WHITHER JAMAICA'S MUSIC INDUSTRY?

A Bourdieusian approach to tracing Plantalogical Subjectivities

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Abstract

A point of departure for this thesis is that despite consensus among stakeholders in Jamaica that the nation’s popular music genre, reggae, is a well-received global brand, a veritable state of inertia persists when it comes to advancing the productive capacity of the music sector. In this thesis, the relational gulf between industry and government actors is problematized.

The thesis suggests on-going tensions can be traced to socio-historical struggles that reinscribe colonial relations of power. Using a social theory framework drawn from the work of Pierre Bourdieu, integrated with the Caribbean plantation economy model, the thesis argues that practices in the sector are characterised by acts of symbolic violence and patterns of behaviour indicative of those found in a plantation system.

The limited government support the music sector receives is interpreted in this thesis as a devaluation of indigenous cultural expression that is only validated by gaining legitimacy in foreign domains. Cultural producers perceive this paradoxical situation as a sign of disrespect that inferiorises their identities. The degree to which music is an export-propelled cultural sector further cements a plantation culture of 'dependency' on the outside. This tension culminates in a struggle for recognition that becomes enacted through the constitution of plantalogical subjectivities. They serve to readmit memory traces of the colonial past and which decimates motivation toward any internal development effort.

I compliment the conceptual argument with a series of narrative interviews with Jamaican creative practitioners. I conceptualise the notions of ‘negative cultural capital’ and ‘dependency habitus’ to respectively account for the symbolic erasure of value and of a subject position that emphasizes the shift of allegiance away from Jamaica. Thus this thesis points to important linkages between the field of development studies and cultural policy frameworks by exploring the role of subjectivities in development behaviour. It further aids in enhancing understanding of attempts towards development under late capitalism and in post-colonial contexts.
Acknowledgements

‘If you want to do really important things in life and big things in life, you can’t do anything by yourself.’
~ Deepak Chopra

I see this study as ‘important’ and ‘big’ and, in that regard, it is certainly not one I could have undertaken alone. One thing I learned from this laborious but extremely rewarding effort is the importance of ‘recognition’.

First and foremost, I wish to express my heartfelt gratitude and appreciation to my supervisors, Prof. Mike Saren and Dr. Robert Cluley, for their stalwart patience throughout this journey. Their support, guidance and comments proved most invaluable.

For enabling this crucial work, and for the opportunity to engage most clearly with critical thinkers, I am appreciative of the support from the School of Management at the University of Leicester.

I am also extremely grateful to the Jamaican cultural producers who agreed to participate in this study in order to make it come to fruition. How they overcome trials and tribulations to make music from Jamaica feel ‘special’ is nothing short of inspiring.

For her enduring support and patience throughout, I express my warmest appreciation to Cecile Bradie.

I must say ‘thank you’ to my colleagues Blandine Emilien, Tiantian Zheng and, the Italian connection - Andrea Ghelfi, Martina Martignoni and Marco Sachy. Their friendship and support over the past few years made the ‘ultimate’ difference and - will never be forgotten!

For their sacrifice, patience and unquestionable love, this thesis is dedicated
to my children, Cameron and Danielle Harper
and,
to my late mother, Dorothy Dorina Farquharson.
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<tr>
<td>BCJ</td>
<td>Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECLA</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Latin America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOJ</td>
<td>Government of Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHE</td>
<td>Internal Hinterland of Exploitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPR</td>
<td>Intellectual Property Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISI</td>
<td>Import Substitution by Industrialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JAMPRO</td>
<td>Jamaica Promotions Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JaRIA</td>
<td>Jamaica Reggae Industry Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>National Development Plan (of Jamaica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSOJ</td>
<td>Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCTAD</td>
<td>United Nations Conference on Trade and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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## Glossary

<table>
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<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Capital</strong></td>
<td>Pierre Bourdieu uses this term to refer to the tangible and intangible set of resources individuals (and groups) seek to acquire in order to secure a social advantage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coloniality of Power</strong></td>
<td>Peruvian sociologist, Anibel Quijano regards the positioning of elites’ domination of the economic, cultural, and political structures of the society, even after independence, as a “continuity of power relations”. It represents a reconfiguration of colonial power in the post-colonial era. He argues that elites are able to classify populations and to exclude people of colour from the categories of full citizenship in the imagined community called the “nation.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Conditions of Productivity</strong></td>
<td>For the Jamaican music industry, conditions of productivity refer to improvement in the following areas: intellectual property rights (IPR) regime, access to credit facilities and modes of organisation and practices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural Producer</strong></td>
<td>The Jamaican creative practitioner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dependency</strong></td>
<td>A state of being that refers to when the internal functioning of an economic or social system is determined by external factors. (Girvan and Girvan, 1973)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Doxa</strong></td>
<td>Bourdieu introduces the concept of ‘doxa’ to represent the tacit understanding we have of social practice; of what seems natural; or, the unquestioned taken-for-granted assumptions we have of the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign Mind</strong></td>
<td>The term refers to the inclination to have a high regard for anything associated with a foreign country (primarily US and Europe). But, it is accompanied by relegating the native (or local) associations to an inferior position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Field</strong></td>
<td>‘Field’ is an analytical construct used by Bourdieu to represent the structure of a social domain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Garrison Communities</strong></td>
<td>A ghetto community found in the urban enclaves of Kingston, Jamaica. However, it is a totalitarian social space in which the options of its residents are largely controlled. The Jamaican state has no authority or power there, except in as far as its forces are able to invade in the form of police and military raids. (Figueroa and Sives, 2002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Garveyism</strong></td>
<td>Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican civil rights activist, was born in 1887. Garvey’s developed a firm belief that Blacks should therefore return to their homeland: Africa. His Black Pan-Africanist ideology is viewed as one of the primary inspirational motifs that fueled the American civil rights movement and, more specifically, groups such as the Black Panther and Rastafarianism (Tafari, 1980; Martin, 1983).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Habitus</strong></td>
<td>According to Bourdieu, habitus arises from the experience of a ‘particular class condition’. This experience leads to the individual developing certain tendencies or dispositions and they influence thoughts, perceptions and actions (Weininger, 2002).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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<td>Hustler mentality</td>
<td>A disposition toward economic opportunism, immediate gratification and self-interests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Import Substitution</td>
<td>Government policies aimed at relieving the dependence on imports with the establishment of domestic production facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialisation by Invitation</td>
<td>Implementation of an industrialisation strategy by seeking Foreign Direct Investment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locus of Enunciation</td>
<td>Argentinian literary scholar Walter Mignolo uses the term ‘locus of enunciation’ to raise the importance of attending to methodological considerations when examining colonial and post-colonial domains. Mignolo argues that criticism of colonial discourse from the centre of the empire differs from that articulated at the “core of resistance to the empire” (Seed, 1993: 147).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misrecognition</td>
<td>Similar to Marx’s notion of ‘false consciousness’, Bourdieu argues that the concept illustrates when there is an attempt to unconsciously impose practices as legitimate, but they simply legitimate the social order.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative cultural capital</td>
<td>The concept denotes when creative practitioners in Jamaica’s music sector believe that their talent and skill is recognised by others, but only in a negative sense.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Payola</td>
<td>The practice of offering incentives or payment to radio (or TV) personnel in return for receiving airplay (Sidak and Kronemyer, 1981).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantalogical Subjectivities</td>
<td>The way in which individuals make sense of their social reality but through the interpretive lens of institutionalized colonial structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plantation Economy (Society)</td>
<td>In the Caribbean, the plantation system was a mode of organisation and production used by European colonizers in the operation sugarcane production for export. The worker labour force was initially made up of African slaves and then later by indentured servants, primarily from India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rastafarianism/Rasta/Rastafarian</td>
<td>An ideological movement that began in Jamaica in the 1930s following the coronation of Haile Selassie I, Emperor of Ethiopia. Rastafarians were greatly influenced by the works of the Jamaican civil rights leader and Pan-Africanist, Marcus Garvey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smadditization</td>
<td>The term was coined by Charles W. Mills (1997). It is a Jamaican creolized re-formulation of the English term, ‘somebody’. ‘Smadditizing’ accounts for the African diaspora peoples’ struggle for identity: to be recognised as ‘somebody’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social cohesion</td>
<td>The term refers to when individuals, who are part of a group or collective, display positive attitudes or behaviour to ensure the group or collective remains functional (Friedkin, 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of Inertia</td>
<td>Represents the status quo in relations between industry and state actors in Jamaica as they work towards the development of the music sector.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic exile</td>
<td>A term used by Stuart Hall (1997) to describe a state of social exclusion or when one feels separated from society on the basis of ‘Otherness’ or difference.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Violence</td>
<td>For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is a ‘soft’ form of violence but it reproduces domination because it seeks to impose ‘the means for comprehending and adapting to the social world by representing economic and political power in disguised, taken-for-granted forms’ (Reay, 2004: 36-37).</td>
</tr>
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</table>
For the purposes of this thesis, the following terms are used interchangeably:

- ‘music sector’ - ‘music industry’ - ‘reggae industry’
- ‘cultural producer’ - ‘creative practitioner’

The ‘reggae’ genre has played a unique role regarding the music legacy of Jamaica thus providing a focal point for this thesis. Of course, this does not imply that cultural producers do not participate in other music genres in Jamaica or that they should be ignored.
“I do not mind being charged with over-generalisation and under-documentation. What we need most are studies pregnant with ideas...” (Beckford, 1972: vi–viii).
Chapter 1 Introduction: a state of inertia.

The crisis is part of the Caribbean's current preoccupation with restating its values and dedicating itself to a set of priorities which will release us from a sense of powerlessness, mass despair, and that clear and ever present threat of inertia, inaction, inferiority and continued dependence.

(Nettleford, 1971: 116)

1 Thesis Overview

This thesis launches on the premise that Jamaican musical styles, particularly the reggae genre, have occupied a space in global popular culture for more than five decades. To date however, results indicate that the nation still struggles to harness and organize the productive capacity of its musical resources. What is puzzling about this observation is that a shared consensus among all relevant stakeholders exists yet objectives remain largely unachieved. Held up to scrutiny in this study are the practices and strategies deployed by the state and industry actors in Jamaica as they attempt to ameliorate their music industry’s productive capacity for development. Thus, the intention of this thesis is to unpack the mechanisms that underpin the suspected forces contributing to this relational stalemate.

This thesis wrestles with the notion that, despite the growing body of work devoted to the question of development in post-colonial environments, analyses remain inadequate with regard to grasping the range of phenomena that actively contribute to paralyzing social and economic progress. This study concerns itself with advancing insight pertaining to ways in which thought processes can impose themselves on development outcomes. To do so, the observed state of inertia in the music sector is problematized. I argue that there is a highly complex and contradictory set of institutions and social relations that make the Jamaican music sector a particularly interesting object of analysis.
Rather than assume a hidden agenda, I take seriously the proposition that there is 'something special' about Jamaica. To be more specific, there is something about the island nation's music culture that inspires Jamaicans to extol their creative prowess. Perhaps foremost is the fact that, since the early 1970s, Jamaican music, the reggae genre in particular, has attracted a large following on the international circuit. An enduring musical legacy left firmly in place by Bob Marley, Jamaica's iconic performing artist, may in large part, be responsible for this. The fact that Marley is a Jamaican, the only music maker from a third world country who has become a global celebrity (Toynbee, 2007: 10), has meant that Jamaica can securely attach itself to the singer by default. But there is further evidence. We can observe that large swaths of promoters remain heavily invested in reggae festivals. For instance, in Europe and throughout the USA, some prominent annual music events are dedicated exclusively to reggae. Rototom Sunsplash (Spain), Summerjam (Germany), Sierra Nevada World Music Festival (USA) and Reggae on the River (USA) serve as examples of yearly gatherings that attract thousands of fans for over twenty years running. Additionally, many non-Jamaican celebrity performers increasingly incorporate reggae in their recordings and performances (Mansfield, 2015). This development appears to suggest that the genre has been channeled into the mainstream of popular music. What is more, we are now witnessing reggae artists emerging from territories such as Europe, USA, and Latin America (Dagnini, 2011; Campbell, 2010). Indeed, Koob (2002: 356) argues that reggae is Jamaica's musical "gift to the world", one that now sits comfortably within the global popular culture arena. Yet, romanticizing reggae's accomplishments often distracts from a wider ambivalence about the state of affairs of the local music sector.

Most studies of Jamaica's music industry reflect a tendency to trace the historical emergence of various genres and biographies of significant figures. This might explain why, to date, there exists limited academic and sociological analyses of the practices in which cultural producers of Jamaica's music engage and the ideological idiosyncrasies that motivate them. Nonetheless, there are some, such as Hope (2001) for example, who have come close in initiating a corrective to diminish this void. Her book, *Inna di Dancehall*, can be
seen as an attempt to pull back the veil of Jamaica’s dancehall culture by insisting that its harsh and vulgar demeanour is a cultural exposition of what takes place in a wider post-colonial Jamaican society. In a way, Hope wants to de-essentialise this art world and expose the explicit and implicit realities that bore the art thus forcing us to confront where and how art really lives.

I suggest that to present a plausible argument about the state of affairs of Jamaica’s music industry, one cannot do justice to such an endeavor if we detach analyses from broader socio-historical and socio-political considerations. This work involves foregrounding the relationship between individual action and larger social determinants (Navarro, 2006). A central analytic component of my thesis then is an evaluation of the relationship between internal and external dynamics and the kinds of practices and subjectivities they give rise to. In this thesis, I attempt to trace ways in which they might have a bearing on development outcomes. This thesis argues that, interrogating their socio-cultural construction in an in-depth fashion will illustrate how subjectivity is expressed through social relations and, ultimately, how they become instrumental to constitute a development impasse.

The notion of subjectivity explored in this thesis delineates the animation of, what Williams (1977) sees as, ‘structures of feeling’ within social agents and, importantly, how they shape, and are shaped by, social and cultural formulations. It accounts for the way an individual obtains a sense of self and how the relationship with the world is understood. I argue that if we can discern how cultural producers construct subjectivity, it might open up possible routes to conceiving transformative yet targeted approaches for the Jamaican music sector.

In approaching this work, I rely upon my conversations with Jamaican cultural producers for empirical support. I work through the analyses in close collaboration with theoretical approaches that express an interest in relational contestations, in theorizing emancipatory politics and processes of subjectivity formation. To do the interpretive work, my analytic and theoretic considerations obtain support by coupling the work of French theorist Pierre Bourdieu’s social
theory of practice (1972[1977]; 1990a; 2000) and the Caribbean plantation economy model (Beckford, 1972b; Best, 1968; Girvan, 2006) I argue that, taken together, they cohere to form an innovative model that is suited to the local context. It is tasked with attending to the means by which social actors construct identity-based elements; how they acquire the modes of understanding they use; and, to expose the dynamics of relationships that exist among them.

Firstly, I argue that Bourdieu’s social theory framework is fundamentally relevant to this study. This is because Bourdieu (1989) seeks precisely to unmask the mechanisms that entrench power relations and social systems that contribute to maintaining the status quo. How they are expressed through social relations and practice will be important points of analysis for this research effort. Adopting a Bourdieusian approach further alerts us to social actors’ “vested interests and struggles to attain symbolic and material advantage over others.” (Houston, 2002: 155). Bourdieu also conceives of a mutually constitutive relationship between the dictates that govern a social space in which individuals occupy and the courses of action they choose to pursue within that context. The experience of this social interaction, Bourdieu (1991a) tells us, conditions individuals to think and act in particular ways. His relational methodology relies upon a set of master concepts that I elaborate upon later on in this thesis. I adopt a Bourdieusian approach as a way to move beyond substantialist understandings of development in order to interrogate the deeper logic behind individual courses of action. But, as Maton (2004: 4) argues, a study that does not seek to examine how it is possible for its subject to emerge in the first place “takes for granted the object of its analysis.” I consider therefore that the articulation of social relations in Jamaica is underpinned by a deep colonial history. It is on this basis that I chose to complement the Bourdieusian approach with the Caribbean plantation economy lens.

Plantation economy theorists proceed to direct attention not only to the persistent state of underdevelopment of Caribbean societies. They hold responsible the organisational structure of the world economy and the contradictory nexus of power and systemic relations in which the historical
imagining of colonisation was constituted. In their view, a “contemporary Jamaica [is] nothing more than the modern version of a colonial slave society” (Beckford, cited in Girvan, 1999: 2). Therefore, a core concern of this thesis is the degrees to which it can be said, “slavery induced social disparities” continue to distort the modern day experience (Mason-Middleton, 2005: 3). Therefore, no approach to development in Jamaica, or analyses thereof, should be contemplated that does not take full account of this specific local reality (Best, 1968). So, in this study, I incorporate and build on ideas from the plantation economy model in order to provide for a more contextualized historical framing of the site of analysis.

Drawing on this twinned conceptual framework, I present an interpretive analysis of practices as storied by 18 creative practitioners who participate in the Jamaican music sector. I will highlight how music serves as a valuable resource for these individuals. I will show how music subsumes their lived experiences and, as a consequence, becomes a firmly rooted element in their sense of identity. Following Bourdieu (1986), I demonstrate that music, as a form of capital, serves as a guiding practice for the strategies they deploy and with which they become preoccupied. However, findings point to limitations to effectively deploy this species of capital in Jamaica. Their Jamaican ‘musical identity’ is understood as producing value in external domains but their narratives are threaded with experiences of disavowal in the local field. Among several factors implicated are persistent dominant rhetorical discourses, such as ‘unprofessionalism’ and ‘hustler mentality’, used to label cultural producers and to describe modes of practice. Read through a Bourdieusian conceptualization of ‘negative cultural capital’ and ‘symbolic violence’, and building on the plantation model’s notion of ‘dependency’, I argue that the persistent state of inertia is played out through these contradictory tensions. In this thesis, I clarify and empirically ground these complex arrangements. In seeking to lay bare the relational dynamics that motivate these tensions, this thesis alludes towards a conceptualization of the struggle for recognition. The concept remains keenly attentive to the motivations behind cultural producers’ participation in the music sector while placing emphasis on the continued importance of the on-going struggle to accumulate social being (Hage, 2013).
The findings, as outlined in this study, aim to contribute to enhancing our understanding of attempts towards development under late capitalism and post-colonial contexts. But the study also points to practices that reproduce mental and social structures that can enable historically embedded contradictions to persist across time and space. Through the analytical constructs I will present in this thesis, I hope to offer important insights toward understanding the mechanisms that fix ideologies in place as well as about how subjectivities are configured and expressed. The study alludes towards a wider conception of intervention approaches to include transformational acts aimed at unsettling preconceived notions and presuppositions.

1.1 Thesis Contributions

The vantage point from which this thesis explores the constitution of subjectivities is the Jamaican music sector. As a social construction, music is implicated in the symbolic construction of identity. This is because it often serves as an element of meaning in the celebration of one’s historical heritage and cultural tradition(s). Moreover, it generates emotional impulses and exhibits the potential to inspire collective responses. Following DeNora (2000: 17) we can frame music then as a “soundtrack of social action.” Thus, we should be willing to appropriate and exploit its social powers as a key source of sociological evaluation. I argue thus that Jamaica’s music sector is indeed a richly endowed domain of intellectual opportunity for four important reasons.

Firstly, it is a site that lends itself to developing a more in-depth understanding of how practices and perceptions are shaped in contentious social arenas. Important here is to acknowledge that Jamaica, as a society, is forged out of a “context supplied by imperial and colonial history” (Gilroy, 2004: 2). Indeed, a Caribbean historiography points to a 400-year colonial project. The scheme however was introduced through instituting a socio-economic system of a particular kind: the plantation system. It was supported by the composition of a fractious mix of diverse ethnic populations with contending and contentious interests. For analysts such as Stecopoulos (2005: 1207), what
followed in the wake of the colonial encounter is a set of relational dynamics that now renders the Caribbean “a primal site of New World trauma.” This suggests that social actors are actively devising strategies aimed at articulating and transforming power relations. In a world of increasing mobility, Jamaicans’ struggles for identity may mark vanguard practices. In this sense, the music sector can be positioned as an exemplar of unresolved historical circulations of resistant and polemical tendencies.

Secondly, music can be located within the larger discourse related to mobilizing creative and cultural sectors for development. The importance of these sectors to national economies has escalated in both academic and professional discourse (Cooke and De Propris, 2011; Oakley, 2006; O’Connor and Gu, 2014; UNDP, 2013). As social systems tend to leave their imprints when they mould symbolic elements, the study has the potential to contribute to the advancement of the larger body of research on cultural production. Thus, the study points to important linkages between the field of development studies and cultural policy frameworks.

Thirdly, despite the fact that it relies primarily upon an evaluation of a Jamaican context, the implications stemming from this research go even further. More generally, I want to intervene in what I claim are still unsettled debates and under-examined areas of contention about what is it exactly that contributes to underdevelopment.

Finally, I argue that, the state of inertia that has long plagued the Jamaican music sector may require a rethinking of paradigmatic arrangements. In this study, I propose a novel conceptual combination that demonstrates the theoretical relationship between the plantation economy model and the Bourdiesuan methodology. In applying a more inclusive conceptual tool to an empirical investigation of the music sector, this should hopefully facilitate an opening up of the complexity of the concerns outlined and distill the kinds of understanding that can guide future research endeavours.
Therefore, in taking up this analytic effort, I intend this thesis to extend theoretical and practical discussions related to human action, the sociology of culture and the notion of development, particularly as it relates to post-colonial societies. In doing so, I attempt to offer what I hope will be some useful ideas for thinking more systemically about Jamaica, its music sector and, its cultural producers.

Here, it is important to note that this thesis is not intended to question or analyse whether Jamaica’s cultural and creative sectors can contribute to development outcomes or not. Rather, it takes, as a point of departure, that there exists consensus among stakeholders that these sectors are, in fact, well positioned to do so. This stance immediately gives rise to the question of: how is it that, despite consensus among stakeholders that stated objectives are worth pursuing, the notion of a developed Jamaican music industry remains elusive? What I want to explore then is the idea that there might be something stubbornly fundamental that lies beyond the purview of immediate observation. How this feature exerts itself and becomes instrumentalized serves as a guide for this research agenda. But, before starting this journey, in this introductory chapter I outline the motivations that undergird this thesis and elaborate on the contributions of this study. I also offer a preview of my theoretical framework as well as discuss how the overall thesis is organized.

1.2 Consensus, but no action: Why can’t we just do it?

It was while reading the online version of the Jamaica Observer newspaper that I stumbled upon an article discussing an upcoming economic forum being planned by the Private Sector Organization of Jamaica (PSOJ). What struck me was the title of the forum’s theme. I could not help but reflect on the fact of how well a few simple words had encapsulated a festering concern I had held about Jamaica. For many years, I had harboured similar concerns about the island nation’s state of affairs of its music industry. But, the conference theme had profoundly crystallized what in fact had become the motivating premise for my PhD thesis.
The theme that the PSOJ had chosen for the forum was “Consensus But No Action - Why can't we just do it?” (PSOJ, 2012). It seems to me that this hints at an overarching concern about a persistent state of inertia or, what the PSOJ Chairman had called, ‘implementation deficit’ (ibid). The Chairman was bemoaning the fact that, “despite a broad consensus among the government, opposition, private sector and multilateralists, implementation has been stalled” (ibid). But, it was apparent that he now viewed the upcoming forum as an opportune moment wherein the PSOJ could begin to “confront our own paralysis” (ibid). I had long wondered about the extent to which policy makers and actors within Jamaica’s music sector are swayed by similar anxieties.

The level of talent bound up in Jamaica’s musical works is rarely an item in dispute. As I have already argued, Jamaican music is a world-renowned global brand. Mullings (2012) for example, maintains that Jamaica’s vaulted position in the geo-political space is largely attributed to its prominent musical styles. Musical genres that emerged from the island, which have ranged anywhere from mento, to ska, through to rocksteady, reggae and their contemporary siblings such as dancehall, have each etched distinctive legacies in the global music landscape. With over 2,500 documented artists and musicians (GOJ, 2009), the small Caribbean island is often cited as the "primary source for musical innovation in reggae" (Nurse, 2004: 3). Lamming (2008: 64) lends further support to these claims when he heaps praise upon the nation, to suggest that, within the Caribbean, Jamaica is miles ahead in "creativity (...) and their artists have displayed a more critical awareness of the meaning of what they do." But, there are still concerns.

1.2.1 Embassies, Ambassadors, Coalitions and Fraternities

One interesting observation is that the frustrations about the state of the reggae industry have had some far reaching effects internationally. It has inspired groups of reggae music enthusiasts to mobilise and organise themselves in the hope of fostering awareness and contributing to systematic improvement. For instance, 1992 saw the birth of the organisation, Reggae Ambassadors Worldwide (RAW). RAW was established as a virtually
networked organization with the “intent to serve the best interests of the singers and players as well as the Reggae industry as a whole and act as a vehicle to move Reggae music to higher heights of popularity” (Music Dish, 2000). But, the group became defunct in 2008.

Another group emerged in the USA in 2005. The Coalition for the Preservation of Reggae Music (CPR) established itself as a non-profit organization. In addition to promoting an annual concert event, CPR hosts a series of community forums and weekly radio programmes that seek to bring to the surface concerns about the state of reggae. In 2014, the title of one forum’s episode was framed in the form of the following question: “Who mash up (destroyed) Reggae?” Embedded in CPR’s manifesto, is a claim that, “today’s purveyors of genuine reggae languish in the shadows of their artistic progenies” (CPR, 2015).

Back in Jamaica another organization was launched in 2011. The Reggae Embassy sees itself as a career and business advancement organisation. Its mission was partly energized by the notion that: “there are those who constantly undermined others in the Reggae fraternity due to greed and pure jealousy” (ReggaeEmbassy, 2015). According to the organisation’s website:

[T]he reggae industry has been faced with MANY serious issues to which there are FEW solutions. It is known that there has been an undeniable LACK of unity, organization, professionalism, recognition of key Reggae celebrities and individuals, and a weak inconsistent presence of Reggae music within the mainstream market. These are facts and, unfortunately, the sad truth” (ibid).

