayer speak to the compatibility between Christianity and anticommunism in the 1980 election. For the JLP, restoring order was a matter of exposing the "wickedness" of the PNP and redirecting the government and nation towards policies that were not driven by an anti-God ideology. Grant's prayer was part of a standing tradition of vocal Christian ministers speaking publicly on political issues.[414] According

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[410] Ibid.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid., October 29, 1980.
[413] Ibid.
[414] J. A. Douglas, the overseer of the New Testament Church of God, a Pentecostal organization, wrote an editorial asking for a correction to a byline in an October 1st article. A picture of Reverend Delroy Reed, a minister in the church, was placed near a headline criticizing the Minister of Finance Hugh Small.

to Anita Waters, the state-owned Jamaica Broadcast Corporation (JBC) regularly featured ministers who used their slots for religious programming to offer anti-Manley and anticommunist political commentary.[415] *The Daily Gleaner* frequently featured editorials, written by religious leaders, concerning Christianity and anticommunism. One editorial, penned by "Ten Concerned Christians," outlined concerns about evangelicals entering into politics. Referring to Owen Tibby's campaign as an independent candidate for St. Andrews, the writers argued that "… evangelicals should not enter directly into the arena of politics. No Independent candidate has any hope of capturing a seat in parliament in this country at this time.…[416]" Ministers believed that Tibby entering the election would fragment the electorate. Instead, ministers of religion should "arouse his people to make a united stand against the forces of Communism that now threaten our country and nation."[417] Failure to do so would risk the PNP winning the election once more and continue the history of Communist oppression "of the Church, oppression of free trade unions, oppression of free speech and the oppression of individual liberty."[418] The writers issued a final call, "If the Christians of our land, led by their clergy and lay people, fail to make a stand on this matter NOW what hope can there be for our children in the future?"[419]

The Jamaica Council of Churches, in keeping with their tradition of political involvement, created a set of guidelines that encouraged voters, "Don't Be Afraid to Vote, It Is

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Douglas proclaimed that the church disassociated itself from the article claiming, "… as a church we do not meddle in partisan politics or in any way seek to berate our leaders of whatever political persuasion.… In addition, we encourage our members to seek God's guidance in exercising their civic right of voting in any election held in our country." *The Daily Gleaner*, October 24, 1980, 6.

[415] Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 209.

[416] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Evangelicals and Politics," October 14, 1980. See Owen Tibby's campaign ad in *The Sunday Gleaner*, October 19, 1980. Tibby promised that as an independent candidate, he would "inform the nation on matters of spiritual, social and political importance" and "call the nation back to God and encourage Christian morality among parliamentarians." Also quoted in Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 210.

[417] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Evangelicals and Politics," October 14, 1980.

[418] Ibid.

[419] Ibid.

Your Right.[420]" The ad advised the public to consider the platforms and objectives outlined in the party manifestos, "vote for persons who are committed to Jamaica; vote only for persons with integrity and ability." In this way the JCC positioned itself as a moral voice in the elections. The role of the JCC was challenged by some evangelicals who believed that they were more closely aligned to the PNP, as evidenced by their 1972 election ads condemning the JLP for the Henry Pamphlet fiasco. Despite their disagreements about the extent to which ministers should engage directly in politics, evangelicals had a prominent voice in the anticommunist cause.

Voices from the Archive

While the opinions of the elite dominated the newspaper, the voices of nonelite Jamaicans were heard in an archive of congratulatory letters written to Seaga during his transition into office. The letters offered prayers for the new government, addressed discontent about migrating abroad, and spoke against the influence of communism on Jamaican affairs. The authors ranged from local citizens, residents of the Caribbean diaspora, and religious leaders. Giving much room in his archive to nonelite voices was consistent with Seaga's and the JLP's interest in the experiences of urban laborers, market vendors, small-scale entrepreneurs, and rural farmers—average Jamaicans.[421] The party was also amenable to the interests of the business

[420] *The Daily Gleaner*, October 30, 1980. The ad ran for consecutive days leading up to election day. After some public criticism regarding the ad, Rev. Byron Chambers on behalf of the JCC published a rejoinder. In his statement Chambers asserted the guidelines were consistent with those signed by the candidates as "a sign of agreement and goodwill." The guidelines therefore asked Jamaicans "to think first before voting for a candidate who might behave violently or just encourage violence by permitting his or her supporters to perpetrate violence." *The Daily Gleaner*, October 24, 1980, 6.

[421] Edward Seaga gained much of his clout through his research on Revivalism and Jamaican folkways in 1969. He published an article titled, "Revival Cults in Jamaica: Notes Towards a Sociology of Religion" in the *Jamaica Journal* in 1969, which was later reprinted as a standalone text in 1982. The text is largely descriptive of the liturgical and material culture or Revivalism, Pocomania, and Kumina. Edward Seaga,

class. Seaga and the JLP built their political platforms on the concerns of this particular class of Jamaicans by focusing on labor rights, creating jobs through an expanded private sector, and providing government resources for small-scale entrepreneurial ventures. In many ways, the archive of congratulatory letters is an effort provide a consistent narrative about Seaga's commitment to the working class and to affirm the JLP's political agenda of "change without chaos."[422]

In 1980, the Jamaica Labor Party built its election campaign on the promise of "Deliverance" from democratic socialism. As discussed in chapter 3, Manley's attempt to implement economic and social policies through the practice of nonalignment with the West was ideologically ambitious, but largely failed to accomplish what it set out to do, that is, create a sustainable basis for Jamaica's economic independence in the global market and create a social system built on equitable distribution of wealth and resources. Despite these efforts, however, letters from Seaga's archive suggests that the JLP's 1980 victory was a welcomed change in administration. This was especially the case for more privileged Jamaicans who could afford to migrate. The tone and content of the letters signaled hope that Seaga would reverse Jamaica's fortune and place the nation on the road to progress.

As discussed in chapter 3, land reform was a major policy to bolster national food production. However, Mr. Vernon Dryden, who resided in Queens, N,Y at the time of Seaga's election, was forced to leave Jamaica on account of losing his land.

> I heard all what [sic] was going on in Jamaica and that was not strange to me because I was there, and I have to leave by night because if I did not do that I would dead by now.

"Revival Cults in Jamaica: Notes Towards a Sociology of Religion," *Jamaica Journal* 3, no. 2 (June 1969).

[422] Jamaica Labour Party, *Change without Chaos: A National Programme for Reconstruction* (Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaica Labour Party, 1980).

> I was given a dairy farm by the J.L.P Government in 1971, and as time goes by the P.N.P. Government take over and things start to go wrong they start to poison my animals, and say I should leave because I was capitalist. I had was to leave everything, and went away. I was living on the Farm in … St. Elizabeth … Uncle Eddie I would like to come back home, and start on my farm all over. May God bless you and all your family and ministries as you keep up your good work and I am still praying for you all.[423]

It is highly possible the Mr. Dryden was the victim of pro-PNP vigilante youth who intimidated farmers off their land. This was an unfortunate outcome of Project Land Lease, a government initiative to place more farmers on arable land. As a result of being labeled a capitalist and forced off his farm, Vernon Dryden fled from Jamaica.

Migration during the 1970s occurred at alarming rates. By 1980, one out of every five Jamaicans legally emigrated to the United States.[424] Scholars argue that Jamaica never fully recovered from this wave of brain-drain. The majority of migrants were skilled workers, professionals, and businessmen.[425] Relocation to the United States during the 1970s also occurred within the context of ongoing global economic recession. Domestically, the recession caused price inflation, which in turn made it more difficult for Jamaicans to afford basic goods. As a result, politically motivated crime spread throughout the island. Deliverance, then, signaled the possibility of return. Ryan Dunkley migrated to Canada in 1972. In a letter to Seaga dated November 20, 1980, Dunkley expressed optimism that Seaga's victory would allow him to return to Jamaica.

> I was really please[d] when I heard your victory because I knew right now you can put our country back together again as a past Minister of Finance.
>
> I really want to come home but from what I heard about my Country I just could not. I am away from my country now eight years and I want to come home and share some of

[423] *Edward Seaga Files* (ESF), Folder 437.
[424] Ana Maria Martha Bradley-Hess, "From Democratic Socialist to Social Democrat: An Examination of the Political, Economic and Social Factors Influencing the Political Evolution and Comeback of Michael Manley from 1980–1989" (PhD diss., University of Miami, 1993), 90.
[425] Ibid., 91

> my experience with my Brothers and Sisters. I am really proud of you and I know I am going to be more proud when the Tourist Trade starts to boom again, people starts feeling safe to walk Sing and Praise Jah for this wonderful turning point.[426]

Seaga's victory signaled for many a turning point in Jamaica's path from the previous eight years. An unfortunate outcome of the failed Project Land Lease program was food shortage. The food shortage also had immense impact on the tourist industry. Keith Noble in his letter to Seaga, on November 4, 1980, encouraged the prime minister to "take your time and work your plans."[427] But, addressing the food shortage should be Seaga's first priority. "… [P]lease try your very best and do this First give your people food I think that is your biggest problem at the moment the reason why I say this to you is because every day the Americans tells us to go back home to our country and die for hungry because when they come out there for vacation they cannot stay because the country do not have nothing for them to eat.[428] Noble highlighted that there were Jamaicans abroad who were economically privileged but were reluctant to return home because of the food shortage. Noble had the opportunity to travel to Jamaica, but had to shorten his trip due to food scarcity. "I came out there April of 1978 to spend 3 weeks but I only stayed one week I came back in March of 1979 to spend 3 weeks but had to leave after 9 days food was my problem."[429]

Jamaicans who migrated during the Manley years viewed their departure as a sort of exodus. Living in a different country represented not only estrangement from home, but also paralleled the narrative of the children of Israel. On November 25, 1980, Luis Denver of Brooklyn, New York declared: "I the undersigned with great joy do rejoice for the God Given Deliverance towards the Island of Jamaica & I pray & trust that Jamaicans will never allow

[426] *ESF,* 437
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid.

themselves to be sold for slavery again."[430] Slavery here referred to diplomatic and economic ties to Cuba though an embrace of communism. Denver viewed Seaga's election victory as a divine act, "God raised you up as he did Moses for this cause … for Jamaicans are like the Israelites of old, never satisfied."[431] Evral Bernard from the twin island republic of Trinidad and Tobago (who interestingly signed his title as "The Messiah") echoed Denver's view that Jamaica's deliverance paralleled the restoration of Israel. Bernard affirmed Seaga's victory as "the climax of things on earth," citing the scripture of Isaiah 2:2.[432] This victory, he asserted, should extend to the freedom of worship, "so that God will be honored and worshipped in your territory, and absence which would certainly disappoint the one who has put the helm of the leadership of Jamaica into your hands."[433] Rejecting the atheism of communism would restore Jamaica to "more humane relations" presumably within the island and with other nations.[434] Deliverance for Bernard's also included developing agriculture. Focus on this industry, in Bernard's view, would put Jamaica in step with the rest of the world, which was "fast moving toward this goal."[435] Agricultural growth and restoring Christianity was part of the "will of the Father."[436]

Popular opinions about communism in addition to growing weariness of persistent unemployment and food shortages shaped public opinion about the PNP's competency to govern Jamaica. As a result of the disenchantment with PNP policies under democratic socialism, 30 percent of PNP voters deflected during the 1980 election.[437] While economic issues and

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[430] Ibid.
[431] Ibid.
[432] "And it shall come to past in the last days that mountain of the house of the Lord shall be exalted above the mountains and all nations shall flow unto it." *KJV*.
[433] *ESF*, 437.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Ibid.
[436] Ibid.
[437] Carl Stone, "Public Opinion and the 1980 Elections in Jamaica," *Caribbean Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (1981), 3.

sociopolitical upheaval were also major policy issues that factored into voting patterns, ideological issues played a significant part in the election. Stone's popular study about the 1980 election cited that ideological concerns were accountable for approximately 23 percent of voters' concerns and affected their decisions at the polls.[438] He argued, "The 1980 elections in Jamaica attracted intense overseas attention which tended to see the election as a contest between the USA and Cuba because the two parties [were] sharply divided on foreign policy. This perspective grossly exaggerated the role of foreign policy in the election."[439]

Popular opinion on the PNP's embrace of communism and policies enacted by the party under the banner of democratic socialism demonstrate that ideology did in fact have far-reaching effects in the economic and political life of the island. On December 8, 1980, Fredrick Shelley from St. Ann parish wrote an enthusiastic letter condemning the role of Communist ideology in Jamaica's demise.

> Honorable and Dear Sir,
>
> How Glorious it is to us the Majority of this nice and beautiful Country to see that your Heroic administration as an heroic opposition Leader has Landslidely [sic] brought Deliverance to us from the wicked grudgeful [sic] and self-grasping and communism [Michael Manley]. Sir Honorable Seaga, The wicked Rascal had gained a first Landslide victory because the Reigning Prime Minister was not capable of managing such a Post when you took over [as the] opposition Leader. The wicked found that he had an Hero to contend with and then, they stole up that election over you and getting another unfair landslide over you that time.[440] Yes Honorable Prime Minister Mr. Seaga you did not Retreat from their theft, but you still held your Position as Opposition Leader and fought Bitterly for the Saving of the country from their Dirty wicked and Communism Power. And you Sir with the hands of God has delivered us to day from Communism Slavery and Cruelty.[441]

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[438] Ibid., 13.
[439] Ibid., 11.
[440] Shelley's remarks referred to the incumbent JLP Hugh Shearer during the 1972 election. Seaga replaced Shearer as head of the JLP shortly before the 1980 election cycle.
[441] *ESF*, 437.

Shelley, like Luis Denver, likened Jamaica to the children of Israel in bondage under Manley's leadership. Manley represented Joshua, the prophet who succeeded Moses after the exodus from Egypt. In Shelley's story however, Seaga represented Moses—the prophet who led the children of Israel through forty years of wilderness towards Canaan, the promised land. "I do hope and trust you'll (Sir) [dispense] a Beneficial Duty as an Honorable Prime Minister of this Sweet Country [.] Michael Manley did call himself (Joshua) But [You] Sir should be called Moses who delivered the children of Israel out of Pharaoh's Bondage, for you have delivered Jamaica out of the wicked … Power of Communism of Wicked Michael Manley."[442]

Shelley's enthusiasm about the election results was shared amongst many Jamaicans on the island and abroad. The letters expressed hope for change and affirmed the JLP's promise to "deliver" Jamaica from its economic and social challenges into a more promising future. The JLP's victory, according to Seaga, was "an overwhelming mandate by the people of Jamaica."[443] Seaga's victory was imbued with ethical and religious sentiments that demonstrate the intricacies of faith and politics in Jamaica. Social change on the island was unimaginable without the language and symbolism of Christianity. The sentiments of ordinary Jamaicans expressed in these letters demonstrate how religion and politics shaped intimate aspects their lived experience. Religious organization and church leaders sent letters of support to Seaga as well. These letters offered congratulatory remarks and offered support for national initiatives that would affirm the role of religion in Jamaica. Reverend C.L. Stewart, on behalf of the Jamaica Pentecostal Union Apostolic (also a member of the Jamaica Council of Churches), extended congratulations and the churches' support of Seaga's actions on taking office:

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[442] Ibid.
[443] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Overwhelming Mandate—Seaga" October 31, 1980.

> The Jamaica Pentecostal Union (Apostolic) is committed to the spiritual, moral and social development of our fellow Jamaicans, and do believe that success personally or nationally is dependent upon our relationship with God. We were therefore further heartened concerning the welfare of our nation as we observed that—
>
> your first act on hearing the results of the elections was to seek God in prayer[444]—
> you called for an early National Day of Prayer—
> you have expressed a philosophy of malice towards none.
>
> Prior to the elections we spent days and nights in prayer and fasting for the welfare of our beloved country. We shall continue to seek Him who promised " Seek ye first the first the kingdom of God, And his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you." (Matt.6:33) May God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, bless you and give you wisdom and understanding to carry out your responsibilities.[445]

The sentiments in these letters reflected the desire to link God's providence with the outcome of the elections. Communism and godliness were antithetical. The victory of Seaga's party promised a return to an established religio-political order based on Christianity. As discussed in chapter 1, a vital religion based on Christian values, family life, and educational training based on godly principles.

"Change without Chaos"

The JLP's program of action was outlined in their manifesto "Change Without Chaos."[446] The party outlined changes in two areas: rural development and youth development. With reference to the development and youth programs under democratic socialism, Seaga declared that JLP's new program addressed "the fundamental problems of the deteriorating rural sector and the accumulated waste of human prospects evident in the patchwork approach to the

[444] *The Daily Gleaner*, "Starting with a Prayer," Friday, October 31, 1980, 1. Seaga reportedly called his rector to request a meeting to pray before heading to a victory celebration in Tivoli Gardens.
[445] *ESF*, 437.
[446] The Jamaica Labor Party, *Change Without Chaos: A National Programme for Reconstruction*.

problems of youth."[447] The title was the party's new mantra in approaching social and economic change. It was the party's "procedural mode of operation" and its response to the political chaos that characterized government regime changes.[448] Per Seaga, "change without chaos" reflected the party's commitment to "Equal Rights and Justice"—the motto of the Jamaica Labor Party. The manifesto promised dramatic changes to economic policy. Jamaica's sociopolitical "chaos" under democratic socialism was transformed into a new economic order. Economic restructuring, it was argued, proposed to rectify the "abuses of fundamental civil rights, discrimination ruthlessly directed at ideological opponents, and policies of victimization [which] have generated social tensions.…"[449] Social problems were the result of ill-conceived economic policies implemented under the PNP. The new government offered a solution to both problems by developing programs and approaches that prioritized the country's financial health. To this end, the JLP stated five main goals of national development: improved living standards, social stability, cultural development, conservation and development of natural resources, and stable governance. Cultural development was viewed as a means to "increase self-awareness," which, the manifesto argued, was necessary for Jamaican's sense of purpose and direction.[450] The central questions that shaped the JLP's proposals were "Where are the resources? Where is the money to come from?" The final question on the sources of capital to drive national development led the government to adopt aggressive capitalist policies under a program of structural adjustment.

Deliverance from democratic socialism and communism came with diplomatic shifts. Jamaica broke diplomatic ties with Cuba and requested that the ambassador, Ulysses Estrada,

[447] Ibid., 1.
[448] Ibid., 2.
[449] Ibid., 3.
[450] Ibid.

leave the country.[451] In October 1983, Jamaica joined Barbados, the Organization for Eastern Caribbean States, and the United States to invade Grenada to overthrow socialist-leader Maurice Bishop.[452] Relations with the United States improved dramatically. The same year Seaga was elected, Republican Ronald Reagan became president of the United States. Seaga became the darling of the Reagan administration. Closer diplomatic ties between the United States and Jamaica resulted in increased aid for Jamaica under what Seaga referred to as a "Marshall Plan" for aid to Central America the Caribbean. According to Waters, "Never before in Jamaica's history had a prime minister had as close and a harmonious relationship with an American president as did Seaga with Ronald Reagan."[453] Seaga was presented with the American Friendship Medal in 1983 for his work in furthering "democratic institutions and a free market economy and for courageous leadership in the cause for Freedom."[454] According to a presidential adviser, "democracy had taken strong root under Prime Minister Seaga."[455]

Along with these diplomatic shifts came structural adjustment programs. "This election was dubbed the 'IMF Election' since the central point of dispute between the opposing parties was whether Jamaica should continue to seek IMF assistance or whether an alternate path should be pursued."[456] In April 1981 Seaga delivered on is campaign promises and JLP commitment to negotiate a new agreement with IMF. The agreement addressed the "need to expand output and

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[451] *The Break in Jamaica-Cuba Diplomatic Relations. Statement by the Rt. Hon. Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica*. October 29, 1981. Also see *The Daily Gleaner*, November 4, 1980. There were allegations that Estrada was also a Cuban intelligence agent.
[452] Edward P. G. Seaga, *The Grenada Invasion: The Inside Story* (Mona, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, 2009). Bishop lead the New Jewel Movement, which staged a coup in 1979. Manley and a few CARICOM countries recognized the new government. Seaga, then leader of the opposition, condemned the coup. Castro also lent technical support to Grenada while under Bishop's leadership.
[453] Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 249. Reagan became the first sitting US president to visit the English-speaking Caribbean since 1934.
[454] Ibid.
[455] Jamaica Consulate Release, October 25, 1983, quoted in Waters, *Race, Class, and Political Symbols*, 250.
[456] Derrick Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups."

investment through relaxing the production constraints imposed by foreign exchange shortages, opening up the economy to imports, freeing prices, and instituting a programme of divestment of certain public enterprises."[457] The agreement called for the removal of wage restrictions, a hiring freeze on future government employment, promoting tourism, increasing exportation of raw materials to bolster foreign exchange, and cutting some public sector industrial and commercial operations. The rationale was that this would free up more government spending on social sectors.

Contrary to the JLP's promise of "change without chaos," chaos came in the form of structural adjustment policies. The economic policy changes implemented after the 1980 election had a direct role in creating the infrastructural and social problems described in the epigraph of this chapter. An overview of the effects of structural adjustment helps us understand the role of dons such as Christopher Coke, how he wielded his power with the support of politicians, and the incursion of 2011.

Structural Adjustment in Jamaica and its Discontents

Structural adjustment is a "process by which many developing nations are reshaping their economies to be more free market oriented."[458] The process of adjustment assumes that an economy wherein prices and products were deregulated would be most productive and efficient. In order to initiate the adjustment process, foreign commercial banks and multilateral institutions provide loans. The two key institutions are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Conceived at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in July 1944, forty-four nations,

[457] Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups," 131.
[458] Pamela Sparr, "What Is Structural Adjustment?," in *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, ed. Pamela Sparr and Joan French (London: Zed Books, 1994), 1.

including the United States, France, Great Britain and Russia, gathered to discuss greater economic cooperation at the end of the Second World War. The motivation for the conference was in large part how to prevent another Great Depression, which created the economic circumstances that led to the appeal and rise of Nazism and fascism in Europe. The IMF was designed provide policy advice and support for development programs along with loans on a short-term basis. The World Bank provided loans for long-term development plans along with loans and technical support.