Most recently in the UK, a group known as the Reggae Fraternity UK formed as a networked unit. It claims that members were motivated to organise themselves due to the “poor state of the Reggae Music Industry.” Part of Reggae Fraternity UK’s focus is to “encourage the ethical conduct and professionalism of practitioners within the UK reggae industry” (RFUK, 2015).
At this juncture, it is important to draw attention to recent efforts to address some of these concerns as articulated through the establishment of the Jamaica Reggae Industry Association (JaRIA). Initially funded by a European union grant, the organisation was formed as “the vehicle, through which the Jamaican music industry professionals can continuously collaborate with each other […] lobby the Jamaican government […] and speak as one united independent collective of interests” (JaRIA, 2015). One key activity of JaRIA is to organise annual events and festivities for ‘Reggae Month’ – held each February in Kingston, Jamaica. As of this writing however, the group remains poorly funded. A recent online news report indicated “the association’s allocation from the public sector had been reduced by 70 per cent as against previous years” (Mixx102, 2014).

I suggest that the advent of these organized forms of collective action illuminate a growing angst. Oppositional understandings of what constitutes professionalism, concerns about industry underperformance, and the claim that there is a lack of recognition accorded to cultural producers, appear to delineate central sites of struggle around Jamaica’s musical product: reggae. I submit that these serve also as examples of the kind of ‘implementation deficit’ concerns that can lead to stalemated deliberations and suffocate progress.

We could try to understand these apparent dilemmas from a number of different perspectives. On the one hand, stakeholders in the industry and music enthusiasts have centred on some salient structural issues. For example, when it comes to Jamaica’s music industry, a weak intellectual property rights (IPR) regime, limited access to credit facilities and rampant unprofessionalism sit atop a growing list of objective concerns. It is the inability to advance these conditions of productivity in the music sector that in large part continue to serve as fodder for the perpetuation of a dynamic informal sector. And, as the above statements and mandates from the various organisations indicate, it seems that there is a kind of problematizing that enables the sector to be recognised by a set of negative attributes. But, what I am concerned about is what is it exactly that has given rise to the durability of such negative repute in the first place?
On the other hand, it is also worth asking - what do we do when normative expectations of what constitutes ‘professionalism’ perpetuates stigma or, present a negative interpretation of particular practices? Consider the general tendency to subscribe to a logic that permits us to label persons with a different socio-economic upbringing as “unprofessional”, or “hustler”. I submit that this leaks over into, and in turn influences, behavioural conduct; encourages the kinds of policy-making impulses that promote conformity; and, maintains contradictions between the dictates of a social order and those that emit from within economically and politically marginalized spaces. Regardless, despite the fact that concerns about reggae have encouraged people to mobilise around action that affect their collective lives, the ‘implementation deficit’ issues still remain (PSOJ, 2012).

In this thesis, I argue that an enquiry of Jamaica’s music sector should examine industry practices. But, the analysis should not be detached from a consideration of socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that may have shaped the experiences and representational practices of social agents. Paying attention to these perspectives may enhance understandings as well as help to divulge conceptual and political possibilities that now appear foreclosed.

When it comes to Jamaica’s policy makers, they appear to concede that the music sector can play a critical role in supporting the country’s economic development agenda and serve also as a ‘tool for progress’ (GOJ, 2013: 9). Yet, amidst this celebratory rhetoric, practitioners grow impatient while nurturing a diminished hope for the future. For instance, Jamaican entertainment attorney, Lloyd Stanbury, claims that it is disconcerting “when you visit Jamaica [and] you can’t find anywhere for live reggae music!” (Campbell, 2012). For Stanbury, this is just one symptom of an underdeveloped industry. In his view, the government and the private sector entities should bear some responsibility. They continue to appropriate Jamaican music to support their varied interests but they have not responded aggressively enough to help build up capacity in one of Jamaica’s most under-resourced sectors. As an example, Stanbury points out that “the Jamaican government, through the tourism industry,
invested US$450,000 with a promoter… to get Celine Dion to perform [in Jamaica], and they won't do the same to develop reggae music” (ibid).

When one considers the economic possibilities the global entertainment market may have to offer, it is perhaps worth asking why the Jamaican government, or Jamaican private sector companies do not pay more attention to the nation’s music industry. Indeed if the private sector and policy makers are inattentive, as Stanbury suggests, does this mean that the Jamaican music industry is unimportant? Has Jamaican music been reduced to exist purely as an art form, and commonplace entertainment, but with the spoils going to foreigners?

When it comes to cultural policy development, (Gibson, 2002: 7) suggests an approach with two primary objectives in mind. Firstly, to come to grips with “the contemporary creative practitioner — who they are, how they work, where they work and their conditions of work’ and, secondly, to recognise that campaigning for the support of cultural forms is never neutral; it always has social, cultural, political and economic effects.” I relate Gibson’s former point to the importance of attending to the sensibilities and realities of the local context. One condition of understanding then might be the need to respect the other. The latter point forces us to take seriously the notion that desired outcomes are a matter of struggle and negotiation.

The thesis examines these concerns by conducting an enquiry into the lives of 18 cultural producers within the context of Jamaica’s music industry. Here, cultural producers are considered to be individuals acutely engaged in the activity of, and who participate in, the cultural production of Jamaican music. I prefer to think of this engagement as conversations. During my interactions with them, we talked about their lived experiences, about their perceptions, thoughts, and practices in the music sector. The discussions enabled me to gain some understanding about the way they view the music sector and the relational structures that sustain it.

1.3 Research Questions
As mentioned earlier, the primary objective of my study is pointed by the effort to understand the locus of inertia as it is being expressed in Jamaica’s music sector. However, before elaborating on this concern, I want to open up a set of questions related to both this relational gulf between actors and to the determinations that contribute to its production. Influenced by Bourdieu (2000), I hypothesize that the dynamics of interactions and relationships that unfold within this context are imbued in everyday forms of practice. Thus, this thesis is best seen as an exercise in the investigation of practices. While it proceeds in search of clues about the material and ideational conditions that engender them, an overarching aim is to offer this thesis as a way to gain some clarification about how subjective modalities are elaborated. As important however, is an evaluation of how they associate and dissociate with sites of power and the extent to which they protrude to block social progress. To conduct a comprehensive review of human action that manifests in this social arena, regrettably, cannot be reasonably accommodated within the constraints of an academic thesis. Nevertheless, I submit that there are some important areas of interest. From these reflections, emerged a set of research questions and they have been formulated to serve as a guide for this study. They are as follows:

1. **How do the lived experiences of Jamaica’s cultural producers contribute to shaping patterns of thought, judgment and action?**

   If modes of socialisation are often portrayed as significant factors that contribute to the shaping of social action, then I am also asking: what are the features of their social space and the imaginaries they draw upon to make sense of their lived environments and that enables dispositions. This permits us to ask further:

2. **What are the characteristics of the social and structural conditions in which cultural producers exist?**

   Here we draw attention to contexts and conditions in which Jamaican
cultural producers operate and the possibilities and constraints they encounter. I explore what this can reveal about the interrelationship between broader social structures and the formation of practice. I am curious about the motivational elements that continue to animate Jamaicans about their music and why it continues to be of such importance within social and political discourse. This leads to my third research question:

3. What is the role of subjectivities when it comes to the question of development in the Jamaican music sector?

I wish to probe the extent to which subjectivities are historical and durable in nature as Bourdieu (1972[1977]) claims. Moreover, is there any empirical evidence that they exert themselves at the development table? Therefore, in this thesis, I offer, and elaborate on, my interpretation of the kinds of subjectivities expressed by my respondents. I delve further into this discussion through the posing of a final question:

4. Is there evidence of a colonial mentality displayed within the feelings and experiences expressed by Jamaican cultural producers?

This question resides on the assumption that how people make sense of their social world is generally expressed in everyday talk and social interactions. So it will be important to pay attention to how they describe their experiences, how they talk about others and, importantly, the kinds of historical connotations they use.

1.4 Theory and Concepts: Bourdieu and the Plantation Economy

To unpack the mechanisms that underpin the suspected forces contributing to this inertia, and as mentioned earlier in this chapter, I intend to draw upon Pierre Bourdieu's social theory of practice and the Caribbean plantation economy model.

Firstly, I am drawn to Bourdieu's social theory framework because it usefully directs attention to the complex mechanisms that constitute and disguise
systems of domination (Wacquant, 2006). Yet, Bourdieu encourages a critical orientation and suggests we consider the reproductive and complicit role of social actors in maintaining socially constructed borders (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). His is a theory of practice. It is built on a set of concepts that are overly concerned with unmasking how modes of conduct become established and, how they do so, often without conscious deliberation or intention by social agents (DiMaggio, 1979; Polkinghorne, 1997; Warde, 2005). An important consideration in Bourdieu’s formulation is to take account of the kinds of strategies adopted by various groups to include or exclude others from gaining access. At heart, it comprises a set of theoretical constructs that can reveal something about human behavior. Following Bourdieu (2003), I suggest that too often, the priority we attribute to the economic ‘game’ limits consideration of other forms of resources and motives that might be of significance in a particular social context. In this vein, concepts such as habitus and capital can serve as key routes through which we can broaden our understanding of the problematique in Jamaica’s music industry. In the spirit of Bourdieu, therefore, I consider the state of inertia that persists between groups within Jamaica’s music sector as emerging from relational struggles over specific forms of capital and motivated by a situated habitus. I elaborate on this position in later chapters.

Alongside Bourdieu’s social theory, this thesis also takes conceptual guidance from the works of Lloyd Best (1968), George Beckford (1972b), and Norman Girvan (2006). These authors call for a re-evaluation of the deployment of contemporary approaches to development. In their view, these modes are unresponsive and inappropriate to the needs of the Caribbean social reality. Within the plantation economy framework, central importance is conferred upon a contextualisation of Caribbean history. But the model also engages particularly with early Latin American conceptualizations of ‘dependency’. It appropriates the concept as a way to draw attention to the privileged over-reliance on one over another, whether socio-economically, or psycho-socially. In other words, there is virtually no ‘inter-dependence’ per se. Inter-dependence implies a complementary arrangement and that parties involved are pooling their efforts towards achieving some mutual benefit. An inter-dependent
relationship assumes that “an exchange requires a bidirectional transaction—something has to be given and something returned” (Cropanzano and Mitchell, 2005: 876). A depiction of a ‘plantation economy’ then is offered to illustrate the modern economic arrangement, as an outer-dependence relationship between the metropole and the periphery. It reproduces the idea of the plantation as an ‘externally-propelled’ economy (Best, 1968) and thus promulgates old binaries of the coloniser-colonised and master-slave dichotomous relationships.

I believe that a perspective that seeks to build on the explanatory strength of the plantation economy model’s themes – dependency, exploitation and export-propelled economy – in collaboration with ‘thinking tools’ from Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological apparatus, demonstrates a novel analytical approach. It is adopted here as a way to revisit, and rethink, both the patterns of behaviour and the persistence of contestations that creates debilitating obstacles. I suggest further that a Bourdieusian interrogation of a plantation economy should shed some light on the Jamaican music sector in important ways. To explore these tensions in more detail, this thesis is structured as follows:

1.5 Thesis Structure

I begin in Chapter 2 by locating the notion of culture within the broader discourse on development. Creative and cultural sectors in general are increasingly implicated in debates pertaining to advancing progress particularly in developing economies. It is important then to examine how this is interpreted and the degree to which it influences policy making in Jamaica. Following this, I turn towards constructing a brief historical genealogy of experience of the Jamaican music sector. In one sense, it reflects an intention to retrieve part of a culture that often becomes repressed or obscured from analyses of Jamaican music. But, more importantly, I suggest an understanding of history is what can lead us towards “finding the appropriate meaning for customs, organizations, beliefs, and political actions” (Calhoun, 1994: 227).

Chapter 3 seeks to establish a solid historical grounding for this study. I rely primarily upon the works of George Beckford, Lloyd Best and Norman Girvan,
and particularly upon their conception of the plantation economy. I trace the origins of the model within the ‘Dependency’ school of thought by which it was inspired. The discussions centre on the core components underpinning this model with an aim to position them as aids to understanding the social domain with which this study engages. For instance, the use of dependency, to frame particular inclinations, is not to suggest that it is motivated solely by economic interests. Rather dependency is extended to accommodate a set of subjective proclivities that places emphasis on the idea that the outside location contains elements that are significant in the struggle for recognition and self-hood. Dependency thus regulates judgment and action and, in so doing, is implicated in the constitution of subject positions. But, it sits at the core of a broader set of responses that diffuse feelings of exclusion and identity disjuncture. Given that Jamaica records a history of colonial relations, these occurrences are explored from a plantation society perspective. The differentiated perceptions and meanings that emerge as historically mediated are seen as an assemblage of ‘plantalogical’ subjectivities. I elaborate on this concept later on in this thesis.

In Chapter 4 I provide a review of the comprehensive sociological apparatus developed by French theorist, Pierre Bourdieu. I argue that Bourdieu’s master concepts – the field, capital, habitus – as well as his notion of symbolic violence, attends to the struggles and tensions of everyday life and, in so doing, should enable an integrated contextualisation of my analysis. Following these discussions, I offer a detailed clarification of the methodology that supports this work.

Chapter 5 focuses on outlining my theoretical motivations and the practical and administrative aspects of this research endeavour. This chapter also includes a discussion of my approach to research design, justifications for my methodological choice as well as reflections on my research activity.

Chapters 6 and 7 reflect a presentation of my empirical data and my interpretations of my participants’ representations. Chapter 6 for example, purposes to present evidence to support the claim of reggae as a cultural resource and to examine more closely the ‘making’ of the creative practitioners
who contribute to its production. Here I discuss modes of socialization of cultural producers while remaining attuned to the anxieties and concerns that seem to trouble them. It is modes of socialization that form the bed of experience that enable us to come to terms with the forces that shape dispositions of social actors. Building on Bourdieu (1972[1977]), it is the habitus that represents the subjective schemata that mediates the interplay of past experience, action and perceptions. It is through socialization that music comes to matter and one becomes motivated to invest time and effort. The notion of ‘embodied cultural capital’ (Bourdieu, 1986) is used to encapsulate how the knowledge and practice of music becomes an integral part of the individual and shapes identity. I draw upon the idea of recognition to depict how ‘capital’ operates to motivate a vigorous struggle for position in a social space. But, in the local space, there is often the belief that possibilities are subjugated. Here, the framing of capital is not centred solely on economic exchange. Instead, recognition highlights the arduous effort involved in recovering and legitimizing the value placed on respect and self-esteem.

Chapter 7 then reflects an attempt to theorise the analysis using the narratives of the plantation economy. I offer examples to that lead toward my conceptualization of ‘plantalogical subjectivities’ but I also aim to reframe the notion of ‘dependency’ by attributing it with a sociological dimension. My aim is to move it beyond the domain of economics to show how it contributes to the social constitution of the state of inertia in Jamaica’s music sector.

Finally, Chapter 8 presents my conclusions for this thesis. In one sense, this chapter provides a summary on what we might have learned about the state of Jamaica’s music sector. I do this by engaging more directly with my research questions. I close the chapter by reflecting on theoretical and methodological aspects of the project. But, just as importantly, I offer some thoughts on the implications that this study may have for future research and practice.
Chapter 2 Development and Culture

How can we speak of development without culture when, without ‘culture’ there would be nothing to develop anyway.

~ Anon

2 Introduction

One aim of this chapter is to outline the significance of music to Jamaica’s social experience. The intent is to demonstrate why Jamaica’s musical culture is considered to have played a major role in the nation’s social make-up. I delineate some key moments in the emergence of reggae in particular that can demonstrate these linkages and, at the same time, draw attention to the tensions and contradictions emerging from this discursive intercourse. Indeed they are offered as the primary motivational elements of my thesis. But, before doing so, I attempt to locate music in the wider discourse on creative and cultural sectors. However I want to lead into this discussion by examining it from a much broader perspective: the relationship between development and the notion of a cultural resource.

2.1 The notion of a cultural resource

Historically, a ‘resource’, being an economically derived concept deemed essential to foster development, resided upon the assumption of the ‘financial’, ‘bio-physical’ or the ‘natural-mineral’. Central to the notion of economic growth was the rate at which resources could be accumulated (King and Levine, 1994). But, given the growing magnitude of global economic problems, existing theory has been rendered inadequate as a basis for identifying important emerging sources of sustainable development (Bieler and Morton, 2004; Kofman and Youngs, 2008; Veltmeyer and O'Malley, 2001).

One angle of critique that points to alternative approaches to development have been inspired by feminist and post-development interventions (Chua, et. al., 2000). By posing persistent challenges to hegemonic and dominant
Western approaches, they sparked a re-thinking of structural and macro methodologies. But, the debates also open up consideration to more micro and community level solutions (Pieterse, 2001). Emerging from struggles development appears to have undergone a paradigmatic shift. It seems culture is now being re-inserted into development. Not that it had ever left in the first place, but maybe it was simply repressed. But we are now witnessing the cultural moment in which development is being forced to work with culture (Radcliffe and Laurie, 2006: 232). Such a reading of cultural re-insertion and redeployment may be found in Tabellini (2010), Fukuyama (1995), Harrison and Huntington (2000) and Sapienza et. al., (2006). Regardless, this cultural turn should not be isolated from other shifts in development.

Firstly, this cultural shift emanates from a multidisciplinary perspective that seeks to acknowledge culture as playing a significant role in development outcomes (Arizpe, 2004). For example, central to the idea of development are forms of human capital: “people and their education, organisation, and discipline” (Schumacher, 1973: 157). Culture gains strategic significance when there is acknowledgment that they can be deployed as a tool for “unlocking latent assets” and devising creative solutions to issues specific to a particular context (Burnell, 2012: 5). More recently, Burnell (2012) and Matarasso (2007) re-emphasized arts’ contributory role in developing intrinsic values and enhancing social capital. In the broadest sense, social capital is often used, to name the network of resources that can be found within a social structure. It can delineate a person’s network of contacts that can be tapped to take full advantage of “useful relationships” (Bourdieu, 1986: 247). But, it can also be extended to refer to “features of social organisations, such as networks, norms and trust that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Putnam, 1993: 35-36). Obviously, this is a broad concept of culture. However, we can also take some guidance from Williams (2011[1958]) who, in writing culture is ordinary, proposes that we can see culture as existing on two primary planes. In one sense, it consists of the basic assumptions, beliefs and attitudes of a society. They represent interpretive schemes that people use to grasp situations, to make sense of what goes on in their environment, to engage in activities and to form human relationships. Essentially, individuals rely on these
cultural traits as a basis for social cohesion and collective action. On another level, culture manifests in artefacts such as books, art, film, music, or even technology. However, they could also be expressed behaviourally through language, myth, religion and ceremonies. In other words, they form the basic pre-requisites needed to mobilise all other resources that would otherwise remain dormant or under-utilised.

Furthermore, the cultural turn seems to have gained some of its purchase from research conducted by international organizations, such as the United Nations, which suggest that creative/cultural industries should occupy key roles in sustainable economic development programs especially for Latin American and Caribbean countries (UNCTAD, 2008). In 1982 for example, Mexico City was the site where members of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) convened at a World Conference on Cultural Policies. They drafted a definition of culture outlined as,

[T]he whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterize a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs (UNESCO, 1982).

There is now growing evidence that cultural industries have been drawn upon to play a multitude of roles. These include psychologic and physiologic illnesses (Pratt, 2004), social exclusion issues (Gould, et. al., 2009), disaster risk programmes (Puleo, 2014) or conflict resolution (O’Connell and Castelo-Branco, 2010). In Jamaica, for instance, a peace treaty signed in 1978 between violent warring political factions was convened with the staging of a reggae concert at the nation’s national stadium in Kingston. What is of particular interest is that the event was headlined by Bob Marley. This understanding of uses of culture points to its symbolic efficacies and, importantly, its potential role in legitimatising or de-legitimatising the social order. More specifically, music has traditionally served to negotiate the connections between places and identity (Connell and Gibson, 2003). As Frith (1996: 110) puts it, “music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and
others, of the subjective in the collective.” Nevertheless, there is a lot more we need to learn about cultural systems and how they can be strategically deployed. Radcliffe and Laurie (2006: 231) further suggest that,

“If we define development as intentional practices to produce broad-based and sustained change, Culture – a way of life, material products, and structures of feeling - is clearly crucial to the implementation of development.

What is being suggested is that, not only can these sectors offer up attractive opportunities to promote social cohesion and spur employment growth by exploiting a nation’s existing endowment structures but they often require relatively little investment capital. For example, Guillén (2001: 13) argues that nations should seek out and embark upon areas of development where they can promote “indigenous sources of strength.” From among a diverse set of candidates, one such source of strength being targeted is a nation’s culture.

2.2 A Matter of Policy

In part, the cultural movement gained momentum with the publication of Australia’s cultural policy statement in 1994 (Creative Nation, 1994). This drew attention to the economic potential of the cultural and creative sectors as well as the need to support local cultural production in the face of ‘Americanisation’. Soon, studies produced by international organisations such as the UNESCO were suggesting that creative and cultural sectors should be inextricably bound up within economic development programmes. In the late 1990s, the UK government, for example, claimed that a more comprehensive public policy programme required supporting the creative industries (O’Connor, 1998). Pointing to the untapped economic significance of the cultural sector, arguments were boosted in favour of this approach. Cultural policy, it seems, was being offered as a panacea for economic ills. Since then, attention to cultural and creative sectors has become the common-sensical paradigm of progress for state actors around the globe, particularly for developing nations.
As Gibson (2001: 122) suggests, maybe it is because we have discovered culture to operate within a confluence of economic, cultural and social objectives, why we feel obliged to appropriate it for addressing the “ever-expanding range of social governance problems.”

This could explain why Hylton (1975) argues that reggae music’s influence and popularity, both within and outside Jamaica, reflects its third-world origins. In fact, when it comes to Jamaica, reggae has long been an important mechanism used by residents in Jamaica’s urban ghetto communities to counteract oppression and degradation. Music was one of the few avenues available to the Jamaican populace to, both, create a distinct Jamaican identity and to vent “years of pent-up suffering, dehumanization and frustration under the white man’s hegemony” (Hylton, 1975: 26). Winders (cited in King, et. al., 2002: xiv) further adds that it was reggae that exposed “certain features of Jamaican life” that the government, “anxious to attract tourist dollars”, exploited. Following Winders, it is interesting to note that the Jamaican government has often used reggae music to promote its own social and political ends. Since the 1990s for example, reggae, along with Rastafarian images, have become increasingly important in promoting Jamaica’s tourist industry as they are now viewed to be an integral part of Jamaica’s cultural heritage. But, these images have different roles in Jamaica – a theme that will be developed later.

As I mentioned earlier in the introductory chapter, Jamaica’s policy makers have expressed that, if the music industry could be improved, it could be a core component in development plans. Prompted by reggae’s global appeal, the productive capacity of the music industry featured prominently in the government’s plans. For more than two decades, the government’s National Industry Policy plans have marked reggae to play a key role to the country’s economic development strategy (Kozul-Wright and Stanbury, 1998). Here, the connection between music and Jamaican identity sheds its counter-oppressive stance to become primarily focused on productive capacity and profitability. There was even more support behind this initiative when estimates indicated that the sector employs approximately 15,000 people (Nurse, 2004). Among the recommendations was the creation of a Music Industry Advisory Council (IAC).
This coordinative inter-ministerial body was charged with developing strategies and programmes to alleviate constraints and unearth opportunities. However, lacking a clear strategy and encountering duplication of effort across several government agencies the initiative soon lost support (UNCTAD, 2010). Shortly thereafter the government claimed that the IAC’s recommendations were unable to be fully implemented due to resource constraints (JAMPRO, 2004).

It is worth noting that, since then, a spate of reports and studies were commissioned by the government as well as by various regional and international institutions (Brown, 2004; Caribbean-Export, 2001; Kozul-Wright and Stanbury, 1998; UNCTAD, 2008; Witter, 2004). These reports continued to reiterate the importance of the music sector to Jamaica’s economy and placed renewed emphasis on the need for related institutional reforms. More recently, the Jamaican government’s updated National Development Plan (NDP), also known as the Vision 2030 Plan (GOJ, 2009) outlines a purposeful objective: to achieve ‘developed country’ status by the year 2030. Here, the music sector is highlighted as a vital element towards achieving this goal but, to date, very few proposed initiatives have been acted upon. In fact, upon reading this report, and similar policy documents, one might be left with a feeling of déjà vu. Music is consistently identified as a key cultural resource for Jamaica that can create economic wealth. We can see that during the past 20 years, various reports have restated the need for the nation to find ways to develop related infrastructures (Brown, 2004; Caribbean-Export, 2001; Kozul-Wright and Stanbury, 1998; UNCTAD, 2008; Witter, 2004). Unfortunately, to date, I was unable to locate evidence of these recommendations actually having any effect. Is this failure to harness and tap Jamaica’s ‘cultural resources’ for economic development simply due to lack of political will, timid commitment on the part of local industry actors to engage in organised and effective collective action or, something else?

Considering that Jamaican music has continued to energise a global audience, it seems reasonable to assume that culture and art forms have some purpose and importance in the social world, and especially when thinking about its relationship with national development. So, why is it that Jamaican music
remains an underutilised asset when there is widespread consensus it may contain the trappings of being the cornerstone of the cultural dimensions of development? Reggae has exhibited the capacity to rise in global mainstream popular culture and is appropriated in many ways to deal with socio-political and socio-cultural contradictions. In this sense it seems reasonable to assume that there is some importance in the way that culture functions. Yet the extent to which ‘implementation deficit’ (PSOJ, 2012) can be overcome to harness and organise the music sector’s productive capacity is still in question. Woven into this thesis then is the question of the relation between material and discursive forms of resistance and forms of domination. By tracing the linkages from political circumstances through to relations and places, we can begin to see how they become “infused with meaning and often ambiguity” (Ley, 1977: 504). An examination of the processes and practices of cultural expression demands an analytical posture that is sensitive to the complex, fluid and mundane nature of the environments in which they emerge.

2.2.1 The Production of Culture perspective

Peterson’s (1976) ‘production of culture perspective’ encourages for example an assessment of the “specificities of cultural objects as symbolic representations and meaning structures” but, there are also “matters to do with social institutions and modes of social organization” that need to be contextualized in each instance (Santoro, 2008: 8). More nuanced analyses on cultural formulations have since emerged from this perspective. They highlight the significance of not only how culture can be produced through rationally organised processes of commercial production but also on how transformations that occur through specificities of spontaneous adaptation and responses gain relevance (Peterson and Anand, 2004). What is increasingly foregrounded is the fluidity and ephemerality of the informal process of cultural production (Pratt, et. al., 2006; Santoro, 2008). It is a useful way to remind us about how marginalised groups “re-imagine and recombine elements to create cultural expressions that form their own distinctive identities and by which they are recognized” (Peterson, cited in Santoro, 2008: 49). Nevertheless, Hesmondhalgh (2002) argues that the production of culture perspective has
only dealt tangentially with understanding the broader societal context of distorted relations of power and modes of exploitation that actors must confront. So, while elements of culture are important, this flags up a need to give an account of how cultural expressions are activated in the first instance. However, we must remain vigilant to attend to the subjective awarenesses and the wider domain of relational interchanges that incite them.

2.2.2 The Importance of Experience

In dealing with Hesmondhalgh’s critique, we can begin by asking: how is it that societies come to be accorded with distinctive elements? Comte (2000: 26) once argued that, “no conception can be understood except through its history.” In a similar vein, Connerton (1989) points out that for us to make sense of our present, we seek to ground it to, or with, past experience. This is important for this thesis because to understand subjectivity we must recognize that it “possesses no trans-historical validity and cannot lie beyond historical specificity” (Blackman, et. al., 2008: 14). Scott (1992: 24-25) further argues “it is precisely this kind of appeal to experience as uncontestable evidence and as an originary point of explanation” that makes it suitable for building up our analytic foundation. People’s lives are chronicled with “meanings, interpretations, activities, and interactions” (Prus, 1996: 9) that gives rise to an understanding of the plot lines that motivate human action. Bringing clarity to the particularities that compose concrete lived experiences is seen as fundamental in the conceptualization of subjectivities.

As social actors we are enabled somehow to display a grasping of social reality. This innate capability facilitates an active and, at times, seamless ability to function in our respective societies. But apprehending such mechanisms also implies that there is a functioning cognitive apparatus that does the work of filtering, interpretation and remoulding of everyday encounters. Thus, culture, as is posited here, can provide, what Husserl (cited in Ostrow, 1981: 280) describes as “the original substrates of experience”: the means by which human beings make sense of the world. In other words, history and experience are not relegated or locked away in the past never to be heard from again. Instead, they become embodied within individuals and are constantly recalled.
through a virtual interplay between self and the world. This is Bourdieu’s (1990a: 53) ‘habitus’: “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” that predispose us to think and act in certain ways. In other words, we display a tendency to recycle the social structure because “we carry within us our history [and] we bring this history into our present circumstances” (Maton, 2008: 52). If this is the case, then this thesis is most pointedly concerned with the history Jamaicans carry within them.

2.3 Jamaica’s colonial history: An Interlude.

While travelling under the auspices of the Spanish monarchy, the Italian explorer, Christopher Columbus had set sail across the Atlantic Ocean in search of a New World. In 1494, he stumbled upon a tropical island in the Americas. There he encountered the Arawak Indians, the inhabitants who proceeded to inform him that their island home was called ‘Xaymaca’, the Taino Indian word for, the ‘Land of Wood and Water’ (D’Costa and Lalla, 2009). Yet, Columbus proceeded to fasten the Spanish flag in the soil. It was a political act that set in motion the idea of Jamaica as a European colonial station. For decades, Jamaican children attending primary school are often required to recite repetitively: ‘Christopher Columbus discovered Jamaica in 1494’. I was one of them. Writing almost five centuries later, in 1975, the Jamaican recording artist, ‘Burning Spear’, penned the song ‘Columbus’. In it, he decried,

*Christopher Columbus is a ‘damn blasted liar’!  
What about the Arawak Indians...who were here before him?*

Burning Spear’s intention was to deny the historical knowledge claim of ‘discovery’.

2.3.1 A Hinterland of Exploitation

Paget (1964) informs us that while Jamaica’s population was well over 370,000 around the year 1838, it would be a mistake to think of the colony as a community. On the one hand, there were two distinct societal groups: colonists
and slaves. The crucial point here is that none of the social groups were native to Jamaica. Such uncertain identity and belonging was exacerbated through an assemblage of a “rigid economic structure of an artificial society” (ibid: 38) characterised by racial divisions. It is what leads Best (1968: 237) to argue that colonial outposts are best understood as a “hinterland of exploitation.” Colonies such as Jamaica originated as a proletarian population who were transplanted from elsewhere; brought to the region as slaves, indentured servants and plantation masters; but only to exist in relation to an economic production system: the plantation. While five centuries later it is acknowledged that this system contributed largely to the rise of the modern global economy, according to Khan (2010) it also left in its wake the Caribbean ‘conundrum’. To reframe Khan’s adage, the Caribbean remains dislodged somewhere between history and memory. Important here is the role of cultural disruption, social dislodgement and “the meeting of foreign peoples on foreign land” (Nettleford, 1971: 114) in producing particular economic and cultural subjectivities.

Allusions to these dynamics can also be found in George Beckford’s (1972b) thesis on Persistent Poverty in the former plantation economies. He signals that there might be “factors inherent in the plantation system which serve to impede transformation (ibid: xxiv). Beckford implicitly links the state of underdevelopment to the plantation legacy and draws upon Nicholls’ (1960) analysis of the impediments to progress in the southern regions of the United States to argue that,

[P]lantation economy never gets beyond the state of underdevelopment. For within the system itself there are structural factors which impede economic progress for plantation society as a whole (1972: 210-211).

These probes into the properties of a plantation society serve as a route for exploring the ways in which place can “structure subjectivity, or nurture the psyche” (Cheeke, 2002: 132). Cheeke further argues that “geography is both over-written and written-through with lived experience, with memory and inscription: in short, with history” (ibid: 132). The flip side of a concern for such
inter-structuring however also means understanding ways in which complexities of individuals’ experiences intervene to help them make sense of their social reality and to draft appropriate responses.

My objective in the next section is not to provide a musicology of reggae. These are well documented elsewhere (Branch, 1996; Hagedorn, 1999; McCarthy, 2007; Moskowitz, 2006). Rather, I believe it will be helpful to provide at least a cursory understanding of its cultural formulation. Considering that reggae has secured a place in global popular music and functions, in many ways, as an identity marker for Jamaicans, it is fairly safe to assume it holds some importance for Jamaica. Therefore, what has inspired its emergence and its affixation to a particular place might be a phenomenon of intellectual significance.

2.4 Reggae, Rasta, and the ‘Trench Town’ Experience

This morning, I woke up in a curfew,
Oh God, I was a prisoner too.
Could not recognize the faces standing over me,
They were all dressed in uniforms of brutality.

~Bob Marley, *Burnin’ and Lootin’*

There is still some debate about who originated the word 'reggae'. General consensus suggests that it is an offshoot of the Jamaican slang word, *streggae* - which means being in an ‘untidy’ or ‘dishevelled’ state. Eventually, the word ‘reggae’, as a form of music, came to represent something: "coming from the people…everyday things…from the ghetto" (Chang and Chen, 1998: 42). Notably, it was from within the borders of the depressed and antagonistic urbanized ghettos in the Jamaican capital of Kingston that reggae first emerged in the late 1960s. It had an identifiable sound. We should keep in mind that prior to 1960, “there was no such thing as Jamaican recorded music” (Chang and Chen, 1998: 5). When we consider that the first international hit song recorded by a Jamaican was Millie Small's My Boy Lollipop in 1964 (King, et. al., 2002) this period represents almost a century after an industrialised recorded industry had emerged (Suisman, 2009). The first Jamaican record label, Island Records,
started in 1960 and was operated by a white British-Jamaican, Chris Blackwell (Stratton, 2010). In fact, Blackwell is considered to be the mastermind who helped launch the careers of both Millie Small and Bob Marley. However, shortly after Jamaica became independent in 1962, Blackwell moved his operations to England (ibid, 2010). Meanwhile, back in Jamaica, many of the Jamaican entrepreneurs who entered the music industry during this era emerged from the stock of early sound-system\(^1\) players and were more interested in the recording aspect of the business. As a result, they were among the first studio owners (ibid, 2010). However, they exhibited very little interest, or know-how, in developing the distribution and marketing elements of their operation outside of Jamaica. Instead, they focused primarily on producing music locally and relied upon a network of connections in international markets to handle sales, marketing and distribution efforts.

The start of the 1970s however, saw a detectable shift in the music’s lyrical content. Reggae songs were becoming infused with socially charged commentary and espousal of African history. It was enough to set it apart from its earlier forerunners: the ska and rocksteady genres. By the mid 1970s, a period which coincides with Bob Marley's rise to international fame, this politically aware reggae was growing in popularity both at home and abroad. During this time, a number of Jamaica's most prominent artists were either growing 'dreadlocks' - to signify their full conversion to the Rastafarian faith - or, had at least adopted the Rasta lifestyle. According to King et. al. (2002), the increasing popularity of reggae during this period was a contributory factor that led to a subsequent rise in membership in the Rastafarian movement. Meanwhile, Jamaican lower and middle class youth, who were beginning to identify with reggae's lyrical content, were also being socialised to the Rastafarian ideology and Garvey-ism\(^2\) through the music. In Jamaica, however, Rastas were viewed as a “cult of outcasts” and a threat to the

\(^1\) A sound system generally consists of a mobile configuration of integrated hi-fi audio and speaker equipment operated by disc jockeys, engineers and/or artists.

\(^2\) Garvey was born in 1887, 50 years after the emancipation of slavery had been declared. This suggests he most likely had witnessed first-hand, the epiphenomenal effects of slavery and colonialism – especially the inequalities and racism being experienced by Blacks in the West Indies. As Martin (1983) highlights, many black West Indians who were alive during Garvey’s lifetime were former slaves.
established social order (Patterson, cited in King, et. al., 2002: 1). Because of their strict marijuana-smoking habits, dread-locked mane, and the expressed belief that Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia was God personified, Rastas were shunned and denounced by the middle and bourgeoisie classes of Jamaica, as well as by the government – who now put them on posters. Up until the mid 1970s and early 1980s, Rastas had found it difficult to assimilate in Jamaica's society.

![Figure 1 Rastafarian](image)

They were generally seen as the underclass and unemployable. Many of Jamaica's middle-class youth, who had decided to follow the Rastafarian tradition by growing dreadlocks for example, were chastised by their parents and ordered to cut their hair. If they refused, they would often be banned from the home. Correspondingly, reggae music, and by extension, its cultural producers, acquired an associative stigma (Goffman, 1963). This had considerable implications for Reggae artists and musicians. Therefore, it might be interesting to examine what exactly contributed to this linkage between Reggae and Rasta.

The 1970s in particular was a time of rising social tensions in Jamaica. Social hardship resulting from rising unemployment and crime, and the experience of sub-poverty conditions in some areas, had also meant that some were beginning to question the idea of government and political systems. In this

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regard, what also came into question was the extent to which the established systems - especially since dominant and elite classes operated them - were serving the interest of the population at large (King, et. al., 2002). As Girvan (2002: 5) discusses, “communities were in a state of endemic revolt against the official system of justice and politics.”

What should not be overlooked, in the context of Jamaica, is that these events were taking place within a decade of the country’s newly found status of Independence. Jamaica had petitioned for the right to political autonomy from the British Empire and it was culminated with the formal granting of independence in August of 1962. This was a significant and hopeful moment because it contained the promise of shedding a contentious history: one characterized at that time by a 400-year European colonial rule distilled through exploitation and slavery. Unsurprisingly, the thought of self-rule heightened ideas of freedom, belonging and self-determination, and perceptions of hope, permeated the daily parlance of the Jamaican people.

Within a decade of independence however, sects of the population were openly expressing a sense of betrayal and beginning to grow distrustful of politics in general (Goulbourne, 2006). Social tensions rose. The most violent eruptions were primarily concentrated in Kingston’s notable garrison constituents (or ghetto communities). Harriot (2003) explains that garrison communities are areas typically divided across strict political party lines. Essentially, they were transformed into stronghold sites conducive to rule by drug lords and corrupt politicians. In many cases, the ‘dons’ (or, area leaders) had worked out deals with their respective political comrades in exchange for their right to wield their rule upon the communities as they saw fit. In essence, they created autonomous social spaces, or ‘safe-havens’ where the ‘rule of law’ was effectively rendered irrelevant (Girvan, 2002; Weis, 2005).

Bob Marley was one among the many artists who seemed to have honed their talents from within one such community: Trench Town. Built in the colonial 1940s as a planned residential zone for Jamaica’s working class, Trench Town quickly attracted rural migrants moving to the urban area of Kingston seeking
opportunities. But, due to eventual overcrowding, combined with residents primarily living under subsistence means, conditions in these areas quickly deteriorated. Trench Town is simply one of the many examples of the garrison communities that became known for its squatter-type residencies. With limited opportunities for employment available, the social trajectories for the area’s youth in particular soon pointed towards crime and violence. Several others turned to music. But, what might be the origins of this “assemblage of human problems?” (Kleinman, et. al., 1997: ix).

Authors such as Edwards (1998) see conditions in Jamaica’s garrison communities as a re-inscription of colonial relations. For Edwards, it reproduces a “reading of history that makes no fundamental distinctions between the colonial past and the postcolonial present” (1998: 24). Such apparent re-presentations of contradictory colonial propensities resonate with Girvan’s (2002: 5) position that it bears “close resemblance to the attitudes of the planters towards the slaves some two centuries ago.”

One could argue then, although shackles and forced labour had long been removed since the period of emancipation in 1838, impoverishment and decline now encountered in the ghetto communities are a modern day elaboration of slavery. The concern is that the social conditions, while apparently improved, might have worked in similar fashion: to frame ways in which people view themselves as inferior or, to see life as nugatory. In other words, it is possible to argue that the conditions of the plantation are simply re-inscribed into the
modern day spaces to reproduce or reinforce historical disposition of the enslaved and the colonised. But, what materialises from within these ‘crevices’ of society might be of some significance (Green, 2001: 46). This is precisely the basis of the plantation economy that is explored more in-depth in Chapter 3.

It could be further argued that the while the ideologies of Garvey and Rastafari have been in existence since the early 20th century, the social deterioration during the post-independence era gave rise to their political awakening (King, et. al., 2002). The Rastafarian movement had a language of protest and it resonated with Jamaican youth. Rastas openly condemned oppression and they stood in stark defiance of modern political systems. They defined these sites of power through a re-interpretation of the biblical city of 'Babylon', because it exemplified sites of oppression, relations of power, and hidden motivational interests. For Rastas, Babylon systems were illegitimate and evil.

Simpson (1985) links the origins of Rastafarianism to the plight of lower-class Jamaicans during the period following emancipation of slavery in 1838. Although slavery had been abolished, the 'so-called' freed slaves who made up the peasant class, were facing massive unemployment, limited access to land and, in particular, being subjected to police brutality and racial discrimination. In other words, the experience of residents in the garrison communities in a post-independence Jamaica seemed to mirror exactly the treatment of slaves during the post-emancipation era. Simpson further explains that, although the movement we now know as Rastafari did not become firmly established until 1930, there were already growing concerns in Jamaica about:

[...] the racial question [...] class differences. The ‘white man’ and the ‘black traitors’ - the politicians, police, clergymen, teachers, landholders, business and professional people, who were said to have misled and mistreated the people (ibid: 287).
We can locate trace elements of revolutionary-style messages of resistance at the core of 'roots and culture' reggae music. Influenced by the Rastafarian doctrine and Garvey’s Pan-African sentiments, reggae songs acquired a robust anti-political agenda. Explicit messages such as ‘Stand Up For Your Rights’ (by Bob Marley) and ‘Downpressor Man’ (by Peter Tosh) were beginning to creep into songs. Lyrics aimed at providing counter-narratives; to challenge accepted ways of thinking; exposing oppression, societal stratifications and discounting official readings of history. Often, they were aimed directly at the system of government. As Bob Marley tried to explain, amidst the search for a better existence one would often encounter obstacles. Marley saw these as political strategies in disguise, much like an ‘Ambush in the Night’.

Marley interpreted social exclusionary tactics as a way the political system operates to ‘keep us hungry’. They could be circumvented, but the end result would be your ‘brother got to be your enemy’. Edwards (1998) argues that reggae sought to expose ‘two histories.’ He explains that:

[M]odernity…for this official history begins with the emergence of political parties, and its peak lies in the securing of state power by the post-colonial political elites. The other history is an invisible one or, more accurately, an ignored one, whose text is produced in various reggae songs that represent it as a symbolic history, a history that alludes to another secret history behind the platitudes of official ideology…that uses racial and communal memory as an antidote to the amnesia of the state. “Do you remember the days of slavery?” Burning Spear asks us again and again, and his repeated question becomes an exhortation to claim the liberatory power of memory (ibid: 26).

At this juncture, it is important to note how a contemporary Jamaica can still contain traces of ongoing historical contradictions. But, what might be the psychological and psychosocial repercussions of existing inside a social domain that is a ‘social consequence of oppression’. Adams (2005) argues that

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4 Earlier forms of reggae that was infused primarily with Rastafarian ideology was known as ‘roots and culture’ music.

5 ‘Ambush in the Night’, the title of a song by Bob Marley, was released in 1979 on the ‘Survival’ album.
systems and institutions are bound to have implications for the cognitive sense-making processes people use to engage in social encounters. As it relates to this thesis then, it is useful to consider that the extent to which people end up being overlooked or encounter demoralizing experiences may engender resistant or limiting subjectivities. In many instances, they may “observe the generation of conflictual strategies as inevitable” (ibid: 5).

Stereotypical portrayals of reggae artists and musicians, especially with regard to Rastafarianism, illustrate the inclination to essentialise types of behaviours and beliefs in ways that ignore plurality and complexity of the social contexts. The ways in which assignments of difference lead to social exclusion can be explored through the notion of ‘Othering’. It is a process that aims to trace how one's identity is constructed in relation to another when a feature of difference is foregrounded and named (Spivak, 1988; Weis, 2005). Advancing the concept of ‘Othering’ is a way to help us grasp how social difference becomes fixed to exert powerful implications on one's position within a social space. For example, particular customs that may appear to deviate from typical patterns of behaviour, often result in individuals being treated with suspicion, blocked from gaining access to resources or, forced to exist on the periphery of society. This encourages a redrawing of societal borders that reproduces dominating and subordinate positions through the kinds of exclusionary effects that forces the dominated ‘Other’ into “symbolic exile” (Hall, 1997: 258). This evokes images of Bourdieu’s notion of ‘symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu, 1989; 1999; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990) that represents the various clandestine ways in which social hierarchies are sustained and reproduced. Such acts have concomitant subjective effects on social actors. But, Bourdieu tells us that when individuals remain unaware or, accept the way things are, symbolic violence is exercised through a tacit complicity between the actors involved to maintain the social order. I elaborate on Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic violence in Chapter 4.

2.5 Summary
I began this chapter by drawing attention to a paradigmatic shift that is taking place within the development field. It appears that cultural resources, in their various forms, are increasingly being recognized for their ability to mobilise resources and for promoting a sense of belonging. This partly explains why, for the past three decades at least, investments in the cultural and creative industries have been actively encouraged worldwide. They are seen to belong to a set of “new development pathways for individuals, local communities and countries” (UNDP, 2013: 10). Indeed, it is a widely accepted view that potential benefits are contained within cultural assets. The problem is they do not always lead social actors within respective nation-states to effectively participate in devising mutually beneficial relationships. In this regard, I discussed also the Jamaican government’s efforts to incorporate music into its national development agenda. I have argued that actions taken thus far have failed to register any ability to surpass the status quo. But, we have also seen that the relationship between the music sector and the Jamaican government was not always an amicable one. I argued that what ought to be considered is the context in which the music evolved. More specifically, the material and ideational conditions had shaped the lives of creative practitioners and had served to prime the music’s politically charged lyrical content. Here, we are beginning to see the close interplay between cognitive structures and, what Bourdieu (1989: 16) calls, “objective relations”, that are at work within the Jamaican music sector. I suggest that this study presents an important opportunity to reflect on these contestations and speculate on what lessons might be learned in order to imagine alternative futures for Caribbean societies.

But I am also concerned about whether social agents (policy makers and industry actors alike) might be unknowingly colluding to reproduce their distant worlds. However, before proceeding to examine the particular experiences of the social agents, I wish to elaborate on my conceptual framework. The aim is to use the concepts I will outline in the next two chapters in order to acquire an in-depth understanding of the mechanisms that might be at work within the music sector. The discussion in the next chapter serves as a first step towards laying the conceptual groundwork for an approach to conducting the analysis of my empirical data.
Chapter 3 Dependency Thought and the Plantation Economy

Understanding must begin with trying to understand what was never understood.

~Anon

3 Introduction

Commentary on Caribbean development tends to implicate colonialism. In general, they seek to denote how contemporary patterns of behaviour are laden with spill over effects of slavery and European imperialism (Collier, 2002b; Dietz, 1979; Dunn, 1994). Yet, few studies seem to provide a rigorous analysis to disentangle the convoluted relationship between progress and mechanisms of colonial systems and formation of subjectivities. As was discussed in the introductory chapter, this thesis takes Jamaica’s music sector to illuminate the socio-historical and socio-cultural factors that are matters of significance when it comes to development. Jamaica’s musical culture is brought to the forefront because it represents an artefact that is largely acknowledged as one of the most important and identifiable assets fundamentally responsible for the nation’s geo-political position. Yet, this site of cultural music production is marked by prolonged debates about sector development but where reports of sustained efforts and progress toward achieving this objective remain largely absent. Indeed, this thesis should be taken as an effort to unpack and confront the practices and thought processes that emerge from the dialectical interrelationship between objective conditions and subjective perceptions of social actors. In this chapter, my aim is to begin to lay out a conceptual framework that will enable me to perform the analytical undertakings emerging from my data collection effort. I intend to highlight key themes I will draw upon for analysis, as well as begin to formulate a theoretical approach that may prove useful. Therefore, this chapter is organized as follows:

In Section 3.1, I briefly present the broad outlines of the dependency school of thought in order to illustrate the undercurrents of a critical theory of Caribbean development with which this thesis will engage. In Section 3.2, I then delineate the plantation economy model by paying particular focus to the works
outlined by Lloyd Best’s *Outlines of a Model of Pure Plantation Economy* (1968), Norman Girvan’s report on *Caribbean Dependency Thought Revisited* (2006), and with crucial contributions by George Beckford’s *Persistent Poverty* (1972b).

Broadly speaking, arguments presented within the plantation economy framework call for an enhanced consideration of socio-historically embedded features of the Caribbean society and, as such, re-asserts that sociological understandings must attend to specificity of context (Green, 2001). A conception of a ‘plantation economy’ is potentially useful for alerting us to the kinds of dynamics that demarcate a post-colonial ‘plantation’ society. I want to consider how an analysis on tensions present within Jamaica’s music sector can reap some benefit from this body of literature. Beckford’s contribution, outlined in his groundbreaking work, *Persistent Poverty*, is of particular importance for two reasons. First, it can be viewed as one of the more comprehensive, albeit exploratory, discussions that sought to understand the dynamics of underdevelopment in the Caribbean. Secondly, he grapples with several analytical themes that seem to resonate with my project. I suggest however that insights provided by the plantation economy model seem to link up well with Bourdieu’s theory of social practice and, in particular, his notions of habitus, capital and symbolic violence.

Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of the interplay between individual behaviour and social structures permits a more nuanced account of the dynamics taking place between the plantation economy themes such as ‘dependency’ and ‘inferiority’ as well as between ‘level of confidence in the future’ and ‘individualism’. Thus, in Chapter 4, I will work through the concepts of Bourdieu’s theory of practice to identify when, and how, ‘mindset’ (or habitus) manifests in social action and to understand how practice is implicated in the reproduction of symbolic violence in a social context.

3.1 Origins of Dependency Thinking
As I discussed in Chapter 2, we can see that ‘culture’ is increasingly being called upon to stimulate development. Yet, the path towards development, especially for emerging economies, continues to be a contentious issue in the field of international development studies. There is indeed a vast body of academic literature on the subject, not to mention that which appears in the mainstream global financial and economic press. Extant discourses that inform the thinking and writing about emerging and developing economies continue to postulate the role of Foreign Direct Investments, tax incentives for Multi-National Enterprises (MNE’s) and the adoption of Free Trade policies as key measures and actions to invigorate progress. Their core arguments are typified by the homo-economicus rationale: that actors generally operate on a level playing field; and that nations inherently possess the appropriate resources deemed essential to chart positive courses of action. In this vein, the job of conducting situational assessments is generally given to the economist who often proceeds down a deterministic path to suggest that outcomes are in response to structural conditions and constraints (Jager, et. al., 2000; Skaperdas, 2003; Smelser, 1992). However, there continues to be a growing body of literature that mounts a challenge to this set of conventional assumptions. Underpinning those arguments is the idea that practices are not formed out of a linear relationship between structure and the social actor (Bathelt, 2006; Bishop, 2013; Flint and Shelley, 1996; Underhill, 2000). The point is that behavior is located amidst, and emerges from, an inter-relational and complex web of economic, political and social systems.

Increasingly, scholars are becoming dissatisfied with theories of development that fail to consider the social, political, historical and cultural context in which business is conducted and with theories that fail to endow actors with customs, values and beliefs. Recent work by Chamlee-Wright (2015), Storr (2013) and others such as Fukuyama (1995) and Harrison (2000) have attempted serious considerations of how underlying intangible factors can affect outcomes. Yet, there continues to be widespread support feeding the flawed assumption that institutional reforms and economic development will, necessarily, stimulate transformation in social relations or, that they carry within them inherent capabilities to adequately deal with historically embedded
inequalities or injustice (Moncrieffe, 2006). My claim is that one strand of this literature, which may have some relevance when it comes to attempting to make analytical and sociological inroads about Caribbean context, is that of ‘dependency’ theory.