Structural adjustment operates on the logic that an economy may be flawed and need internal changes. The goal of internal restructuring in Jamaica was to "cement a set of international political and economic relations which define the location of Jamaica's economy within the international division of labour."[459] Jamaica was therefore designated a "supplier of cheap, low-skill labour, with little opportunity for increasing value-added production, and thus improving productivity and the rewards to labour."[460]

The logic of structural adjustment finds its roots in neoclassical economic theory. The theory offers a set of principles to explain how capital moves and how the economy operates most efficiently. Neoclassical economic theory assumes the individual is the relevant unit of analysis. Economic hierarchy is a result of individual choices and a product of human consumption, driven by greed and personal gain. Individual choice is a primary force in choosing one set of actions over another, with each choice geared towards maximizing outcomes. In this way, individuals operate separately from social forces that dictate their choices. The theory assumes that individuals have equal access to economic opportunities and capital that would

[459] Patricia Y. Anderson and Michael Witter, *Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change: A Case-Study of Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 1992), 49.

[460] Ibid., 49.

maximize their well-being. As Sparr argues, the theory is deeply ahistorical and ignores the social and historical forces that prohibit the types of self-actualization it purports. Without an account of colonialism and gender-bias, neoclassical economic theory creates blind spots in structural adjustment programs aimed at raising the economic standing of the developing world.

In Jamaica, the economic soil was fertile for structural adjustment policies. Jamaica had a long history of extraction without reinvestment and economic dependency. The economic exploitation under colonialism evolved into "industrialization by invitation" in the post-Independence period. Structural adjustment ushered in a new layer of dependency—this time through loans and conditionalities that further subdued Jamaica's economic autonomy to foreign interests.

Jamaica's appeal to the World Bank and IMF began in the late 1970s, under Michael Manley. The global oil crisis and growing national deficits pressured Manley to approach the IMF. An agreement was reached but eventually abandoned. These agreements, and subsequent ones, demanded strict fiscal cuts and expansive import policies to generate capital to repay loans. For Manley, the burden of adjustment further disadvantaged the poor and vulnerable. Between 1977 and 1986, Jamaica entered five agreements, all of which were terminated because the government failed the requisite performance tests that measured the extent to which a condition or parts of the agreement were violated.[461] In summary, five major policies comprised structural adjustment in Jamaica: devaluation of Jamaican currency against the US dollar; deregulation of the local economy by relaxing control of imports; deduction of the fiscal deficit; tightening monetary policy; and divestment of state-run programs and institutions.[462]

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[461] A. Lynn Bolles, "Surviving Manley and Seaga: Case Studies of Women's Responses to Structural Adjustment Policies," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 23, no. 3, 4 (1991), 23.
[462] Omar Davies and Patricia Anderson, "The Impact of the Recession and Adjustment Policies on Poor Urban Women in Jamaica" (UNICEF, 1987), 10.

These policies had a profound effect on labor production and wages, and increased the costs of living. The devaluation of currency made it difficult to afford imported goods as domestic items were driven off the market. Food prices increased but wages remained the same. According to Ministry of Health reports, between 1979 and 1985, the minimum wage covered less than 40 percent of the standard food basket necessary to feed a family of five. In this six-year period, the cost of feeding a household increased 429 percent.[463] Put differently, in 1977, 35.4 percent of laborers reported that their income could only cover half of the minimum required to sustain a household. By 1985, 61 percent of workers reported their income was inadequate to meet household needs.[464]

The decline in national agriculture and depressed wages made it difficult to afford nutritious food. Government subsidies were in place but only reached 20 percent of eligible recipients.[465] Children and youth were the most vulnerable to malnutrition. In 1982 the 0-4 age group represented 12.2 percent of the population. The national nutrition statistics demonstrate that by 1985, 36.3 percent of children aged zero to four in urban areas were undernourished, a 3 percent increase from 1978. This percentage increase was proportionate to the number of children of this age group admitted to Bustamante's Children's Hospital for malnutrition and gastroenteritis.[466]

Low wages across all industries and the increases in cost of living had several effects. Women and men had to "search for supplementary sources of income, or additional hours of

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[463] Ministry of Health statistics reported in Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups," 139.
[464] Anderson and Witter, *Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change*, 73–74.
[465] Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups," 141. The Food Aid Programme started in 1984 in order "to cushion the most vulnerable and poorest group—school children, pregnant and nursing women and infants, the elderly, and very poor people—from some of the effects of the government's economic policies." School feeding programs also reached only a quarter of eligible children. These programs were suspended for almost a year in 1985.
[466] Boyd, "The Impact of Adjustment Policies on Vulnerable Groups," 143–144.

work. [There was] greater reliance on multiple earners within and across households, job abandonment, labour force withdrawal and external migration."[467] In the Kingston and St. Andrew area, twice the number of women than men earned approximately USD $18 between 1980 and 1985.

There were hiring freezes in 1977 and 1985. Fewer jobs in the formal sector and increased migration from rural to urban areas contributed to unemployment and forced eligible workers into the secondary or informal labor market. Migration patterns to the North American lessened the number of eligible workers on the island, but, adjusted for these numbers, the unemployment figures were still bleak. Between 1978 and 1985, "net migration totaled 107,400 or an average of 13,400 per year. In the following four-year period (1986–1989), net migration totaled 100,300, equivalent to an annual average 25,000 persons [per year]."[468] Jamaican migrants accounted for 60 percent of legal admissions to North American during this period.[469]

Prior to the implementation of structural adjustment policies, female labor force participation increased in the 1970s but after 1980 started to decline. In 1980, 66.4 percent of women were employed in both the formal and informal sectors. By 1989, the number dropped to 62.5 percent.[470] As the formal labor market decreased, more Jamaicans moved into the informal sector. These jobs included street vending or higglering, domestic work, peasant agriculture, and construction services. In Kingston and St. Andrew, the number of workers in the informal sector increased from 38 percent in 1977 to 44 percent in 1989.[471]

[467] Anderson and Witter, *Crisis, Adjustment and Social Change,* 50.
[468] Ibid., 55.
[469] Ibid., 56.
[470] Ibid.
[471] Ibid., 69.

In 1977, women represented 32.2 percent of laborers in the informal sector. This number increased to 38.1 percent by 1989.[472] Prior to Manley's adoption of IMF policies in 1977, women held greater representation in government jobs, health, and education (social services) than men. Though there was a hiring freeze on government jobs at this time, women represented 22.6 percent of government and social services jobs compared to 15 percent of men. By 1989 this decreased to 8.4 percent and 14.1 percent, respectively.[473] Women's vulnerability with structural adjustment policies were compounded. As heads of household, Jamaican women in urban communities bore the burden of unemployment. A. Lynn Bolles states that poor working-class women had a lesser chance of finding or maintaining a job. Also, between 1980 and 1985, income disparities between men and women who were heads of household made it difficult to afford the cost of living. In Kingston, 72.6 percent of women earned less than $18 USD/month. Whereas only 39.3 percent of male heads of households fell into that category.[474] The increased cost of living was a result of the rising cost of utilities, which was owned by foreign investors, and food, the prices of which skyrocketed when Seaga removed import restrictions further subjecting the domestic market to greater foreign competition. Bolles concludes, "thus urban women, and subsequently their dependents, faced the challenge of surviving the outcomes of structural adjustment policies with a substantial income handicap."[475]

These figures demonstrate that with structural adjustment, the quality of life where wages and employment were concerned diminished. Fiscal cuts meant less jobs and government services. This pushed men and women into informal jobs with women having a greater representation in domestic and vending jobs. Outward migration to the North American lessened

[472] Ibid., 67.
[473] Ibid.
[474] Bolles, "Surviving Manley and Seaga," 25.
[475] Ibid., 27.

the quantity of the labor force, but it did not have a marked effect on the employment opportunities. Wages remained stagnant; the cost of living increased. This had an adverse effect on female-headed households. Women's wages were significantly less than men's even though they had greater representation in both the formal and informal sectors.

Wages and unemployment were only one side of the problem. The devalued Jamaican dollar, coupled with a limited export market, yielded low returns. Seaga's open-door policy of foreign investment increased domestic production; simultaneously the government took on more loans from the IMF. In 1984, commercial bank loans came with a 30 percent interest rate, further plummeting the national debt.[476] A worldwide recession adversely affected the bauxite industry—Jamaican's main source of foreign exchange. The two major alumina producers, Alcoa and Reynolds, combined their operations and closed production sites in Jamaica and the United States. This had devastating results for Jamaica's already faltering economy and further challenged the livelihoods of vulnerable groups.

Pentecostalism and Structural Development

The role of the individual in neoclassical economic theory has implications for how we understand Christian missions in the New World—its emphasis on social change as a product of individual piety and action. Historically both forces worked in tandem to shape the discourse around social change and progress. The emergence of Pentecostal Christianity—in Jamaica and the Global South—as a force in shaping moral orders centers the individual as an agent for collective progress and social flourishing. The outcomes of which align with the goals of modern development strategies.

[476] Ibid., 24.

The previous section described the economic and social effects of structural adjustment on the lives of residents of Tivoli Gardens. The fiscal and social policies effected under Seaga created conditions that primed Tivoli Gardens and similar garrison communities for deeper entrenchment and continuation of patronage systems under local dons. This final section returns to the argument that began this chapter, the role of religious values and rhetoric in articulating social change. The grievances and congratulatory remarks addressed to Seaga demonstrated the extent to which Christian rhetoric framed anticommunism and the embrace of Seaga's message of deliverance. For many, deliverance was rekindling beneficial diplomatic connections with the United States and seeking viable solutions to Jamaica's persistent economic downturn. As the nineteenth-century discourse on progress and uplift demonstrated, progress was always framed in terms of government and society aligned under God's will and divine purpose. The history of social change in Jamaica was bound up with Christian groups that either supported or provided a language to critique slavery, labor, and land rights (as was the case with the Baptist War led by Sam Sharpe in 1830 and the Morant Bay Rebellion led by Paul Bogle and George William Gordon in 1865). Jamaica's history of religion and rebellion depicts a struggle for progress and economic rights that was consistently bound up with Christian worldviews. In the case of Garveyism, Rastafari, and the International Peacekeepers under Claudius Henry, radicalism was never too divorced from the already entrenched beliefs about God—religion was always a handmaiden to progress.

Under structural adjustment, religion played a similar role. This claim challenges arguments that the rise of secularism renders religion and religious affiliation workings of politics and governance. As a result, "[t]he practice and discipline of development was founded

on the belief that religion was not important to development processes."[477] The rapid growth of Pentecostalism across the Global South forced scholars to reevaluate the role of religion in development.

These growing numbers raise questions about the socioeconomic and political climate in which the spread of the religion has been most profound. What are the historic conditions and current circumstances that facilitate the spread of Pentecostalism in the Global South? What is the socioeconomic profile of Pentecostals? Put differently, in what ways do class and social status play a role in the appeal and practice of Pentecostalism?

Studies on the growth of Pentecostalism explore the historical and socioeconomic conditions that give room to its rise and practice.[478] Caribbean and African countries have deeply connected histories of decolonization and economic development. With the shared experience of slavery through the transatlantic slave trade and as outposts of European control, African nations and Caribbean countries were also susceptible to the same economic convulsions such as the 1970 world recession and oil crisis. Countries in both regions experimented with socialism as a system of governance. African economies, such as that of the Caribbean, relied on structural adjustment in the 1980s to fund development projects and build infrastructure. The overlaps and parallel experiences of African and Caribbean nations allows for an analysis that draws largely

[477] Freeman, "The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Development," 1.
[478] Freeman's edited volume, cited above, includes studies on Pentecostalism and development, and the role of nongovernment organizations in Tanzania, Kenya, Ghana, Ethiopia, and Uganda. For case studies that highlight the differences and uniformity among Pentecostal churches in Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, see André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, eds., *From Babel to Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001). The social, historical and cultural practices of Pentecostalism in Asia see Allan Anderson and Edmond Tang, eds., *Asian and Pentecostal: The Charismatic Face of Christianity in Asia* (Oxford: APTS Press, 2005).

on studies on Pentecostalism and development in Africa where that of the Caribbean, particularly Jamaica, is absent or limited.

To consider the historical conditions and current circumstances that facilitate the growth of Pentecostalism in Jamaica, one can look to the experiences of African countries. Jamaica, like other African nations, was at the mercy of neoliberal forces that dictated the methods and approaches of structural adjustment. As previously discussed, structural adjustment policies were developed with the logic of neoclassical economics theory that privileged the free market and minimized the role of the government in setting economic restrictions on trade and production. The value system undergirding structural adjustment placed great value on the role of individual, driven by their own consumption patterns and desires for self-actualization through material security. These values informed the logic of structural adjustment. This logic demanded changes in receiving countries that were consistent with the pre-independence standard of economic extraction without reinvestment, namely through relaxed export/import regulations. The cost of adjustment demanded austerity measures that required cuts to government spending—mostly in social welfare sectors that had adverse effects on women and children. As Sparr noted, "[W]hen the various policies associated with moving towards a more free-market economy are taken together, they potentially have profound and wide-ranging effects on the lives of women and girls."[479] These policies influence health care, education, income, employment and working conditions, access to property, birth rates, migration, and a myriad of life choices related to marriage and family planning. Structural adjustment policies have a profound effect on

[479] Pamela Sparr, "Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment," in *Mortgaging Women's Lives: Feminist Critiques of Structural Adjustment*, ed. Pamela Sparr and Joan French (London: Zed Books, 1994), 21.

vulnerable populations who are caught in an intricate web of outcomes that in some cases reinforce and contradict each other.[480]

As studies emerged on the human cost of structural adjustment, international donors shifted their way of offering aid. In African countries, less funds were channeled through bilateral aid to the state and redirected to international and domestic NGOs. According to Freeman, "This change in aid funding, combined with new political space opened up by the weakening state, has led to … an explosion of NGOs, civil society organizations and grassroots associations around the world."[481] The characteristics of NGOs made them the preferred option of development agencies. "Seen as politically neutral, value-based civil society organizations with close links to the grassroots, NGOs have often appeared as the ideal development agent."[482] The organizations, in theory privileged community participation by stimulating local involvement.

The value system undergirding NGOs mirrored the neoliberal impulse that drove structural adjustment. Both initiatives were considered value-neutral, secular, and driven by non-Western economic and organizational strategies. Whereas structural adjustment programs were an attempt to improve the economic welfare of developing countries, NGOs sought to address social problems "that would increase [the wellbeing of local people] and lead to economic growth."[483] However both structural adjustment and NGOs were temporary solutions driven by Northern economic priorities and values. Like SAPs, NGO models encouraged social elevation by focusing on individual behavior. The latter's model of progress hinged on skills, education, and access to resources. Economic and legal empowerment were the markers for individual

[480] Ibid.
[481] Freeman, "The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Development," 5.
[482] Ibid.
[483] Ibid.

progress that would result in widespread collective change. But the financial structure of both SAPs and NGOs remained similar. NGOs in theory encouraged participatory approaches but were largely accountable to foreign stakeholders. The power imbalance therefore led to what scholars described as the "recolonization" of Africa and the Global South and a "type of secular ministry."[484] As a result, "NGOs have failed to bring about significant change because they remain part of the mainstream development ideology, promoting a spirit of development resolutely based on modernisation, capitalism and Westernization."[485]

According to Freeman, the growth of Pentecostalism emerged during the rise of NGOs in the Global South. By the time structural adjustment policies were in full-swing, a combined 514,000 Jamaicans out of a population of 2.2 million, were reported as belonging to Pentecostal (predominantly Apostolic and Unitarian) and the Church of God. In short, approximately 23 percent of Jamaicans were Pentecostals. These were the only two categories in which Pentecostals could declare their affiliation. The number of Jamaicans declaring affiliation with Pentecostal churches was double that of Baptists, the predecessor to the Pentecostal movement in Jamaica.[486] The 2011 census reflects a similar trend. Pentecostals account for a significant portion of religious affiliations. Pentecostals and Church of God members (including Church of God in Jamaica, Church of God of Prophecy, and the New Testament Church of God) comprise 27.5 percent of Jamaica's religious affiliations. In Kingston, more specifically, they represent 26.6 percent of religious affiliations. In each denomination, women represent over 56 percent of the members.

The economic and social climate in which individuals live have implications for their religious practices and the message and outreach of local religious institutions. Like the Baptist

[484] Ibid., 7.
[485] Ibid., 9.
[486] Austin-Broos, "Churches and the State," 10.

Church in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and early Pentecostal churches in Clarendon, Deliverance Tabernacle in Tivoli Gardens exists within a particular socioeconomic milieu that influences the character of the church and its mission.

Of a population of sixteen thousand, Tivoli Gardens can be characterized as a youthful population. Persons below thirty years account for 65.8 percent of the total population. An estimated 39.8 percent of the population in Tivoli Gardens was below age fifteen and the youth cohort accounts for 19.3 percent of the total population. An estimated 60 percent of female head of households were single while 27.6 percent were in common-law unions. Only approximately 5 percent were married.[487]

Where unemployment is concerned: Approximately 64 percent (63.5 percent) of persons below forty years in Tivoli Gardens were unemployed of which the youth cohort, that is persons in the fourteen to twenty-four age group accounted for 30.4 percent. The highest percentage of unemployed was reported within the twenty to twenty-four age group. Unemployment among male youth was higher than females in the same age group, 33.0 percent and 28.8 percent, respectively. Nineteen percent of the unemployed have never worked in their adult life. The majority of the unemployed, 38.1 percent, were unemployed for five years and more. More females experienced longer periods of unemployment than males, 43.4 percent and 28.9 percent, respectively. There were several sources of financial support identified for other unemployed persons in the household. The most frequently identified responses were support from local

[487] Seventy percent of all household heads in Tivoli Gardens have a member enrolled in an educational institution. The majority, however, are enrolled in prep/primary level institutions. There is a sharp decrease in the number of persons enrolled in educational institutions beyond the secondary level as only 3.4 percent each are enrolled in postsecondary and tertiary institutions. "Tivoli Gardens Community Profile" (Kingston, Jamaica: Social Development Commission, April 2009), 13–17.

network of family and friends and remittances, which accounted for 28.6 percent and 22.7 percent of responses, respectively. There were several reasons cited for unemployment of other unemployed household members. The most common reasons cited were trying to find work, but not having the skills or qualifications, which accounted for 22.7 percent of the responses, followed by no reason for unemployment, 13.5 percent, and illness, which accounted for 11.5 percent of the responses.

The difficulty of gaining employment has much to do with training. While a majority of heads of households, 62.5 percent, acquired a high school diploma, those with tertiary and post-secondary training account for 3.0 percent and 1.5 percent, respectively. Academic qualifications in Tivoli Gardens are low. Nearly 74 percent of persons fourteen years and over had no academic qualifications. There were more males without academic qualifications when compared with females, 75.9 percent and 71.2 percent respectively.[488] These statistics provide a context for the youth outreach focus of Deliverance Tabernacle, and the types of programming available to women and youth at the church.

[488] All data reported here are from the previously cited "Tivoli Gardens Community Profile."

CHAPTER 5: "Tivoli For Jesus"

The Incursion as Spiritual Warfare

I sat with Pastor Morrison inside the church hall. The metal frame chairs with blue cushions were comfortable and beautifully worn. We met to debrief a few days after the adult focus group had taken place. On a Friday evening, five women from the church gathered to discuss parenting, living a Christian life, and their experiences during and after the May 2010 security operation. Many people from the church lived through a week of military occupation in which the Jamaica Defense Force and the Jamaica Constabulary Force sought to apprehend and extradite Christopher "Dudus" Coke to the United States. The experiences of those who remained in Tivoli Gardens during the Incursion were painful and life-threatening. Violent encounters between gunmen and law enforcement were commonplace. Two security operations in 1997 and 2001 took the lives of thirty-one persons.[489] However, the events of 2010 were unprecedented. Pastor Morrison and the members of Deliverance Tabernacle saw it coming. According to Pastor Morrison, "In 2007 the Lord spoke to us about attacking the beast. So 2007 we then, He then directed us, to have some fasting. So we had some fasting services and then after the fasting services, at another time [the Lord] say that we were to go around the community seven (7) times, seven Wednesdays we had a sort of prayer march."

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[489] "Tivoli Gardens Flashback," *The Gleaner*, May 22, 2010, accessed 24 May 2017, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100522/lead/lead6.html. At the time of this writing, there is a war between competing factions in West Kingston over the attempted murder of Leighton "Livity" Coke, younger brother of Christopher Coke. See "'Livity' Coke, Female Companion Shot in Hellshire, Cops On Alert" *The Gleaner*, April 30, 2017, accessed 24 May 2017, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/news/20170430/update-livity-coke-female-companion-shot-hellshire-cops-alert.

Like the seven days of creation described in the book of Genesis, and the Israelites' march around the walls of Jericho seven times, recounted in the book of Joshua, the number seven is deeply significant. Spiritually strengthened after seven days of fasting, for seven days, once a week, members from the church engaged in a processional throughout the seven subcommunities in Tivoli Gardens. Some drove, others walked. They had microphones and loudspeakers warning community members about "attacking the beast."

> The warning was that Tivoli was gonna be under siege and soldiers will be coming from all direction. It's not like the Adams-led attack in 2001.[490] They have never seen this before; that is coming up on them. They've never seen this before. They don't have no clue as to what is coming against them and they will be surrounded, and we reach out to them. Tivoli will be surrounded. And there is no escape and I warned the guys that was in the system that were by the [community] center. I say bring in your guns, your guns won't be able to help you. What is coming against you, your guns cannot stop it. Bring in your guns. So they were well-warned. We say, "you won't be able to go out to buy or sell, so stock up with what you have, stock with what you can stock up with." And then we came to church the Sunday afterwards and we warned the men that those who have sons in the system, tell them to come out of it.

The prophecy of "attacking the beast" and young men coming out of the "system" demanded a conversion of priorities. The prophecy called for a shift from the security of a system that provided means and ways of survival that relied on coercion and violence, to one that required faith in the unseen and God's providence. The beast would be humbled and the system, destroyed. Members of Deliverance Tabernacle prophesied the system's demise. And they, too, were deeply wounded by its destruction.