Thinkers who follow this line of reasoning have articulated well some of the issues that I am concerned with. At the macro level, their analyses expose traditional existing epistemic positions that display the tendency to sever the nation-state from the dynamics and structural changes in the broader global environment that can, in fact, determine them. As Brubaker (1994) points out, the nation-state is not fixed or static but rather can be seen as a field in a state of constant flux and dynamism. But, at the more micro level of analysis, their ideas denote a more nuanced approach to social analysis that encourages us to shift our thinking away from the ‘one size fits all’ approaches and any oversimplified homogenised views of the social world (Chang and Grabel, 2004; Rodrik, 2001). We are therefore encouraged to probe further into the pliable nature of social arrangements and patterns of behaviour.

3.1.1 A Question of Development

Since the end of the First World War, the economies of both the Latin America and the Caribbean regions performed dismally. These developments sparked an intellectual endeavour for concepts and solutions that would enable the formulation of more effective policies for the respective regions. For example, the advent of the Great Depression, circa 1929, had meant that both regions were experiencing knock-on effects: drastic shrinkages in output and demand for the primary commodities upon which their markets relied. By 1949, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA), then headed by Argentine economist, Raúl Prebisch, delivered its proposals. Prebisch argued that, in order to steer a path towards development, Latin American economies faced little choice. They needed to implement a policy of industrialization to relieve their economic pressures.
The core articulation of Prebisch’s justification is that industrialisation of peripheralised countries would lead their economies to develop internal capacities for sustaining productivity. Prebisch had assumed for instance that any resulting productivity gains from these import substitution industrialization (ISI) arrangements would be shared equitably (Girvan and Girvan, 1973). The ISI approach was undertaken based on the recognition that the economically deprived countries specialised in agriculture and other raw materials. Having limited manufacturing capabilities they were resigned to sourcing industrialised goods from the US or Europe. Policies aimed at industrialisation then are intended to relieve the dependence on imports with the establishment of domestic production facilities (Alexander, 1967; Baer, 1972; Kay, 2010). The model thus came to be popularly known as ‘Industrialization by Invitation’ (Girvan and Girvan, 1973: 3).

At the same time, the Saint Lucian economist and London School of Economics-educated, W. Arthur Lewis, had carved out a similar prescription for the Caribbean region. In Lewis’ case, a Caribbean development would occur in a two-stage development process. First, the growth of per capita national income resulting from industrialization would raise the national capacity to save and (therefore) invest; secondly, the "demonstration effect" of the presence of foreign investors in the economy would teach domestic entrepreneurs "the tricks of the trade" (Lewis, cited in Girvan and Girvan, 1973: 4). In the early 1960s however, three important events fuelled the rise of what is now known as, the dependency school of thought: (1) the recognition that proposed import substitution industrialization (ISI) strategy was failing; (2) the advent of the Castro-led Cuban Revolution; and (3) the 1964 military coup in Brazil and the ousting of intellectual left-wing activists (Grosfoguel, 2000).

Firstly, ISI policies had failed to deliver on its economic promises. Structurally, unemployment in the region was still a concern and the anticipated internalization of the dynamic for growth that Prebisch and Lewis predicted had not materialized. In fact, by 1961 Prebisch was already back-peddling on his initial position as he writes,
"It remains a paradox that industrialisation, instead of helping greatly to soften the internal impact of external fluctuations, is bringing us a new and unknown type of external vulnerability." (Prebisch, cited in Love, 1990: 149).

Additionally, significant political developments had taken shape. In the Caribbean for example, territories such as Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago had made important strides towards securing political independence. The problem was that now they were facing a stark reality: the ISI policies devised meant that they were still essentially dependent economies. To make matters worse, the difficulties they encountered, especially when they found themselves in unfavourable balance-of-payments\textsuperscript{6} positions, resulted in growing social and political tensions that in turn are deemed unfavourable to economic growth. Secondly, the Cuban project had challenged hegemonic thinking about development and cultivated a sensibility about alternative approaches beyond capitalism. The developments in Cuba inspired similar revolutionary-type movements and discourses throughout Latin America and the Caribbean (Grenada, and Guyana are some examples). Thirdly, exiled Brazilian leftists, who were still freshly influenced from having gone through the military coup experience, were also sympathetic to the developments in Cuba. These factors all combined to encourage an active intellectual engagement and reflections about economic and societal conditions in the region that actively contributed to solidifying what became known as the dependency school of thought.

The dependency school of thought can be seen as an important intervention in the field of international development studies. Since the post-war period, dependency critiques have since broadened to deal with issues ranging from non-autonomous development, as a way of achieving national objectives, to incorporating debates related to Centre-Periphery and asymmetry of power in pursuit of advancing an understanding about the inter-relationship between nations and groups.

\textsuperscript{6} A record of all economic transactions carried out in a given period between a domestic economy and the rest of the world and the net financial position.
In this framing, ‘dependency’ equates to the recognition of a subordinate condition, whereby a nation is regarded as having “a lack of the capacity to manipulate the operative elements of an economic system” (Brewster and Girvan, 1973: 91). It is an argument that targets the Western model of development to claim that it ensures subordinate economies are constrained when they remain linked by external structures of dependency in advanced economies (Rosero and Erten, 2010). The likely outcome is that the peripheralised faces interminable challenges to progress or, as Roy (1999: 8) claims, find their economies the “picture of abject poverty and misery.” Conway and Heynen’s (2013: 1981) articulation stresses that dependency theory represents a way to come to terms with ‘historically embedded’ relations. But, it is also an attempt to demonstrate how a nation-state assumes a subordinate position in the international capitalist system as a matter of policy or, ideology, rather than as a result of being endowed with backward or archaic structures (Grosfugel, 2000). Thus dependency theory not only conjures up connections with underdevelopment but also emphasises relations of power.

My aim in this thesis however is to re-think and stretch the notion of ‘dependency’. In my analysis, I position it as a theoretical construct that is explored, through practice and also through attitudes and beliefs. In other words, through what it explains both psychosocially and economically. The idea is to use the concept as a means of attunement to the weight of global influences on the thinking and practices social actors adopt. In Chapter 7, I explore further how dependency enables an opening up of the dynamic between the social world and the sense of self. The aim is not to conjure dependency as practice, per se, but to suggest that it can help to trace ways in which subjectivities are constituted.

3.1.2 Criticism of Dependency Theory

Grosfugel (2000: 356) argues that solutions proposed by dependency proponents to alleviate underdevelopment continue to reflect conformity to, what he calls, “a developmentalist ideology.” For example, due to its early ties with structuralism, debates were generally confined to the realm of economic analyses. Dependency analysts had yet to put forward any in-depth analysis to
show how exactly ‘dependency’ conditions influenced the social and cultural dynamics of societies. At bottom, this may also have something to do with a tendency to privilege the nation-state as the unit of analysis combined with what was thought to be more pressing needs at the time: modernisation and economic development. The net result however was a lack of more holistic analyses that could incorporate the dialectical interplay between a social structure and the social agent.

Aníbal Quijano is one of the few exceptions to this. Quijano (2000a) articulated concern about the presence of racial hierarchies in Latin America and derived the notion of ‘coloniality of power’. His argument regards the positioning of white Creole elites’ domination of the institutional structures of the society, even after independence, as a “continuity of power relations” (Grosfoguel, 2000: 368). At bottom, Quijano seeks to demonstrate that what we are witnessing is a reconfiguration of colonial power in the post-colonial era. As Grosfoguel (ibid: 368) further explains, a form of ‘internal colonialism is exercised when white elites were able to,

[c]lassify populations and to exclude people of colour from the categories of full citizenship in the imagined community called the “nation.” The civil, political, and social rights that citizenship provided to the members of the “nation” were never fully extended to colonial subjects such as Indians, blacks, zambos, and mulattoes.

Quijano’s position can be linked to the discussion in the previous Chapter related to conditions in Kingston’s garrison communities. Essentially, where there is social construction of “second-class citizens” and a cultural construction of “inferior others”, it permits us to argue, as Quijano (2000a) does, that the process of ‘decolonization’ is an unfinished project. Facing the advent of decolonization in the 1960s, similar considerations inspired a new generation of academic and intellectual activity in the Caribbean. One strand centred on the
development question and was closely associated with the Trinidadian economist, Lloyd Best and the rise of the New World Group\(^7\).

### 3.2 A Treatise on the Plantation Economy

The moment in Caribbean history was, therefore, bound to come that people implanted in the region for the exclusive purpose of alien economic gain would start to discuss their own survival. (Sankatsingh, 1998: 3)

The New World Group’s position on Caribbean development is generally regarded as the most significant development in Caribbean social sciences in the early post-de-colonisation period (Benn, 2004; Sankatsingh, 1998). It could be argued that it took on critical overtones as Caribbean scholars, inspired by notions of Marxism and ‘dependency’, attempted to invoke the concept of ‘plantation’ into the analysis (Bernal, et. al., 1984). Since its original formulation, researchers (Higman, 1996; Paton, 1996; Paton, 2011; Storr, 2002) who have sought to explore Caribbean subjectivities and Caribbean development have drawn upon Caribbean dependency thought. Interestingly, Best (1992: 14) explains that the ideas evolved out of an effort to assert a Caribbean intellectual contribution to the social sciences that would “suit our own independent circumstances.” Therefore, he considers it a “fine irony” that the plantation model is often situated within the formulation of dependency economics (ibid: 14).

The New World Group thinkers theorised Caribbean development by attempting to give an account of history that they argue is elided from previous approaches. They point to the structure of a world system that assumes an ahistorical environment and obscures the complexity of the social and political impulses that emerged from the colonial project. Classical economic development approaches thus fail to recognize that “it is only the personality

\(^7\) In 1960, the West Indian Society for the Study of Social Issues was formed from among young West Indian faculty and students in the social sciences and history at the University of West Indies in Jamaica. It was reborn as the New World Group in Guyana in 1962 (Girvan, 2006).
and particular type of economy and society which holds the key to its behaviour” (Best, 1992: 17). These arguments were developed with the early work of Lloyd Best and Kari Levitt (Levitt and Best, 1975; Best and Levitt, 1969; Best and Levitt, 1967) who set out to trace the relationship between the structural constraints on the growth and transformation of Caribbean economies and the historical legacy of the plantation system.

3.2.1 Hinterland of Exploitation

In its purest form, the notion of plantation economy seeks to represent the situation of island economies in which slave plantations were the dominant unit of production, as in the British and French West Indian islands (Girvan, 2002). It is best understood as an ideological position about a particular way a society is organized and governed. The point of departure for Caribbean dependency theorists was the observation that local policy makers governed under the assumption that fiscal and monetary policy for short-term management of the economy, complemented by a policy to attract foreign capital was an ideal strategy to supplement local savings and to finance the level of investment needed for long-term growth. The dependency perspective began by observing that Caribbean economies did not function in accordance with this set of assumptions. One major cause for concern was that their economies were propelled by exports. The problem was that the exporters were primarily foreign-owned and remained dependent on foreign markets and foreign consumption as opposed to the internal economy. Therefore, governments operated under a false assumption that domestic development could be fuelled by monetary policy they controlled. But, the local economy’s small size meant limited revenues. So, to adopt a strategy of deficit public spending was considered economic suicide (Girvan, 2006). On the basis of these arguments, plantation theorists challenged these policy prescriptions.

For Best (1968: 237), what is distinctive about the plantation society is that its citizenry are part of, what he articulates as, a “hinterland of exploitation.” That is to say colonies, such as Jamaica, originated as a proletarian population who were transplanted from elsewhere and brought to the region as slaves and
indentured servants. Whereas western industrialised states are populated primarily with a native 'settled citizenry' and with the capacity to produce for domestic consumption, the main rationale of the plantation system is to enable a particular kind of socio-economic functioning:

[The recruitment of labour exclusively for export production imposes a need for "total economic institutions" so as to encompass the entire existence of the work force. The plantation which admits virtually no distinction between organization and society, and chattel slavery which deprives workers of all civil rights including right to property, together furnish an ideal framework (ibid: 287).

The language of 'plantation' then is deployed to make sense of a subjective orientation. A foundational element in Best’s argument was Goffman’s (1961) discussion related to the Characteristics of Total Institution. Goffman draws attention to the symbolic ‘barrier to social intercourse’ as a defining feature of the all-embracing institution. He contends that the organizational structure that supports this system fundamentally engenders divisiveness “between a large class of individuals who live in [the system] but who have restricted contact with the world outside the walls (inmates)...and the small class that supervises them (staff)” (Goffman, 1961: 315). Goffman maintains that the implications of this are that it fosters ‘hostile’ stereotypes, perpetuates mistrust, and further acts as a breeding ground for feelings of superiority and inferiority. This is a critical point for this study.

The focus here is on the embedded features of the institution that serve to uphold the profound antagonistic gap between ‘staff’ and ‘inmate’. As a result of the experience with the ‘totalistic’ features of the system however, the inmate especially, is subjected to a set of demoralizing institutionalized processes. For Goffman, these ‘stripping processes’ of the institution lead to effacement of a sense of self. For the inmate then, the social reality of being inside the institution exists but only in relation to what it means to “getting out” of it (ibid: 317).
The notion of a plantation system suggests that former colonies function in a similar fashion: exhibiting qualities that work to diminish any semblance of trust, organisation or effective collective action. For Beckford (1972), these are the particular characteristics that are likely to engender these societies to remain eternally locked in a state of underdevelopment: a distilled future of persistent poverty. This position led Beckford (1972) and Girvan (2006) to claim that exploitation methods developed under colonialism have simply reincarnated themselves. They are now veiled with modern cloaks in the form of state actions as well as in bourgeoisie practices and lifestyle. They reframe the paradigmatic industrialised mode of development to suggest that unsuspecting leaders succumb to incentivized carrots that are dangled in front of them; an act that distorts any notion of 'independence'. Mired within a neoliberal apparatus, governments become more inclined to welcome foreign direct investment and open up borders to encourage trade\(^8\) than to entertain opportunities that may arise from within the local sphere. This inclination towards 'epistemic dependency' (Girvan 2006) results in austere conditions being imposed upon society. They do nothing more than lock respective nations and their peoples in a vice-like grip. Moreover, it emulates an act of submission of the colonized subject. Subsequently, policy makers leave themselves with few choices. They are inclined to orient themselves to serve particular external interests: a position that shifts their attention away from fully attending to an internal social agenda. Following Beckford, Green (2001: 48) contends that the society becomes fundamentally “locked into world capitalism and dependent upon it for generative and realization capacities.” What is more, crucially, the plantation economy model identifies a recursive effect when it comes to participating in effectuating emancipatory conditions. Although individuals may acknowledge their conditional state and express legitimate concern, their ability to respond is weakened "because the system itself has engendered divisions within the dispossessed groups" (Beckford, 1972: 212). In the sections that follow, I draw attention to the main elements that characterize a Plantation Economy.

\(^8\) Referred to as 'industrialisation by invitation' (Girvan 2006: 336).
3.3 Theorizing Plantalogical Subjectivities: The Caribbean Condition

It is no secret that in the Caribbean Archipelago nations emerged from a colonised and slavery-induced past as ‘plantation hinterlands’ (Benn, 1974; Best, 1968; Storr, 2010; Thomas, 1968) But, what may be more difficult to accept is that their accompanying social and political structures remained intact. Thus, any question concerning development “must at least confront the effect the region’s colonial past has had on West Indian psyches and societies” (Storr, 2002: 2).

Just how exactly the structure of a plantation economy operates to shape categories of thought and influence social action is central to my thesis. This kind of attention to the colonial past has been discussed elsewhere. It is reminiscent of Gilroy’s (2004) notion of Britain’s post-imperial melancholia that is still seeping within the nation’s political discourse. And, in India for example, Chandra (2014: 18) gives an account of the kinds of moods, attitudes and responses associated with an oppressive present: “the awareness of subjection and the realization that freedom was not possible in the foreseeable future.”

In this study, I explore ways in which structures have become embodied to constitute perceptions, judgement and action. I argue that my empirical data allows for points of connection between the analytical construct of a ‘plantation economy’ and the notion of subjectivity. Here I extend Herron’s (2001) idea of ‘plantalogical politics’ to conceptualize the notion of ‘plantalogical subjectivities’. The is further inspired by Best and Levitt’s (2009) claim that the ‘slave plantation’ system, being an integral part of the Caribbean experience, is now cemented into the region’s overall approach to governing and into its social psyche. My intention thus with this idea of ‘plantalogical subjectivities’ is two-fold: One aim is to anchor the multiple discourses and practices emerging within my data and through which subjectivities are constructed. Chapter 7 accommodates this by taking as empirical ‘realities’ my respondents’ own account of their lived experiences. Linking to Beckford’s work (1972b), I see ‘plantalogical’ as being expressed in patterns of discursive exchange related to dependency, inferiority, and individualism. ‘Plantalogical subjectivities’ further
denote how individuals make sense of their social reality through the interpretive lens of institutionalized colonial structures. The objective however, is to investigate how they leak into social relations, and how they produce and reproduce practice (Bourdieu, 1990b; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Here, it is important to note that, I do not view subjectivity as an independent entity that exists in and of itself. Rather it can be grasped only by accounting for its ‘relational essence’ (Whitehead, 2011: 204). That is to say, it becomes coherent and active only through a collective assemblage of present-past encounters and practical adaptations. Following Bourdieu (1972[1977]), I see ‘plantalogical’ as an expression of the ‘unconscious embodiment’ of a social structure. It is habitus.

In the following section, I discuss some of the core components of a plantation society – as outlined by Beckford (1972b) – in dialogue with Bourdieu’s concepts. The discussion is intended to provide the initial guidelines for working towards an understanding of the processes and historical conditions that structure subjectivities.

3.3.1 Alternative Logic of Practice and Symbolic Violence.

Plantation societies are noted for concomitant institutional structures that tend to favour a small elite bourgeoisie class: the de facto “beneficiaries of colonialism and the imperialist process of economic exploitation” (Noble, 1977). According to Girvan (2002: 22) the presence of this “parasitic ruling class” further complicates the Caribbean condition. The elite and dominant groups generally adopt Eurocentric perspectives and are motivated to impose these models of nation-state forms of power organized around neo-colonial relations (Quijano, 2000b). Decolonisation becomes merely "a rearticulation of the coloniality of power upon new institutional bases" (ibid: 567). When western-infused policy approaches are juxtaposed with the Caribbean reality, Best (2003) argues that it results in a state of 'confusion' because the chosen modes of development are rendered unrecognisable. In other words, the colonial encounter has engendered a particular internal dynamic in a society but the path toward development is often guided by a logic that is unfamiliar. Thus, the
Caribbean becomes the site of an asymmetrical condition. When viewed this way, the state of 'underdevelopment' attributed to Caribbean states, is often mistaken for backwardness. Instead it might be more appropriate to attribute it to mis-management of the situational context (Best, 2003; Beckford, 1972). The resulting condition serves to reaffirm the position of a nation whereby, according to euro-centric denotations, a classification such as ‘Third World’ becomes affixed. In this thesis tensions of this kind are seen to occur at the micro level of practice and I implicate them as contributory factors which serve to maintain divisions among social actors. Bourdieu (1972[1977]) accounts for these practices as ‘symbolic violence’ and ‘misrecognition’ and they should help us grasp this process. I elaborate on these notions in the next chapter.

From this perspective, rhetorical discourse and tacit understandings are understood as perceptual and classificatory schemes that align with class based divisions in the social structure. We can also link this back to the notion of ‘Othering’ I discussed earlier in the introduction chapter. Only now, we see it operating at the more macro level. Such a conceptualisation of ‘Othering’ can be revisited through the ‘Orientalism’ philosophy of Edward Said (1978). What becomes central to Said’s thinking is a concern for a discourse that is “ontologically hegemonic and European” (Herron, 1996: 88). It attends to the question of difference. For Said, Orientalism does not operate through inter-cultural appreciation. Rather, it is a distortion, located in meanings and power relations that are now ‘over-determined by history, religion, and politics’ (Said, 1985: 93). It presumes that the gift of knowledge belongs to those in the West; and that they alone could offer explanations about the ‘Other’. This suggests that Orientalism not only institutes silence in the ‘Other’, it also establishes and reproduces notions of the primitive, underprivileged and the inferior. It is a position which resonates with Beckford’s (1972b) contention that the analyses of the issues facing the Caribbean exceedingly rely on ideologies more suitable for North Atlantic societies. As a consequence, proposed methods are rendered incompatible when it confronts the Caribbean condition. In the next few sections of this chapter, I briefly sketch the key characteristics of his concerns, as I understand them.
3.3.2 Inferiority and Negative Cultural Capital.

In this thesis, I consider how music forms part of, what Throsby (1999: 3) calls, the ‘stock of cultural capital’. As Throsby envisions it, ‘cultural capital’, serves to highlight the tangible and intangible value features contained within Art and Heritage assets. But, cultural capital can also encompass the set of skills, knowledge, education and culture that are embodied within individuals as well as the cultural artefacts and texts fashioned by them. Value thus manifests from the act of recognition through the expressed appreciation and acceptance by others. In these cases, it structures an identity development process of validation that lends legitimacy to our cache of cultural capital. In doing so, it triggers the self-esteem mechanism that helps us to instil a sense of self and personhood (Leary, 1999).

Questions related to self-esteem, respect and sense of self has spurred discussions on the efforts by individuals in Caribbean post-colonial societies to regain their right to exist and be acknowledged (Charles, 2010; Ferguson and Cramer, 2007; Sutherland, 2011). Within the Jamaican context, Mills (1997) has phrased this as Smadditization: a creolized re-formulation of the English term, ‘somebody’. Mills regards smadditization as an “insistence on personhood” (ibid: 55). It encapsulates “the struggle to have one’s personhood recognized in a world where, primarily because of race, it is denied.” Mills initially conceived the process of “smadditizing” to account for the African diaspora peoples’ struggle over time and space, to become and be recognised as somebody within the context of their experiences of enslavement and colonisation. One area of study that can guide us towards an understanding of smadditization is the notion of recognition. Here, I turn to Honneth (1996: 173) who highlights for us that,

[...]he only way in which individuals are constituted as persons is by learning to refer to themselves, from the perspective of an approving or encouraging other, as beings with certain positive traits and abilities.
This illustrates that if particular qualities associated with an individual should have the potential to be evaluated and appreciated, as is implied, it might be interesting to understand the way in which such ‘traits and abilities’ come to acquire a certain status and, subsequently, effectuate personhood and identity. Researchers like Holden (2006) further argue that our existence in an increasingly unstable globalised world presents the likelihood of becoming exposed to multifarious cultures that give rise to a questioning of our self-identity. In doing so, the very traditional bases on which foundations of our identity and self-esteem become established, are challenged, and at times, loosened. Linking back to the discussion in Chapter 2, I would argue that in addition to ‘cultures’, we might also consider the role of experiences in fashioning a sense of self, both positively and negatively. Taken together, both culture and experience are implicated in subjectivity formation as it reassures, or destabilizes, what Holden (ibid: 23) refers to as, ‘fluid identities’. In this vein, we could argue that, there is, on the one hand 'something special' about Jamaican music that is important for identity and subject formation: a sense of self and personhood. However, although plantalogical subjectivities are historically disciplined, they are at once destabilizing. Inferiority is theorized as judgment or feelings of 'lack' (or deficiency) of recognition of valued forms of capital by important others.

3.3.3 Individualism and Habitus.

An important feature in modern development discourse is the need to mobilise factors of production. Development involves the ability to, effectively and collectively, enrol a complex network of institutions, resources and capabilities in service of the society. Economic development then works positively through energising a highly motivated population. For Beckford, development must involve,

“…a high degree of factor mobility, good government to organise the collective will of the people, and social stability to engender confidence in the future” (1972: 203).

Beckford remained vigilant in his assertion that, without taking stock of these
concerns, in the final analysis, what we are left with is a demoralised populace who feel they have no stake in the future of their country. In his view, it is the “legacy of historical forces” we should be most concerned about (Beckford, 1972: v) because the “people of plantation society see themselves as inferior” (ibid: 233). What is more, the dimensions of class and race relations feature prominently in plantation economy analyses. They are seen as fundamental to the ethnic antagonisms that are present in ethnically plural plantation societies like Guyana, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname. Within a space such as Jamaica, one marked by its neo-colonial and plural societal structures, the struggle for 'space' between the "dominator-European and the dominated-African", as Nettleford (cited in Heron, 2001: 496) puts it, remains unresolved. In Jamaica for example the social fragmentation questions are still unsettled as the majority black population continues to experience varying degrees of social and economic exclusion (Girvan and Singham, 2012). The core of this population sect resides in the inner city communities in Kingston and, in particular, in adjacent areas where alternative systems of economy and social authority outside of the law have become established. One result of this is the stance taken towards work by the populace that resides upon little effort and angling to 'beat the system'. Espeut (2004) expounds on this latter point noting how Jamaicans' are generally inclined to disregard regulatory systems since it rarely serves their interests. To this point, Hage (2003: 20) takes the position that “societies are mechanisms for the distribution of hope”. Thus, when institutions of the state fail to fulfil these ‘hope’ responsibilities it follows that citizens find it difficult to imagine a better future and aspirations of a collective vision become diminished. To effect real change, Beckford suggests that,

"the precondition of all preconditions for change and transformation is a structuring of the minds of the people to accommodate change (1972b: 233)."

Here, we can begin to relate the plantation model to more familiar Bourdieusian ideas. For Bourdieu, if agents are to engage in transformative action they will need to acquire reflexive ability. In Bourdieu's class (or positional) formulation, one of the characteristics we need to pay attention to
relates to those whose “distance from necessity” is limited (Bourdieu, 2000). A life of precariously does play a crucial role in how dispositions are constituted. For example, the experience of poverty and social exclusion is generally followed by an abrupt imposition of economic imperatives. Bourdieu tells us that, “people’s wills adjust to their possibilities” (Bourdieu, in Sikes et. al., 2003: 76). Being in such close proximity to 'necessity' implies a preoccupation with practices and strategies geared towards daily survival. In Jamaica’s music sector, and as we will see, I have connected this analytical posture to concerns popping up in industry discourse that cultural producers display a 'hustler mentality' ethos. What all this boils down to is what Bourdieu describes as the interplay between possibilities and 'objective chances' of achieving them (2000: 213).