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[490] "Tivoli Gardens Flashback."

This chapter recounts the testimonies of women and children who survived the 2010 Incursion. Their narratives speak to the agony of practicing Christians living within a community that operates on a logic of violence and loyalty to an earthly god-figure, Dudus. The details within personal narratives about The Incursion borders on sensationalism. The event was in fact sensational. However, given the highly politicized nature of the Incursion, and the ongoing stigmas against residents of Tivoli Gardens by law enforcement and the general population, it is worth recounting these events in the words of those who lived inside the "system." Through our conversations, research participants were able to relate their own truths and validate their experiences. In my position as a cultural insider in the Jamaican context, but a woefully inexperienced outsider to this community, my role was not to arrive at an objective truth about the events leading up the Incursion and what transpired during the four days (May 24–27) of the operation. Rather, this was the task of an investigative Commission of Enquiry, which convened five years after the Incursion. During the televised proceedings, witnesses from Tivoli Gardens, the JCF, and the JDF were called to testify. Jamaicans watched and opined on social media about the victims' demeanor and lawyers' harsh and at times condescending cross-examination.[491] What follows is an effort to foreground the voices of those whose narratives were greeted with disbelief and suspicion on account of their social class and status as a Tivoli resident. In my retelling, I preserve the colloquialisms and word order with parenthetical translations that might assist the reader. In areas where comprehension is a challenge, I invite the reader to literally read-aloud—which encourages deeper engagement with the content.

The chapter also conceptualizes the Incursion as spiritual warfare. The "system" within Tivoli Gardens demanded fealty to Christopher Coke and his enforcers. It required loyalty and

[491] To get a sense of public sentiments around the Commission of Enquiry testimonies, consult #WestKngCOE hashtag on Twitter.

obedience in order to access resources and material goods. This was most evident in the defense of Coke by a group of women who organized a protest against Coke's extradition. Approximately two hundred women, dressed in white t-shirts, marched to the Denham Town police station carrying placards, one of which poignantly declared, "Jesus Die for Us! We Die for Dudus!" For many this was a reflection of a type of uncritical acceptance of Coke's authority. Connecting Coke with Jesus Christ as a persecuted and crucified figure invites a different perspective on what perhaps might motivate residents' loyalty and defense of Coke. In a country where Christian tropes and religious ethics prevail in the public sphere, drawing a parallel between Coke and the Christ-figure demands that we understand his role beyond a purely instrumental or politically strategic one. Likewise, the views and positions held by members of Deliverance Tabernacle regarding the "system" and the inevitability of the incursion are best understood within a framework that privileges Christian values. As previously discussed, religious ethics refers to the Christian norms and principles that govern morality, justice, and human dignity in Jamaica. Coke's deification and the church's assertion to attack the very system that maintained Coke's position demonstrates contentions over spiritual and temporal authority in Tivoli Gardens.

"Wha Mek Yuh Neva Come Out A Tivoli Gardens?"

On the evening of May 23, 2010, Prime Minister Bruce Golding (JLP) declared a state of emergency for the downtown area of Kingston, beginning at 6pm. Intelligence suggested that there were ongoing efforts to fortify Tivoli Gardens in preparation for the security operation to

apprehend Christopher Coke. There were rumors that Coke had already escaped Tivoli by the time the security forces entered the community, but loyalists were nonetheless prepared for resistance. In a radio broadcast at 6pm—the same time the state of emergency was scheduled to be in effect— the Commissioner of Police announced on the radio that "law-abiding citizens in Tivoli Gardens" should evacuate the community.[492] Busses, located at the junction of Industrial Terrace and Marcus Garvey Drive, would be available to transport residents to the National Arena. For the residents of Reptile Row, the evacuation point was approximately two miles from the closest intersection. It would be a longer walk for residents who lived further inside of Tivoli Gardens. The evacuation option was an effort to reduce injuries to individuals once the operation started.[493] However, no one showed up.

There are several reasons why the offer to evacuate was unsuccessful. Some claimed to not have known about the evacuation plan. Others said they heard of it but had little time to plan. The most persistent reason was a lack of trust in the Jamaica Constabulary Force. According to Annette Marshall, whose home was damaged by a mortar, "No garrison community likes the police because they brutalise us."[494] Troy Palmer, a chef whose home also sustained damage during the incursion, admitted that he was aware that busses were available. However, neither he nor his relatives availed themselves because "me say dem a carry we [away] and kill we."[495] Kishonna Gordon, who was thirteen years old at the time of the Incursion, sustained a bullet wound to her right leg while taking her injured stepfather to the nearby Kingston Public Hospital during the operation. She made it clear, in no uncertain terms, that neither she nor her family

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[492] Matthias Schwartz, "A Massacre in Jamaica," *The New Yorker*, December 12, 2011, http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2011/12/12/111212fa_fact_schwartz.
[493] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry Appointed to Enquire into the Events Which Occurred in Western Kingston and Related Areas in May 2010* (Jamaica, June 2016), 147. Hereafter referred to as *COE*.
[494] Ibid., 148.
[495] Ibid.

members would avail themselves to the bus provided for evacuation. “The police and soldier, them have a coaster bus.… Sum ah we fi come when dem say dem want kill we off? We nah mek no police trick we. We nah guh down deh.”

Gordon, Palmer, and Marshall’s reasons were typical of most residents’ decisions to remain. According to the commission’s findings, the offer to evacuate was not taken up on account of the late notice. After all, the offer was announced publicly, around 6pm, near the time the State of Emergency commenced. In addition, the invitation to evacuate was only extended to Tivoli Gardens residents. Residents of Denham Town were not included in the announcement. The southwesterly meeting point was at a far enough distance to discourage Tivoli Gardens residents, much less so for those in neighboring Denham Town. The barricades, erected by Coke loyalists, also made it difficult for residents to leave the community. They were under the watchful eye of Coke’s gunmen. Some barricades were allegedly rigged with explosives that would deter vehicles from entering.

Despite the failed evacuation attempt, some persons did manage to leave the community prior to the state of emergency. Some parents sent their children to stay with relatives. But for many, the absence of “other” places of safety and comfort limited their options. Diane, fifty years old, a widow and resident of Tivoli Gardens for twenty-eight years, splits her time between living with her daughter in Portmore—a suburb outside of Kingston— and in Tivoli Gardens. She has been a member of the church for eight years. Diane speculated, “Some people stay because probably dem naav no weh fi go. And some people never know seh it would a dat bad. [They] never know, never experience nothing like that.”

Sandra, thirty-six years old, a mother of two, lost her eldest son to gun violence in 2012. She has been a member of the church for nine years and was born in Tivoli Gardens. She stayed

in Tivoli Gardens during the incursion. She echoed Diane's sentiments that not many people had options for leaving Tivoli Gardens.

> Everybody couldn't left out a Tivoli Garden and go weh. Some a di people dem naav nowhere to go, you understand. And you leave yuh house and come out a yuh house and di soldier and police dem come out a yuh house an dem thief yuh. They thief yuh money, they thief yuh to!
>
> So everybody say, 'wha mek you never come out a Tivoli Garden?' Dem don't understand, dem don't know. Come out and go where? Is not everybody have people a road, you understand. A no everybody have house weh fi go. Some people a Tivoli Garden dem naav no weh. Some people a Garden dem naav no weh fi go. Dem no have no fambili (family) a road, dem baan (born) and grow in a Tivoli Gardens, you understand. And everybody here, mada, faada, granny, everybody baan and grow a Tivoli Garden. So where dem a go? Go a road go sleep pon sidewalk or sleep pon floor? No you cannot just leave yuh house like that.

In addition to the practical concerns, Sandra explained that some women also voiced deeply held views that it was their Christian duty to remain. "You ask di question why do people stay? We did have to stay. Because if we never stay might be Tivoli Garden would a be a flat, flat, flat community. Because the Christian was standing in di gap, was praying for mercy, you understand. Di Christian dem stand up and pray, send up prayer to heaven and ask fi mercy. Because I was one of them."

Diane likened the events in Tivoli Gardens to the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. In the Book of Genesis, the scripture depicts the two cities as sites of extreme human vice and their inevitable destruction by "fire and brimstone."[496] "Even when God did a go down go destroy Sodom and Gomorrah and even dat I use to God and I tell God say if you even find ten (10), have mercy, spare us. And mi start pray. We did have to stay. We'd have to stay because if we

[496] Genesis 19:24–25,*KJV*.

never stay there might be would a (pauses) we wouldn't have anywhere to live. Di house dem flat. Because many of di house dem bun down."[497]

Tricia, a married mother of two, also believed her presence in Tivoli Gardens along with the other saints, made a difference in the outcome of the operation.

Di reason why I was still in di incursion is because di Spirit a di Lord told us as believer, stay. Because if there wasn't a praying soul or some praying soul in dis place, di whole place flat down. Because me could ah leave but di Spirit a God tell me say, look here you have to stay. Send way yuh child but you can't come out, yuh a fi stay here. Yu a fi stay in a di ship and pray. Because if there wasn't a praying soul nobody would be remain. Because dem intention that me hear dem did a come wid, that everybody fi wipe out. Tricia continued:

> During di incursion when dem come in and anything move dem just kill it like wi a animal or we a no nobody, a Tivoli dis and dem just come fi just flatten di place an whosoever dead just dead, whether man, pikni, boy or girl.
>
> Because of the name Tivoli Garden and dem know what here stand for, a stigma is on the community. The reason why the stigma is there is because, people outside looking on, looking on the outside, not coming in to involve or to know the people dem of the community. But dem stay outside and just judge everybody being the same thing or say everybody is a murderer, everybody is a thief, and everybody is wicked here.
>
> But what I am saying, dem fi realize say everybody is soul and created by the hands a God, not because di stigma pon di community, you understand me. Is not everybody a murderer. Is not everybody a thief a no everybody a dis here so. You have good citizen living in Tivoli Garden.

[497] Witness statements in chapter 8 of the Commission of Enquiry report detail the extent of property damage and pay outs victims received during the first round of compensation disbursements. Damage and losses in the productive sector was approximately JA$20.9 billion. This includes the wholesale/retail industry, tourism, and manufacturing. "Report of the Macro Socio-Economic Effects of the Events in Western Kingston Area, 22 May-7 June 2010" (Jamaica: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, October 27, 2010), 30.

Perhaps the children were covered by these early prayers. Not many children in Reptile Row had other relatives outside of Tivoli Gardens. They too stayed. In the midst of the operation, children raised their own prayers—heard over the din of mortars and gunfire.

"Big People Were Saved Because the Children Cried"

Yolanda left Tivoli Gardens but her adult children and grandchildren remained. She often called to check in. It was standard procedure during the operation to separate women and children from adult men. It was a strategy to isolate the suspected gunmen and provide safety for women and children. On one occasion, she overheard a conversation about a bomb being planted on the building where her family lived.

> An' one a di time me call mi hear likkle pikni a pray, pikni, di small pikni dem a pray. An' dem say even when di soldier dem di put di bomb pon di wall, fi blow up di building, a di children dem him hear a pray. An' him say to di commander say 'pikni deh pon di building man, pikni deh pon di building man. Wi kyaahn blow up di building!'. An' di commander did still a tell him fi do it because it was ordered for dem to do it. But you know dem say when dem find out dat that commander is a Christian, is a man of God. So you have to thank God for him, because a whole heap a children pon di building an' it cause scares now. Right now if police a come an so and if dem hear anything dem get scared; like a di same ting a go happen all over again.

Nessa recalled her experience of also being quarantined in an apartment along with other adult women and children. In Nessa's experience,

> The children been crying on the building, a mek wan bag (a lot) a noise. A bawl out "Jesus dem a go kill wi!" An' when one a dem [member of the security force] come round an dem have a tester and test di building and say "civilians on di building, mothers and children on di building," and one a dem bawl out say "tek di bomb off a di building!" An' when him a say "pikni, pikni in deh?" Him a say "put out dem head" and a girl say mi naa put out mi kids head, mi a go put out di foot." So di girl put out her son foot an a so dem tek di bomb off a di building.

Though a significant number of children remained, some youth who attended Deliverance Tabernacle were sent to stay with family friends and relatives. However, they were not protected from the trauma and fear of family members' being in harm's way. During the focus group in which youth shared their experiences, it was difficult for me to maintain a space of compassionate listening and emotional safety while allowing participants the freedom of expression. They were assertive and expressive. They all wanted to share their stories but for some this sharing was at the expense of being interrupted and teased. When asked about the incursion, a few volunteered their experiences. Others were too shy to do so.

Alysia, thirteen years of age, lives with her mother, Sandra. Alysia was born in Tivoli Gardens and was nine years old at the time of the Incursion. She recalled, "During the incursion I was not here but I heard. I was in the country, I heard that my mother got shot. I started crying, first I heard that she was dead. My grandmother turn fool, she fell on the ground and hit her head, all kinds of things, she had diarrhea, she started to vomit, everything started to happen to her. I even urine on myself." The fear of suspecting her mother was severely injured and possibly dead was emotionally paralyzing. A year later, Alysia would lose her eighteen year-old brother to gun violence.

Danyette, fourteen years old, was born in Tivoli Gardens. At the age of ten, she was sent away prior to the start of the operation. When she returned home she learned about the indignities her mother and brother suffered at the hands of the security forces. "During the incursion I was not here you know Miss but my mother said she did not bathe for many days. Miss, I said I cried because I felt it you know, Miss. They said my cousin, they made him [lie] on the hot ground and I felt it and I wanted to cry. He wanted to pick up badness and it teach him a lesson so he can say it is not time for that yet, you see what we are going to get."

The female participants who shared their experiences expressed hurt, fear, and emotional vulnerability because their loved ones were in danger. Jorey, however, was home during the incursion. He has lived in Tivoli Gardens his entire life and was nine years old when he, along with other residents and family members, was quarantined in a building by the security forces. Men and young boys were particularly vulnerable during the incursion. They were automatically suspected as loyalists and many were beaten and detained without reason or cause. According to the Commission of Enquiry report, approximately 4,370 men and adolescents were detained. After the operation, 4,093 were released. Some were made to kneel on the gravel or ordered to sit in water while waiting to be detained. Residents testified seeing men being zip-tied (single-strand plastic handcuffs) and were physically and verbally attacked. The Commission concluded that based on the evidence, detentions were carried out arbitrarily and illegally.[498]

Jorey was the only male participant in the group discussion. He explained, "During the incursion I was here Miss, they set bomb on the building and they heard the people crying." The other discussants started to jeer him, assuming that he, too, was crying. I refocused the group. Jorey continued, "During the incursion I was here Miss, they set bomb on the building and they heard the people crying. They heard them crying and they had one was on my and one was on mama own, yes and they were there. They heard the people crying and they took them off."

I prompted him to say more about his experience, but he refused. I imagine the terror of the experience, mixed with having his feelings invalidated by his peers, made him reluctant to share more.

Sister Tee is not a member of Deliverance Tabernacle. She is Nessa's aunt and Sandra's daughter's grandmother. Sister Tee was in her apartment when soldiers bust into her apartment

[498] *COE*, 157–158, 162, 167, 348–349, 359.

and pointed a gun at her sons, the youngest of which was fourteen. Security forces accused her sons of shooting at them and attempted to match their faces with photos they had taken of supposed gunmen. The match failed. Her sons were nevertheless taken out into the courtyard and made to lie on the concrete while the security forces searched other apartments. Sister Tee was detained in the apartment with Jorey, Nessa, and Nessa's two children. Sister Tee was confident, too, that the "big people were saved because the children cried."

Jorey, Nessa, and Yolanda all discuss the use of bombs and explosives during the incursion. Many residents during the Commission proceedings testified of bombs being placed on their buildings. However, according to the security forces, they used mortars—not bombs—to disorient and overwhelm gunmen who were shooting from the roof of high-rise buildings and escaping by foot through various pathways. Women and children's safety was a priority during the Incursion. In past police operations, women and children were used as human shields to protect gunmen. To prevent or limit the chances of this happening, mortars were used to scare people into staying indoors, which provided soldiers and police greater control in maneuvering the roads and securing the buildings. With the exception of "dare devils who could be seen running around the community during the operation," many people remained indoors.[499]

Moving through Tivoli Gardens during the operation was risky. For Kishonna Gordon, she took the risk to save her stepfather's life after he was allegedly shot by a soldier. With the help of a friend, they brought him to the emergency room. On her way back home, Kishonna was shot by a sniper in her right leg. Accompanied by her friend, she returned to the hospital to treat her wounds where allegedly the soldier who shot her approached her. According to Kishonna, "Him say, him never waan kill me, him just did a try slow me down because him thought me was a man." Though Kishonna did not describe what she wore on the day she was injured, her style

[499] Ibid., 157.

of dress at the proceedings was gender-neutral. Her red-dyed hair was shaved low at the sides, a neat razor-cut around the edges, the top arranged neatly into cornrows. She wore a fitted yellow crew neck t-shirt and jeans. She did not wear jewelry or makeup. Despite walking outdoors for a legitimate reason, being mistaken for a man made Kishonna highly suspicious in the eyes of security forces.

Detaining men and placing women in quarantine was supposed to limit the extent of injuries and harm to innocent people. However, the idea of "safety" was relative. The divine protection that seemed to cover the praying children trapped in the apartment did not extend to more than seventy adults whose lives were violently taken. Tricia and Nessa suffered violent losses during the Incursion. And Sandra barely escaped the operation alive. Nessa received news the Sunday of the incursion that the father of her two children was murdered. She saw him earlier that day when she asked him for money to buy groceries. The pending state of emergency would not allow her to leave home to buy food and supplies for the children. Tricia's older sister was killed by a bullet during the earlier stages of the operation, her body left in the street. According to eye-witness reports, her sister's body was picked up three days after she was murdered, her carcass eaten away by stray dogs. Tricia was away from her family home and stayed with another church sister in Tivoli Gardens throughout the incursion. Members of the church rushed to be with her when the tragedy hit. The immediate shock of her sister's death was tempered by the support of her church family.

> One shot to di head. One shot to di head, you understand me. An' mi a tell you say, knowing dat my sister die in it, is like mi couldn't even believe it, you understand mi. If me never have my church family round me when my sister dead, memba, mi dead pon spot same time, bikaaz wha, a God himself di send my church sister dem fi me fi come tek mi out. Because if me did deh at my home in a my house di time when my sister get di shot, mi wuda run go out, you understand me. Me wuda run go out, but God, that's why it pays to serve Jesus Christ, because him look ahead and him see wha a come and

> him deliver in a di midst a every circumstances. Because if God never send my church sister dem fi come fi me in a di midst a it, memba, probly me wouldn't deh here today speaking. Because she get di shot and me wuda run go out there fi see weh me can do and me wuda dead pon spot.

Visibly angry, Tricia painfully described the effect of the ordeal.

> Me can say it place a big effect in a some of us life, especially knowing dat yuh lost yuh loved one in a it. Bikaaz me a one a dem weh nearly fall in a nervous breakdown. Member sister (laughs nervously), di 'mount a shot! Is like me find mi self a shake. Mi eating capacity just shut down pon mi. Because me loss my big sister in di incursion. And it wasn't easy you know, it wasn't easy knowing dat her life was just snap out a her just like that. It wasn't easy.

Tawnya, Tricia's oldest daughter, was twelve years old when her aunt died violently in the Incursion. At sixteen years old she remembers her reaction to the news.

> Well the incursion, me personally it shake me up still because my aunty who we grow together in the same yard, even though I was not here I was elsewhere, but when I was out of the place, I heard that my aunty died so it kind of have me a way. Because I was looking and saying we used to be in the same yard, I see her about two days ago and then I heard that she was dead so it kind of had a bad impact on me.

The incursion has had lasting effects on the lives of children in Tivoli Gardens. A report on the macro effects of the Incursion published by The Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean cited that during the incursion, students scheduled to take high school entrance and college exams were affected.[500] On May 25, during the time exams were administered nationwide, the Ministry of Education closed all schools in the West Kingston area. Students from a total of fourteen schools were relocated to sit for exams. As expected, school

[500] Every year, The Caribbean Examination Council administers exams for primary (US equivalent of elementary and middle school) and high school students. The CAPE (Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination) exams allow high school students to gain certificates of aptitude in specific subject areas. CSEC (Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate). Approximately 2.9 percent of students scheduled to take the CAPE and 2.4 percent of CSEC were affected by the State of Emergency order. *Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)*, 14.

attendance leading up to the security operation and the number of students who showed up for the exams were lower than usual. Students in Tivoli who had to take exams were escorted by security forces. Some failed the exam. Others tested into competitive schools. In some cases, some students who did not perform well later gained admission to more competitive schools with the recommendation and advocacy of their teachers. In general, education achievement by measures of school attendance, grade promotion, and standard test outcomes were much lower for students from garrison communities.

Barriers to educational achievement is one part of the long-term psycho-social health issues of children in Tivoli Gardens; the incursion was a dramatic episode in an ongoing cycle of violence that affected children on regular basis. Approximately 2,500 children between the ages of one and four would have witnessed the security operation.[501] The experience of the incursion was a dramatic event in an environment where violence was the norm. About one third to a half of children under the age of five years old lived in households where at least one relative had been a victim of violence.[502] Government and NGOs provided counseling and psychological support for children. These interventions took the form of athletic and leisure activities such as trips to local parks and attractions. One initiative by the Office of the Children's Advocate sought sponsorship for approximately four thousand children to attend summer church camps.[503] However the children of Reptile Row were not included in these initiatives. According to Nessa, the excursions were mainly advertised to families living in Java, where Coke's former headquarters was located; Belgium, another subcommunity; and other areas deemed most affected by the security operation. According to Nessa,

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[501] *ECLAC*, 15.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid. The summer vacation bible school at Deliverance Tabernacle provided this opportunity children living in Reptile Row.

> You see after [the incursion], they specialize [sic] in the children. They take them to Kool Runnings.[504] They carry the children because of the incursion saying they are traumatized. They specialize in the children, one set of children from around there, from the [Community Center] part.[505] They leave out here and some other place. It is like they don't care about anyone from around here. All the ones from Belgium; that set of children from around that side go around.
>
> *But none of the kids in Reptile Row went?*
>
> Nessa: Yeah they specialized.