The practice of ‘hustling’ for example should clue us into examining how, or why, the habitus perceives of a social world where possibilities appear limited (ibid). As the sense of hope evaporates, the hustler’s social world becomes one where the future is suspended and time equates to an ‘immediate present’ (Mbembe and Roitman, 1995). In Chapter 7 for instance, I show how my participants perceive the ‘hustler mentality’ as a sense of detachment from the need to prioritise the nurturing of social relations. Instead, there is a focus on nurturing of self-interests. Indeed, Beckford (1972b) argues that this is because conditions of a plantation society are such that they promote a clash of interests whereby people are forced to compete against each other. What we end up with is an attitude that steers towards “strong individualism” and “considerable interpersonal rivalry” (ibid: 205). As a consequence, patterns of behavior reflect the kinds of practices and strategies that support self-interests and immediate gratification. I draw on Bourdieu to suggest that the ‘hustler mentality’ takes on a subjective dimension:

[when] one is symbolically more deprived, less consecrated or more stigmatized, and therefore less well placed in the competition for the esteem of men (Bourdieu, 2000: 238).
Further, plantation theorists see contemporary life in the Caribbean as a consequence of the plantation mode of production around which all political, economic and social life is organised (Beckford, 1972a; 1972b; Best, 1968). The plantation’s mode of governing was conducive to the purposes of enslavement and dehumanisation of people for economic gain. For Heron (2001), it should come as no surprise to find that the Caribbean people have developed resistant subjectivities and practices. She revisits the notion that the 'plantational' mode of operation not only served an economic purpose in the coloniser/colonised relationship, but also shaped all aspects of political life including that of the enslaver and the enslaved. As Heron notes, the experience "created and distorted (...) the existential reality of the Caribbean person" regardless of the class or position they held in society (ibid: 493). When it comes to policy making for example, individuals are thus governed not by moral concern for public welfare but by a condition that is a residue of the colonial reality. It manifests through notions of dependence and power that are now normalised (ibid).

3.3.4 Dependency and the Search for Recognition.

Indeed the idea of dependency resides at the core of Caribbean Dependency philosophy. By constructing a reformulated conceptualisation of dependency for the case of analysis in the music sector, I aim to bring the relevance of recognition to light. This thesis argues that the tensional relationships and strategies that emerge can be productively seen as individuals engaging in political acts of recognition. I expand on this idea in Chapter 6. I will further argue that within the landscape of Jamaica’s music industry, dependency operates at the more micro-level. My aim is to use it as a mechanism to illuminate how particular subjectivities become affixed on a foreign or external source for ‘help’ in service of legitimising valued forms of capital.

Studies in the field of social psychology for example encourage us to pay closer attention to the role of help, particularly in inter-group relations. Where ‘help’ is central to the interactions in inter-group relations, it is often reflective of
a hierarchical relationship between helper and recipient (Worchel, 1984). What passes for ‘help’ in such social intercourses may reproduce the same hierarchical gaps and social inequalities it was intended to alleviate. This occurs for primarily two reasons: Firstly, ‘helpful’ acts generally involve exchanges where assistance is being given by an advantaged to a less advantaged group (Turner, et. al., 1987). Secondly, the helper may, unconsciously, instil or re-inscribe, experiences of dependency, inferiority and low self-esteem in the recipient (Nadler, 1991; 2002).

This also gains support from Pant’s (2007: 79) position that, in former colonies, dependency and the need to “look upward for instructions” are ubiquitous. Similarly, Beckford (1972: 206) argues that, upon being driven by Eurocentric and North American discourses, an ethos of dependence may have gradually stripped away "dignity, security and self-respect" among dominated individuals and groups. The experience of harsh conditions of slavery and ‘centuries of unreality’ (Fanon, 1965) in which individuals were immersed, culminated in a denouncing of self among the African slave population. It is these characteristics that are indicative of a culture inscribed with “weaknesses of their plantation past” (Elliott and Harvey, 2000: 395).

To a great extent, I consider that the Caribbean Dependency theorists want to confront the idiosyncrasies of the region as a route towards developing useful insights about forces contributing to underdevelopment (Girvan, 2006). My aim however, is to extend the plantation economy model’s macro-level concern for attending to peculiarities by applying it to a more micro-level appreciation of practices. But, I also wish to remain sensitive to preserving the 'locus of enunciation' of the Jamaican social space. The concept is borrowed from Mignolo (1995; 2012) to reflect on the relations of power, between researcher and research subject that can intervene in this academic study. Since the research institution from where this study originates is located in a Westernized zone, there is always a risk that critique from this orientation elides an understanding of specificities of a colonial or post-colonial domain. What is more, the use of academic prose to frame the complexities of a field such as Jamaica’s music sector may not offer adequate interpretations. Therefore,
attempts to research post-colonial subjects must take seriously the effort to think:

\[\text{[i]n terms of identification rather than identity, of location as a process related to a place of speaking rather than a description intended to capture a correspondence between what one is and what one ought to be according to some pre-existing cultural reality (Mignolo, 1995: 177).}\]

In this study then, and as Mignolo encourages, I wish to assume an orientation, that seeks to develop knowledge, but one that particularizes the discussion from the standpoint of the subject (Seed, 1993). By invoking the plantation economy model, I consider not only its analytic and theoretic potential, but that it contributes to the contextual grounding of the site of study. My hope is that such an orientation encourages a narration of self from sub-alternity and not from the colonialism of power (Mignolo, 2012).

3.4 Summary.

In this chapter, I have outlined some key ideas that contribute to the theoretical foundations upon which this thesis is built. I introduced the Caribbean Dependency theorists’ plantation economy ideas as a possible lens that can assist us in thinking through the issues I intend to examine. The most obvious implication of my approach, in particular, and based on discussions thus far, is that we must cast our analytic lens beyond the economic and begin to take full account of socio-cultural and socio-historical dynamics arising out of being exposed to a prolonged colonial experience. At bottom, I want to rethink the notion of dependency.

I will now turn towards an elaboration of the central features of Bourdieu’s sociological apparatus. I discuss how it can be usefully applied to interrogate the concerns outlined in this thesis. Following this, I outline a conceptual vocabulary that is generic but fitted to the specificities of the Jamaican
experience. It opens up a new lens to understand reggae as a national resource and the problems in managing it.
Chapter 4 Bourdieu and the Logic of Practice

4 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I outlined one side of the conceptual framework that I will use to understand relational forces contributing to the state of inertia within Jamaica’s music sector. I suggested that the plantation economy model aids in locating the Jamaican music sector within a broader historical and geographical context. In this regard, the model is used to draw connections to the socio-cultural and socio-historical factors that can be instrumental in shaping people’s understandings of their social world. I argued also that it motivates an orientation towards grounding a ‘locus of enunciation’ from the Caribbean perspective. I suggested that such an orientation could help loosen any boundaries of power that may exist between the researcher and the post-colonial research subject. I highlighted also the plantation economy’s notion of ‘dependency’. My aim however, is to relax its economic moorings and grant it some sociological freedom. By doing so, I intend to show how it is a key constitutive element in the formation of ‘plantalogical’ subjectivities engendered by the social space; especially those that emerge from within a plantation society.

In this chapter I turn towards an articulation of a Bourdieusian account of practice. It is offered to serve as a methodological and conceptual link between the plantation economy’s historical connotations and the patterns of behaviour that emerge within the Jamaican music sector. I argue that attention to Bourdieu’s master concepts provides a means to trace the lived experiences of my participants so that we may begin to come to grips with the kinds of relationship structures they imply. Notably however, researchers have deployed
Bourdieu’s approach to advance understanding of societal dynamics beyond Third World or post-colonial contexts. For instance, Kerr and Robinson (2009) draw upon habitus and capital to deal with concerns related to mechanisms contributing to reproduction of domination emanating from a UK organization’s operations in Ukraine. Woodhouse (2006) deployed the notion of ‘social capital’ to identify the ways in which the interplay between different levels of social capital enhanced economic outcomes in some Australian communities. And, Blasius and Mühlichen (2010) found Bourdieu’s concept of social space useful to implicate the media in shaping lifestyle typologies in Germany.

My aim however is to concentrate on how Bourdieu’s work contributes to teasing out the social conditioning of experience. Much of the theoretical constructs I use to cast a sociological lens on the object of analysis of this research study derive from Pierre Bourdieu’s social theory framework. I argue that Bourdieu’s dynamic relational approach – through use of concepts such as field, habitus and capital – will enable a more fine-grained account of practical knowledge. I want to draw upon this theoretical position to analyse the motivations behind the everyday practices and strategies of Jamaican cultural producers. That is to say, as Wacquant (2004: 6) explains, that Bourdieu’s work alerts us to the idea that, “social reality is in good measure the product of a collective work of cognitive construction that operates in the ordinary encounters of everyday life.” For DiMaggio (1979: 1460), Bourdieu seeks to develop a sociological practice that exposes “the mechanisms of symbolic domination and control” that sustains any social system. Further, he encourages us to trace the dispositions that motivate the kinds of practices that tend to support these divisions (McLeod, 2005). For Bourdieu, these spatial arrangements and corresponding dispositions not only materialise in subjectivity formations. They also play a decisive role in the production of practices and social relations. To grapple with these dynamics within the context of a complex arena such as the Jamaican music sector, I refer to Bourdieu’s primary concepts. Thus, the discussion proceeds as follows:

I begin in Section 4.1 with an overview of a meta-theory that motivates and underpins Bourdieu’s sociological thought. In Sections 4.2 to 4.4, I elaborate on
each of Bourdieu’s main concepts: Field, Capital and Habitus. Finally, in Section 4.5, I draw attention to Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence and its relevance to this research study.

4.1 Bourdieu: A meta-theory

It is well known that the social sciences have long struggled with the antinomy that presents itself in the dialectical relationship of subjectivism and objectivism. In some circles, this opposition is remoulded as structure versus agency, macro versus micro, individual versus society and so on. On the one hand, the subjectivist approach takes its cue from social agents and grants primacy to the view that social reality is shaped by individual representation and interpretation. It suggests that how agents apprehend their social reality and the way in which categories of understanding are formulated are ample foundational blocks by which knowledge about the world is constructed. On the other hand, the objectivist approach relegates the role of the social agent. It insists that the agent merely succumbs to objective and social structures operating within the social space. This implies that we function in this world in a ‘mechanistic’ fashion and that history operates in a vacuum without acknowledging the role of subjects. This view would mean that social agents’ actions are already pre-determined and shaped by structures within the social system. Bourdieu (1989) emphatically refutes this false dichotomy that continues to plague the social sciences and he argues that they both contain critical flaws as well as important benefits.

Wacquant (2007) explains that Bourdieu’s oeuvre represents the effort to synthesize disciplinary, theoretical, and methodological divides. While teasing out sense-making systems figure prominently in Bourdieu’s analysis, he should by no means be mistaken for being a subjectivist. In Bourdieu’s view, objectivism produces a version of knowledge that, although uncoloured by individual interpretations, fails to take an adequate account of the role of conscious decision-making. He rejects the notion that the social world should simply be reduced to the representation of agents as the subjectivist reading of theorists like Jean-Paul Sartre proposes (Bourdieu, 1990a). Bourdieu believes
Sartre reifies free individual action and brushes away any objectivist implications. He attempts to transcend what he sees as an epistemological gap created by the contraposition between the two sociological schools of thought; arguing instead that together social practice and objective structures are not oppositional but stand in a "dialectical relationship" (Bourdieu, 1972[1977]: 83). Bourdieu conceptualises then a reciprocal relationship between cognitive or mental structures of thought and the social or objective structures that shape, and respond, to that thought.

Grenfell (2008: 45) takes up this argument and draws our attention to Bourdieu's observation of this "simple fact of a coincidence between the two: of an individual's connection with both the material and the social world" which formed the basis of his approach to science. It begins to become evident then that Bourdieu's social praxeology can be viewed as emerging from an ambitious attempt to stitch together "a 'structuralist' and a 'constructivist' approach" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 11). In other words, this was Bourdieu's way to strengthen the human sciences through his conceptualisation of the interplay between material world, the social constraints that make up that world, and the social actors who must function within it (Brubaker, 1985). Thus, my understanding of Bourdieu’s approach is that he seeks to denounce any effort to calibrate social practices using an either-or approach. To facilitate a sociological analysis that can grasp the dynamic nature of social action and practice, Bourdieu proceeds to construct a conceptual framework using a set of key theoretical elements: field, habitus and capital.

4.2 Fields

Contemporary societies are marked by the presence of various social domains in which people live and work. The social milieu thus reflects a differentiated space made up of various sets of collectives, organisations, 

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Praxeology is a methodological approach that moves from the assumption that practices are intricately connected to a social context and how a person is socialized. Hues and Morgan (2010: 40) explain, is that “the essence of praxeology is that things do not happen because somebody knows something but because that person does not know something.”
industry sectors, social groups, disciplinary areas and so on. Thus, we can begin to grasp Bourdieu’s (1983; 1990a; 1996) concept of field was a way to depict a social arena of activity. ‘Fields’ for Bourdieu (1989: 15) is inspired by, what he calls, a "relational mode of thinking". Such an orientation finds its roots in the structuralist school of thought and whose application can be traced back to Cassirer, Lewin and even Norbert Elias (Swartz, 1997). Swartz speculates that, Bourdieu's sharp criticism of the subjectivist-objectivist divide moved him to conceptualise field as a 'corrective' mechanism against the positivist school of thought that, in Bourdieu's view, fails to take adequate account of the ongoing struggle and conflict that are hallmarks of social life.

But, in the first instance, there has to be something that leads to the emergence of a field. Bourdieu (1990a) argues that the regularities of a field are formed out of common shared interests displayed by agents’ practices, but they cohere over time to become a relatively autonomous social domain. It is in this sense that a field is seen as being socially instituted in that it can be traced to, and materialises from, a highly contingent history (Warde, 2004). As Wacquant (2007: 269) tells us, “fields are historical constellations that arise, grow, change shape and sometimes wane or perish over time.”

But, it is also important to understand how Bourdieu defines what we refer to here as ‘activity’. In a field, social agents are construed as engaged in an ongoing battle. Much like in a competition, they jostle for positions or, are involved in a struggle that ensues over particular stakes, or sets of resources, in an effort to procure access to them. We can also analogize the concept to a game; wherein we can envision a competition that produces stakes over which the players contend. We could also posit that it represents a space where there is some commonality among social actors. They all participate based on a shared belief in the purpose of the field. But, the participation is conducted on the basis of being bound by certain regularities that serve to structure and constitute the space as a sphere of possibility, or of action.

Bourdieu further explains that the notion of the field is to encourage us to think relationally. DiMaggio and Powell (2000: 149) claim that thinking in terms
of field sensitizes us to the “totality of relevant actors”, not just on a narrowly conceived sub-group or sub-field. Thus, even if the sub-field is of primary concern, it may help us to determine the extent to which it operates under its own rules or is externally influenced by other fields. For example a video game developer is impacted by technology advancement, intellectual property rights regulations, and companies manufacturing the game consoles and their suppliers. It is important to note however, that ‘fields’ are not real or pre-existing entities as such. Bourdieu (1990c: 75) reminds us that they are ‘groups on paper’ or theoretical constructs which we devise as we grapple with understanding social praxis. The concept of fields has been widely used for analysis. Since it places emphasis on the various stakes over which actors are competing, it offers a useful analytic lens through which to trace power relations and domination. For example, the field notion has been used to analyze issues related to the EU political arena (Crum and Fossum, 2009), fashion production in Italy (d'Ovidio, 2015), tourism in New Zealand (Kane, 2013), environmental disputes in Canada (Everett and Jamal, 2004) and popular music (Cluley, 2012; Webb, 2010).

As discussed above, Bourdieu developed the notion of fields as a way to consider the differentiated features of social relations within that space and how they work to motivate social action. But, a salient feature of Bourdieu’s field is that it tends to consist of dominant and dominated factions. It is because actors endeavour to prohibit access to, or appropriate, the mechanisms that are crucial to the effective functioning of the field. These mechanisms, or ‘species of power’ (Couldry, 2003; Navarro, 2006; Wacquant, 2013) operate to determine the positionailities of the actors as well as the “objective relations between the positions” within the field (Bourdieu and Ferguson, 1988: 546). Since actors in a field are engaged in on-going struggles to acquire stakes and resources and vie for position, the field thus gains its structure and its dynamics based on the quantity and type of resources agents are able to acquire. For Bourdieu (1998: 69), the battles that take place are not so much about stakes and resources as they are about the “accumulation of capital.”
The notion of capital is central in order to develop an understanding of how Bourdieu’s social fields are structured and to alert us to what motivates individual action. Broadly speaking, Bourdieu (1986) believes what constitutes everyday life is that individuals are embroiled in negotiations over primarily three forms of capital: economic, cultural and social capital. While economic capital is indeed similar to the way Marx deploys the term, Bourdieu extends Marx’s analysis and moves beyond a strict economic approach to human behaviour (Brubaker, 1985; Couldry, 2003). Bourdieu argues that there are other social forms of profit and interest that Marx’s analyses tend to neglect. Thus, a Bourdieusian concept of capital enables us to conceive of how individuals might be motivated to participate in a kind of exchange economy in order to acquire material as well as symbolic goods. The ability one has to convert is crucial for Bourdieu, so I interpret social life as an exchange market of intangible or ‘symbolic’ goods that ends up being, quite simply, a social struggle and, by extension, a struggle over value. A simple example to illustrate this exchange process occurs when artists and musicians hone their skill sets and knowledge so that they can be used as leverage to generate a fan-base and/or enhance their reputation. Of course, they often use these resources in exchange for monetary compensation. Alternatively, one form of capital might be used to enhance another in symbolic ways. For example, gaining media exposure within a particular market might be highly valued for an artist whereas that same market, or same media vehicle, might not be given high priority by another. Similarly, how each artist deploys such ‘exposure’ or ‘market’ capital could indeed vary greatly.

Bourdieu’s overarching concern is with the volume of capital an agent has accumulated and the advantage, in terms of influence or social position, which the agent eventually possesses. Of importance also is the type of capital that has become effective or legitimated within the field in question. The principle behind the notion of fields can also be best understood when we see Bourdieu’s approach as outlining for us the broad contours of “a theory of (unequal) distribution of capital effected through appropriation” (Beasley-
Murray, 2000: 105). As scarce resources, all forms of capital are distributed unequally. Since agents obtain their volume and type of capital at a disproportionate pace, it follows that they obtain the ability to advance social position in a similar uneven manner. A field thus becomes hierarchically structured to determine “haves and have-nots” (Maton, 2005: 690).

As mentioned earlier, Bourdieu executes a deliberate move to extend the idea of capital, from a narrowly conceived conceptualisation of ‘economic capital’. One way he accomplishes this is by building on the Weberian idea of the status group thereby allowing integration with cultural and symbolic elements (Brubaker, 1985; McCall, 1992). While Bourdieu acknowledges the importance of economic capital, especially in capitalist societies, he argues that it should not be accorded with full determinacy with regard to social relations and action. In other words, it represents only one particular case out of the varied forms of capital. As individuals place significant value on a variety of symbolic elements that a purely literalist economistic reading of ‘capital’ does not adequately accommodate. So Bourdieu wants us to orient our thinking towards the consideration of different forms of capital that play a role in social relations and, more importantly, in determining life chances.

The term capital further implies that resources acquired can be exchanged for other forms of capital. With the exception of the economic, in Bourdieu’s formulation, capital is not attributed with the kind of value that is always calculable (Robbins, 2005). Value only manifests when actors have determined that species of capital have gained some legitimacy in a field and only when one form can be exchanged for another. This is a crucial point for purposes of this study and it is one I will elaborate on in later chapters.

Bourdieu (1987: 4) envisions the species of capital like “aces in a game of cards.” They are indeed specific to a field. But, somehow social agents have been led to believe that if these ‘aces’ are acquired, “their possession commands access to specific profits” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 97) thereby enabling them to gain an advantageous position in the field of play. Bourdieu defines capital as,
[t]hat which allows its possessors to wield a power, an influence, and thus to exist, in the field under consideration, instead of being considered a negligible quantity (Wacquant and Bourdieu, 1991: 98).

Bourdieu proposes that within fields, engaging in competition to acquire economic, cultural and social capital in order to gain dominant positions motivates social action. Economic Capital can be thought of as monetary or material resources (such as land) or that which is institutionalised as property rights. When it comes to Cultural Capital, Bourdieu tells us that this can be seen in three different manifestations: an embodied state within us that takes the form of “long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body” (Bourdieu, 1986: 243) or, “the more intangible complex of values and knowledge of cultural forms in his or her demeanour” (Portes, 2000: 2); an objectified state, in the form of symbolic goods are cultural artefacts such as art, books, music, etc.; and, 3) in an institutionalised or, those more formally recognised (2011: 243) such as that which proceeds, for example, from acquiring educational qualifications. In this latter instance, Bourdieu (1986: 248) tells us that, “one sees clearly the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth and secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition.” Thirdly, Social Capital enables benefits to be accrued or procured by virtue of membership within a group or through the ability to mobilise a network of connections (ibid). These can even include the way one speaks or, the etiquette one displays since these manners makes possible a demarcation of membership within a group. But, Bourdieu posits a fourth form of capital.

The notion of Symbolic Capital for Bourdieu is used to identify when one (or more) of the other forms of capital is highly valued within a society. While it functions as a source of power, it "is not perceived as power but as legitimate demands for recognition, deference, obedience, or the services of others" (Swartz, 1997: 90). For Bourdieu, the individual who is able to accumulate socially accepted symbolic capital is generally accorded with prestige and respect and held in high regard in a field or social sphere. For instance, one may have obtained a high school diploma and accumulated years of work
experience but having a University degree may still be seen as the essential form of symbolic capital necessary to be considered a peer in some social circles.

The varieties of capital explored by researchers suggest that there might be room to allow for further developments. For instance, Graeber (2001) considers the idea of physical capital to draw attention to an array of tangible forms of resources – beyond financial capital – that is implicated in the production of goods and services. Still others such as Côté (2002) engages with the concept of embodied cultural capital to show how it can be useful to take account of other internalized aspects that could be positioned as resources in a field. He develops the notion in order to include other elements, such as identity, that individuals draw upon to negotiate their lived environments especially in late modern society (Côté, 1996a; 1997; 2005; Côté and Levine, 2014). Identity capital can be construed as,

> [t]he varied resources deployable on an individual basis that represents how people most effectively define themselves and have others define them, in various contexts" (Côté and Levine, 2002: 142).

In the tangible sense, it can be expressed in performance such as when the entertainment or cultural experience is being consumed and appreciated by an audience. On another level, identity's intangible aspects can refer to "psychological abilities", such as the ability to critically reflect, negotiate and understand one's character" (Côté, 1996a: 426). These intangible assets are intended to underwrite the individual's ability to articulate their lived environments.

The notion of embodied cultural capital should prove useful to explore how people are motivated towards developing an interest in cultural art forms and career choices. Sullivan (2001) for instance notes that children who are encouraged to participate in cultural activities early in life can play a role in the development of later educational and cultural outcomes. In a similar vein, Albright and Luke (2010: 233) discuss how art can become embodied as a
“sedimented subjectivities” by examining how individuals appear to “actively embed parts of themselves, an event, their beliefs, into artefacts they produce.” Further, Peterson and Kern (1996a) build on Bourdieu’s proposition that there exists a tightly knit relationship between the hierarchical social position in a field and what makes up a set of symbolic activities (cultural tastes and practices) in a society (Bourdieu, 1984). They propose the idea of ‘cultural omnivoroussness’ (Peterson, 1992; Peterson and Simkus, 1992; Peterson and Kern, 1996b) to illustrate the extent to which one is exposed to, and ultimately develops an interest, in certain cultural art forms. In this thesis I want to draw upon the notion of capital and, in particular, embodied cultural capital. I intend to argue that, within the Jamaican context, it cannot be divorced from the individual’s early socialisation experience and the attitudes and beliefs they have come to hold as natural. But should be seen as representative of the effort to come to grips with “the contemporary creative practitioner” as Gibson (2002: 7) suggests.

But, I am also concerned with the question of: what occurs when a cultural producer has invested in participating in the game but then experiences that there are limits placed on the forms of capital they value most? What occurs within the state of the relations in a field when there is this kind of structural disjuncture? What happens when that capital is discovered to be irrelevant? It is through the acquisition and deployment (or exchange) of capital that a social actor discerns opportunities and possibilities in social space (Bourdieu, 1986). So, the overarching question might be framed as: how do structural disjunctures, once internalized, engender perceptions and particular ways of viewing the world?

Here, we can begin to speculate that, if identity capital is perceived as being a denied form of capital, then following Bourdieu, we should be able to take account of the relational struggles involved in accumulating or recovering this resource. For instance, Barker (2013) puts forward the notion of negative cultural capital. It serves as a way to expose how the presence, or threat, of being tainted with an unjust social stigma from significant others has deep consequences for the subjective experiences of those on the receiving end.
Barker explains that, while actors operating in a particular sub-field can see a particular cultural capital as a prized possession, its relationship with the broader society might be one engulfed in discordance. In this regard, we can turn to Althusser’s (1971) work on ‘interpellation’ wherein he charts the constitution of identities by implicating the role of ideological state apparatuses. Althusser’s contention is that ‘interpellation’ acts as an instrument of the state, or through “the effect of an authoritative voice” (Butler, 1997: 5) and creates subjects through a process he terms as ‘hailing’, much like calling out to someone. He demonstrates this by referring to the example of a police shouting “hey, you there!” The person turning to acknowledge or recognize himself, as being hailed, is tantamount to the point at which the subject transformation is constituted because,

\[\text{he has recognized that the hail was ‘really’ addressed to him, and that ‘it was really him who was hailed’ (and not someone else) (Althusser, 2008: 48).}\]

This thesis works with the idea that a plantation society ‘hails’, or interpellates’, individuals as subjects. When individuals come to internalise, and subsequently, identify with, a set of beliefs by which they are interpellated, I argue that this process instantiates the ‘plantalogical’ subjective moment. We can further link this to the moment when a social agent comes to recognise and accept her cultural capital as negative, or being disrespected. In this study, I want to build on this idea of ‘negative cultural capital’. I use it as an analytical construct to illustrate how practitioners in Jamaica’s music sector believe that their cultural capital is recognised by others, but only in a negative sense. In doing so, I suggest they experience a feeling of ambivalence and devaluenment about their self-identity. Indeed, Bourdieu once argued that it is the stigmatised pariah which is burdened with ‘the curse of a negative symbolic capital’ (Bourdieu, 2000: 241). I argue that such environmental attributes evince social pathologies that undermine the confidence of peoples to imagine an alternative future and diminish capacities to trust. But, I aim to show also that, from this ambivalence, emerges feelings of oppression and experiences of victimisation.
which further induces social suffering within a post-colonial society such as Jamaica.