Attending school and sitting for exams was an immediate challenge for young people during the incursion. The more long-term effects were apparent in a change in behavior amongst young men who were considered "bad boys" or associated with the lifestyle. Danyette believed that the Incursion sent an important message against violence and impeded what Obika Gray described as the "badness-honor" ethic.[506] Danyette opined, "Miss, it show them a lesson, for example, some especially the young boys want to follow their father footstep like picking up guns. So it show the young boys a lesson that it's not time for gun yet because in the incursion they said it was the bad boys that they came for. The young youths they are trying to tell them that it's not time for that because it can kill you or lead to prison or jail." Kassandra agreed with Danyette that the incursion was a deterrent for those currently involved with the system. For some "bad boys" the incursion forced them to scale back their performance of "badness." She believed, "Well sometimes it change some of them because some bad man who I used to see and

[504] A water theme park located in Negril, Jamaica.
[505] I embarked on a three-hour walking tour of Tivoli Gardens, wherein I mapped the subcommunities. The area known as Belgium runs along Seaga Boulevard and includes the Community Center and Kings Basic School.
[506] "Badness-Honour" is an aggressive "oral-kinetic practice" driven by a demand for recognition, access, and respect. It is characterized by violence and defensive posturing that is both unpredictable and grandiose. Obika Gray, "Badness-Honour," in *Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004), 13–47.

you see them with their guns and everything and after the incursion when you see them, all of them look like they have become idiots. They are not bad again, they don't have any mouth. Yeah the young men, they are not bad again for true. You see after the incursion, you say, 'then it was him who was a bad man?' So it changed some of them." And by "idiots" Jorey explained, "it makes them into cowards and when they see the soldiers passing they run up the steps." He added that though these men were clearly afraid of law enforcement, they did not completely disavow the "bad boy" life, namely carrying a gun: "When the incursion was finished and everything, they don't walk with it [a gun] again but they hide it somewhere in case it [the incursion or violence] start back." The experience of the incursion was a deterrent to "bad boy" behavior and involvement with the system. Simone believed that vengeance inspired an inevitable turn to or continued "badness." "I agree with Danyette, but some of them even in incursion it still didn't make any sense because some of them said they will take revenge for whomever. They want revenge for the police for their family members, revenge [on] the police that kill the person so it [the effect of the incursion] still will not make a difference as they will be the same person."

The task of helping children heal from trauma related to the Incursion fell on the women in the community. Children grieved the loss of their parents and often harbored bitter feelings toward soldiers and police. Nessa had the challenge of helping her youngest son, Daniel, come to terms. Daniel was two years old at the time of his father's death. Since then, he has experienced dissonance in distinguishing his uncle and his father. Daniel believed his father was his uncle, and his uncle was his father.

> Every time him see him uncle him say a him uncle a him faada. Mi say "no, yuh faada die in a di incursion." Kaa him have him uncle fi say a him faada. Every time him see di

> soldier him say "si dem deh, si dem deh weh kill mi uncle!" Mi a fi say "no a no yuh uncle, a yuh faada."
>
> A so every minute him say "yuh no fi like dem." I have to tell dem say "come on dat gone" to no bada put no hatris (hatred) in a him. Fi see dem an' hate dem, fi mek him grow up an' bitterness and tings weh him no fi do, mi come si mi baby a do it. And mi no want him be that way.

Nessa had the difficult task of consistently reorienting Daniel's understanding of his father's death and redirecting her son's anger so that he does not pursue a path of vengeance. Daniel's experience was one of many during the Incursion and the effects will continue to shape the lives of children as they grow older.[507] In Diane's view

> Probably if the child lose the parents, like the father or the mother well that bitterness will always be there. But like going through the incursion, you know say after a while that will kind a lull down. But when you lose yuh parents is like that a go always deh deh. Just like him no know him faada, understand. So every time him see dem, him a say "a dem kill him faada." That a go always deh deh fi di rest a him life, like him a go always memba dat. Dat naa go over.

For the women of Deliverance Tabernacle, the incursion confirmed already existing beliefs that police officers and soldiers were untrustworthy and violent. These beliefs were particularly resonant for males in the community who faced constant surveillance and profiling. However, the maltreatment and abuse of women, young boys, and the elderly were unique in this instance. As a result, the incursion deepened this mistrust. Although women, children, and the elderly were underrepresented in the number of detainees, the incursion set a new precedent for police brutality by the number of casualties, the maltreatment of women, the profiling and

[507] There is growing concern about children's maladjustment, post-Incursion. Several years after the Incursion, there is a growing discussion about the possibility of the children continuing the cycle of crime and gun violence. Allan Powell's documentary, *Children of the Incursion*, addresses these concerns through first-hand accounts of young people in Denham Town. Kimberly Small, "Powell's Film Follows 2010 Incursion's Young," *The Gleaner*, June 19, 2017, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/entertainment/20170619/powells-film-follows-2010-incursions-young.

murder of young boys, and the threats to children's lives.[508] The experience of the incursion convinced Diane's son that police and soldiers were untrustworthy. She tried to teach her son that "police will tell lie pon yuh say yuh do this and you do dat, and yuh no do notn." He often disbelieved his mother's warnings. After the incursion, "[H]im get di experience, really si say police wicked. Dem wi hurt you wid out a cause. So dat is what the incursion do. It mek yuh really believe say police and soldier wicked, if yuh never did believe all di while, yuh believe now."

Sandra witnessed police brutality against teenage boys during the incursion. As a mother, she understands the bitterness that parents experienced after witnessing their young boys abused by the police. According to Sandra, the abuse that she witnessed and the stories she heard from others who experienced the same, confirmed "notn like dat did ever apm! (happen) in Tivoli Garden. Never apm to Tivoli Garden with di children dem, you understand." One tragic story features Marjorie Williams. During her testimony at the Commission of Enquiry, she shared the heartbreaking details of witnessing her seventeen and twenty-year-old sons being dragged out of her home and murdered. Sandra empathized with Marjorie's and other mothers' experiences.

> Yuh have yuh thirteen (13) year old, fourteen (14) year old boy, son, police beat him up and yuh son naa fire gun. Yuh son a no bad man, him a go school an police come an abuse him and right there so. Because fi si a mada stand up and si soldier and police shoot her child in front her face. That kaaz bitterness, you understand, you so bitter against soldier and police she no have no like fi dem. She hate dem!
>
> It no easy fi have yuh child an si police abuse yuh child in front a yuh face. Police kill yuh pikni an.… Deep in a yuh heart yuh know yuh child no mix up wid badness, yuh child a go to school an police just abuse yuh child an kill and all dem stuff deh fi weh yuh no know 'bout.

[508] *COE*, 162.

The incursion also featured unprecedented brutality in the security forces' treatment of women. Some believe that this had to do with the women's protest march that occurred a week prior. Loyalty to Coke was a matter of life or death. Commitment to Coke, in the eyes of the public, was taken to represent the general stance of people in Tivoli Gardens. In Sandra's view, "People a talk. It [the protest] come on di news. Who say dem a go dead or whatever is not me [say it]. Is not me but dem waan kill me. But is one somebody talk it, you understand. So one somebody talk it an dem waan kill everybody in a di community and is not everybody say it, you understand." Within the totalizing system of Tivoli Gardens, everyone was considered a suspect, women included. Tessa, her aunt, and many female residents, once separated from the men, who were detained at a separate facility, were crowded into the ground apartments for three to five days. They slept on the floors and were not allowed to shower or find food to eat. Women shared stories that they were refused the chance to prepare food. Some women testified about elderly residents being mistreated. For instance, Sandra witnessed an older lady, about eighty years old, made to crawl on her stomach "like snakes [sic]." The frustration of seeing women and the elderly treated in this way made Sandra wonder "but a uman (woman), you can handle a lady like dat? Sometime mi a fi wonder if dem [security forces] have parents. If dem have madda or if dem have grandmother or what, how dem angle (handle) di elder. Dem put di elder dem pon di grong (ground) an all dem stuff deh." Nessa's father was sixty years old at the time. He was handcuffed and detained for a week. The security forces accused him of having a gun, which Nessa claimed was planted in the home as a justification to detain him. According to reports, the oldest casualty of the incursion was a sixty-seven-year-old male resident of Tivoli Gardens.[509]

Detentions and quarantine were strategies the security forces used to minimize injury during the operation. However, the long-term effects of the incursion created economic

[509] *COE*, Appendix 14.

insecurity for women and children. The father of Nessa's two children was shot and burned alive. He was their primary source of income. Sandra missed many weeks of work at her job as a caretaker for an elderly woman. Higglers, or informal commercial importers, and women who sold farm goods at Coronation Market lost their stalls and goods due to fires in the marketplace and looting.[510]

The security forces severely underestimated the severity of Incursion and the need for on-the-ground immediate medical care for the injured. Top officials of the Jamaica Defense Force oversaw the development of a medical plan. The Commission's findings reflected alarming omissions in their plan.

> There was a gap between the services required and those actually delivered. The gap can only be explained in terms of either (a) an inaccurate Intelligence estimate of the anticipated demand for medical services or operational casualties; or (b) an operation that went awry. The large number of injured and dead as well as property damage may be indicative of such an operation; or (c) it may be that insufficient regard was paid to the matter of civilian casualties despite public appeals via the media; (d) there could even have been a combination of (a), (b) and (c) above.[511]

The JDF's failure to plan for adequate medical care endangered many lives. Nessa's daughter experienced frequent asthma attacks during the operation and delayed medical attention resulted in near-death for Sister Sandra. Medical care was expedited after Edward Seaga, former prime minister and minister of parliament for West Kingston, made a televised statement calling for an end to "the captivity," and insisting that "they must let the people go."[512] After Seaga's speech,

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[510] *ECLAC*, 12.
[511] *COE*, 151.
[512] In his televised interview with journalist Earl Moxom on May 27, 2010, Edward Seaga made the following statements:

> As of today, the most important and most critical thing that exist there is that the people are still in captivity and still cannot get out to buy food. And this is now going the third, fourth day. People don't buy food for a week they buy for two days because they don't have anywhere to put it. Even if they have a little fridge its small. So they have to go out and buy every couple days.

the Red Cross was allowed to enter the community to distribute food and provide medical care. In Nessa's mind, Seaga's speech was the turning point.

> From Edward Seaga made a speech, I don't what kind of speech he made on television that's how we could come out, like he spoke for us that's how we could come out. And as soon as Seaga talk di people dem come out now go up any weh now, go upstairs, down stairs, come up pon di building, we can bathe, eat wi food. But still as night come we a fi come off a di compound. Helicopter start come round and say 'anybody dem see pon di compound, cause dem get order fi "shoot fi kill."

Seaga's speech exemplified the power politicians and public officials wielded in swaying the state's actions. His demand for justice for the people of Tivoli Gardens echoed the Old Testament prophet Moses, "Let my people go." Like his 1980 political campaign, Seaga called for deliverance; this time it was from the violent hands of the state. Contentions between the state and public figures, and the people of Tivoli Gardens—including those who supported and were critical of the system—were framed through religious language.

"Tivoli for Jesus"

The reasons individuals offered in defense of their loyalties towards Coke and adherence to the will of God were rooted in notions of right and wrong. The language and frameworks used

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> Now those two days have gone and they people are hungry and they can't buy, get to buy any food. You have little children, you have babies, you have medication that has to be bought. When the previous episode in 2001 took place, four people died because they couldn't get medications for diabetes, the insulin. Now this is REALLY a sad situation. And I cannot think of any reason that could cause the government to continue with this very very wicked act. Cause I can't call anything else. It is a wicked act to keep people into captivity like that. And they must let the people go.

"Jamaican News May 28 2010 Edward Seaga on Bruce Golding," accessed March 30, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3PPdigPMGXc.

to express these loyalties drew upon religious values and rhetoric. These frameworks provided the basis and justification for actions on the part of Coke's loyalists and members of Deliverance Tabernacle alike. The garrison rule of law included retributive justice, providing for the less fortunate and offering safety by means of violence and coercion. These standards supported Coke's role as a benefactor and motivated his deification. Individuals also used these perspectives as grounds to question the same system that provided the space and relative freedom to conduct religious outreach in the community.

The relationship between the church, its members, and the system within Tivoli Gardens was a balancing act. The language that church members used to describe their experiences and those used by Coke's loyalists drew on the same themes and sentiments around community pride. For example, a youth member of Deliverance Tabernacle penned a chorus for marchers. It framed the message of the prophecy, calling residents back to Jesus and holiness.

> Tivoli for Jesus
> Tivoli for Jesus we fight until we die,
> We never give in while the people live in sin
> Tivoli for Jesus help us win.

Despite its redemptive intentions, the song became an informal anthem for Tivoli Gardens. It became a song of community pride and by implication supportive of the system that adopted it. According to Pastor Morrison, "he," the area leader (he never mentioned Coke's name specifically), learned the song and encouraged his "men" to sing it. 'We never give in, all the people will be saved, Tivoli for Jesus, help us win.'—So it sounds now like we were supporting the system. The leader insisted that all hid group should learn it, and so like it says "fight until we die," yes so they latched on to it."

The system was accommodating to churches and pastors. There was room for churches to conduct their outreach and services without disruption. But, leading up to the Incursion, barricades were erected at entrances of Tivoli Gardens to prevent security forces from entering.

> Pastor Morrison: I have never had any negative response towards the church. In fact there was some rubble in the Incursion in front of the church and he instructed his men to move it from in front of the church to not stop the church from worshiping, so they moved the rubble and carried it up some more.
>
> Me: *Rubble as in a barricade*?
>
> Morrison: I want to call it rubble. Initially it was blocking [the church entrance gate]. We would not have been able to come in for Sunday worship and the instruction was it be removed.
>
> *How do you know he gave the instruction?*
>
> Morrison: That's what I hear.
>
> *Did you hear from one of his men?*
>
> Morrison: Well what has happened is that if he coughs, or sneeze I mean everybody in the community know, so the communication from one to the other is free. It flows freely.

The pastor's choice to call it rubble was an intentional one. The Commission of Enquiry referred to the piles of rubble blocking the entrances to the community as "barricades"—erected with the intention to limit movement in and out of the community—mainly against the security forces. Referring to the barricades as rubble in many ways redefined the purpose and function of these piles leading up to and during the Incursion. A pile of rubble was benign, but barricades implied self-defense and confirmed claims that the gunmen mounted a deliberate and violent challenge to security forces attempting to enter Tivoli Gardens. The system required deference from everyone within its physical boundaries and sphere of influence. Transgression of these

boundaries explicitly or by implication removed the guarantee of safety and the ability to conduct one's affairs without impediment.

"Tivoli for Dudus"

In 2007, the church moved freely throughout the community during its prayer march. Morrison led a motorcade with church members and children in tow.

> I was driving the van with the P.A. system. I'm playing the music and announcing so when we stop at a location we now have a prayer. We have prayer, at that location, yeah. So let's say half hour prayer and then we move on to another location. We pray, sing, warn them, you understand. Give the warning, prayer, move on. So for seven (7) weeks we surrounded the city. We had children, a lot of children went with us. And is like the Pied Piper eh? So maybe that's why the Lord save, never damage any. They went with us and they were singing.

The 2007 prophecy of the coming Incursion during the prayer march was fulfilled in 2011. During the "peace march" to Denham Town, the proclamation "Tivoli for Jesus"—which originated with the members of Deliverance Tabernacle and resignified into a community anthem—was once again transvaluated into "Tivoli for Dudus." Marchers brandished placards declaring Dudus as a divine figure.[513] Photographs from the march depicted signs that read, "After God Dudus Comes Next!!!" "Jesus Die For Us We Will Die for Dudus!!!" and "Taking

[513] Perhaps by coincidence, Coke loyalists and alleged gunmen were identifiable by white t-shirts. For example, Inspector Linroy Edwards reported gunmen in white t-shirts fired at security forces from the Rasta City area of Tivoli Gardens; Dwayne Edwards and Andre Smith, sons of Joan McCarthy wore white t-shirts when they were dragged from their homes and summarily executed; Jermaine Grant, also known as "Porridge Man," was described as wearing a white t-shirt at the time of his murder; police stopped and searched several buses carrying men wearing white t-shirts and jeans at a security checkpoint; an army major testified that many detainees wore "white shirts and jeans"; and, finally, twenty-two of the bodies at Madden Morgue wore white t-shirts. The Commission of Enquiry concluded, however, that the evidence of white t-shirts as a marker of Coke's loyalists "did not afford and could not have afforded a justifiable reason for loss of life." *COE*, 223, 232, 253, 257, 312, 355–6.

Di Boss Is Like Taking Jesus." These signs stood alongside others that declared "We Are Not Hostage," "We Are Free Citizen We Go And Come As We Please Si Wi Yah," "US Gov Want Dudus We Need Him More," "Dudus Is A Better Security Officer Give Him His Props," and "We Are The Best Of All Garrison Not The Mother Of Crime And Violence."[514]

The "peace march" had practical, strategic importance. It was a performance of loyalty intended to sway public opinion about Coke's character and to challenge public perceptions that the residents of West Kingston were hostages in their own communities.[515] It was a direct rejection of the state's narrative that residents needed rescuing and by extension challenged justifications to infiltrate and restore order in the community. The notion of order, here, signals competing views about Tivoli Gardens functioning under a system that rejected state power and mechanisms. The phrase "si wi yah" affirmed on the part of marchers (or protestors, depending on whose perspective) that they were free to move about of their own will and that the state's intervention would undo the freedom they already possessed, a freedom they would no longer have if the state acted on its promise to remove Coke—the community patron, President, Boss, Security Officer, a god figure. Freedom within garrison spaces is linked to a notion of belonging and sovereignty, "a form of rule, a power that is the final 'arbitral agent' independent of external influences."[516] Belonging is a central feature of sovereignty. It is a sentiment and practice by which citizens develop and justify their demands for self-rule and to exercise the power to pursue collective goals. The failure of the creole-nationalist project to include all Jamaicans across social classes, and the subsequent implementation of structural adjustment programs, which

[514] Howard Campbell and André Lowe, "They Made Us Pause," *The Gleaner*, January 9, 2011.
[515] *The Gleaner*, "Willing to Die for 'Dudus,'" May 21, 2010.
[516] Anthony Bogues, "Power, Violence and the Jamaican 'Shotta Don.'" NACLA Report on the Americas 39, no. 6 (2006): 21–26.

further maligned the poor and vulnerable, created more localized forms of belonging.[517] Gunmen, who were once the arm of the political parties in the 1960s and 1970s, transformed into dons—semi-independent leaders who replaced the role of the failed state.[518] Urban communities in Kingston operate under a form of politics in which the terms of belonging and localized sovereignty "operate outside the constitutional and juridical norms of the nation-state."[519] In Tivoli Gardens and other garrisons, violence represents the power to protect localized sovereignty. And it is often directed at neighboring communities and the state, when it seeks to intervene. For residents it manifests as coercion and repressive measures. The price of freedom then is to surrender one's allegiance to the don, living "unfree" so that one secures the status of belonging that guarantees access to resources that the state is unable to provide. Freedom for the residents of Tivoli Gardens exists within the boundaries of Tivoli Gardens, to be subjected to the perpetrators of violence while the threat of state violence looms. For community residents who were also members of Deliverance Tabernacle, the incursion was an encroachment and threat to their freedom. During the Incursion, Nessa recalled,

> We were there from about Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday. We were in the house. We were still in the house as if we were hostage. The little freedom we got we had to go inside. As night came we could not sit on the verandah to talk, we had to be inside our house. You see the helicopter flying around with this big flood light from top to bottom and they came in the community and spoke on speakers and told us to go inside. They went on real bad. [520]

[517] Ibid.
[518] Sives, "Changing Patrons, from Politician to Drug Don," 83.
[519] Ibid.
[520] Journalist Mattathias Schwartz reported the plane belonged to Homeland Security. It was commissioned by the US government to record footage in aid of the security operation. Schwartz, "A Massacre in Jamaica."

Freedom, in the state's view, was removing a don who governed through violence and coercion. Demonstrators subverted that message by declaring that the state was their oppressor and not Coke.

The women's march was also in line with the role that women played in preserving garrison politics. On one hand, protecting women and children was the priority during the Incursion. As Sandra made clear in her statements, there were expectations for how women would and should be treated during the operation, that they should be handled differently and not held to the same level of suspicion as men. Women marchers used their visibility to send a message of self-determination. But this gesture was complicated by speculations that gunmen ordered women to go out and protest, to stand on the front line, to serve as metaphorical shields. Women were simultaneously defenders and subjected to coercion. And, in Sandra's view, despite the large numbers of women who participated in the peace march, the sentiments expressed on the placards were not representative of all women's views and did not justify the mistreatment they experienced during the Incursion.

The women protesters' performance of loyalty towards Coke, and by extension their commitments to Christian ideas about Coke's persona, contrasted with church members' call to "attack the beast." Prominent religious leaders also lent their voices to the drama leading up to the Incursion.[521] Al Miller, the gun-toting pastor of one of Jamaica's Pentecostal mega-churches,

[521] There is a history of religious leaders intervening in garrison politics, particularly during moments of acute violence and disruption. Wayne "Sandokhan" Smith was a powerful don of Waterhouse and Olympic Gardens in the late 1980s. He was wanted for the murder of two police officers and a civilian in 1988. Father Richard Albert, an American born rector, spoke publicly about Smith's reputation and called on the public and law enforcement to understand Smith's role in the community as a patron and protector. "I do beg you to try to understand that when the social conditions around you are so bad, when the health services, the police services, the education services do not come anywhere near fulfilling even the basis [sic] needs of the community, and unemployment, political rivalries cause young men to search for other alternatives to support themselves, I want you to understand how a man like Sandokhan could emerge."-

and Herro Blair, political ombudsman and pastor, attempted to persuade Coke to surrender. Both were unsuccessful in convincing Coke to surrender prior to the security operation. Blair, in his capacity as political ombudsman and head of the national Peace Management Initiative, visited with Coke, twice. On his first visit, after seeking the counsel of Prime Minister Bruce Golding, Blair contacted Coke to visit with him in Tivoli Gardens. Entering Tivoli Gardens was a challenge. Blair was escorted into the community by one of Coke's men. According to Blair, "Upon entering Tivoli Gardens, I noticed that, on a few occasions, he [his escort] had to gesticulate to persons to move and allow us in. I observed blockages within the community and there seemed to be an intensification. I had been apprehensive going in but that disappeared."[522] Blair petitioned Coke to "accede to the requests of the security forces." To which Coke replied that "if he turned himself in, he would not receive a fair trial." Blair left his meeting with Coke with a sense of dread for what could potentially ensue. "I had never seen so many weapons illegally by persons who were not supposed to have them and I would offer a prayer for him." Blair visited with Coke a second time, after consulting with Commissioner of Police Ellington, who offered Coke a deal of a lesser sentence if he waived his legal rights and surrendered. Coke nonetheless opted to "wait his time out with the judicial system." Coke's skepticism and apprehension to surrender was also driven by the fear that he would meet the same fate as his father, Jim Brown, the previous don of Tivoli Gardens, who died in a fire in a jail cell prior to facing charges.[523] Herro Blair's efforts were noble but unsuccessful.

Al Miller, head of the National Transformation Program, had some success in facilitating Coke's surrender—though there is continued debate about whether Miller's attempt was an act

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Fr. Albert, *The Daily Gleaner*, August 26, 1988, 3. For further discussion on the Fr. Albert's intervention, see Gray, "Badness-Honor."

[522] *COE*, 94, 142.

[523] *COE*, 146.

of facilitating a surrender or aiding a fugitive. Leading up to the Incursion, Miller visited with Coke to discuss the terms of a possible surrender. Miller's approach was different from that of Blair. Whereas Blair consulted with Golding prior to contacting Coke, Miller on the other hand acted on his own initiative, contacting other government entities, and informing Golding of his efforts thereafter.[524] With Miller's intervention, two of Dudus's relatives, who were wanted by the state turned themselves in. On June 22, 2010, Miller was intercepted by the police while driving along Mandela Highway, with Coke in the front seat, dressed in a wig and baseball cap. On Miller's admission, he was escorting Coke to the US Embassy to turn himself in to the authorities.[525]

Christopher Coke also held his own religious convictions. He frequently attended the oldest church in Tivoli Gardens. It was founded in 1968 as a revivalist church and began its transformation into a "Church of God" assembly in 1983.[526] Gradually, the church deemphasized

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[524] During his meeting with Miller, Coke expressed frustration with the current administration's handling of the extradition process. According to Miller, "I saw the man and the man said to me if it was the PNP in office, they would know how to deal with this. Tell Bruce Golding to find a way to deal with it. I am not going anywhere and, if they want me, they have to come for me and they have to come good." *COE*, 143.

[525] "Pastor at Center of Jamaica Crime Controversy Charged," ChristianityToday.com, accessed October 14, 2015, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2010/juneweb-only/35-51.0.html.

[526] Rural migrants brought with them their religious traditions. One of which was Revivalism, a term used to collectively refer to Kumina and Pukkumania, "syncretic" religious forms that emerged from the nineteenth-century Christian revivals. Edward Seaga graduated from Harvard University with a BA in Social Sciences in 1952. He conducted field research on Revivalism in West Kingston. In 1956 Seaga compiled Revival songs and drumming which is now part of the Smithsonian's Folkways Recording series. In 1969, Seaga published his field research on Revivalism in the Jamaica Journal. His interests in folk culture won him great admiration from the residents of West Kingston. Seaga's deep connection with folk culture in urban Kingston earned the loyalty of residents. The founding member of the Revivalist Church in Tivoli Gardens, Veronica Carter-Brown was also a JLP organizer. In 1972, Carter- Brown was a featured speaker at a JLP public meeting alongside Prime Minister Hugh Shearer and Edward Seaga, then the minister of parliament for West Kingston and minister of finance and planning. She passed away in February 2011, her funeral services were held at the community center in Tivoli Gardens. See Edward Seaga, *Folk Music of Jamaica*, Smithsonian Folkways Recordings (Folkways Records, 1956), https://folkways.si.edu/folk-music-of-jamaica/caribbean-world/album/smithsonian; Edward Seaga, "Revival Cults in Jamaica: Notes Towards a Sociology of Religion," *Jamaica Journal* 3, no. 2 (June 1969); "Consecration of Bishop," *The Daily Gleaner*, January 5, 1974; "End 21 Years of Hell in Central

its heavy reliance on ritual and materialism during worship services. This included heavy drumming, accompanied by "trumping," or rhythmic stomping. As discussed in the introduction, the spectrum of liturgical practices and principles of Afro-Caribbean religions lend themselves to Christian charismatic rituals and doctrines. By 1994 the church fully shed its Revivalist practices. Leading up to the incursion, this church also performed outreach through prayer meetings and outdoor crusades. Ministers from the church also offered counseling to community members in the aftermath.

The current pastor of the church was privy to letters written from Coke while he awaited trial in the United States. Some of letters were later made public through a news article published in 2012. In the letters, Coke expressed concern for his relatives and the residents of Tivoli Gardens.[527] "I'm just taking things one day at a time and hoping, praying and keeping my faith in God for him to help me so that I can gain my freedom and be out soon.... I'm very happy to know that everyone is doing alright, so let us give God the glory for taking care of the family." Coke believed God had used him for good in the community. "It's really wonderful to hear that I'm loved and missed by many people and to know that I make a difference and touched so many people life, to God be the glory for all that he was doing through me." In other excerpts, Coke's tone was one of deep piety and hope that his trial would turn out favorably.

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Kingston," *The Daily Gleaner*, February 26, 1972; "Obituary: Bishop Veronica Carter-Brown (Ms. V Bishop)," *Obits Jamaica*, 2011, http://www.obitsjamaica.com/obituaries/view/97; For the first major study on Revivalism in West Kingston, see George Eaton Simpson, "Jamaican Revivalist Cults," *Social and Economic Studies* 5, no. 4: December 1956.

[527] Corey Robinson, "From Dudus' Cell: Convicted Gangster Pours out His Heart in Letters," *Jamaica Observer*, June 20, 2012, http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/From-Dudus--cell--Convicted-gangster-pours-out-his-heart-in-letters-to-cousin_11655304.

> family, Man can hurt only the body and heart, but they can never hurt my 'soul'. My 'salvation' comes from God 'only' and to him 'alone' salvation belongs to. So you see, I don't 'worry' when I can 'pray.'

Coke's sentiments in the context of Jamaican culture are quite typical. Coke, in his letters, viewed his role in the community as God-ordained. The church also saw their role as God-ordained—to prophesy of the impending destruction of Tivoli Gardens and the "system," and lead the community to salvation through Jesus. Those who supported the system expressed this through their loyalty to Dudus. The women's march demonstrated devotion for the same system the church critiqued. Religious leaders also drew on their spiritual authority to intervene. Similar Christian rationales were used for different ends. By the same token, the church could neither operate nor have space to make their claims publicly without permission from the system's gatekeepers. For women of Deliverance Tabernacle, faith and God played significant roles in their decisions to stay and guided the healing process for their children and each other. Membership in a church community provided the tools and resources to lead a God-ordained life in the belly of the beast.

CHAPTER 6: "Time for Change"

I sat around the table with four other students. Pastor Morrison did not begin the lesson yet. He was waiting for a few more students to arrive. This year, the intermediate class convened under the almond tree in the churchyard. Last year, all the classes were held indoors—the church fellowship hall and the adjacent building that would become the pastor's office and counseling space. The building was under construction for several years. Lack of money was the main cause of the delay. This year, the building was complete. Admittedly, it was much cooler outdoors than within the concrete walls that held heat and amplified sounds.

Several students arrived, and we began with introductions before getting into the lesson. Eventually, Simone arrived. To my surprise, she was pushing a stroller carrying her one-year-old son. Her mother had another child last year as well, the father remains unknown. There were rumors that Simone's mother had since taken on a female lover.

There were mostly familiar faces. But one student's energy was missing. Jorey died last year. He was murdered. Throat cut. Bite marks on his back. Broken back bones. Lying face down with his hands gripping the grass. He had on shorts, but no shirt. Between 10pm the night before to 4pm the following afternoon, Jorey's life ended in the grassy area behind the Kingston Railroad station. The same area that, during the incursion, security forces traversed to enter Reptile Row. He was fourteen years old. At the time of this writing, the case remains unsolved. But everyone in Reptile Row suspects who did it. They saw Jorey conversing with another male behind a high rise the night prior. The suspect was arrested, but there was not enough evidence to pursue the case. As a result, the suspect was released.

The story of Jorey's death is not one of who did it. I am not as concerned with the events that directly lead up to his untimely and gruesome death. The narrative here is not a timeline of conversations and sightings. Chronology only serves as bookends; who saw him before his final hours, what happened when and where.

What is the narrative of Jorey's death, without the chronological minutiae? Late night tricks by the railroad station after 10pm? Why there? Why after dark? How could a fourteen-year old boy, active in the church, beloved by his faith community, spend his final hours dying face down gripping blood-soaked grass? Why was he topless? And what do we make of the teeth marks in his soft, bludgeoned back? These details are small important bits of information that only lead to more questions—for most of which we will never have answers.

A spirited teenager in a garrison community—particularly Tivoli Gardens—existed in a society that agreed his identity only granted him conditional acceptance. His role was to "nice up the place," bring vitality and fun to gatherings. His sharp tongue, always ready to "class" anyone who called him "fish" or "batty man." During last year's vacation Bible school Jorey stabbed a classmate with a pencil. The boy, Jorey claimed, "called my name for no reason." Jorey went through life always fighting, always arguing. His untimely death and the birth of Simone's baby boy are allegories for death, survival, and resilience for young people in Reptile Row.

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The previous chapter explored these challenges in the context of the Incursion and discussed how faith and membership in a church community helped women and children survive and heal. Interpreting the Incursion through a religious framework provided greater insight into

the decisions of key players leading up to and during the drama of the Incursion. Viewing these decisions, and subsequent actions, in light of their religious and moral motivations demonstrated the importance of faith and religion in guiding individual and collective actions. Coercion and manipulation also play a role. Women protesting in defense of Dudus, his own views about his role in the community, and the people's decisions to remain in Tivoli Gardens during the Incursion raised questions about whether a course of action was the result of religious unction or out of fear, self-interest and preservation—or perhaps all the above. Nonetheless, the power of these perspectives to influence action is important.

The foregoing explores how Christian teachings frame right action for youth and women in Tivoli Gardens. While the previous chapters examined this dynamic within the context of Jamaican history, key elections, and the Incursion, this chapter focuses more narrowly on women and children who attend Deliverance Tabernacle. In the face of social and economic precariousness, personal faith and membership in a faith community provide a framework to cultivate resilience. The experiences of Simone and Jorey demonstrate that, sometimes, these frameworks can only take young people and women but so far. Personal choice plays a role. However, their options were shaped by the particularities of living in the "system."

The sermons, prayers, and outreach ministries promoted Deliverance Tabernacle's focus on renewal and change. The origin of the church played a large part in establishing the scope of the ministry and the form of its outreach. In addition to Sunday services and youth meetings, the church facilitated a week-long vacation Bible school during the summer geared towards youth in kindergarten through high school. The lessons during vacation Bible school exemplified the church's teachings and approach to helping members cultivate Christian responses to life's problems. The lessons were didactic and reflected the practical aspects of the church's outreach

programs. Young people were confronted with issues such as teen pregnancy, feeling loved and accepted by their peers and adults, and building healthy relationships. Although the VBS lessons were intended for young people, the content of the lessons reflected the church's work with adults as well. Healthy parenting, self-esteem, and managing relationships were core challenges. In 2015, the VBS theme was "Getting Rid of Excess." Excess was defined as emotional, mental, and social sickness, weakness, and unhealthy behaviors and habits. In an environment where the system directs daily rhythms and methods of survival, excess becomes the modus operandi. For the members of Deliverance Tabernacle, the church provided alternate spaces and strategies to navigate the system.

In the process of building a faith community with shared values, at times the church—both the leaders and members—engaged in their own version of excess. The expectations to follow this order generated discontent and excluded nonmembers and silenced the voices and experiences the space was meant to embrace.

Born Out of Excess: The Founding of Deliverance Tabernacle

The church, located near one of the main entrances of Tivoli Gardens, sits on a former public service lot. The vision to establish the church came in 1990, during a time of political upheaval—characteristic of election cycles. Jamaica's two main political parties, the JLP and PNP, solicit the dons, or local enforcers, to secure votes through violence and intimidation. In a vision, the founder, Norma Thomas, was approached by a group of persons requesting church services. Thomas looked beyond the group and saw two coffins being carried out of a building for burial by the current pastor, Desmond Morrison. Thomas's vision was confirmed the

following day. She listened to a news report in which two coffins were found on a handcart near Tivoli Gardens. With the help of other church members, they organized a series of outdoor prayer crusades and open-air services. Thomas was known to walk about the community speaking with residents and visiting their homes to offer prayer. At the end of the nightly services, amid ongoing violence, police vehicles escorted Thomas and her costrivers out of the community to the nearest bus station. On one occasion, there was a fire at their usual entrance to prevent intruders from entering the community. However, Thomas was escorted by a resident through a back gate, not far from the area market vendors used as a latrine. Despite ongoing violence, Thomas established an outdoor Sunday School and continued to hold services. The need for such was confirmed by her experience walking throughout the community in which "she saw many women gambling. The children were unkempt and just wandered around. Her heart was so touched by the needs of the women and the children.…" This she conceived, was the heart of the ministry in Tivoli Gardens—serving women and children. During the sermons, Thomas stated, "words of hope flowed to the hearts of the people in a desperate war-torn situation." The growing ministry took root. By 1992, they were offered space at the old public service lot and the church was officially established on October 19th, the same day Jamaicans celebrate National Heroes Day. The ministry in Dudley Square flourished. Inspired by the biblical story in which God told Moses in the book of Deuteronomy to establish cities of refuge wherein anyone who committed murder could seek sanctuary, Deliverance Tabernacle continues to serve as a refuge for the women and children who enter its gates.

Not much has changed in Reptile Row since the early days of Deliverance Tabernacle. Water drainage remains a problem. Barricades currently block some of the entryways. Only this time they were placed by security forces to limit car movement in and out of Tivoli Gardens. Big

cement blocks, often used to partition highways, force cars to enter using a zig-zag pattern. Women and children remain the most vulnerable to political violence and community infighting. This added to the daily challenges of living in a socially and economically deprived community that continues to carry the stigma as "The Mother of All Garrisons."[528] The outreach efforts at Deliverance Tabernacle address these persistent challenges. The church fellowship, vacation Bible school, and leadership opportunities provide women and youth with biblically based life skills.

Pastor Samuels believed the church provided a positive and safe environment for children to express themselves. On several occasions, I heard adults speak of and to children in rough tones and using caustic words. As the youth pastor, Pastor Samuels believes God uses her to minister to the youth of Reptile Row around this very issue.

> I listen to some of the things that the children say, how they express themselves. It's like they can't express themselves at home because the home environment is so abusive, negative and if we can see it displaying and if I can reach them when they come to children's church whatever lesson we taught them then we give to them also a practical way. So they understand that it is not because gunman kill your mother or your father that means you are to carry revenge and say you are going to kill them back. No, we have to speak the positive in them let them know that yes, not because you come from Tivoli, you are worthwhile. You are somebody, something is inside of you so you can't be like them and if everybody would do the same thing well they can't deal with the bitterness, revenge and hatred, we would have a crazy world, crazy than what we have now.

[528] Youth –persons age fifteen and below—comprise approximately 40 percent of the total population. An estimated 60 percent of female head of households are single while 27.6 percent are in common-law unions. Only approximately 5 percent are married. While 70 percent of youth are formally enrolled in primary school level, the number drops to 3.4 percent for postsecondary and tertiary enrollment. Unemployment remains a major challenge. Approximately 40 percent of head-of-households are unemployed—the most cited reason for unemployment is that individuals were trying to find work, but do not have the skills or qualifications. Unemployment is slightly higher among females than males. *Tivoli Gardens Community Profile* (Kingston, Jamaica: Social Development Commission, April 2009), 10. 13–15.

> I just love children and children like to stick on to me and I try my best to interact with them, talk with them share with them, show them love because a lot of them they are not being loved and if you notice going into the community they run and hug you and they just all over you.

Pastor Samuels's experience mirrored my own. During the crusades, Sunday services, and youth meetings toddlers and youth in their early teens rushed to sit next to me, showered me with embraces (which were sometimes a prelude to asking for candy, for my hand sanitizer, or to play games on my cell phone). Their little hands—oily from sweat, dirt, and candy—often left traces on my belongings and my clothing. This is the way of young children—to cling to adults with whom they feel safe. The importance of finding caring adults cannot be overstated. It provides a basis for interactions with other youth and adults in and outside of the community. In Pastor Samuels's view, "If you [youth] feel rejected you will not want to interact with anybody. You will not feel comfortable around others because you might hurt me and because you hurt me I don't want to be friends with another person because if you do me that then maybe that other persons might do me the same thing. So they just hold on to that."

Providing an emotionally safe space for youth is one aspect of the church's mission. The other challenge is addressing the lack of positive role models. Pastor Morrison believed that this directly affected young people's ambition and their ability to envision a future different from their parents and relatives. Instead, they fall into the same patterns.

> There is [sic] few positive role models in the community. And so the one before you fall into the hole and nobody don't stop and say there's a hole, don't it? And so the next one coming and by time she reach fourteen (14) she fall into the hole and nobody stop to say, why they are not moving on to becoming nurse and doctors. All they do just follow the straight line one after the other and fall into the hole. Yes and all I'm trying, I'm trying now to help them to walk another way, yes. There's a hole in the sidewalk and I also have that as an instruction material that I use with the leaders 'there's a hole in the sidewalk', I keep falling in it and the next line says I blame others, I'm falling in it, and you understand. So that is what I'm trying to help them do. To walk another way, but it's not easy. But you have to be patient eh?

Pastor Morrison has a long history of working with youth. His experience as national youth director for a large Pentecostal church organization provided him with experience on the patience and creativity needed for effective youth outreach. During his time as director, he provided leadership training to other youth workers and implemented outreach programs. The organization recognized Morrison's success but always overlooked him for promotions within the church leadership. When the opportunity came to pastor Deliverance Tabernacle, he was enthusiastic but also recognized that the church could not grow the way he envisioned it. In 2006, by coincidence or divine intervention, the organization decided that the church should run independently.

Morrison came to Deliverance Tabernacle with a wealth of insights on strategies and pedagogical tools that were most responsive to the needs of young people living in inner city communities. He was also open to the idea of women taking on leadership roles in the church. Training youth and women became a central pillar of the ministry. Fostering leadership among women met the church's organizational needs and built women's self-esteem. Morrison's mother was a leader in the church during his youth. She was a prime example that helped him reevaluate his stance on ordaining women in the church.

> My mother has been the first developer in my life. I grow up with my mother as the leader of the church, not the pastor. But she was the evangelist and so therefore in those days when pastor might have six (6) churches, so they have evangelist there that was manning it. So I grow up seeing my mother pastoring even though they didn't call her pastor then. It's my mother that impacted me and, therefore I said if God can use my mother why can't he use other females in the church, you understand, yeah. So I am not gender bias, I'm gender neutral. And so that is why it's easy for me to develop women leaders. Because I see the leadership path from my mother, how it significantly impacted our lives, yes. So from the [organization] I'm pulling out of, they wouldn't have a female pastor.

It stands to mention that there are male members of the church. But they are few. On a weekly basis, there are approximately five men out of about thirty to forty attendees at Sunday service. However, in Pastor Morrison's estimation, the potential for leadership is more important. "I'm not anti-male leadership but wherever I see the specific quality, yes, I acknowledge it, yes, encourage it. So it's not that I am anti-male because in the former situation I developed both male and female in the senior leadership positions, yeah. So it is really non-biased."

He does receive some push back however. I spoke with one of the most consistent male members of the church who believed that women should not hold leadership positions. But the Pastor believes that these scriptures should be interpreted in their appropriate historical contexts. In 1 Timothy 2:12, Paul the Apostle warned, "But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."[529] Pastor Morrison believed that the scripture was in response to a specific conflict and "the culture that the Bible comes out of is more male driven." Morrison's assertion was interesting in light of the family values promoted by the church. These values privilege men as the head of the household and calls for "traditional families" in which women defer to male authority. This will be discussed further in the chapter. Nevertheless, examples such as Hannah the prophetess, Deborah the judge, Phillip's two daughters who were evangelists, and Esther the queen were examples of "females influencing change." Pastor Samuels was the first woman to be ordained and given charge over the youth ministry.

Pastor Samuels's journey at Deliverance Tabernacle began as a regular member. She attended services in 2005 with her husband at the invitation of a family friend who, at the time, was head of the fledgling youth ministry. Samuels felt a sense of belonging and acceptance. "I came and I feel like I am at home. I just feel appreciated, accepted and so the friendship the fellowship with the brethren it was so overwhelming is like if I don't come a Sunday they would

[529] *KJV*.

call, ‘We miss you! What happen? When you are not here we don’t feel good!’ I decided I feel comfortable here. I got saved in a small church like this and the worship and the fellowship is just like my home church so I just decided to stay.” Over time, she was given the responsibility to teach Sunday School and eventually was asked to run the vacation Bible school. She slowly assumed more responsibility by serving as the assistant superintendent for the Sunday school. The church board decided to ordain her as youth pastor because her dedication and performance. It was not an easy role and she maintained a busy schedule with personal and professional endeavors. She taught full-time, performed outreach to street youth in Downtown Kingston, and attended classes to learn sign language. Pastor Samuels was also a wife and mother. I assumed her role as a female pastor would present some difficulty: perhaps challenges to her authority from members (men in particular) and issues with time management because of her various responsibilities. However, Pastor Samuels was confident about her ability to manage it all—she had a supportive husband, adult children who were self-sufficient, and a congregation who respected her authority. Pastor Samuels made it a practice to train other women to help with teaching and running and the vacation Bible school. It allowed them “to feel a part of the leadership.”