What I want to suggest however is that negative cultural capital can be understood as connoting the effects from the application of modes of symbolic violence. It inscribes a durable culture of social suffering wherein marginalised groups experience symbolic erasure of value and remain powerless to mount sustained political action to transform their circumstances. Furthermore, it produces particular dispositions or habitus.

4.4 Habitus

The concept of habitus occupies a prominent place in Bourdieu’s social theory. One way to view the 'habitus' is as an outcome of Bourdieu's resolve; a means to incorporate the way in which an individual's actions and thoughts might be influenced by objective conditions of existence. But, it accommodates also the proposition that human choice does have its say in how it plays upon social structures. In this vein, Bourdieu views habitus as an open concept that is intended to be moulded and adapted to the process of empirical work rather than offering a clear-cut pre-defined path or application (Bourdieu, 1990a; Grenfell and James, 1998). Conceptualising a notion such as the habitus is Bourdieu’s way of reconciling the structuralist and phenomenologist schism that seemed to traumatisé him. To develop a more in-depth understanding of Bourdieu’s notion of habitus we need to re-engage with its origins.

The Latin word habitus refers to “a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, particularly of the body” (Jenkins, 1992: 74). While we can also find the concept being used sparingly in the works of Hegel, Husserl, Weber and Durkheim, it was Marcel Mauss who is credited with introducing ‘habitus’ into anthropology (Farnell, 2000). Mauss needed a way to pin down an array of cultural and practical miscellany that defined the social arena. Mauss used habitus to denote:
[a]spects of culture that are anchored in the body, or in daily practices of individuals which reflects the norms of groups, societies, and nations. It includes the totality of learned habits, bodily skills, styles, tastes, and other non-discursive knowledges that might be said to "go without saying" for a specific group (Mauss, 1934).

Bourdieu first introduced the term habitus in a 1962 article, Célibat et condition paysanne (Robbins, 1991) where he attempted to show the extent to which there was a structural affinity between agents’ perceptions and social action. It was upon reflecting on his early ethnographic accounts of peasant societies in Algeria, and his native Béarn village in France, that he reasoned something was amiss.

In Béarn, Bourdieu observed that while the society was in a transitional mode, during a time when old institutions were crumbling, people appeared to be trying to make sense out of their changing social realities but through traditional lens. Bourdieu (2008) noted a deterioration of social interaction between young men and women in the rural community. Some of the young women had left the area to live and work in the city and had begun to adopt cultural patterns from the city. But, when the young women would return to the community, it appeared that the young men displayed a sense of uncertainty about how to behave when interacting with them. They began to adopt practices (or what Bourdieu prefers to call strategies) as a way of coping with the new modes of behaviour they were now encountering with the young women. To an outsider, these strategies would seem irrational, disorganised or misplaced. But, Bourdieu theorised that the practices he observed, and the individuals’ perceptions and actions being deployed in the present, were derived from traditional and past cultural inclinations (Robbins, 1991). Bourdieu later developed the analysis in his book, Outline of a Theory of Practice (1972[1977]) to espouse on the idea that agents do not respond to pre-conceived rules, but engage in ‘strategies’ driven primarily by their historically infused dispositions.
Bourdieu describes habitus as a collection of durable and transposable dispositions through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world. These dispositions form the basis of the “unconscious, collectively inculcated principle for the generation and structuring of practices and representations” (1972[1977]: 72). As Csordas (1990: 11) discusses, this highlights the degree to which social action is driven largely by “the psychologically internalized content”.

Thus, Bourdieu envisions action as emerging from the embodiment of dispositions. In doing so, he deploys ‘embodiment’ as a methodological principle to collapse the structure-practice duality (Brubaker, 1985; Csordas, 1990). This could explain why Bourdieu tries to expound on the habitus as “structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures” (1990a: 53). Positioned as a, “dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality” (1972[1977]: 72), the habitus is intended to depict the way in which societal structures deposit dispositions and schemes which become embodied in people and practices. McNay (1999: 38) sees it as the confluence of a “relation of conditioning” and a “relation of cognitive construction”. I therefore envision that it operates much like a system through which deportment, perceptions, thoughts and social inclinations are moulded and shaped in response to social conditioning.

Where a social agent is immersed in particular social conditions that persist over an extended period of time, these schemes tend to become embodied and can acquire durability. Operating through a process of mimesis, the habitus displays a tendency to recycle the social structure thus reproducing the past into the present:

[L]istening carefully to the sequence of events described, the body feels, enacts an emotion, and then brings into being the past. It is therefore the feeling body which has the consequence of summoning the past – a spectral past as future (Probyn, 2004: 232).
Thus, one way to understand habitus is the means by which "products of collective history" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 57) travel within us. In Bourdieu's framework, social structures are directly implicated in the constitution of practice. Since it screens later experiences through a set of historical lenses that tend to receive prioritized treatment, habitus engenders a “built-in-inertia” (Wacquant, 2005: 317). This further suggests that antecedent structural or cultural elements are seen to stubbornly persist. This point could have significant implications for this study. If the habitus insists on transporting traces of history, to what extent are the institutional remnants of the plantation system and the contradictory tensions affiliated with it still actively influencing perceptions and attitudes in modern society? Beckford's (1972: 215) deep-seated concern about a 'chronic dependency syndrome' is that it is closely linked to the self-perpetuating mechanisms of the plantation system.

In this thesis then, I position habitus as a theoretical construct to show how institutional and social structures – mediated by a particular habitus - continue to shape, or constrain, the actions of individuals. We should also remain aware that, along with its enduring feature, habitus also contains a generative principle. As a 'structuring structure', it is responsible for the production of thoughts, perceptions and actions (Bourdieu 1990). Acquiring such a capacity is linked to and constituted by socialisation. Early forms of childhood, family influences, class position and the material environment in which one is immersed all combine to shape one’s socio-cultural conditioning. Bourdieu explains that this is why we perceive certain thoughts and action as common sense. He has been known to draw upon an example from sports to try and illustrate the situated-ness of the habitus. How is it, Bourdieu asks, that a well-seasoned tennis player would instinctively move towards the net when battling for a point without having to 'think twice', or pause, to analyse the consequences of this act or to weigh them among the various alternatives available to her? (Weininger, 2005). Thus, while practices may in fact appear deliberate, they are often undertaken “without having to deliberate” only because one has “grown into it through long use” (in a way that can be likened to) methodical training” (Bourdieu, 2000: 143).
The operation of social action rarely occurs from “the explicit aiming at consciously pursued goals” (Bourdieu, 1988: 782). Bourdieu introduces the concept of ‘doxa’ to illuminate the process that makes the world, and choices we make, appear as self-evident or, as unquestioned taken-for-granted assumptions. In other words, how one acts or thinks is reflective of a practice acquired from a socialized condition that inevitably manifests as a life-style and becomes impressed as behavioural patterns. Bourdieu therefore cautions that, at first glance, the way agents articulate their social situation and apprehend social reality reflects patterns and regularities that often appear to be the result of adherence to norms or rational decisions. However, he argues that they are typically produced as a reflection of the workings of the habitus or operating under its influence. For Bourdieu then, social life is best understood by taking account of the reciprocal and mutual action of structures, dispositions and action. Habitus sits at the pinnacle of this conundrum of structural interrelations and assumes a position as a key device people use to grasp and navigate their social situations.

Since the habitus, according to Bourdieu, is durable and transposable, is it possible then that deeply rooted historical legacies (seen as habitus) are able to traverse generations and impose themselves in modern spheres of interactions? Where the plantation economy asserts that actors appear inclined to display epistemic dependency through a sustained reliance on imported concepts, we might argue that their actions represent a belief in “a set of truths about the world and (...) a way of looking at the world” (Chopra, 2003: 432). To take as an example the case of Jamaican policy makers, they often stand behind the rhetoric of ‘development’ in support of the country’s participation in an international economy. The claim is that, in the Jamaica of the future, there is a need to attract foreign direct investment and foreign exchange as a means for advancing progress. Girvan (2007: 3) sees these as recurring policy mis-steps by Caribbean policy makers who simply march in lockstep with the neoliberal imperative. The problem for Girvan is that they continue to display unrelenting belief that resolutions lie within them. He implies that these actions indicate how the ‘dependency’ syndrome continues to be reproduced. From a Bourdieusian sense, one could argue that Jamaican policy makers have the
’wrong’ habitus. In embracing a particular set of development policies as natural, or ideal, does this also represent a doxic submission? As I pointed out earlier, the term ‘doxa’ represents situations when norms and practices of a field (or society) become entrenched and are no longer questioned. Bourdieu (1972: 164-165) further explains that,

[A]s doxa incorporates fields of knowledge in which the existing order of the social world appears self-evident, it is a political instrument, ensuring reproduction of existing formations.

While Bourdieu did not engage with the notion of plantation economy specifically, he developed his concepts from his ethnographic work on the Algerian colonial situation. Thus, I argue that they can be appropriately mapped onto any project that seeks to not only develop an understanding of culture but, also to those that wrestle with colonial or post-colonial concerns. Indeed, Bourdieu does recognise the tensions that can arise from colonialism when he observes:

[T]he colonial situation thus creates the “contemptible” person at the same time that it creates the contemptuous attitude; but it creates in turn a spirit of revolt against this contempt (Bourdieu, 1962a: 134).

Here I follow Bourdieu to argue that the revolt emerges as a battle constantly being waged to accumulate symbolic capital of recognition (Bourdieu, 2000: 166). To a large extent, Bourdieu (2000) advances a theoretical position on the motivating force(s) that drives social action. In offering a clarification to critics, Bourdieu claims that his is not a utilitarian theory of interests where agents engage in a permanent quest to amass capital. Instead, he argues that,

[I]t is not true to say that everything that people do or say is aimed at maximizing their social profit; but one may say that they do it to perpetuate or to augment their social being (Bourdieu, 1972[1977]: 148).
To augment social being is best understood as the level of commitment we devote to the things that are of interest to us as well as "the deep belief in the importance of our social selves" (Hage, 2003: 15). A crucial element in Bourdieu’s conceptualisation of a sense of existence and the accumulation of being is the notion of illusio. Illusio is seldom used in Bourdieusian analyses yet it pervades Bourdieu's thinking. The concept is essential to grasp Bourdieu's articulation of the relationship he outlines between the habitus and the social world. It offers important insights into why people are motivated to engage in certain acts or not, or even how they deal with the obstacles they face in everyday life. For Bourdieu, a sense of social existence is derived when we express affinity towards something of interest. Simply put,

[i]t is the fact of attributing importance to a social game, the fact that what happens matters to those who are engaged in it, who are in the game (Bourdieu, 1998: 76-77).

Game in this sense could refer to the various interests we have or the passion we may display towards something (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). But, it can also be likened to a partaking in a sport or in an industry sub-sector. The term connotes the underlying factor(s) that motivate involvement in a field of play. More often than not, a domain of activity functions according to sets of written and unwritten codes of conduct. Importantly however, the idea that potential benefits could arise from participation presupposes that the game is seen as worthy of pursuit. Believing that the game offers a raison d'être, we are driven to invest ourselves. This point brings us back to formulating an understanding of the relation of habitus to field and to capital. We participate in the game by seeking out the stakes that appear as active and valued within a field. For Bourdieu, illusio is a theoretical construct we can use to trace the objects of interest which capture individuals' attention and which motivates them to extend time and effort in participating. Part of what constitutes the notion of a struggle can involve acts that focus on determining what should be considered a legitimate stake in a field or, disputes over what should be the value assigned to a stake. This further explains why some actors adopt
strategies intent on changing the rules of the game, or the value assigned to the various stakes.

4.5 Symbolic Violence

While the modes of domination and coercion in a colonial plantation environment have traditionally been aligned with inflicting physical harm or abuse, I follow Bourdieu to argue that invisible forms of power can be efficacious. Bourdieu’s (1990a) notion of symbolic violence, a term used to refer to ‘a specific effect of domination’ is instructive. ‘Symbolic violence’, as posited by Bourdieu, attempts to describe “subordinate effects on people of hidden structures that reproduce and maintain social domination in covert ways” (Colaguori, 2010: 389). The aim is to expose situations when we cling to, and impose, traditional practices and beliefs and it results in working against others who do not have the capabilities to respond. In other words, the long-held beliefs may appear as ‘self-evident’ to agents but they simply work to keep in place social hierarchies. Regardless of whether these acts are done consciously or unconsciously, Bourdieu regards them as violent acts. This alerts us to pay attention to institutional and ideological structures that seek to solicit obedience or consent from others. This analytical vantage point can be related to the plantation theorists’ argument which posit that,

[T]he legacy of institutions, structures, and behaviour patterns of the plantation system are so deeply entrenched that adjustment tends to take place as an adaptation within the bounds of the established framework (Best, 1968: 294).

To expose an act as ‘violent’ then is best seen as an invitation to examine just how exactly “subtle imposition of systems of meaning” operate to keep social norms in place and constrain action (Wacquant, 2007: 264). Moreover, when we consider the globalization logic of modernization, there might be new forms of oppression to contend with. Nevertheless, Bourdieu tells us that this ‘soft’ form of violence involves more than simply alternative ways in which a dominant group may impose its power. While symbolic violence may serve to
reinforce feelings of incompetence or inferiority, the coercion is only actively engaged by the consensual participation of the dominated group. This means, as Thompson (in Bourdieu, 1991b: 23) points out, it “always rests on a foundation of shared belief”. Thus it is not just about dominated subjects, but one who is actively albeit unconsciously contributing to reproducing a dominated position.

In this study, I want to remain sensitive to the degree to which actors inflict forms of symbolic violence. For example, in Jamaica, despite claims of ongoing support of the music sector, rhetorical reprimands of industry practices by state representatives have become part of regular discourse. There is an implication that cultural producers can improve business opportunities (or possibly gain development assistance), if they were to change their modes of practice. In response to concerns that pertain to the paucity of standards and the informal (and seemingly irrational) nature of behaviour that characterize the music sector, debates have proliferated around the imperative to professionalize. I suggest that symbolic violence occurs for example when such demands are made; when the ‘unprofessional’ characteristic is used to label individuals; and when it fosters a belief among industry actors that they might be amateurish. Moreover, the practices in which industry representatives engage may add a dimension of complicity that can be explored.

In one sense, the expression of an industry needing development might suggest that the music sector sees itself as a subordinate field of action relative to other industries. In another sense, complicity emerges from actors’ unwillingness, or inability, to modify behavior. When this occurs, conditions detrimental to advancing relationships remain unchanged and continue to fester. The issue here is that while some now occupy more advantageous social positions, many more are still excluded from the means by which they can obtain economic or non-economic capital. Bourdieu (1990a: 112) uses the term “misrecognition” to describe this process. It illustrates when knowledge claims are universalized with a blatant disregard for the cultural differences of those in marginalized positions. Symbolic violence then emerges when the dominated accept their present condition or social position but without realising
that they unconsciously collude in its reproduction. When it comes to the plantation society, Beckford (1972: 230) anticipates this. While he did not offer any detailed strategies, he calls for “a new style of politics” that can enhance “consciousness among people of the state of chronic dispossession.”

The Bourdieusian notion of violence has been widely tapped by researchers to illustrate power relations and domination in social movements (Navarro, 2006); the impact of effects of stigma and sense of self on social development work (Moncrieffe, 2006); and the pedagogical use of business planning in organisations (Oakes, et. al., 1998). Further, Bourdieu (1999) locates the state as the dominant field, or the field of politics, in the social space. As the field where capital, in its economic and non-economic forms, is concentrated, and the point from which cultural codes tend to emanate, the state's actions "moulds mental structures and imposes common principles" to shape national identity (ibid: 7). Education and academic credentials, professional certifications, juridical systems and, I argue, even approaches to development, are all ways in which the state wields its symbolic power to promote national conformism and to preserve the social order.

To summarise, my objective then, is to formulate a set of theoretical constructs that will assist me in exposing the subjectivities and practices of the actors within Jamaica’s musical sector. To understand and grasp their meaning, I rely upon a set of intellectual resources, or ‘thinking tools’, as Bourdieu refers to them (Wacquant, 1989: 5). Bourdieu suggests that the first step is to move towards outlining the contours of a field. Since it functions in a social space, a field is generally influenced by a wider array of political, economic, social or technological developments. One such example of external forces that have spawned significant shifts in the traditional music industry business model is the rapid advancement in digital technologies over the last two decades. These developments have given rise to new regulations and drastic shifts in music consumption patterns that have prompted creative producers worldwide to modify production, marketing and distribution processes accordingly. For purposes of this study, we can conceptualise the music sector as a sub-field or, an embedded field, especially since it is exposed to the dynamics of the larger
Jamaican social space as well as those forces active in the global arena. Moreover, the concept of the field will also help us to analytically demarcate the music sector and its position relative to the state. Figure 3 offers a visual representation of this relational positioning. In adapting Bourdieu’s model depicted in the Rules of Art (1996), it conceptualises a social space where there is an assumption that dominant fields (or actors) are seen as more oriented towards relations of economic production while dominated sub-fields are situated closer to relations of cultural production. But within the various configurations of a field or sub-field, it will be also important to locate the site of shared interests or struggle. If it is possible to identify what exactly are the resources people seem to be battling over, those are the resources that operate as the ‘social relation of power’ for the field (Bourdieu, 1986; 1990a; 2000). They are the resources that will in turn serve as the mechanisms that can be used to delineate the structure of the field.

![Figure 3 Jamaican music sector in the global space based on Bourdieu, Rules of Art (1996)](image)

It will be important to remind ourselves that these resources, or ‘capitals’, function “both as weapons and as stakes” for the agents that are able to acquire them as they seek to establish a social advantage. Following the identification of capital, attention should be paid, to the social actors and the
positionalities and social trajectories they follow in the field. As Silva and Edwards (2004: 3) explain, it is the “packages of capitals rather than having or not having a certain type or another” that will be of interest. But, it will be the kinds of stances and strategies the actors take that will tell us something about the ‘habitus’. For example, where we can identify taken for granted assumptions or where they might exhibit stubborn commitments should provide some clues about actors’ predispositions and presuppositions.

4.6 Conceptual Vocabulary and Framework

Having discussed my theoretical framework and clarified the concepts and themes supplied by Bourdieu and the plantation economy theorists, my aim is to employ each of the concepts in order to expose the forces contributing to sustaining the conflicting deadlock within Jamaican music sector. Since I have proposed a novel approach to this study, I follow Bourdieu to argue that the concepts I deploy will operate as ‘thinking tools’ and ‘open concepts. I submit that such an approach will enable the data that emerges to guide the empirical work without foreclosing possible areas of analysis that are more likely to arise when one follows a strict rule based method. Nevertheless, my understandings of the conceptual tools I have discussed do suggest that there are some interwoven relationships within this conceptual offering. I have remained focused on the core components of the proposed framework and it is portrayed in table format below (see Table 1). In this, Figure 4 provides a depiction of the conceptual guides I will use, the possible linkages among them, and how I envision the area of study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BOURDIEUSIAN CONCEPTS</th>
<th>PLANTATION ECONOMY THEMES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field</td>
<td>Imported Concepts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capital</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Habitus</td>
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<td>Symbolic Violence</td>
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Table 1 Conceptual Vocabulary and Framework
4.7 Summary

In the foregoing 2 chapters I have outlined the theoretical foundations upon which this thesis is built. I have focused on the plantation economy model and Bourdieu’s concepts as two companionable ways that can assist us in shedding light on the relational disjuncture that seem to plague Jamaica’s music sector. In Chapter 3, for example, I offered an elaboration of the central tenets of the Caribbean Dependency school of thought. In so doing I have largely explored these ideas from a development perspective. However, I suggest that they can be productively extended to social relations and practices. As individuals, we rely upon history and the lived experiences to orient our perceptions, thought and action. So, to meet the aims of this thesis, Jamaica’s history, and the cultural characteristics which that history portends, will be illustrated through the plantation economy model.
But, I have also suggested that an exploration of the concerns I have outlined for this thesis can be enriched by a Bourdieusian methodology because it attends to “inherited categories and accepted ways of thinking” (Wacquant, 2007: 264) and to the stakes that underpin everyday social struggles and power relations. Therefore, it seems to me that thinking with a set of Bourdieusian tools offer a substantive way of conceptualising the kinds of concerns that mark the Jamaican music sector.

In Chapters 6 and 7, I will seek to shed some light on the accounts offered by my participants as it relates to their experiences in this field. I will also attempt to tease out how features, which are derived from a particular history, have developed a specific logic of practice that now tugs at the foundations of contemporary societal relations. But, before doing so, I turn now to discuss the methodological approach I used for this research project.
Chapter 5 Methodology

5 Introduction

While in the foregoing chapters, I presented some theoretical arguments which undergird this thesis, I will now outline how I utilised these ideas to develop the practical aspects of my research. The purpose of this chapter then is to provide an in-depth account of the methodological strategy that was deemed appropriate for this research and the justification for doing so.

While I begin in Section 5.1 by reiterating my research questions, here they are presented as a way to draw attention to some of the underlying assumptions that guide my thought as a researcher. Acknowledging that a discussion on methodology does place some emphasis on how things are done in the practical sense, I viewed it, at once, as an invitation to give serious consideration to my theoretical presuppositions about social reality. This section delves further into the broader philosophical underpinnings which are situated as "basic belief systems...that guides the investigation", as Guba and Lincoln (1994: 105) would have it. These are the systems that make up the ontological and epistemological assumptions that tend to inform our choices and decisions we make about methods as well as the nature of knowledge itself.

In Section 5.2 I shift the discussion to present the more practical aspects of my research. For example, my decisions to utilise the narrative form of interviewing as a primary mode of data collection as well as my sampling approach are offered here. I also discuss how the interviews were conducted and the process by which they were collected and subsequently analysed. I felt it was appropriate then to follow up on this discussion by reflecting on the research process itself with respect to my role in the field. Thus, Section 5.3 serves this purpose.

Section 5.4 turns on the data analysis effort and how it was accomplished. I also touch on the tools employed in this critical effort such as the use of
qualitative data analysis software (NVivo 12) to organise and code the data as well as Dragon Naturally Speaking software I used for transcription purposes. I conclude the chapter with some thoughts on ethically-related issues and highlight, what I believe to be, are limitations or implications of my approach which should be taken into account before we take up the work of gathering empirical data.

At this juncture, I felt it is important to reinstate the point of departure from which this thesis moves. It begins with the fundamental premise that holds that, for Jamaica, creative and culture industries, in general, and the music sector, in particular, should command key positions within the nation’s economic development agenda. But, when it comes to Jamaica’s music sector, I argued that, despite broad consensus among policy makers and industry actors who are in support of this premise, few initiatives have been implemented. What is more, related programmes that appear, to garner widespread support within the sector, are often abandoned in short order.

Within this situational context, and given that over the past five decades the reggae genre has emerged as a global phenomenon within popular music culture, I find it particularly interesting to examine why frustrations still abound within Jamaica’s music sector. It seems to me that, if it is possible to lay bare the experiences and perspectives of industry actors, this thesis could be well positioned to contribute to knowledge about how such perspectives might relate to the degree to which development propositions are advanced. Further, in acknowledging Jamaica’s historical trajectory, do colonial and post-colonial elements play upon these possibilities? Following from this, I wish to also address some substantial issues that my research questions may present.

5.1 Research Questions and Substantive Issues

1. How do the lived experiences of Jamaica’s cultural producers contribute to shaping patterns of thought, judgment and action?

2. What are the characteristics of the social and structural conditions in which cultural producers exist?
3. What is the role of subjectivities when it comes to the question of development in the Jamaican music sector?

4. Is there evidence of a colonial mentality displayed within the feelings and experiences expressed by Jamaican cultural producers?

Underpinning these questions is my curiosity about creative practitioners’ views on the current state of Jamaica’s music sector and what might have led to the practices or strategies they have adopted in order to function within it. These questions, as I have formulated them, clearly speak to dispositions and, simultaneously, they reflect my attempt to query elements that do not make themselves easily available to us in objective form. I am therefore inclined to think that an ideal route for meeting the thesis objectives does require some emphasis on an attempt to grasp how participants come to understand their social world and give meaning to it. In this thesis, ‘meanings’ designate how we interpret actions and relationship encounters. Importantly however are the principles (or cognitive and social structures) we draw on to affirm or disavow their relevance to our lives. Following Geertz (1973: 109), I argue that the human compulsion that beckons clarification when we confront “bafflement, pain, and moral paradox” gives rise to individuals finding themselves in an unending engagement with everyday acts of meaning making. In short, how do we make sense of the world in which we find ourselves? The ability to bring forward meanings held, but previously hidden, is fundamental to the contribution of knowledge that this research aims to offer. Necessarily then, any insights generated will be predicated upon the interpretive and subjective shared meanings which industry actors attach to their experiences in their day-to-day encounters in the music sector and within their own lives.

As I argued in Chapter 2, I see experience as a repository of interpretations and symbolic meanings forged out of present-past social relations. Taking account of these “structures of lived experiences” (Van Manen, 1990: 10) of participants should move us closer towards tracing the extent to which they have shaped particular subjectivities and, in turn, the structures that might have produced them.
Restating this from a Bourdieusian perspective, dispositions generated by the habitus become situated within us as unconscious schemata. Habitus motivates action, and individuals are conscious of performing in such acts. Yet, they are often unaware of the motives that underline the strategic moves they engage in (Webb, et. al., 2002). Bourdieu explains that “it is because agents never know completely what they are doing that what they do has more sense than they know” (Bourdieu, 1990a: 69). To be clear, there is no claim here that industry actors must consciously, or purposefully, commit themselves to advancing ‘conditions of productivity’. The term, as I have used it here, accommodates a conceptualization of both material and symbolic elements that can be drawn upon to chart a more resilient future for Jamaica’s music sector. But, it is used here in the speculative sense to allow for both the expressed and yet to be expressed ways in which the music sector can be harnessed and organized to contribute to Jamaica’s social and economic development efforts.