A woman began the ministry, women play a large role in the leadership, and most recently a woman prophesied a new direction for the church. In 2014, the church rededicated itself under a revised mission. A new way that would help them further individuate from their past associations with the former organization and inspire more growth and renewal in the church. Pastor Morrison shared that, “The Lord spoke to a sister and explained to her why we are still having this struggle. We putting out all this effort and not seeing much change as we desired. So, while she was in fasting the Lord revealed to her. Yes, she got the direction from the

Lord. Because I keep asking the Lord in several prayers, why we are doing all of these things and not getting the required results." Her vision was the final push. Pastor Morrison and the church leadership organized a rededication service. In an evening of prayers, specially selected hymns, and pledges, the members of Deliverance Tabernacle committed themselves to a new beginning.

A ceremony in the churchyard entailed "severing the ties" from the previous church organization. Pastor Morrison offered a "Renunciation Prayer" to renounce "connections, ties, or bonds formed in our former association"; "all past fellowship that carried spirits of jealousy, envy, covetousness, and hatred conspired to frustrate God's will in our lives"; and "fellowship exchanged which gave rights to Satan, his demons and his wicked human spirits to frustrate and undermine the will of God in the Church and in our lives." The prayer ended with binding "manifestations of all satanic practices, pride, murder, immorality and poverty from attacking and ruining Dudley Place." An extreme prayer of severance was the only way to rid the church of its past and propel it into a future of economic and spiritual growth. Following the method of prayer outlined in the Bible through the Lord's prayer, the next step was to declare victory and claim blessings: "Lord Jesus, We the leaders and members of Deliverance Tabernacle accept your New Beginning Blessings of Spiritual Revival, Social Renewal, and Financial Restoration, in our lives, in the lives of our family members, and in the life Dudley Place, the Church Community; through Membership Growth, Church Expansion and Ministry Development."

The renewal and revival of the church, Reptile Row, and Dudley Place were only possible through members' personal commitment to the charge. Existing members were given a certificate to affirm they belonged to the church and its mission. In addition, new members were brought into the fold during a reception service. In a ceremony that occurs only several times

during the year, newly baptized men, women, and youth were accepted into the church through songs and prayers. They were also given a list of expectations to which they public agreed.

> Make yourself available to be anointed of God, used of God, and committed to God
> To serve God through faithful and devoted service to the Church
> Be sincere and serious in your worship of God, fellowship with the saints and membership of the Church
> Be respectful in your relationships with all members—speak your truth in love
> Be faithful in attendance to the Church services
> To willingly give your offerings and gifts to God through the Church
> To cheerfully pay your tithes to God through the Church
> Contribute meaningfully to the growth and development of the Church through gifts and voluntary work
> Give devoted service in any ministry assigned to you by the Church leadership

Members were expected to actively maintain and live up to these expectations. There were consequences if they failed to do so. "Members who fail to pay tithes, or who fail to actively participate in the services of the Church, or who fail to attend members' meetings over a three-month period will have their membership suspended and terminated after six months of failure to service your membership." Being a member of Deliverance Tabernacle provided one not only with a sense of belonging but with practical support in the event of a crisis. On a few occasions, members would ask for financial support or letters of recommendation from the Pastor for visa and job applications. Membership also meant having a home church to hold funerals for close family and for members who passed away—Jorey.

Behavioral expectations also mirrored the values for membership. For each expectation, there was a biblical reference.

Purity in Conscience—1 Timothy 3:8–9
Clarity in Conviction—Romans 14:5
Respect in Conversation—Ephesians 4:29
Temperance in Conduct—1 Corinthians 9:24-27
Modesty in Clothing—1 Timothy 2:9–10
Sincerity in Contribution—Joshua 24:14
Compassion in Caring—1 Peter 3:8

Membership at Deliverance Tabernacle was an exercise of values and discipline. Women were expected to wear only skirts to church (pants were allowed, but only when they were not attending services). Pastor Morrison dissuaded them from wearing colorful hair extensions and heavy makeup to church as well. Expectations for how one behaves was a tall order in an environment of social and emotional excesses. Ministry therefore was always towards teaching members how to cultivate values that would counteract these excesses and develop what Pastor Morrison describes as the "Purpose Driven Life"—one based on convictions persuaded by the Spirit of God, compassion, commitment, control of one's life, courage, constraining weaknesses, and completing spiritual and worldly tasks to please God. Like women's leadership initiatives, youth outreach through weekly services and vacation Bible school emphasized these values. For a week each summer, youth from kindergarten to high school attended full-day seminars on a theme. The lessons and activities reflected the church's core values applied to the specific challenges of life in Tivoli Gardens.

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It's hot and windy. When the wind picks up, there is dirt and dust everywhere. There are three classes—kindergarten, primary, and intermediate. The primary class is the largest, with

about twenty students. The intermediate has about twelve students and the kindergarten has about ten students. The lower classes were team-taught by two women each. Pastor Morrison oversaw the intermediate class. Attending VBS was based on the ability to pay. Students were required to pay $150 JA for the week (equivalent of $13 USD). The cost covers food and supplies, mainly. Students were not allowed to attend if they didn't bring their registration cards—that listed name, age, and emergency contact information—and payment by the first day.

In each classroom, a sheet of paper posted on the wall listed the topic for each day, and the intermediate- and primary-aged students who would lead devotional prayers at the start of VBS before students dismissed into their assigned classes. There was usually one intermediate- and two primary-aged students selected for each day. Devotion happened outside, next to the church wall, in the shade of the zinc roof. It lasted for about fifteen to twenty minutes. There were one or two action songs and prayer. They sang one song often:

> I am a promise,
> I am a possibility
> I am a promise with a capital "P"!
> I am a great big bundle of potentiality!
> And I am learning to hear God's voice and I am tryin'
> To make the right choices;
> I'm a promise to be anything God wants me to be![530]

The intermediate and primary classes met in a building on the premises that was still under construction. The hallway that separated the rooms is concrete and very echoey. In each room, the walls and floor were unfinished and dusty. There were window openings but no grills or shutters. In the rear of the building were bricks and piles of dirt and construction debris. There was no indoor lighting. All the light came through the doors and the windows. Each classroom held about three or four benches and could seat about five students, comfortably. However, in the

[530] Performed by the Gaither Vocal Band, written by William and Gloria Gaither.

primary class, there were approximately six to seven students per bench. Evangelist Christina used the wall as a chalkboard. Throughout the week, they wrote spelling words and the scripture lesson in pink chalk. At the end of each session, she assigned a student to clean the walls with water and sponge. Pastor Morrison was not pleased that she used pink chalk on the walls. It left traces that was difficult to remove. He used a rock to make markings on the wall when demonstrating the lesson. There was a bucket of water in the hallway that was dumped and refreshed each day. They also used this water to dampen the floors to minimize the amount of dust in the air.

Inside the classrooms was hot and sometimes there were lots of flies. There was no sustained breeze. Students seemed listless. They talked to each other constantly. Evangelist Christina taught the primary class. So much time was spent on discipline. She carried a pink belt and used it rather often to gently slap misbehaving students across their shoulders or back.

During break time, all the kids played in the churchyard. There was lots of play-fighting and aggressive soccer. Adults often removed the kindergartners from the play area out of fear would get trampled or hurt. Once, in my naïveté, I frantically ran over to a pair of kids from the primary class and asked them to stop fighting. Another student told me they were playing, not fighting. I cautioned them to be gentler, so no one would get hurt. But that did not seem to make a difference!

After break, students returned to the classrooms until lunch time. Food was prepared by the women of the church, usually rice and chicken. There was also juice and other snacks priced cheaply. The evening sessions tended to be sluggish and students were calmer having expended most of their energy playing during lunch. They settled-in much quicker than the morning sessions.

The lessons were structured according to the youth training program Pastor Morrison developed. The Youth Fellowship Committee—comprised of older and younger members—participated in a seminar that provided training on how to facilitate activities. Adults were chosen based on their demonstrated ability to work with youth. Young people were selected based on maturity and leadership potential. The seminar focused on cultivating spiritual growth for youth and to develop future ministers. It was designed to provide leaders with skills to interpret the Bible and present these principles in accessible and engaging ways. Leaders were equipped with ideas for Bible-based games, quizzes, and discussion programs. Teamwork was highly encouraged, and discussions focused on relevant social issues such as sex and society, and family life. Activities and teaching methods at the intermediate level used videos and PowerPoint, projected onto a television attached to the pastor's laptop. Youth were provided a topic and relevant scriptures on which to expound and share their insights. This model was often used during the vacation Bible school sessions. In my observations, students were attentive and engaged; the elders did most of the talking. The lessons were more question and answer than discussion-based. The pedagogical approach, however aspirational, was markedly different that those used in schools young people attended, where the emphasis was on heavy notetaking and rote memorization.

The following year, 2014, the lessons in "Getting Rid of Excess" continued the theme of the church rededication—renouncing unhealthy connections and spiritual growth. The move to hold the classes outdoors and a completed building project was evidence of the church's mission to grow and expand structurally and strengthen their youth ministry. Under the almond tree, the intermediate class learned how to identify excesses that challenged their personal and spiritual growth. Though conceptualized separately as emotional, mental, and social excesses—these

lessons overlap. The mental and emotional excesses govern social interactions. And social interactions impact the development of one's mental and emotional state. Women and youth experience emotional, mental, and social excesses in myriad ways. These experiences mirror the complex intersections of gender, social class, and race.[531] For women and youth of Deliverance Tabernacle—gender, age, and social class intersect to create stifling conditions at home and in society. Religious identity was a countermeasure. The lessons from VBS directly addressed these problems and provided strategies to strengthen the social and emotional resolve of women and youth.

Getting Rid of Emotional Excess

The ministry of Deliverance Tabernacle was responsive to the social, psychological, and needs of the community. The vacation Bible school themes and lessons addressed these needs and the church's approach to addressing them. The lessons reflected the church's mission of renewal and change in the community and offering alternate ways of coping with these challenges. The first lesson focused on defining emotional health and identifying emotional insecurity. I was given a copy of the lesson outline. It read as follows:

[531] The matrix of domination was originally conceptualized by Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins in her groundbreaking text, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge, 2000). The concept centers intersectionality, or the overlap of race, gender, and social class, as the starting point for theorizing the lived experiences of Black women. The concept is powerful in its suggestion for how women and youth in Jamaica live within a matrix of domination that is often the making of the legacy of slavery, colonialism, and the effects of structural adjustment policies. The priorities for development unfairly disadvantages women through the feminization of poverty. Urbanization, shifts in the labor market, and fiscal cuts to government spending on social services directly affects the livelihood of women and, by extension, children. The rise in female-headed households and the feminization of low-paying jobs creates stifling conditions for women and children in Tivoli Gardens.

Emotional Health

- To feel assured you are loved and cared for
- To feel safe around people
- To feel confident when you face challenges
- To have a clear sense of direction—which helps your career focus and your ability to make choices
- To know you are important, valuable and have worth
- To have a clear sense of identity—person, sexuality

Six Expressions of Emotional Security

- Assurance of love
- Safety around people
- Feel important in groups
- Clear sense of direction
- Sense of worth/ positive self-esteem
- Clear sense of identity—your individuality and sexuality

What is Emotional Insecurity?

- The fear of losing friends
- The doubt that you are loved
- The feeling of being unwanted, uncared for
- The lack or loss of a clear sense of direction
- The thoughts of not being important of any worth
- The lack of assurance of who you are—your individuality and your identity

Love, assurance, and safety were the main markers of emotional health. In Tivoli Gardens, anger and bitterness were often cited as responses to emotional insecurity. In the primary class, the story of Ruth was used as example of how emotional insecurity can result in anger and bitterness. Evangelist Christina read aloud the story of Ruth's loss of her husband and two sons.[532] The lesson, she summarized, was an example of anger as a normal response to hardship.

> Ruth was angry in a way that because her husband was dead and two sons also died, she get angry. You ever feel bitter inside, you feel hurt, somebody do you something and you get angry, angry inside? All of us go through that. So don't behave like you don't get angry. You see like when somebody trouble you and you get angry with the person and

[532] Ruth, Chapter 1:1–22, *KJV*.

> start talk all kinds of things about the person what you are not supposed to talk about the person, you are bitter, and God don't want us to have that bitterness in us. He want us to love one another and He wants us to forgive one another when people hurt us. He wants us to forgive them.

Forgiveness as an antidote for anger and bitterness is a common theme in the lives of young people. This was particularly the case in the aftermath of the incursion. Youth who lived through the ordeal often harbored bitterness against law enforcement.

The lesson on emotional security was relevant to the experiences of women in the church. They expressed emotional insecurity with partners or husbands. As discussed in the previous chapter, women had to go to extreme measures to feel cared for and protected by their male partners. This emotional security directly influenced their decisions to use sex to secure money for rent and childcare, and food. At times, young women engaged in attention-seeking behavior. In the opening anecdote of chapter 1, Pastor Morrison chastised a group of young women who broke out into a screaming and fighting match during the Crusade.

> Their self-worth is very low! And they create mischief in order to get attention. And it's because of absent fathers. You go and check them! They who creating the noise, if them have any positive fathers. It's attention them looking! Is attention them looking! If they had positive fathers, they'd have respect. Let me tell you that! That the father would tell them how to respect community. Them no have no positive father! So they don't have no self-worth. They don't have any self-worth! That is why they are doing all of this.

Absent fathers and frivolous men were often blamed for women's economic insecurities. However, men were susceptible to the same socioeconomic forces that affect women. The state's inability to provide an adequate social net for Jamaica's poorest generates material insecurity. Neocolonial economic arrangements with multilateral organizations create financial constraints on Jamaica's public sector. As a result, unemployment, lack of access to quality healthcare, and low educational attainment are part of the matrix of oppression that Jamaican's experience daily.

Men experiences this matrix of oppression in gendered ways. Here, Obika Gray's discussion on the badness-honor ethic described how men in lower-class communities responded to social domination. This ethic manifested as stylized outlawry to intimidate and negotiate the terms on which power and resources are granted or denied. In the case of heterosexual intimate relationships, badness-honor ethic converts men into gatekeepers. In connection with cultural norms that support patriarchal hierarchies, badness-honor ethic enacts a perverse confidence and gender performance that renders women subordinate. Religious views lend themselves to this hierarchy. Pastor Morrison's statement, though calling on men to exercise more responsibility in family and community life, was based on the same ideal that men were disciplinarians and the head of the household. The young women who were part of the physical scramble, in the view of Pastor Morrison, acted inappropriately because of a lack of male discipline and guidance. Sandra supported the view that not having a strong male figure at home was part of the reason young women developed low self-esteem.

> They have a father but the father no deh deh (there) fi dem; a father figure. Sometime di daughter dem go out astray. Man give dem money. Cause the father don't deh deh fi give dem. And di child now a look love and a look it the wrong way. When she go out there now a man tell her say 'boy you know mi love you baby', and right way she just gravitate with that. Because if even her father did there fi tell her that, when dat man or dat boy tell her that, she wuda say 'but mi daddy done tell me that aredi (already).

Inevitably, emotional excess makes room for mental excesses, which lead to unhealthy social interactions. The young woman in Sandra's scenario was vulnerable to poor decisions. The absence of a positive male figure created insecurity around receiving love from the opposite sex. Addressing mental excess—in short, one's ability to make positive choices—was important to choosing healthy lifestyles.

Getting Rid of Mental Excess

> Mental Health Is: The capacity to reason logically. The ability to think and feel positively. The ability to make profitable decisions.
>
> Understanding the Mind: The mind is the master of the man—the soul of the person. The mind is the decision-making organ or unit. The brain is for logical reasoning. The heart, the seat of emotions for feeling. So the mind is the combined expression of our thinking and feeling in decision-making.

Mental excesses were the result of poor decisions. The temptation and fall of man in Genesis chapters 2 and 3 illustrated how "impulses, desires, cravings, hunger, and thirst" dictated the "soul's decision to subdue [man's] spirit" to disobedience. Satan, the supreme provocateur, seduces man through desire. This seed of desire creates a "thirst in our bodies for the wrong." Therefore, mental excess leads to social excess. Making good choices, therefore, was a remedy for mental excess. Healthy decision-making was characterized as:

> Thoughts that are edifying—building, uplifting, elevating, developing people
> Thoughts that are progressive—forward going, growth based, development centered
> Thoughts that are strengthening—unite people, encourage people, motivate people
> Thoughts that are God-glorifying—praising, worshipping, adoring, honoring God

Pastor Morrison used the example of the three Hebrew Boys to illustrate. The Old Testament story told of three boys, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego—Jewish exiles in the land of Babylon. They were thrown into a fiery furnace for refusing the orders of King

Nebuchadnezzar to bow to an idol. Miraculously, they were unharmed.[533] The story of the three Hebrew boys paralleled the temptations and pressures of living in a garrison in Jamaica—a metaphorical Babylon—a place of social exile, political oppression, and longing.[534] The pressure to bow to fast money, unhealthy sexual relations, and drugs was a battle youth and adults faced constantly. In Pastor Morrison's formulation, unmet basic human needs, such as safety, financial security, and the desire for love and acceptance, generates and perpetuates excess. The mind, "as the combined expression of our thinking and feeling" drove decisions. Pastor Morrison used the story of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego to demonstrate the honor in making responsible, positive choices when the circumstances demand surrender. The three Hebrew boys taught an important lesson: "To put God above the Golden Image; To put Right above Might; To put Purity above Position; To Stand up instead of Bowing down."

The notion of "bowing down" was also used to instruct youth on avoiding social excesses. In the context of the story, "bowing" meant deference and exchanging one's loyalties. In a contemporary context, youth must determine whether 'to bow or not to bow in the "fiery furnace" that is Tivoli Gardens.[535] In every challenge, they have to choose, "To suffer Physical hunger or scarcity; To suffer social alienation—losing friends and relatives; To suffer financial deprivation—unable to get or keep certain jobs."

These lessons were important for parents as well. Remedying mental excess through Christian principles informed their parenting skills. These skills reflected the gendered reality of parenting and home life in Tivoli Gardens. For the women of the church, their models for

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[533] Daniel 3, *KJV*.
[534] W. R. F. Browning, "Babylon," in *A Dictionary of the Bible* (Oxford University Press, 2009).
[535] The use of the verb "bow" could also serve as a pun for oral sex. Sexual politics within Jamaican culture denounces oral sex on the part of men towards women. The act of "bowing" is a submissive act that emasculates men. See the popular dancehall song by Jamaican artiste Shabba Ranks, "Dem Bo,w, *Shabba—Greatest Hit*s CD (Epic/Sony Music Distribution, 2001).

parenting were often based on harsh verbal and physical discipline and communication that did not include listening to their children's concerns. Christian parenting called for a gentler approach to discipline and taking the time to talk to children about making healthy decisions. For the men, healthy Christian parenting meant being present at home for the children, showing physical affection, and warning male children on how to best interact with other adults.

Remedying Mental Excess through Christian Parenting

Women described changes in their parenting style since becoming members of the church. They gained new perspectives on discipline, modeling positive decision-making, and providing for their children's material and emotional needs. Membership in the church afforded them new experiences to build community outside of Tivoli Gardens.

Sandra believed that joining the church provided her with a new outlook on raising her children. "Even coming to Christ, you understand, grow up your child di right way kaaz even as me, mi no grow up in a church. A di age of twenty seven (27) mi give my life to Christ. And you know, have two (2) children out there, you know you grow dem, you try to grow dem the right way because even the scripture say, 'train up the child in the way he should grow, dat when dem grow old dem don't depart from it.'" Growing them "the right way" often required Sandra to model the behaviors she taught her children. Aspiring to "live a right Christian" life set an important standard to later encourage her child to also accept Christ. " [Me] Try fi no live any and any way, yu understand, because sometime in life dem watch you. Di children dem sit down and dem watch you … an say but 'how mummy you a Christian and you a do dis an you do dat.'

So yuh have to just try to live a right Christian life fi yuh child to see that an waan come to Christ as how yuh come to Christ."

Sandra was chronically underemployed. Her absent and often philandering husband did not support the household on a steady basis. At one point, she had a difficult choice of rejecting an ex-lover's offer of support, knowing that it would obligate her to be intimate with him. Fortunately, a church member stopped by with groceries.

> [When I was] not working and God provide fi mi and my child, she cry. When she see di Lord bless and put food in a di house she cry di living eye water and when she pray and she give God thanks and she say "who could it be but you?" you understand. You see that put that impact on that child fi say, "there is a God, you understand. Mi mada naa work and she no out deh in a no relationship wid no ada (other) man but wid Christ. And see God just a bless her and a provide fi wi eat and wi can go a school. So that learn dem say there is a God. Mi waan try fi go di right way like how mi mada a go. Mi waan fi serve God an just serve him di right way."

Sandra's resilience created the foundation for her child's conversion. She was baptized a year later. Sandra's decision to "hold out" was a lesson in patience and faith that God would provide. She also modeled for her daughter reliance on God as an exercise of trust and decency.

This sense of decency extended into other areas. Mothers were more apt to follow a more traditional path to earning income. For example, conning men, or extracting money through intimate interactions, and maintaining multiple intimate relationships were no longer an option if they were also committed to a Christian lifestyle. According to Yolanda,

> When you in a di world you you'da (you would) con a man den. You'da con a man and say you a go eat him out—him carry you out an you an him an, you con him a likkle change (small money) and you come in. You naa work so dem must know. All a dem things deh you wuda do. If him eva lef him pants yuh thief out him wallet an gaan lef him. So wi used to do otha things negative out pon di road fi earn something.

Sandra chimed in. "Yu know out there sometime yuh in a more than one relationship too. Sometime you in a more than one relationship. Sometime you say one find di food, one find di clothes, you understand. One do di hair, because it do happen, but coming to Christ yuh learn to trust di Lord. You learn to depend on God." In Diane's experience, deciding to no longer live "out there" and joining the church inspired her to explore other possibilities to sustain herself and family. "Yuh think different. Like you never used to waan work but chuu yuh turn Christian now, mek you waan go look a work, mek you waan fi go better yuh life. Being a Christian might a mek you waan go back a school you know and fi go look a work an so. Try fi help yuh self. Yu thinking kind a get different now. You start to think different."

Thinking differently about work and one's sense of self was also inspired by practical activities. The church sponsored outings, and organized visits to other churches in different communities. These activities had an impact on Diane's view on the possibilities for a better life.

> Meeting other people, it open your mind, open you, mek you see say sopm (something) better out deh, you understand. Kaa when you grow up and you see bad round you all di while only dat alone you know and used to. Sometimes being [from] the ghetto, sometime you need fi go out fi mek you know say better than this out there. This is not, a no mi life dis. Better life than this out a road. Sometime chuu you born and grow you always deh ya so. You parents dem dohn even tek yu no weh.

Diane's statement was poignant. Leaving Tivoli Gardens and interacting with people from different communities required departure from the physical space. This departure also represented a shift in generational understandings of a "better life." Socioeconomic circumstances were harder to overcome. But women in the church used their intimate and domestic lives to lay a new foundation for their children. One way was through a different approach to discipline. In Diane's experience:

> Sometime you used to beat up di pikni dem. Because mi have five likkle pikni and mi did very ignorant. An mi used to beat dem an tell dem a whole heap a sopm. But being a Christian mek you stop do it. You stop cuss dem an tell dem say "dem a"—you call dem names. Yuh tell dem some name some time when you out deh in a sin. But being a Christian, you stop do that. Because you say blessing and curse come from di mouth so, you start to tell dem bless word now, you start to treat dem different. Treat dem likkle better you understand. So I got to love dem up now. An' mi want good fi come out a dem.

Yolanda echoed Diane's views:

> To really be a child of God, it teach yuh wisdom. It teach yuh how to approach things as a parent. Because me is a parents weh lik dong (beat down) yuh no mi no ramp (play). My evangelist used to say [about me] 'mi no call my children dem by dem name, a pure bad word mi call dem by'. But mi save and know Christ now, mi know how more fi approach tings. So now Christianity mek yuh use yuh wisdom and use yuh knowledge. Yuh know how fi talk, how fi turn things. First time you wuda talk pure negativity. But Christianity now mek yuh learn fi talk positive things and think positive things toward yuh children.

Being "in the world" and living as a Christian, were diametrically opposed. Modeling a "better life" for children meant learning how to discipline children in a more Christ-like manner. Mothers relied on these approaches to help their children become more resilient and make healthier decisions.

Men who were fathers maintained a specific understanding to Christian parenting as means of remedying mental excess. On Father's Day, the church held a panel to discuss some of the challenges of raising children in Tivoli Gardens. The choir director, a father of three children, facilitated the panel that consisted of six men who attended the church. With the exception of the facilitator and a deacon, most of the men were not as active in the church. They attended services

consistently but were rarely engaged in outreach ministry. The panel addressed questions such as how to engage an unsaved child, how to treat "females" and how to show affection to sons.

The responses to these questions were based on gendered understandings of men's interactions with women and their children. Most of the discussion centered on the contentious nature of on male-female intimate relationships. Pastor Morrison asserted that the "Western teachings" had taken over the traditional family structure and created imbalances. The mental excess here was that women wanted to be partners in the household. This ran contrary to the belief that men were the "headship." This was a consistent paradox in the life of the church—women were primed to exercise leadership, but only in the confines of the church. Spiritual leadership, it seemed, gave them influence in the domestic sphere to nurture and raise children. But this influence would always be subordinated to men's role as the head of the household. Teachings that deviated from this order would lead to excess in Christian male–female domestic relationships. According to the deacon, this excess leads to contention in the home. Citing a lesson he learned from a "Rasta man" that likened a leaky roof to a contentious woman, he assured the church that out of the five women with whom he had children, he decided to marry one because "she was the least miserable."[536]

On the topic of raising children, how fathers interact with their sons generated the most discussion. The mental excess here was one of homosexuality. All the responses cautioned against certain types of touching from fathers and warning their sons and daughters against the same with other men, including relatives. Fathers should only kiss their sons on the cheek. And, at all times, discourage boys from sitting on the laps of other men. The concern around sons

[536] The actual scripture comes from the Book of Proverbs 27:15, "A continual dripping on a rainy day and a quarrelsome wife are alike" *KJV*.

possibly exposed to homoerotic behavior overshadowed any conversation about the vulnerability of girls being susceptible to similar threats from male relatives.

The focus on Christian parenting for men in the church, then, seemed more concerned with the mental and emotional health of boys. Setting the right foundation for boys to learn their social and spiritual roles would translate into socially acceptable behavior. Furthermore, it would set the right tone for future relationships. Displays of (limited) affection was part of setting the standard for what love should look like for boys and in the process, prevent emotional and mental excesses. Feeling safe and cared for by a father would set a standard for making right decisions about interactions with other men. Remedying emotional and mental excess, then, were deterrents to social excess.

Getting Rid of Social Excess

Inscribed on the outward facing walls of the church courtyard is an "Anger Management/Peace Plan."

> Use a soft answer like Hannah/ 1 Sam. 1:15
> Give up your rights like Abraham/ Gen. 13:8–9
> Walk away like Isaac/ Gen. 26:18-22
> Shut your mouth like Jesus/ Isa. 53:7
> Forgive those that hurt you like Joseph/ Gen. 45:3–11
> Put others first like Esau/ Gen. 33:4 & 36:6–8

In 2011, a church member's daughter was involved in a dispute that escalated into a knife fight. One person died. Pastor Morrison realized that members of the community started taking sides and that the situation would further escalate. For six nights, the church held open-air meetings to

address the situation. The meetings helped bring a lull to a worsening situation. Pastor Morrison also visited the homes of the bereaved with a certified counselor. The bitterness lingered because the case is still open. However, the church's intervention helped lessen the swell of potential violence between neighbors. Aggression and contention were evidence of social excess. In his lesson to youth, social excess was defined as:

- Being quarrelsome/contentious in your community
- Creating conflicts that affect relationships
- Developing a freeness mentality; expecting without working
- Unable to compete in different areas in life
- Uncaring towards the hurting people around you
- Unable to associate productively for any long period of time

The anger management plan was one way to steer the community towards healthy social interactions. Social health was defined as:

- Building and sustaining positive relationships
- Fostering peace in your community
- Working honestly for a wage/salary or self-satisfaction
- Competing in life without fear, anger, or jealousy
- Nurturing/helping the weak or vulnerable

Aggression and contentiousness were common expressions of social excess. Sexuality was also a topic in which social excess was most discussed. Following the logic of excess as the church defined it, these social excesses were direct outcomes of emotional excess—fear, doubt, an unclear sense of direction, and low self-worth. Emotional lack, accordingly, led to mental excess, or the inability to make Christian-inspired decisions. The anger management plan was one way to remedy the social excess of aggression, violence, and contention. As discussed in the section on parenting, adults were verbally and physically aggressive towards children. Children were

also aggressive towards each other. Social interactions beyond a platonic level were also a great concern. The importance of fostering healthy intimate relationships was addressed explicitly to youth in the intermediate group. Compatibility was a central theme. It applied to personality, goals, and values. It was also interpreted as sexual compatibility of human physiology. The emphasis on heteronormativity was also considered a remedy for effeminacy and homosexuality in men. For women, marriage was a remedy for social excess.

In the first lesson, Pastor Morrison reviewed the principles of social excess. The discussion began with students providing examples of their experiences with social excess. Some of their responses included inappropriate dressing, "dancing on the road," responding poorly to teachers, and reacting to conflict using a weapon. The students' responses moved the discussion into the more didactic part of the lesson on values, attitudes, and interests. Values were "useful and necessary human qualities that define character." These qualities ranged from respecting the rights of a person, respecting property, being protective of others by offering guidance, standing in their defense, and receiving the same. Commitment was also an important value, it allowed "today's friendship" to blossom into "tomorrow's companionship in marriage." Positive, healthy friendships, Morrison warned, were not "bossy, dictatorial, or controlling." They required caring for someone as a full-person, motivating them, and celebrating mutual victories without jealousy or envy. In Morrison's formulation, these values were the foundation for marriage, the ultimate goal.

Social Excess in Marriage and Families

Marriage between a man and woman was a key remedy for social excesses and mental excesses, too. It was the culmination of right-living according to God's principles, in theory. However, maintaining Christian romantic relationships were challenging for women. Infidelity and meeting men's needs in exchange for financial stability presented women with very difficult choices.

During a prayer crusade, prayers were offered against "the spirit of concubinage." The term, in the Bible, referred to a woman who lived with a man but held a lower status than his wife. This was a traditional practice in polygamous societies and was a mark of status and influence for patriarchs and powerful men. The term also connotes women who participated in polyamorous relationships. The key here was that men often functioned as the head of multiple households. In the aftermath of slavery in Jamaica, women maintained relationships with men who fathered their children and who also had the responsibility of providing for the family. The term "concubine" assumes gender roles wherein women assumed a subordinate role in a relationship that was mainly defined through sexual relationships. In a Jamaican contemporary context, the practice of concubinage translated to "shacking up" or living the "sweetheart life." Women entered domestic arrangements with men to whom they were unmarried or engaged. Without the security of marriage, it is believed, women ran the risk of sharing their partner with other women. There was no guarantee of monogamy.

The prayer against concubinage did not sit well with one woman in the community. One evening during the crusade, Janice, a resident but not a member of the church, attended a prayer service. She sat off to the side with a small infant, asleep on her lap. She disagreed with the intention of the prayer against concubinage. "Most of us don't have husband, much less man! We have no man left!" she exclaimed. "Call the people them to God first and then you tell them

about marriage." Janice disagreed with the implications of this prayer for women living in the community. The prayer assumed there were men available to cohabit with and provide for women and children. The absence of men who would be willing to enter into a domestic situation forecloses marriage as a possibility.

For women, like Sandra, who were married with children from a previous relationship, infidelity was a concern. Sandra lived the "sweetheart" life with her husband. Then Pastor Norma Thomas encouraged them to stop living in sin and marry. In Sandra's estimation, most married or single men, were "wild."

> Sometime the husband wild. Di unmarried, him wild, him have bag a whole heap a woman. Then the woman cannot bother with it. So she no want stay in a dat relationship. So she just separate herself from him and mek him go live him wild life. Some woman naa cope wid that, some naa cope wid it. Some naa entertain it at all. They rather stay by dem self or move on wid dem relationship or, sometime when you move on a di same ting. Not every man a di same ting you know, but most, or even say fifty percent a di same ting.

Unmarried women (divorced, separated, or widowed) who had children also faced difficult choices in providing for their families. Single parenting came with the unique challenge of choosing a suitor who would possibility contribute to the household, but often at a high moral cost. For women in the church and those "out in the world," the transactional sex offered the opportunity to gain the material goods and financial security to provide for their children. Some women were underemployed, and some did not have jobs at all. The financial cost and emotional stress of single parenting made sex with men who offered these securities a tempting option. Though much can be said about the importance of family planning and using protection—a valid argument in communities where such practices were encouraged and the norm—having more than one child with the same or multiple men was also a strategic move for women to tether men

who were supposed to function as providers. And anecdotal evidence suggests that men also encouraged childbearing—children being a marker of social status and masculinity. Under these conditions, sex and childrearing served a purpose.

In Sandra's experience, having two children (one deceased), and her knowledge of other women in the community, men used sex as a bargaining tool. Single mothers have "it hard" according to Sandra, because "the father is not there to help them with the child." The absence was out of spite, Sandra explained.

> Because sometime, the father, the mother naa lie (have sexual intercourse) with him, [him] spite the mother. [But] a di child him a spite, because is fi him child too. And sometimes di mada have, she have it so difficult fi send dat child to school. Why him spite the mother because the mother not going to bed wid him. Cause him feel like say if the mada a gi him weh him fi get, then the child fi get weh di child fi get. But that is very wrong. And you have most father do that.

Under these conditions economic insecurity drove decision-making. Social excess, or unhealthy behaviors, manifested as uncaring fathers creating intentional conflict through manipulation. In addition, the practice of transactional sex contributed to what Pastor Morrison described as a "freeness mentality"—but the reality was not so simple. Freeness assumed that the work of single-mothers was quantifiable solely in a monetary sense. And that work was a panacea for mental and emotional excess. The stigma on the community, and the internal logic of the garrison system where "handouts" were the norm, working for pay was not a straightforward solution. In the end, these decisions directly affected children material well-being. They created patterns in family planning that deeply concerned women in the church. Teenage pregnancy was common in the community and generated persistent fear in mothers.

Remedying Social Excess in Education and Family Planning

Approximately 60 percent of households in Tivoli Gardens were headed by single women. And out of all households, 37 percent consisted of five persons or more. Sixty-six percent of persons in Tivoli Gardens was under the age of thirty. While 70 percent of household members were enrolled in school, of those 73 percent were in primary and secondary school. Tivoli Gardens High School is the only secondary school in the community. It has the capacity to seat sixteen hundred students. However, in 2006 enrollment stood at only 1388. For 62 percent of households, a high school diploma was the highest level of educational attainment. However, of that number, 73 percent graduated with qualifications that would allow them to matriculate to a tertiary education. The low level of educational attainment and the ability for youth to compete in an already limited job market influenced the church's approach to youth outreach.

Youth outreach at Deliverance Tabernacle served an important function that school could not accomplish. It provided young people with direct strategies to cope with real-life pressures and encouraged high-order thinking skills in the process. School retention was often low for a myriad of reasons. Peer pressure, financial limitations, teen pregnancy, and lack of parental intervention often contributed to students' low performance. Youth outreach initiatives at the church intended to address the root causes that would positively affect students' school performance.

In one intermediate class lesson, Pastor Morrison walked students through a cost–benefit analysis of school performance. The theme of the lesson, "Hold on to your faith in spite of your challenges: Like Daniel, Don't Give Up." The story of Daniel in the lion's den was used an allegory to demonstrate the rewards of persistence in the face of challenges. Like Daniel, living a purpose-driven life required seven C's: conviction, compassion, commitment, control, courage,

constraint, and completion. The last point was applied to school performance. Pastor Morrison cautioned students against "finishing [school] with time and not finishing with experience; passing with time and not subjects."[537]

Students were captive and engaged in the lesson. They brainstormed the average costs of school fees, bus fare, and lunch money. Pastor Morrison wrote the calculations on the concrete wall using a rock. The markings were faint and barely visible. There were twenty-eight weeks of school. It cost $300 a day to cover lunch and bus fare which equaled $42,000 for the year. High school can last up to five years amounting to a grand total of $210,000 for lunch and bus fare. This was in addition to the cost of tuition for subject tests administered under the Caribbean Examinations Council or CXC. Each subject test costs about $44,000 over five years with the expectation that students will graduate with five CXC subjects. This brings the grand total for subjects to $220,000. To put a child through high school for five years, paying for subject courses that would hopefully allow them to become competitive in the job market was a financial investment for families, headed by single women who were chronically unemployed.[538]

The economic challenges of maintaining a household were compounded by social challenges. Women were fearful that their daughters were likely to get pregnant prior to completing high school. They had children at a young age. Nessa and Doreen had their first child at fourteen years old. Sandra had her son at age fifteen. Though Tricia had her first child at eighteen, after completing high school; she was unemployed and living with her parents.

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[537] In the Jamaican educational system, students demonstrate their academic aptitude by the number of subjects they pass. At the high school level, students sit for general and technical proficiency tests administered by the Caribbean Exams Council (CXC). The quantity of subject tests and scores determines a student's chances of being admitted to a tertiary institution or vocational training program.

[538] Statistics from the SDC study indicated that 43.5 percent of female heads of household remained unemployed for five or more years. Twenty-two percent of households cited that the main reason they were unemployed was that they lacked the requisite skills and qualifications. A major source of income was through remittances and support from family members and friends. *Tivoli Gardens Community Profile*, 30–33.

Women consistently described teenage pregnancy as a "fear." It affected the financial and emotional health of the family. Yolanda described her reaction to her teenage daughter revealing that she was pregnant. "It wasn't easy, mi cry fi days, cause a mi one daughter, mi just pay her school fee. School just open September and mi pay her school fee. Mi come and a tell [Evangelist Thomas] and mi a tell [her] say mi a go put her out, and she say "no don't put her out bikaaz if you put her out, yuh a go in a more trouble if anything happen to her." But it wasn't easy. It wasn't a easy ting."

The burden of caring for the child often fell on mothers who were already on a limited income. Paying for school fees was an investment. And pregnancy often meant school fees were wasted because she would not finish the term. There were more mouths to feed, and more needs to meet without increased income. At times the father was unknown or would deny responsibility for the child. This weighed heavily on mothers, "it hurt yuh so much when you see dem go get pregnant so early and that's why you try yuh best so dat dem no get pregnant early."

The inevitable hurt and financial pressure of teenage pregnancy influenced how mothers engaged their daughters around prevention and safe sex. Nessa, Sandra, and Yolanda preferred a more direct approach that created room for their children to talk to them about sex and birth control. For Nessa, "Weh reach me, I don't it [teenage pregnancy] reach my daughter. And mi say 'put you head to your lesson, God wi carry yu thru.' And mi deh deh a talk to her. Mi be a friend wid mi daughter, a mada; she naav a faada around. Mi a her mada and faada. And mi sit down and mi talk to her." Yolanda believed in having direct conversation as well, but only at an appropriate age—preferably when they are in high school. She is careful about the timing. Having the conversation too early might give the impression that sex was permissible at a young age. At the right time, "when dem reach di age, now yuh a go mek dem know now she no bada

(bother) go out deh go run yuh body reckless." The discussion about sex often involved discussions about using condoms or birth control. Sandra believed a direct conversation was the best approach. She knew her son was having sex after catching them in the act (and beating them both). She warned him about the dangers of STD and that condoms were not always foolproof. She preferred that a male would have had this conversation with her son. But his father was deceased, so she took on the challenge. "Sometime when yuh tell dem "yuh no ready fi sex yet," sometime dem go behind yuh back an dem do it. And it is not right, but yuh still mek dem know say condom. Sometime di condom is not safe to. Because sometime yuh use di condom, sometime di condom burse. Sometimes you get infection, sometimes you get AIDS, sometimes you get gonorrhea, syphilis, all kind a germs." Yolanda also warned her son about condom use. "Me tell my son say "mi know mi kyaahn tell you weh fi do, but use a condom because AIDS bad," dat me ever a tell him "especially over ya so" [Tivoli Gardens]. Mi say "yu kyaahn look in a dem face an say da one deh have it," no care how beautiful dem is, you kyaahn know kaa it no mark pon dem. So use a condom."

Some women avoided a direct conversation and instead did practical things to dissuade their teenagers from having sex. Diane made sure that her daughter traveled with her on errands and to church as often as possible. If there was an errand in the evening, she would send her son instead. "Everywhere I go you know I used to drag dem back a mi, yes. Shop fi go a night, mi send di boy pikni dem, di two girl pikni dem naa go out in a night. So that was my greatest fear of teenage pregnancy. But thanks be to God none a dem never get pregnant."

Tricia's approach was the strictest. She avoided pregnancy until after high school and wanted the same for her daughter. Every month, Tricia closely monitored her daughter's menses. She purchased pads in small quantities and checked to make sure they were used. "When it

[menses] come she have to come to me and then mi buy one and memba when she a see it mi a fi see wha a come pon it. Mi a look pon it fi si say it a come." Tricia also forced her daughter to take pregnancy tests. "Because I am so afraid. I am so afraid, so mi buy all pregnancy test to say if anything mi no see it come dis ya time ya, dat deh time deh mi a go do di pregnancy test fi myself fi see wha a gwaan. And she cry and a say "mommy you know mi naa do notn." But what, because mi have di experience wid ada (others) around me and see say and see it painful."

Though Tricia's method was overprotective, the fear of pregnancy within her social context rendered her actions justifiable. Sandra also shared that mothers in the community taking extreme measures to prevent teen pregnancy. Mothers ground emergency contraception into fine powder, mixed it in tea or juice, unbeknownst their daughters. This method navigated the fine line between discussing sex and family planning and the appearance of condoning teenage sex.

These creative measures sometimes stood in tension with the statistical inevitability of teenage pregnancy in Tivoli Gardens. Nessa and Tricia held to the oft-repeated prophecy where in the last days "children will have children."[539] They both admitted "they didn't like the idea" of young girls having children at twelve and thirteen years old. According to Nessa, however, "come in like di Bible a fulfil, because children you see, you naa see no big woman a have kids again. A [mostly] young people having children." To add to this time-worn prophecy, Tricia believed that the cycle of teen pregnancy was innate to Tivoli Gardens. This pattern contributed to the stigma on the community and shaped expectations for young girls. "Especially if you never get elevated in a di community. You never reach to a place weh you would like so you would a want fi si dat in a your child. Not to say, a because some a wi did bad mek wi get it [pregnant] but because a financial difficulty. Cause born in the community you no come see you

[539] This was an oft-repeated maxim that many attribute to the Bible. However, there is no scripture in the Old or New Testament to corroborate the claim that this is Biblical prophecy.

mother have nothing a [mostly] poverty and everything just did a reach you because, as mi say before, di stigma!"

The hope is that with thoughtful, Christian parenting, young women would avoid the specter of teenage pregnancy. Simone, at sixteen years old (whose mother was not interviewed for this project), was an active youth leader in the church. However, her decision to be sexually active landed her in the same position the women in the church bemoaned. Her mother had a her at an early age and remains a single mother. The pattern continued. However, Simone was committed to remaining in the church and part of her faith community. She was not ostracized nor made to feel like an outsider during her pregnancy. But the disappointment from her church elders, she claimed, was palpable. Nevertheless, she was determined to complete school and remain active in the church. She still lived at home with her mother and two young siblings. Under the almond tree, Simone soothed her newborn son, breastfed, and listened to Pastor Morrison teach about social excess. Simone was now a mother in a community where, at a young age, teenage motherhood was highly probable.

Emotional and mental excess in social and intimate relationships led to a series of unhealthy choices and behavior. In a community where excess was the norm, the lessons of the church provided alternate paradigms to make decisions that, in theory, led to different outcomes. The church's approach to anger management stemmed a potentially widespread internal war between neighbors. In the context of the church community, however, aggression took on a different tone. This was most evident in the interactions around sexuality. The language and fervor of the prayers about same sex intimacy and gender expression equaled the intensity of the arguments I witnessed.