In most cases, there is no ‘sign-up’ sheet to secure cooperation or obligation from social agents in this regard. In Chapter 2, I argued that we could see that a ramping up of the discourse within the international community, which often suggests that creative economies can contribute to economic growth, has moved policy makers to seek out ways to mobilise related sectors towards achieving this objective. Following from this, questions arise for the music industry, in particular, and Jamaica more generally. They are as follows: if we are to view reggae as a global musical brand, one that is inextricably linked to Jamaica, should this quality, in and of itself, be sufficient to stimulate policy activities towards the development of the sector so that economic rents can be appropriated for supporting national income? And, given this view, is there evidence that actors are sufficiently motivated thus choosing to become docile participants in a national collective effort? In seeking to grasp social reality in this way, I invite the participants to share their understanding of the social world in which they function. In another sense, and just as crucially, I present my own interpretations of these accounts of social reality.
This presents a number of challenges for this research. Firstly, people are not necessarily always able to articulate the meaning of the practices in which they engage on a day-to-day basis. To assume that an individual is always fully aware of meanings behind what they do is to suggest rational motives undergird all action. For Bourdieu, the very nature of practice itself is one that does not often leave room for discussion about ‘knowing why’ or for reflexive understandings. Instead, the operation of practice relies primarily upon a ‘feel for the game’, or la sens pratique, which “excludes attention to itself” (Bourdieu, 1990a: 92). This suggests that there is an element of risk embedded in the process of reconciling how individuals situate themselves within a social context and the practices they adopt with how researchers conceptualise that relationship. Secondly, this risk is further heightened if we operate on the assumption that the theoretical modes we construct can easily explain human action (Swartz, 2013). For Bourdieu practice operates on the basis of a ‘fuzzy logic’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) that is not easily grasped, not only by the social actor from which it emerges but also, by the conventional scientific models we construct to study them. Thirdly, it requires us to acknowledge, or remain aware, that while the research effort seeks out an understanding of social reality, agents can only offer accounts based upon perceptions of their practical experience. As researchers, we carry our own preconceptions and presuppositions into the research enterprise. Tensions might be further amplified especially when we enter the research setting with intimate-insider knowledge of the social arena under investigation. Therefore, as we seek to understand actors’ representations, we must be equally vigilant to exercise an effort to understand the inevitability of inserting our own representations.

How then, as Bourdieu proceeds to ask, "can we offer readers and ourselves the means of understanding? Is it [indeed] possible to take people as they are" (Bourdieu, et. al., 1999: 1). In the first instance, he reminds us that what we might be left with is developing those means by "providing (...) theoretical instruments" as we begin the task of teasing out the causes and reasons they have for being what they are" (ibid: 1). The difficulty for researchers is that when we lay bare our intentions we sometimes need to pretend, or act, as if we are invisible in an effort to remain objective.
Nevertheless, as I have charged myself with the unenviable undertaking to understand what others experience and how they perceive, I believe I must make the effort to faithfully represent the complex social world of the Jamaican music sector, at least as I see it.

I take into account, as Bourdieu does, that too often sociology is mired in the debate that encourages an either-or binary opposition. Researchers are inclined to believe they must choose to walk, on the one hand, on the side of 'objectivism' thus giving priority to institutions and systems, or, on the other, acknowledge themselves as 'interpretivists' which requires giving primacy to the subjective accounts of the individual and consider instead how they grasp their social world. Believing that we are forced to ‘join up’ to one or the other we succumb to taking a “quantitative or qualitative, positivist or interpretive” stance (Cunliffe, 2010: 649). This theoretical dilemma is often enwrapped within various sociological literatures as the structure-agency debate (Archer, 1995; Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992; Giddens, 1984). As I mentioned earlier in chapter 4, Bourdieu was quite troubled about these kinds of debates and sought to move beyond these classical dualisms. Thus, one of his key meta-theoretical principles was to connect and integrate macro and micro levels of analysis and an internally divided field.

Broadly speaking there remains a long standing debate centering on understanding the means by which social action manifests that still grapple with the nature of the relationship and role of structures and agents. These arguments have been variously described in sociological debates as between individualist vs. collectivist, between individual and society, between socialization and social reproduction, between practice and structure (Pred, 1983; Shilling, 1997; Willmott, 1999). In addition to Bourdieu’s intervention into this topic, frameworks proposed by two theorists in particular continue to kindle productive discussions and have generally been portrayed as opposite approaches: Anthony Giddens (1984; 1990) and Mary Archer (1995; 2000). The plantation economy theorists never took a formal position on this issue, perhaps, as Girvan (2006) suggests, it is because the dependency school of thought has its roots situated firmly in structuralism and development.
economics. Structuralist approaches tend to accord privilege to social structures and obscures the location of agency.

Bourdieu (1989) as well as others (Deetz, 1996; Clifford and Marcus, 1986) see this divisiveness as unproductive thus limiting the ability for us to understand social reality in its totality. They argue instead to adopt a view that does not see these categories as fixed but as “unstable oppositions that shift and collapse both within and between categories” (Lather, 2006: 36). Bourdieu thus argues for a “methodological relationalism” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: xi) which encourages a move from the dualistic towards the dialogical. This stance suggests that social reality can only be seen through theoretical lens designed to accommodate the interplay between objective social structures and the subjective representations of social agents.

I do share the view that inherently, social life contains a dialogical quality. Therefore, I do not want to imply that by examining the ‘subjective’ in an interpretive manner that I am adopting a conventional ‘constructivist’ approach to research. Instead, I prefer to align my approach with a broader set of assumptions about reality. I believe that to obtain a full account of social life, I must be concerned with understanding the social structures that may have produced or shaped these social lives, the principles they may have imposed, and even how these principles came into being. As Bourdieu tells us,

> [t]o understand choices [of social actors] one must refer to the entire history...in the course of which there arose the universe of the points under discussion, of those constitutive elements... on which any [individual] worthy of the name would have to take a position. This space of possibles, which transcends individual agents functions as a sort of common system of reference. (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993: 173).

Further, personal and professional motivations are always present and are likely to mediate the representations we have of subjects. There are implications for example when one has intimate knowledge about, and can relate to, the world under examination. In one sense, researcher and subject
relationships do reap benefits ranging from “shared investment in culture, mutual identification and (...) a personal history that pre-dates the research engagement” (Taylor, 2011: 8). Moreover, the researcher can possess intimate knowledge of practical and cultural phenomenon that may not be readily accessible in the public domain, as is often the case in the reggae domain. At this point, the research process can begin to border on ‘auto-ethnography’. But, the degree of intimacy with participants and the social space invites, among other challenges, an ‘emotional attachment’ that renders “objectivity incredibly difficult and leaves very little room for analytic distance” (ibid: 15). Thus, DeLyser (2001: 444) encourages insider researchers to seek out “strategic alternatives to the traditional interview.” One approach I adopted in order to minimize the trap of myopia with my research was to look for ways to generate some intellectual, emotional and physical distance where possible (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). Another was to give serious consideration to the kind of research method(s) I would adopt and who I would speak to.

5.2 Research Design: Methods and Sampling

5.2.1 Research Design

But, how can we begin to construct an object of analysis that will enable us to understand, what I have termed as, the 'subjectivities' of social agents? I take the notion of subjectivity as suggestive of a social actor that is implicated in constituting, and being constituted by, economic, social and cultural forces. In this thesis, I have used the notion of the plantation economy to demarcate the particularity of a social space and how it was historically conditioned. The aim is to highlight how concrete experiences encountered in that space leave imprints in memory, institutions and in the landscape of practices. In the case of Jamaica’s music sector, it is not the kinds of memory trace that suggests people were displaced from Africa. Rather, it is one that forms out of the associations made between actual past relational experiences and those imagined.
In *Towards a Reflexive Sociology: A Workshop with Pierre Bourdieu* (Wacquant, 1989), Bourdieu outlines an approach to what we could consider a general research method. He argues that we should develop an understanding of practice by first constructing the fields in which these practices take place and analysing the accompanying dispositions (or habitus) which social agents carry with them into those fields.

An important task too will be to examine the kinds of practices that emerge from within these fields. And, in particular, to establish if noticeable patterns or themes can be said to represent systems that are ‘symbolic’ of the way participants categorize themselves and simultaneously how they view others. Correspondingly, do these categorizations engender ways of being or forms of comportment for the participants? Bourdieu (1984) also believes that classificatory principles and symbols generally used by actors were pre-situated in the social environment. That is to say, they are held over from the experiences an individual might have been exposed to early on in her social life. We can recall from Chapter 4 that Bourdieu sees these principles as that which undergirds actors’ dispositions or, what he calls, habitus. For Bourdieu then, the operative locus of agency resides with the habitus. It is the social encounter between habitus and the dynamics of a particular field that produces action. The connection of behavioural strategies to social structures, through the habitus, is critical. I take from this that the type of conditions that make up this world, and to which an agent becomes sustainably exposed, are the same conditions that offer up (or deny) a set of possibilities.

For me, these questions suggest that attention be directed towards an investigation of individual trajectories. In other words, they refer to history. Calhoun (2013) argues that employing a Bourdieusian approach requires an orientation towards history in order to secure some theoretical precision in the analysis. This is important because for Bourdieu, habitus is an embodied history: “history transformed into nature” (Throop and Murphy, 2002: 187). Habitus further demonstrates that “history is not the mere positivistic narrative of facts but the result of socially organized conflicts and struggles (Calhoun,
Thus, use of the plantation economy serves as the historical lynchpin for this study.

Having discussed some analytic ideas and concepts in this, and in previous chapters, the move to select an appropriate method for gathering data is one that needs to take full account of the set of theoretical assumptions and belief systems held by the researcher. But, even in doing so, one is still faced with a range of methods from which to choose. As Lincoln and Guba (2011: 120) argue, no method provides “... the royal road to ultimate knowledge”.

I am curious about such abstractions as ‘a mindset’, subjectivities, or dispositions, and I have devised a series of research questions which will serve as guides as I proceed to investigate the histories that, I believe, are fundamental to the lived experiences of social actors. This suggests that I must find an appropriate mechanism or method through which I can interact with people and begin the process of gleaning their experiences and, subsequently, my own interpretations of them.

But, in seeking to offer an interpretation of social reality, I wanted to take care and give adequate consideration to the fact that the techniques we use are part of that social reality. Here, I am inclined to follow Bourdieu who argues, “scientific theories [and methods] can acquire a truly real power of construction” (Bourdieu, 1989: 18). Therefore, what became an important criteria in working with the conceptual framework I developed was that I would need to be able to capture “intuitions of a practical sense” that Bourdieu (1988: 783) wants us to pay attention to. Since, as Bourdieu explains, this practical sense “is the product of a lasting subjection to conditions similar to the ones they are placed in” (ibid: 783), I wanted also to find a way to draw attention to these conditions. Thus, what I determined as appropriate then was to adopt a research method that could facilitate accounts offered by cultural producers about their lives and experiences as they enacted the production of music and the musical experience. In order to initiate the interactions with my participants and, to engage in discussions, conversations and, dialogues with them, I considered
that an appropriate method to be narrative interviews. I now turn to offer an elaboration on the reason for this choice of method.

5.2.2 Narrative Interviews: Giving voice to the research subject

An ideal choice of method is one that should emerge from my research strategy and from my basic beliefs about how best to capture the type of data I am seeking for analysis. As stated in the introductory chapter, I see Jamaica as a complex social space and I am attempting to expose an inner world of subjects who live in this space. Therefore, it was also crucial that the research method would be one that allowed my participants to feel comfortable enough to convey dense versions of life histories and biographies that I hoped would be closely intertwined with their respective musical journeys.

The use of focus groups was one possibility I had considered. While focus groups can be productively used to get a sense of opinions, attitudes and dispositions from people (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis, 2013) they involve holding interviews or discussions within a group setting. But, it is best suited when the topic of discussion is quite focused on specific issues. Holding group sessions was certainly an option worth considering for this project, but I was concerned about the possibility of people not feeling comfortable enough to divulge deep-seated personal experiences and convictions in a group versus in a more personal one-on-one setting. I also did not think I would have the flexibility to explore individual experiences in any in-depth way within a focused group environment.

While alternative methods such as case study or, an ethnographic approach, may have had some relevance, I was less interested in learning about processes and evaluating programs than exploring lives, thoughts and experiences. I anticipated that each participant’s journey would reflect differences and it was important that the interview was able to elicit these unique experiences from which I could begin to detect common themes and patterns. Therefore, I did not want to place limits on my participants by utilising any rigidly structured type of an approach. So, to a large extent, facing a field marked with colonial legacies and, with a desire to delve into the “the
complexity of human lives” (Josselson, 2006: 4), I felt I needed an approach that was at once robust enough yet accommodative to the task at hand. Having considered a range of qualitative modes on enquiry, and taking into account that the aim of this thesis is tracing subjectivities in relation to development outcomes, I opted for an open and semi-structured type of interviewing approach. But, specifically, I chose to utilise the narrative interview method.

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) tell us that regular approaches to interviews are often inadequate when we are confronted with, what they call a ‘psychosocial’ subject. In the first instance, this subject displays a ‘psychic’ feature from being moulded by “a unique biography of anxiety-provoking life-events and the manner in which they have been unconsciously defended against” (ibid: 24). The ‘social’ characteristic is attributed to three factors: it is mired in “systems of meaning”; contributes to, and is shaped by, “intersubjective processes”; and “because of the real events in the external, social world which are discursively and defensively appropriated” (ibid: 24). Weiss (1995: 1) further argues that,

[W]e can learn also, through interviewing, about people’s interior experiences. We can learn what people perceived and how they interpreted their perceptions. We can learn how events affect their thoughts and feelings. We can learn the meanings to them of their relationships, their families, their work, and their selves. We can learn about all the experiences, from joy through grief, that together constitute the human condition.

The narrative interview facilitates the ‘learning’ because it tends to crosscut and blur with “terms [such as] life history, autobiography, biography [and] life story” (Denzin, 1989: 47). The term “life history narratives” is often used as a stand-in for “oral histories, informal narratives, personal narratives, and life stories” (Hatch and Wisniewski, 2002: 100). Yet, each, in its varied forms can be used to emphasise a core component of this study: the interest in exploring the “experiences of the narrators” (ibid: 100) and the subject positions they reveal. Narrative theorists further claim that narratives can be best understood as a tool of sorts. It is already a mechanism we draw upon to construct the self
and make sense out of our world (Bruner, 1990; Mishler, 1991; 2000). But, it is the "linguistic form uniquely suited for displaying human existence as situated action" (Polkinghorne, 1995: 5).

5.2.3 Practice and Subjectivities in Narrative Representation.

I imagine the notion of ‘narrative’ in a rather broad sense. Following Plummer (2001) the narrative is enabled here because it facilitates a reflection on how individuals function in their everyday lives. I anticipated that using an open narrative form of interviewing would encourage my participants to speak freely when they describe their experiences and express their thoughts about practice. In this study, it is intended to enhance the richness of the data while opening up a more productive route to analysing the meaning behind actions and subjectivity as they emerge within a particular context. Practical knowledge in narrative discourse is revealed because it moves us beyond a mere description of process as a set of regularities or norms. It attends also to how practice emerges and how it becomes situated. But I also submit that a narrative-based approach seems particularly suited to opening up possibilities for subaltern voices and marginalized subjects (Storr and Butkevich, 2007). Here, the plantation economy displays its relevance by reminding us to “centre the periphery and privilege the colonial experience as a historical baseline” (Green, 2001: 41). By bringing their lived experiences and social trajectories, to the fore, these narratives should also tell us something about how individuals fashion identities. This is because how we convey stories to others especially about our lives means that we are at once engaged in acts of identity construction. It requires us to tap a residual system of “accumulated ideas, images, associations” (Taylor, 2006: 95) that in fact delivers up substrates of experience for analysis (Ostrow, 1981). From an analytical perspective, I see narratives as a set of ‘discursive resources’ that should contain clues about the social and cultural context in which participants function while enabling us to trace aspects of identity.

With this in mind, I had to consider how to develop my interview questions. Firstly, I knew I had to prepare some questions in order to initiate the interview.
I also knew that it was essential to include some questions to cover a number of relevant points pertinent to the music sector. But, for the most part, they were designed with an aim to keep the conversation moving as opposed to soliciting specific type of answers. I felt that doing so would be a way to recognise and accommodate the varied ways in which people relay stories and experiences (Trahar, 2013). In other words, I wanted the interview process to be more open and conversational. I felt such an approach would put the participants more at ease and enable them to reveal their experiences, their own meanings and interpretations.

The unstructured style does have its critics. Alvesson and Deetz (2000: 72) for example, argue that those who are searching for “genuine experiences” may indeed be disappointed. Participants may be inclined to impress the interviewer or may even play along simply to facilitate the session. Even the interviewer may fall prey to the moment in an effort to facilitate data gathering. While there is some validity to this concern, I argue that, in most cases, these risks are inherent in any interview encounter. Nevertheless, they are the type of risks I was willing to take. Further, I held the view that the risks would be minimised based upon my familiarity with the industry as well as through my own personal relationships with some of my participants. In other words, I hoped that, in some cases at least, when my participants realize that I am a Jamaican, and an industry insider, they would be comfortable enough in believing that they could openly express their life stories.

Having said this, it is worth calling attention again to the level of familiarity I have with Jamaica and its music sector. As a Jamaican, and having worked with several artists for a number of years, this suggests that there are pre-suppositions that are inevitably brought into this research. Gummesson (2000) however is instructive in this regard. He draws attention to the advantages and disadvantages of pre-understandings posed by the researcher’s experiences. Whereas on the one hand, it can facilitate ease of access and alleviate the learning curve about a particular industry or operations, on the other hand, it could be construed as the “dark side” [thus serving] “as a blockage to new information” (ibid: 16). This is also why I felt it would be more appropriate to
have an open format and one that, in essence, would place emphasis on the participants’ lives.

5.2.4 Sampling

When faced with the task of trying to understand a large population (individuals or data), it is often difficult, if not impossible, to speak to, or scrutinise the actions and practices of every single person who occupies a particular social space. Thus, to examine the Jamaican music sector, is to first acknowledge that it operates in contradistinction to the premise of a conventional industry. To use Becker’s (1984) description, it is indeed an ‘art world’. But, it is one regulated by a set of unwritten codes, a particular gatekeeping system and functions through fragmented and discreet networks of cooperation. This is further complicated by the fact that, when it comes to qualitative studies, an inherent dilemma is that there are no known universal standards for adequate sample size. Thus a common objective for qualitative researchers is to take a pragmatic approach. That is to say, firstly, one must make the effort to identify and gain access to a reasonable number of people. Then, begin the interview process until a level of theoretical saturation is achieved (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Marshall, et. al., 2013). Taking such an approach immediately points to a limitation inherent within any research project - especially those that are designed with a qualitative bent. If anything, it immediately suggests any findings or meanings could not easily be seen as universally applicable. Since I am more curious about gaining an understanding of perspectives and practices at play within the Jamaican music sector and the particularities of that social space, this is a limitation I am prepared to live with. But, Finlay (2006: 322) insists that we should not be so hasty in dismissing the benefits of this approach because, in her view, it is still possible that "findings can be transferred and may have meaning or relevance if applied to other individuals, contexts and situations."

A more critical question however, was that of determining how many people I should speak to so that I could feel assured that the sample is indeed adequate. Social scientists continue to wrestle with this question. Whereas
elaborate formulas have been devised to take into account population size, sampling errors, confidence levels, etc., some still argue that when engaged with a qualitative enquiry, the best answer still seems to be based on “the boredom that occurred when investigators had heard it all” (Margaret Mead cited in Morse, 1995: 147).

But, to what extent does sample size really matter in a qualitative study? While researchers should certainly take account of the overall objective of their projects, practical considerations such as resources, time, and ability to gain access often impose their own set of limits. Adler and Adler (2012: 8) argue that if the project requires the need to examine "hidden or hard to access populations" sometimes we may only need to speak to the chosen few. This may be adequate to provide enough insight into the inner workings of what could be construed as a closely-knit group. They suggest that in looking at a particular sub-culture, for example, one may only require between six to a dozen participants. Writing on How many qualitative interviews is enough? Becker is more blunt with his analysis in pointing out that, "every experienced researcher knows this question has no reasonable answer, no magic number (cited in Baker, et. al., 2012: 15). For Becker, sometimes it may be best to proceed from the point of "what you think may be true and then seeing what evidence (what interviews, what observations) you will need to be able to convince a hardened skeptic" (ibid: 15).

In the meantime, I decided to set what was an aggressive initial target of thirty potential interviewees. Having worked within the Reggae music industry I did not feel I would have an issue with gaining access to participants. I also believed it was important to see if it was possible to obtain a range of perspectives by targeting those who represent various roles within the music sector. As Becker (1976: 704) tells us,

[Although we conventionally select someone or a few of these as “the artists” to whom responsibility for the work is attributed, it is sociologically more sensible and useful to see the work as the joint creation of all these people.
Therefore, I considered not only artists, but “support personnel” (Becker, 1984: 56) such as producers, artist managers, radio personnel, promoters and so on. This would be my sampling frame. I decided to begin with a core group of six of my personal contacts that happen to be fairly high profile artists and have been performing in the music industry for over two decades or more. This 'hand-picked' approach to selecting participants is seen by Denscombe (2007: 17) as purposive sampling because the "researcher already knows something about the specific people...and deliberately selects particular ones." However, I did not want to simply interview actors with whom I was acquainted. I therefore asked my initial set of participants to recommend others who they thought would be comfortable enough and willing to be interviewed. It was also important to me that they recommended participants with whom I had never worked with before. I felt this was one way I could try to gain some fresh insights and to possibly enable me to subject my own pre-suppositions to scrutiny. I believed that I could easily gain new interviewees through this snowballing method (Bryman and Bell, 2015). I also thought that it would enable me to achieve the target number of participants I had set while providing me with some credibility by route of introduction. The Jamaican music sector is often considered to be a 'close-knit' group and an element of trust is usually required to be established to get folks to feel comfortable and open up. Denscombe (2007: 18) argues that the snowballing technique has been found to work quite well with purposive sampling as "people can be asked to nominate others who meet certain criteria...related to the research project". Using this approach, I was able to obtain an additional fourteen participants. I then proceeded to send each of the participants a brief overview of my project as well as a confidentiality agreement; all via email.

During my initial contact, I simply informed the potential interviewee that I was interested in speaking with them about their lives in the music business; that I would appreciate hearing their thoughts on the state of Jamaica’s music industry; and that all interviews and personal information would remain strictly confidential with names anonymised. None of my participants were provided
with a list of questions prior to the interview. Figure 5 reflects the profiles of the individuals who were gracious enough to agree to participate in this study:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Number of years active</th>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Place of Interview</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. AMELIA</td>
<td>Female Performing Artist</td>
<td>25+</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. MEGAN</td>
<td>Female Performing Artist</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. FAITH</td>
<td>Female Performing Artist</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. LILY</td>
<td>Female Professional Consultant</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. JOSEPH</td>
<td>Male Performing Artist / Producer</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. MOLLY</td>
<td>Female Concert Promoter / PR Rep</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. SOLOMON</td>
<td>Male Performing Artist / Producer</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. VICTORIA</td>
<td>Female Artist Manager / Radio Personality</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ROHAN</td>
<td>Male Performing Artist</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. LARRY</td>
<td>Male Musician</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. GRACIE</td>
<td>Female Performing Artist</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. MILLIE</td>
<td>Female Event Manager</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. EVELYN</td>
<td>Female Artist Manager</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. BRYAN</td>
<td>Male Cultural Entrepreneur</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Former government employee</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. LUCY</td>
<td>Female Government employee</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. LEWIS</td>
<td>Male Performing Artist</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. KATHY</td>
<td>Female Dancer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Skype</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. BLAKE</td>
<td>Male Producer</td>
<td>30+</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5 Profiles of Participants

The interviews on Skype (an internet video and voice chat application) were recorded using a third party plug-in application. All other interviews conducted in the field were recorded using my mobile phone device: a Samsung Galaxy S4. Once the interviews were recorded, they were all converted to an MP3 file and backed-up onto a cloud drive. Unfortunately, one call conducted on Skype was lost after I discovered that the third party software had quit unexpectedly during the interview. Some of the comments conveyed by this respondent were based on notes taken during the interview. I performed all the transcriptions of the interviews using the Dragon Text to Speech software. Where appropriate, I translated comments made in the Jamaican creole language of patois to English.
Because the majority of the individuals who I planned to interview lived and worked in Jamaica and the USA, I conducted my first round of eight interviews via Skype and recorded the conversations. To complete the other interviews, I travelled to Jamaica, after pre-arranging some interview dates and times. One of my contacts that work within the creative industries allowed me to use her office in Jamaica and it served as an ideal location to interview the majority of participants. I interviewed an artist manager over lunch at a restaurant and was able to secure an interview with a representative inside Jamaica’s Government. I completed ten interviews in ten days while 'on the ground' in Jamaica. The documentation of the data resulted in 129,685 words or the equivalent of 323 typed pages.

The interviews lasted anywhere from forty-five minutes to two hours. I began all the interviews by asking the participants to tell me where they were born, the type of neighbourhoods they grew up in, family background, etc. Quite often, and without prompting, the stories would segue into the world of music. I then asked them to take me through their journeys, most often chronologically, digging into their experiences and encounters along the way. When necessary, I would ask them to elaborate on a particular experience. In several instances, I asked them for their opinions or perceptions about what it was like going through those experiences and how it might relate to, or reflect upon, the state of Jamaica’s music industry in general, or with regard to Jamaica in particular.

In this study, data collected was reviewed immediately following each interview. This approach was essential in order to get a sense for when my participants’ responses ceased to provide any new information (Bowen, 2008). It would indicate that I had achieved a point of ‘theoretical saturation’ thus suggesting that I had gathered enough data to build on (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). I went through a process in which I considered incoming information within the context of the accounts offered by previous participants. I paid attention to patterned responses emerging from similar questions I had asked, similar topics covered or based on imageries or metaphors they used. I began
to notice recurring themes and some repetitive answers after I had completed eighteen interviews in total. At this point, I felt it was not essential to pursue my initial target of thirty.