Remedying Social Excess in Sexuality

The lessons on social excess focused initially on healthy social interactions. The second part of the lesson addressed sexual relationships. I was unable to take many written notes for this lesson. Simone asked me to hold her newborn son while she focused on the lesson. Towards the end of the morning session, Pastor Morrison received an urgent phone call. He had to leave class early. He handed me the outline and asked me to teach the section on "male/female relationships." I was rather uneasy with the content and called a friend immediately for advice on how to navigate the content that went against my personal politics on sexuality. For example, the lesson asked students to "sort out" what compatibility looked like between men and women seeking to form healthy relationships and how to assess compatibility.

> What is compatibility? When you are compatible you are like-minded in directions, hopes, aspirations, goals. You are well-matched with values and attitudes. You are well-suited to form productive God-glorifying companionship. A productive companionship must fulfil God's first Productivity Plan for man—Genesis 1:28: Be fruitful, multiply, replenish, subdue, have dominion.

The lesson posed the following questions:

> Is a square peg compatible with a round hole? Can male/male relationships multiply? Can female/female relationships multiply? Which part of God's Sex Program same sex/spirit-sex/self-sex cannot fulfill?
>
> - Pleasure for Fun
> - Partnership for Friendship
> - Procreation for Family
> - Praise of Fellowship

The lesson then asked students to determine specific types of compatibility. They were graphic, leading questions. "Is the penis compatible with the anus? If no, why? Was the human tongue made for the vagina? If no, why? Is dog/human sex compatible? If no, why?" I chose to focus on

benign content about different types of friendships: casual friends, selected friends, and "special friends" who later became "Intimate Christian Friends." Overall, the lesson offered building blocks for friendships that would lead to marriage. "As understanding develops into commitment and interests grow into compatibility—the special friend becomes your intimate friend. As commitment moves to maturity and compatibility move to attachments—the person becomes your engaged lover. As maturity moves to readiness and attachment moves to bonding [the person becomes a] marital partner."

"God's Productivity/Sex Program" called for alignment between males and females along the lines of goals, values, and human sexuality. Platonic and romantic friendships, sex and eventually marriage were based on an understanding that compatibility was a complete experience that covered personalities and physical intimacy. Supported by biblical teachings, Pastor Morrison demonstrated that any deviations from this formula would inevitably lead to social excess. Homosexuality, then, was a social excess that was the result of ungodly values and sexuality not aligned with God's plan for a "productive partnership." The church's stance lent further moral weight to Jamaica's 1864 Sexual Offences Act which designates "buggery"—or anal sex between men—punishable by law.[540]

Deliverance Tabernacle took a hard stance against sexual immorality. During the prayer crusade, Evangelist Christina was called upon to pray for the men in the community. Her prayer

[540] For a report describing the legal and social landscape of LGBT citizens in Jamaica, refer to the *"The World as It Should Be": Advancing the Human Rights of LGBT People in Jamaica* (Human Rights First, July 2015), http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/sites/default/files/HRF-Jamaica-Report-final.pdf. On July 23, 2017, a high-ranking clergy in the Anglican Church, Bishop Howard Gregory, advocated repeal of the law. Similarly, the pastor of the Missionary Church Association of Jamaica, Reverend Dr. Garnett Roper, supported Gregory's stance on the law. Jovan Johnson and Arthur Hall, "Free Up Buggery! - Leader Breaks Ranks With Many Christian Colleagues," *The Gleaner*, July 23, 2017, http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/lead-stories/20170723/free-buggery-leader-breaks-ranks-many-christian-colleagues.

began with a plea for more industrious-minded men and turned into a lengthy exorcism of sexual vice.

> Evangelist Christina: These are your boys, god of mercy, have mercy on boys! They are so hype. They don't want to work. They turn their mind from working from doing the right thing. But in the name of Jesus, turn it around here! We command it!
>
> Pastor Morrison: Purge it, purge it God!
>
> Evangelist: You create man, you form woman. And you put them together and they become one. But in the name of Jesus, Satan just come mess it up! Sex demons, God, over this country. We bind it up! We send it back where it comes from!
>
> Pastor: Homosexuality! God! God! No it's not logical! Flush it out! It is not logical!
>
> Evangelist: No Sodom and Gomorrah. You are not welcome in Reptile Row! We send it back to the pit of hell! We command you to take your flight. This filthy filthy spirit, it can never be of God. Leave!
>
> Evangelist: Father almighty God we're asking you to turn these men unto you. No he-she spirit! A man must be a man, no he-she spirit in the name of Jesus Christ. A man must act like a man! We curse you and tell you to come out in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth
>
> Pastor: It is not logical!
>
> Evangelist: Filthy, dirty spirits, we command you to come out. Take your flight! Jesus! Every men and every boys we put them inna yuh hand now. Grow them up and teach them how to be men. Some of them don't have a father, grow them up and let them become men of valor. Men to take charge. You create man to have dominion and take charge. And so lord God, we put Dudley Square in your hand. Every single man of Dudley Square my God. I pray that you change their mindset. Change the mindset God of those that are thinking funny. Change them!
>
> Pastor: Heal them! Heal them! It's time for change!
>
> Evangelist: Transform them! Change their mind set mighty God. And make them act like real man.
> Pastor: You bring back Lazarus from the dead, bring back the homosexual! Bring them out of it! You can take them out of it. They can rise up and walk. Take them out of the pit! You took Lazarus out of it.
>
> Evangelist: Call them to come forth! Father God you know them by name. You know God they not living right. Call them bak to you and teach them how to be men. But these men nowadays, sometimes we look on them and we think its a woman. But father God

> we ask you for mercy. It sick stomach to see how these men behave! Sick stomach mighty God!
>
> Pastor: God, god...
>
> Evangelist: If it sick us, just can imagine you. And so God Almighty I cry on their behalf tonight that you will arrest them! Arrest them!
>
> Pastor: No modern family! Traditional family! No Modern family! Traditional family! The Lord rebuke!
>
> Evangelist: A man and man cannot bring forth a child. They cannot bring forth a child. You never ordain it like that. And so Lord God almighty I pray that you may bring them back and let them start to act like men, to behave like a man.
>
> Pastor: Traditional family, no modern family!

This aggressive prayer combined the church's teachings on sexuality and family life. The boys Evangelist Christina prayed for were victims of "sex demons." Satan and Western teachings, we recall, were interchangeable. These perspectives subverted the natural order within families and turned individuals, specifically men, towards unnatural affections and behaviors.

This was most evident in Jorey's experience. Though the church maintained an antagonistic stance on effeminacy, Jorey was fully integrated into the life of the church. It was almost a guarantee that at service, Jorey would be implicated for misbehavior. Aside from constantly being picked on by other boys, he earned a reputation in the community for always fighting. He was close friends with two young women who were of the same age, known as the neighborhood instigators. However, Jorey's name was often the one that emerged in conversations about poor conduct. Jorey's street persona was softened at church, most of the time. During services, he worshipped passionately and was always appropriately dressed for service. The first time I saw Jorey was at the church crusade meeting. He wore a pair of white shorts and an orange t-shirt. He was the only male in his age group who worshipped, clapped,

and sang without reserve. During the prayers, Donte—who I later learned was a chief instigator in teasing Jorey—would provoke Jorey. In response, Jorey would glare and flash him off and quickly return to singing and clapping.

Jorey maintained a complex role in his church community. He was bullied, isolated, teased, a troublemaker. He was also appreciated by the pastor, scolded and defended by church elders, and one to "nice up the place" during church youth events. During a youth activity, students were told to interview a partner and report their findings to the group. It was intended to help youth practice communication skills such as good posture, eye contact, and speaking clearly. Jorey was the only person whose partner disagreed with the pairing and refused to interview him. He was placed with another group but did not participate with his usual level of enthusiasm. When Jorey was engaged, he made great contributions to the church community. During sports day, Jorey helped the Yellow Team win the prize for team spirit. He led his peers in spirited cheers, songs, and dancing. Pastor Morrison referred to Jorey as the unofficial "foreman" during church construction projects. He would organize young people to help clean the churchyard of debris. Once, the pastor credited Jorey with reminding him about a church cleaning project. The pastor thanked Jorey publicly and in the same breath asked God to forgive his oversight.

The aggressive teasing once got the best of Jorey. In the middle of class time during vacation bible school, I saw Jorey exit the building visibly upset, carrying his book and a pencil. I asked him why he was not in class. Holding back tears he explained Donte publicly accused and teased him of sitting on a man's lap. This was considered homoerotic behavior. Jorey retorted by accusing Donte of the same. Donte resented Jorey for "calling his name." They almost got into a physical fight and Pastor Morrison demanded Jorey leave class. While we

spoke, classes dismissed for lunch. Donte walked outside and Jorey immediately lunged at him with a sharpened pencil, but I managed to hold him back. Jorey was asked to leave for the day. Donte stayed.

The aggression around policing sexual intimacy and gender expression also occurred during youth services. Sometimes it was presented as a stern talking-to or tough love. For example, one evening many youth arrived late and were wearing clothes that were considered inappropriate for church. Evangelist Christina gave a lengthy speech to youth about poor behavior and expectations for when they come to youth service. "You are all getting older and growing up. Before you come here, bathe! Wash your foot! Tidy yourself! Some of you come home from school by 1-2 o'clock. Do what you have to do before service and make sure you come on time. Girls, some of you need to put on better clothes. You have time after school to take out your clothes before service." Earlier Evangelist Christina reprimanded Vanessa, Nessa's nine-year-old daughter, about wearing a marino (sleeveless undershirt) with her skirt. Vanessa said she could not find a better shirt because the electricity was gone and she could not look for clothes. Evangelist Christina also commented on the boys' behavior during the opening prayers. Jorey was doing hip thrusts during one of the action songs. "Boys, some of you not behaving like boys. Stop jooking!" All the male students looked at Jorey. Sis. Tricia quickly retorted, "Why unnu looking at Jorey?!" As if to suggest that they were guilty too and should not single him out. The message was that only the adults were supposed to point out and correct Jorey's quirks. Evangelist Christina's reprimand was about appropriate behavior and dress for church. It was also a comment on the way youth dressed and behaved outside the church gates. In the courtyards of Dudley Square, women often paraded in brassieres and revealing shorts. Men walked around topless. Infants ran around carefree wearing only diapers and underwear. On one

occasion, I saw a woman, standing in a building foyer topless with a towel wrapped around her waist. Perhaps she recently bathed behind the building, a common practice since apartments rarely have sufficient indoor running water. The dictate to "put on better clothes" was a lesson in modesty for girls, and the "boys not behaving like boys" was a message on gender-specific decorum for young men.

Policing girls' emotional expression was also lesson in gender norms. In the year prior to VBS being held outdoors, the primary-aged class was taught inside the windowless concrete building under construction. Rochelle, then twelve years old, sat in the back row. She was upset that another student broke her fashion glasses. Evangelist Christina chastised Rochelle for seething out loud and that it distracted the rest of the class. Frustrated, Rochelle continued to plead her case. At the same time, a masculine-presenting woman from the community, dressed in a white t-shirt and wearing braids, walked up to the window to observe. (I later learned she was Rochelle's relative.) She smacked Rochelle's face. "Fix up your face inna di people place! Yu going on like yuh a big uuman (woman)!" She turned to Evangelist Christina, "she has some dirty style like she a big woman!" Rochelle was made to stand in front of the class, facing the wall as punishment. She was later sent home by her mother for being "mouthy."

The standard communication style in Dudley Square set a standard for children. Children learned how to respond to conflict or bad feelings by modeling adults. Instructing precocious children to quiet down with the threat, "me'll tump (punch) yuh inna yuh mout" or publicly shaming a young woman for expressing frustration by accusing her of "acting like a big woman" does little to help youth gain positive coping skills. Children display the same aggression towards each other during play and ordinary interactions. During regular conversation, I often

could not distinguish ordinary conversation and an argument or disagreement. Curled lips, flared nostrils, furrowed brows, pointing, hands akimbo were characteristic bodily expressions.

But where can adults, who themselves are victims of physical and systemic violence, learn how to better model healthy social behaviors? In the context of social and economic indicators that predispose residents towards emotional, mental, and social excess, the church offers alternatives that may shift its members towards healthier outcomes. The prayers, outreach services, and lessons offered by Deliverance Tabernacle provide a starting point to consider how faith communities are potential spaces for social change.

There is a depth of possibility in applying the "Purpose Driven Life" framework and the lessons on "Getting Rid of Excess." Encouraging a life of integrity through decision-making regarding sexual behavior, earning money, and education through biblical principles provides members of Deliverance Tabernacle with an alternate framework for surviving the challenges that accompany life in Tivoli Gardens. The system of political patronage that created garrison politics, the failure of the creole-nationalist project, and the material circumstances that emerge as a result of structural adjustment programs, shape the community and the life chances of Tivoli Gardens' residents. The extent of the church's outreach will always contend with high rates of unemployment, the majority of whom are women who are heads of household, the desire for income that encourages transactional sex, and the threat of violence. To sing about one's promise and possibility in the context of Tivoli Gardens is a paradox.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

"The Burden of Love"

Apostle Francis approached the podium to deliver his convention message. This year's theme was "The Burden of Love." It was a burden borne of conviction, concern, and commitment. As a prelude to the message, Apostle Francis made a promise to the church—that his church organization, The Rock Church, would cover the cost of the loan Deliverance Tabernacle used to purchase a new drum set. The proceeds from the convention could now go exclusively to finishing the roof. The congregation responded to this announcement with praises. As Apostle Francis continued his sermon, he described the ways in which the members of Deliverance Tabernacle would have to act on their burden of love. He did not allude to the 2011 incursion, but he warned that the world was watching West Kingston. Though it was not the only community with social issues in Jamaica, he said, "when God moves here everyone will see." The Apostle said God had shown him that the burden of love in West Kingston was "not about politics—it was about righteous and demonic spirits." The Holy Ghost would bring about change that would be "deep and spiritual." As a result, church members would have to "care for the worse and bad men" or criminals through restorative justice. Instead of turning the "worse and bad men" over to the courts or to the prison system, the church, he warned, would have to restore these men through educational sponsorship and employment. The Apostle shared that his experience with restorative justice had been challenging but rewarding. He testified that some of his charges were successful men who eventually started families and earned incomes that helped others who were in a similar position. Apostle Francis invited the members of Deliverance

Tabernacle to make the declaration: "I will minister to my enemy because they are no longer the enemy. They will become a friend of God. They will be grafted into the vine. We call more branches in western Kingston." I could not help but wonder, though, about the young men and women who were already at the church, not engaged in "badness" but needing help and support now. Were their futures to be put aside for the sake of this burden of love?

Summary

My questions point to the complicated ways in which faith and politics work at Deliverance Tabernacle, a Pentecostal church in Tivoli Gardens with a mandate for social change that eschewed formal politics while demanding political action broadly defined. Throughout this dissertation I have sought to demonstrate that narrow conceptions of politics, relying solely on the practices of statecraft, obscure the political implications of outreach activities undertaken by Pentecostals in Tivoli Gardens. Defining political action broadly, as a process of tending to arrangements, widens the scope of how we understand and interpret the role and function of modern Pentecostals in Tivoli Gardens. It also has implications for interpreting the history of political action on the part of religious agents in Jamaica.

The historical and political analysis in each chapter conceptualized the impact of Jamaica's religious history and Christian rhetoric in public life. Thinking about politics and religion in this way pushes against larger narratives of secularism. It highlights the ways in which the supposed separation between church and state in modern democracies functions more as an aspiration and prescription for governance than as an accurate description of public life. In Jamaica, public rhetoric and political strategy have been infused with Christian discourse since

colonization. Religion provides a means and language to achieve social progress and address moral ills.

To tell the story of Christian values and rhetoric in the formation of the Jamaican state, I have focused on key historical touchpoints of social change—the end of slavery, the 1972 and 1980 elections, and the 2011 incursion in Tivoli Gardens. At these critical moments, politicians and citizens drew on religious values to articulate remedies for the state's failure. Dingwall's manifesto, *Jamaica's Greatest Need*, was written in the aftermath of the end of slavery in 1834 and in the shadow of the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. The rebellion, orchestrated by Native Baptists, forced colonial authorities to pay attention to Afro-Jamaican claims to fair wages and equitable access to land. "So help me God I will fight for my country"—the oath taken by men at a Baptist chapel prior to the uprising—revealed the theological roots of the rebellion and the values that motivated its participants. Afro-Jamaican laborers' demand for rights in the aftermath of slavery challenged a consistent pattern of neglect by the colonial state. Dingwall's polemic continued this tradition of Christian resistance. His call for God-ordained patriotism was a demand for Christian virtue amongst Jamaicans and an indictment of the colonial authorities' continued marginalization of Afro-Jamaican rights and claims. What emerged was a complex vision of national identity based on Christian principles and Afro-Jamaican solidarity as remedies for redress and social uplift.

National discourse around progress and social uplift in the twentieth century would draw upon tropes introduced in Dingwall's manifesto. Norman Manley's 1972 election campaign drew heavily on the counterhegemonic frameworks of the Black Power movement and Rastafari, challenging state economic policies that exacerbated class inequality as well as Creole nationalist denial of the significance of class and ethnicity in determining access to the benefits of progress

and social uplift. The Claudius Henry controversy demonstrated that the ideological space in Jamaica, deeply conditioned by Christian values, could not accommodate a radical vision of community and Afro-Jamaican uplift. Manley's victory and the implementation of democratic socialism demonstrated the effect of counterhegemonic cultural movements on the national agenda. Manley's third path presented opportunities for Jamaica's disenfranchised and attempted to move the country from its peripheral status in the world economy, and the PNP sought to articulate the Christian principles reflected in its brand of democratic socialism, but a majority of Jamaicans found democratic socialism inconsistent with their self-understanding as a Christian nation. The controversy over singing the "Red Flag" in a church at McGann's funeral evinced the ideological tensions between the PNP's socialist leanings and the views of Jamaican elites who considered the song an affront to the country's Christian values. In the end, the third path and democratic socialism were crippled by Cold War anxieties about the spread of Communism and its perceived threat to the Christian values that dominated Jamaica's national consciousness.

In the 1980 elections, ideological clashes escalated into armed warfare between political parties. The country chose ultimately to pursue the Christian promise of "deliverance." Seaga and the JLP effectively utilized Christian tropes to end the country's "ungodly" experiment with democratic socialism. The congratulatory letters written to Seaga spoke to this sense of his party's victory as one that had delivered Jamaicans from what one writer characterized as "communism slavery and cruelty." Seaga was likened to Moses and described as having ushered Jamaicans out from under the "wicked power of communism of wicked Manley." Seaga also "delivered" the country into structural adjustment programs that forced Jamaica back to dependency on the United States. This new order reasserted the Creole nationalist tendencies that

had justified stifling economic policies in the past, but for many this shift was synonymous with affirming the country's Christian values.

Once again Jamaicans, particularly the poor and marginalized, were made to bear the burden of dependency. Structural adjustment removed protections and securities that would have ensured that Jamaicans from all social classes could enjoy the fruits of progress. Meanwhile gunmen, no longer the armed enforcers of political parties, became semiautonomous agents who tightened the boundaries of belonging through violence and patronage in their respective communities, taking on functions that the state failed to carry out. The collapse of the formal state and the pressures that accompanied garrison life created moral ills for which there were few remedies. During this time, Pentecostalism emerged in the Global South as a spiritual balm for those who felt the discontents of adjustment most deeply. In Tivoli Gardens, Deliverance Tabernacle provided hope for possible change for persons willing to follow Christian teachings on right living.

Austin-Broos has defined Jamaican Pentecostalism, in part, as a set of moral orders. These orders, she argues, do not translate to the kinds of effective political engagement necessary to bring about social change. My field work in Tivoli Gardens, however, indicates that Jamaican Pentecostalism contributes to social change through a practice of politics extending beyond formal engagement with the state. I have challenged Austin-Broos's claims about the limits of Jamaican Pentecostal moral orders by documenting a set of practices and engagements that can be described as politics broadly defined—that is, in Oakeshott's terms, the practice of tending to arrangements. Deliverance Tabernacle members' narratives and experiences meet the criteria Oakeshott describes.

The process of tending to, defining, and cultivating arrangements is complicated at every turn by the economic and social demands of life in Tivoli Gardens. Having spent time with members of Deliverance Tabernacle over the span of three years and counting, I have learned that the arrangements, behaviors, and relationships the church seeks to create often fall short of their stated goals. Jorey died a violent death. Sandra is underemployed and struggles with infidelity in her marriage. Simone became a mother at sixteen. Children still experience verbal and emotional abuse from adults who are outside the church. Homophobia threatens the existence of queer young men, and misogyny and street harassment make it difficult for young women to feel safe. The messages of social excess are not always well received. The path to progress in this community is fraught with contradictions and roadblocks. Within the context of Tivoli Gardens, to what extent can Pentecostal moral orders effect sustainable, long-term social and political change?

Austin-Broos's claims about the limits of Jamaican Pentecostal political engagement reflect assumptions that the state is capable of providing redress. She assumes that formal processes of political engagement would yield systemic changes and alter life chances of people like the residents of Tivoli Gardens, particularly women and youth. As I have demonstrated throughout the preceding chapters, however, the state has repeatedly failed to provide the changes in policy that are necessary for positive long-term effects. When the state has attempted to do so, moreover, geopolitical pressures have overpowered its efforts. The claim that Pentecostals are apolitical and unable to effectively promote human economic and social flourishing assumes that there are viable and generative ways of doing so outside of the spiritual community. If the state cannot accommodate these demands for change, let alone operationalize them, then we have to expand our conception of political action and widen our definition of

progress and uplift. Deliverance Tabernacle's members and leaders provide us with an example of how Pentecostals build community around a set of ethical expectations. Their methods, however imperfect and contradictory at times, create a value system and alternate space of belonging that provides hope and encourages practices that are necessary, if not sufficient, for systemic social change.

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