5.3 Reflections

I suppose one way that could serve as an entry into this thesis is to turn on the question of - why am I interested in Jamaica’s music industry? At this juncture it is important to acknowledge my own experience and relationship with Jamaica. Given that, for more than two decades I have worked as an artist manager, concert promoter and booking agent for a number of Jamaican performing artists, my lived experiences have been, and remain, closely entwined with Jamaica and its music culture. Admittedly, I do recall instances when I oftentimes harboured deep concerns about existential quandaries within Jamaica’s music sector. But, probably just as importantly, I was born in Jamaica. While I eventually migrated to the USA and have spent the better part of my adolescent and adult life living outside the country, I grew up in Jamaica during the 1970s: a time when Jamaica was a hot bed of musical activity. As some of my respondents succinctly put it: “Bob Marley was a superstar!” and music was everywhere! Needless to say, I was deeply influenced by reggae at a fairly young age and count myself as fortunate to have witnessed two live performances by Bob Marley.

With regard to this research effort, these confessions imply that some level of bias sensitivities is inevitable. Thus, any attempt to adopt a neutral standpoint will be futile. As such, it necessitates an effort on my part to take up a self-reflexive position from where I hope to provide some insight into some of the concerns and questions I raise in this thesis.

But, what exactly are the implications of being an insider to a particular subject group under study? As a Jamaican, and as someone who has worked with Jamaican performing artists over a period of years, I am quite familiar with the world in which I was about to engage. It is a position I relied upon quite heavily in order to gain access to my interviewees. But, in many ways, I was also seen as a foreigner. Or, put another way, maybe I saw myself as one.
While this position was never explicitly discussed directly with my participants, I would venture to speculate that it might have influenced them to take my project more seriously than if they were approached by a local researcher.

Moreover, although I personally knew, and had worked directly with, a number of my participants, there were several others whom I was introduced to for the first time. I endeavoured to kick off the interview process by using a standard set of introductory comments and tried to adopt a similar mode of questioning regardless of the subject. I reasoned that, in doing so, much of the insider bias I was bringing to the table would be minimised and would enable me to ‘make the familiar strange’ (Mannay, 2010: 94).

Of course, as a Jamaican and an industry insider, the challenge was on how to manage my own pre-understanding and perceptions that would undoubtedly impose itself during the research and the interpretation process. This implies that reflexivity i.e., being in a constant state of awareness of potential impact of the 'pull and shove' of my own experiences, was of critical importance. Gummesson (2000: 80) also recommends that one way to deal with this dilemma is for researchers to consider themselves as "active participants (...) rather than as interviewers or detached observers."

For example, having been in the company of artists, I was well aware that they are typically engaged in career-related promotional type interviewing about new releases, upcoming tours or projects. Therefore, an anticipated contrasting aspect of this study, is that I expected participants’ musical and personal stories were heavily intertwined with accounts of family, friendships, highs and lows, and on occasion, tragedy. Therefore, it is interesting to note that many of my participants discovered, and commented, that they had never been interviewed in this way. Given the limited time frames often devoted to promotional interview sessions, very rarely do discussions get around to exposing experiences in such an in-depth and personal manner. More importantly, because these sessions do not offer confidentiality and anonymity to the practitioner, oftentimes sensitive and personal experiences are not conveyed in a public forum. For instance, about half way through my interview with AMELIA,
a female entertainer, she expressed, “Wow… I had forgotten about all those things! No one has ever asked me that before!” I considered then that the approach I was using, and the data I was able to gather, had some richness and thick description to it (Denzin, 1989; 1997).

On more than one occasion, it was evident that my position as an insider had contributed to my respondents’ comfort level. Prior to the start of my interview with BLAKE for example, a producer whom I was meeting for the first time, we had already struck up a conversation about some recent developments in Jamaica’s music industry. When we were about five minutes into the discussion, BLAKE asked:

BLAKE: Are you recording this?

DH: No, I didn’t start it yet, but I think I should. Otherwise you will have to repeat everything.

On another occasion, during my interview with LEWIS, a performing artist, he was recounting his experiences from being a resident inside one of Kingston’s infamous garrison communities. The story he was conveying had caused him to recall close friends he had lost as a result of violent encounters. Upon recovering those memories, tears were welling up in his eyes and he paused for a moment and apologised to me. I reassured him that I understood the reason behind the spontaneous emotional response and I asked him if he needed to take a break from the interview. He responded by saying he was fine, and that it was ok to continue.

There were two interviews I was not able to complete. One was with a government representative and another was a music business consultant, both of whom reside in Jamaica. Initially, they seemed quite keen on being interviewed and I had shared with them information about the project via email. Several weeks prior to leaving for Jamaica to meet with my other participants, I had once again emailed them to see if we could arrange a convenient time to meet during the period I was scheduled to arrive. They did not respond.
5.4 Data Analysis

My data consisted largely of written and recorded transcripts and narratives compiled from the interview process. My experiences and “self-reflection” memos and field notes (Burgess cited in Cassell and Symon, 1994: 108) served as supplemental information. My interviews were all recorded and stored as mp3 files with transcription following shortly thereafter. But, I realised that data analysis is an on-going process. On a periodic basis, and as I continued to engage in conversations with friends or associates who work in the music sector, I found that I was inclined to either revisit the recordings or reconsider conversations with a different perspective. In fact, Bourdieu suggests we should “mobilize all the techniques that are relevant and practically usable, given the definition of the object and the practical conditions of data collection” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 237).

There were more decisions to be made. How would I begin to organise and categorise the data to prepare it for analysis? What elements would emerge as significant and how would I determine relevance? It was important also to consider how to link the themes or categories back to the conceptual framework I had outlined for this research. Once the data was collected, an initial task was to determine if regular practices, patterns or broad themes could be gleaned from the responses. What I had in mind was to see if I could utilise any noticeable patterns or themes as a way to represent systems that are symbolic of the way participants categorize themselves and simultaneously, how others viewed them.

I started by paying attention to similar phrasings and terminologies used by my participants when conveying their stories to me. In doing this, I became aware of how much I was manipulating the data based on my own interpretation of what the participants might have been trying to communicate. In fact, Blaikie (2003: 18) reminds us that "even data generated first-hand by a researcher have already been subjected to some processing." Throughout, I purposefully tried to avoid relying too heavily upon any previous studies of
Jamaica or the music sector when analysing the data. This stemmed from my desire to allow categories to emerge from the data. I wanted it to remain true, as much as is possible, to the various perspectives and the diversity of participants I had chosen.

Prior to travelling to Jamaica to complete my second round of interviews, I decided to manually comb through a number of the interviews to see if I could begin to get a sense of the main topics that had been covered in the conversations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEMES</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State of the Jamaican music industry</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practices</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for entering into the music business</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The International response to Reggae</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A role for the government</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The early days of Reggae in Jamaica</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Birth</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The process of socialisation and social relations</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awareness of Talent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race and Prejudices in Jamaica</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Jamaica Reggae Industry Association (JaRIA)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Initial Main Themes

While this was a time consuming process, I felt that, in addition to performing my own transcriptions, this was another way to get closer to the data. This initial pass indicated that many of the narratives had centred on some broad themes (see Figure 6). I then chose to use the latest version of NVivo12, a qualitative data analysis software package to complete coding the additional transcripts. It is important to note that this Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) does not manipulate data with the researcher's intervention. While it does have an auto-code function, the researcher can still set parameters or modify whatever results the software
generates. After going through all of my interviews, and while some of the initial themes had reappeared as general topics of conversation, I noticed there were some nuances emerging from the data collected. My thought was to then determine if these sub-codes, could be collapsed under earlier themes I had identified or, whether they were emerging as isolated concerns. Based on the number of references found, I then re-coded the data. Figure 7 depicts the ‘Main Themes’ and how I attempted to connect them to the ‘Sub-Themes’ that I interpreted from my data.

Based on my interpretation of the data, it was becoming clear that some broad themes were emerging. What was not yet quite clear at this point however was how well I had captured the issues, topics or concerns that had sparked the discussions. This is the point at which I relied heavily on the Bourdieusian method and concepts for some help. I recognised also that when one chooses to ‘think with’ Bourdieu, there is no straightforward approach to analysing or interpreting data. Silva and Edwards (2004) point out, for example, that the effort to construct the object using a Bourdieusian methodology is not a step-by-step process. Rather, it occurs in the simultaneity of theory and method. Bourdieu’s theoretical concepts do not come neatly packaged or can be readily mapped onto data. Indeed, they are “polymorphic, supple and adaptive, rather than defined calibrated and used rigidly” (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 23). Accordingly, Inghilleri (2005: 129) tells us that, “the real starting point is the empirical investigation of the relevant social practices, their location within particular fields and the relational features of capital.”

Using Bourdieu to ‘think with’, I proceeded to ask myself: did the data reflect any element of a struggle to acquire material or symbolic resources that could be positioned as ‘capital’ in my analyses? Additionally, was there any evidence of an amalgamation of language, categorizations, religion, mores, etc., (Cronin, 1996) that could potentially be indicative of a habitus?
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAIN THEMES (#1) / SUB-THEMES</th>
<th>References (#1)</th>
<th>Reference(s) (#2)</th>
<th>Reference(s) TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>State of the Jamaican music industry</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>The business aspect of music</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment and linkages</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practices</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PRACTICES IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY | | | 60 |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Reasons for entering into the music business | 8 | 8 |
| Entry into music | 14 | 14 |
| What I am concerned about | 18 | 18 |

| MOTIVATIONS AND INTEREST | | | 40 |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| The International response to Reggae | 7 | 7 |
| Response outside of Jamaica | 9 | 9 |
| Jamaican music as a global brand | 12 | 12 |
| The Bob Marley 'effect' | 3 | 3 |

| REGGAE AS A GLOBAL BRAND | | | 31 |
|--------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| A role for the government | 6 | 6 |
| On the government | 41 | 41 |

| ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT | | | 47 |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|
| The early days of Reggae in Jamaica | 6 | 6 |
| Town of Birth | 5 | 1 |
| Family | 1 | 1 |
| Social conditions | 1 | 1 |
| Social conditions | | 46 | 46 |
| Race and Prejudices in Jamaica | 2 | 2 |
| The process of socialisation and social relations | 4 | 4 |
| Awareness of Talent | 3 | 3 |
| Early childhood experience | 18 | 18 |

| MODES OF SOCIALISATION | | | 82 |
|------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| What makes me hopeful | | 32 | 32 |

| HOPE | | | 32 |

Table 3 Main Themes and Sub-Themes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THEMES</th>
<th>KEY WORDS FROM INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>BOURDEU</th>
<th>PLANTATION ECONOMY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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<td>Lack of support</td>
<td>Habitus</td>
<td>No confidence in the future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>No organisation</td>
<td>Power relations</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment and linkages</td>
<td>Foreign mind</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
<td>Dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the Jamaica Reggae Industry Association (JaRIA)</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Practices</strong></td>
<td>Unprofessionalism</td>
<td>Socialised habitus</td>
<td>Individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hustler mentality</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td>‘Beat the system’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Slave mentality’</td>
<td>expectations/Objective possibilities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socialised habitus</td>
<td>Symbolic violence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td>Reproduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PRACTICES IN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY</strong></td>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
<td>Dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entry into music</td>
<td>In the blood</td>
<td>Embodied capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What I am concerned about</td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frustration</td>
<td>Injustice/Suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Foreign mind</td>
<td>‘Slave mentality’</td>
<td>Colonized mind</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>MOTIVATIONS AND INTEREST</strong></td>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td>Recognition</td>
<td>Dependency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Response outside of Jamaica</td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jamaican music as a global brand</td>
<td>Economic possibilities</td>
<td>Capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Response outside of Jamaica</td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Respect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Bob Marley effect</td>
<td>Champion</td>
<td>Embodied capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REGGAE AS A GLOBAL BRAND (A Cultural Resource)</strong></td>
<td>A role for the government</td>
<td>No respect</td>
<td>Power relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Symbolic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>On the government</td>
<td>No respect</td>
<td>Habitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Persistent underdevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Symbolic violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Reproduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT</strong></td>
<td>The early days of Reggae in Jamaica</td>
<td>Cultural renaissance</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Music everywhere</td>
<td>Historical struggle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rasta Music</td>
<td>Habitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Town of Birth</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
</tr>
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<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Habitus</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Mistrust</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social conditions</td>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Suffering/Injustice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Race and Prejudices in Jamaica</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The process of socialisation and social relations</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
<td>Habitus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Awareness of Talent</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Embodied capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early childhood experience</td>
<td>Socialisation</td>
<td>Illusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MODES OF SOCILALISATION</strong></td>
<td>What makes me hopeful</td>
<td>Younger generation</td>
<td>Subjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>expectations/Objective possibilities</td>
<td></td>
<td>No confidence in the future</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Main Themes/Sub-Themes - Updated
5.4.1 A Bourdieusian Approach

The aim of this section is to present an outline of what a Bourdieu-inspired agenda for this study will entail. It is one that takes account of the idea that Bourdieu’s social theory of practice places emphasis on a relational methodology and, in this regard, his ‘thinking tools’ – field, capital and habitus - must operate in tandem with each other. Moreover, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) tell us that the object of analysis must be interrogated on three levels. Firstly, and as it relates to this study, it means I must consider the local context as well consider how the Jamaican music is situated in relation to the global and national space (field). Secondly, how is music positioned when it comes to other institutions within Jamaica (capital). And finally, who are the individuals that participate in the music sector and what can we discover about them (habitus). Here, it is important to point out that while my analysis may not proceed in a linear fashion as I have outlined here, my intention throughout this study is to deploy each of Bourdieu’s concepts in order to locate the interrelationships between and among them. Additionally, the data gathered for this study is qualitative in nature, and does not engage in any detailed statistical or biographical data. As a consequence of this, I will use descriptive accounts as well as rely on my personal knowledge to map the music sector’s relation in the Jamaican social space.

We are also reminded that constructing field relationships is always a demanding process in the research effort (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). This is the case primarily because fields are dynamic entities and thus are in a constant state of flux. Moreover, it is a research object that we are trying to grasp analytically with the help of conceptual tools so the research endeavour itself proceeds by way of “an endless to and from movement” (ibid: 108). As important, is the fact that by layering in my point of view, the theoretical outcome is only partial in nature and, as such, inevitably incorporates the field position in which I function and the habitus I bring to the research exercise.

In Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), I mentioned that Bourdieu sees the structure of the field as determined by capital that are considered as valued stakes in a field.
and more specifically on the volume and type of capital that agents are able to accumulate. The field thus becomes a site of struggle because the configuration of capital by social actors is never static. Bourdieu famously uses the opposition between economic and cultural capital to illustrate how the field of cultural production is positioned in relative to the social space in which it functions and to the larger field of power (see Figure 6).

![Figure 6 Field of Cultural Production, Field of Power and Social Space based on Bourdieu, Rules of Art (1996)](image)

Using the conceptual notion of field permits us to view the Jamaican music sector as a sub-field within a larger Jamaican social arena (see Figure 7). But, it is a domain configured by relations of power. In one sense, policy makers and the industry actors can be viewed as occupying dominant and dominated positions in the social space respectively (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993; Bourdieu, 1996). I accorded the field of politics a dominant post. Being in a position of authority, they are seen to possess a greater volume of political and economic capital. These are highly valued stakes with the Jamaican social field. The Jamaican field of cultural production (or the music sector) possesses a high volume of cultural capital but lacks economic power. This is despite the fact that some cultural producers are internationally known and are well
respected within the local arena. This may have something to do with the fact that many operate primarily as independent businesspersons. Only a few tend to be who affiliated with any large-scale enterprise. And, when they do, it is often a foreign-based entity. When considered within a global context, we can posit that this will have implications for hierarchical relations in a field.

Figure 7 Field of Jamaican Music, Field of Politics, Field of Commerce and Social Space

In The Rules of Art (1996) Bourdieu further tells us that the field’s hierarchical structure is determined based on two opposing principles: the autonomous and the heteronomous. This seems to be Bourdieu’s way to distinguish between the forces shaping the practical logics of the field. Whereas a sub-field may be focused on ‘art for art’s sake’ the other may be guided by an economic logic as it caters to commercial sales. Firstly, an important feature of any field is the extent to which it has gained autonomy whereby it is minimally influenced by external forces and can determine and chart its own course. To the extent that it is strongly influenced by external forces, then this impacts upon the field’s structures, its internal power relations and its overall functioning. For instance, in the introductory chapter I also highlighted the fact that a number of major reggae festivals take place on an annual basis. The staging of these events have become important sites of power because they are highly valued for the stable earning opportunities they provide to Jamaican
creative practitioners. While they remain oriented towards the mass market, with most of their earnings occurring outside of Jamaica, we can posit that the music sector functions relatively autonomously – inside Jamaica - from the field of politics and the field of commerce. However, this leaves the sector vulnerable to the impulses of the field of power and the global market and, as a consequence renders it an externally dependent field. But, this tension between the inside and the outside plays out in social relations.

5.4.1.1 Field: Mapping the Space of Positions

In seeking to delineate the space of positions in the field of the Jamaican music sector, I began by giving consideration to species of capital that respondents deem to be important to gain recognition. A particular resource could contribute directly or be used to convert into other resources that facilitate the accumulation of recognition. Linking back to the discussion on ‘capitals’ in Chapter 4, the objective structures of the field can be traced to the uneven distribution of the varied species of capital (Beasley-Murray, 2000; Couldry, 2005). Bourdieu (1993a: 72) reminds us that the terrain of the field are much like “structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analysed independently of the characteristics of their occupants.”

But just how exactly should such structures be traced and explored? Emirbayer and Johnson (2008: 11) suggest that identifying the relevant capital(s) should be based on the degree to which it is “relationally interdependent” with the field in question. In Bourdieu’s view, “capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 101). Moreover, a chief characteristic of capital is that it is always an object of contestation and struggle. This suggests that the properties of the capital we identify should be those that are viewed as scarce resources and thus, if acquired, places cultural producers in advantageous positions (Bottero and Crossley, 2011). Additionally, they should reflect the types of capital that can be converted into other forms that are highly valued in the field.
To begin the work of isolating the various forms of capital, I relied initially on my own experiences as an insider in the music industry. I then tried to examine my empirical data to corroborate my early intuitions (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). In the music industry, having a useful network of contacts is seen as critical to gaining market entry and to be ‘in the game.’ This is typically the case regardless of whether one is an artist, producer or a cultural intermediary. We will also see, in Chapter 6 for example, how new/emerging artists engage in a particular socialising practice in the ‘struggle’ to get an opportunity to record with well-known artists or producers. Media capital was another dominant field type that is seen as critical in gaining symbolic recognition. Cultural producers’ perceptions of the impact of payola on the quality of music receiving airplay were understood as position-takings that represents a symbolic struggle over access to resources as well as over the legitimate definition of music. Here, I define media not only to make reference to news items appearing in print, broadcast or electronic formats. It could also include ‘word of mouth’ accounts of any ‘market intelligence’ information about a cultural producer. Examples of items which could fall under this definition of ‘media’ could include, but are not limited to: gaining airplay, number of charting ‘hit’ songs by an artist or producer, and performances and touring. The idea is that these are ‘products’ seen as containing qualities that can provide one with a competitive advantage. In other words, the perception is that by showing these achievements, especially in a foreign setting, one obtains ‘symbolic recognition’ in Jamaica.

5.4.1.2 Volume and Structure of Network and Media Capital

Figure 8 reflects a visual and conceptual representation of the space of positions using dimensions of Network and Media capital. Primary dimensions of ‘Foreign’ and ‘Local’ are included to illustrate the importance placed on gaining external exposure but to also suggest that they are oppositional in the sense that one is valued over the other. Performing on prominent foreign-based festivals, touring internationally and major label signings are illustrative of valued ‘foreign’ activities that are recognised by peers in the field as definitive signals of symbolic recognition. Furthermore, I relied on the concept of habitus to consider how the role of socialisation and historical experience becomes fastened into the social and mental fabric. Habitus was also integrated to give
consideration to how I could rethink and reframe the plantation economy model's concept of 'dependency'. The behaviour of social agents can be seen as the 'practical' manifestations of how social and objective situations are perceived, become embodied and expressed. This suggests we can utilise the habitus as a theoretical construct to draw attention to the way in which agents have acquired particular dispositions (Robbins, 1991). But, within a Bourdieusian approach, habitus does the crucial work to link “individual action and the macro-structural settings within which future action is taken” (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008: 4). The above discussion obtains further clarification in the next two chapters. In the meantime, I will turn now to discussing the potential ethical issues that this research gives rise to.

![Diagram of Jamaican music sector - Positions in the Jamaican Social Space]

5.5 Ethical Implications

This thesis recognises that the process of tracing all the instances that can lead to ethical concerns and the effort to pre-empt them are indeed complex. Nevertheless, in this section, I centre on some specific elements pertaining to this study that I feel are more likely to emerge out of what the content of
interviews might reveal about identities, or to pose any potential risk implied as a by-product of the research engagement. In short, I discuss what I did to avoid any ethical dilemmas.

In this study, I take ethics as the process of making judgements about “a set of principles which guide the conduct of research itself” (May, 2011: 62). McNiff et. al. (1996: 3) further remind us that the research process means we are engaged in “a form of morally committed action.” But, while we engage in an encounter that seeks to map a social world, these research practices have a tendency to create a fixed social reality through the way it seeks to “organize time, space, and movement (Townley, 1994: 14). In social research, and especially one designed with a qualitative approach, it involves an effort to understand a social world through an encounter with people who have personal and professional interests at stake. Therefore, of primary concern for this study, was the need to protect the privacy, and confidentiality of participants in the dissemination of my research. But, although we are guided by academic and institutional guidelines, “much is ultimately left to the virtue and discretion of the individual researcher” (Payne, 2000: 310-311). Nevertheless, we must be vigilant and remain constantly aware of the potential “dangers of disclosing cultural secrets or airing what community members may consider ‘dirty laundry” (Jacobs-Huey, 2002: 797).

The individuals invited to participate in this study were, either contacted by myself directly, or through a personal network of contacts. Upon gaining preliminary agreement, I emailed the individuals a brief summary of the project as well as informed consent forms. The forms could be signed and return in a number of different ways: via scan and email, via fax or signed in-person prior to beginning the interview. In each case, I emphasised the promise of confidentiality of their identities and took care to mention that, during the interview, they are free to refrain from answering any questions that may appear overly invasive. This reluctance was only exercised only once by one of my participants.
Prior to conducting the face-to-face interviews, I reiterated these points. I further informed them that the interview would be recorded and they can review the transcript prior to allowing it to be used. I reassured them that the data gathered was strictly for my academic study only. I also offered to answer any questions in case they needed further clarification about the process or the study. The important point here was to ensure that they considered their decisions on a fully informed basis.

All real names are replaced with pseudonyms and any references to personal details are omitted. Beyond using pseudonyms, I carefully considered other aspects of my respondents’ identity that could be detected from interview excerpts. In instances where I felt anonymisation could still pose potential difficulties for an interviewee, I purposefully omitted data and/or modified profile characteristics.

5.6 Methodological Limitations

Throughout this chapter I have tried to indicate some of the implications or, perhaps more precisely, inevitabilities of the methodology used. In this section I address a number of limitations of my methodological approach that could have some bearing on this study. Specifically, I discuss the implications pertaining to the data collection method and process as well as concerns related to data analysis. It is important to acknowledge that some methodological limitations may indeed impact upon the extent to which results can be generalised to other social arenas and music sectors.

Earlier in section 5.1, I argued briefly that I view social life as reflective of a dialogical quality, that is, between the subjective and the objective. But, I have attempted to argue that my justification for choosing the narrative form of interviewing was in keeping with the primary aims of this research. To reiterate, my focus in this study is the exploration of subjectivity formation, through social relations, and the extent to which such dynamics influence development outcomes. It is within this context that I chose to pursue a qualitative study that privileges a phenomenological mode of enquiry and interpretation.
Nevertheless, while all research methods have inherent weaknesses as well as important benefits to them, the implication of using this approach brings sharply into view what might have been obscured by not employing, for example, a mixed methods approach or, by not including more statistical data on Jamaica. Indeed, such an approach could have benefited from the kinds of empirical support that depicts more clearly Jamaica’s economic trajectory. In a similar vein, the study does not include any extensive statistical data on Jamaica’s music industry. While this was certainly not a focus of my study, it is important here to point out that there is still a fair amount of inconsistency in getting credible data on Jamaica’s music sector\textsuperscript{10} (Nurse, 2003). For example, as one Jamaican government representative remarked, “we do not know how many persons qualify for tools of trade, because we do not know who an artiste is and who are the entertainment practitioners” (Entertainment, 2014). Regardless, having such data included – both local and international statistics – could have painted a more comprehensive picture when combined with the data I have gathered.

This further suggests that when it comes to my sample, it could certainly be argued, that several ‘others’ could have been chosen as participants. For instance, the involvement of more government representatives would have arguably contributed to a more balanced perspective. In this regard, my list of participants included two representatives, one of whom now works in the private sector. The inability to secure participation from others in this group is attributed to the matter of gaining access. Therefore, an individual who is considered a cultural producer actively participating in the Jamaican music sector was based upon my personal knowledge of industry practice and persons involved. Therefore, the comments of my participants, and the results I have drawn from them, are not presented here as reflecting the views of all cultural producers or Jamaicans. Rather, they are my own interpretations informed by a limited sample.

\textsuperscript{10}Current data being used by government of Jamaica related to the global market value of Reggae is from the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI), the organisation that represents the interests of the recording industry worldwide.
Other elements that could have presented important objects of analysis included gender, ethnicity and race. The issue of race for example does feature prominently in plantation economy discussions. Additionally, more than half of my interviewees were female. However, none of these themes were considered as central concerns for this thesis and consequently, there was no in-depth engagement concerning the possibilities or constraints these features may have presented. While the above elements may indeed be important points of contention, I have remained focused on practices and lived experiences as expressed by my interviewees and in keeping with the primary concerns of this thesis.

Finally, I did not engage with an examination of the role of migration and intercultural processes that likely contributed greatly to the international rise of reggae. In a similar fashion, the social and political climate during the 1970s in Jamaica and the influence of foreign music companies are vital factors that are important contributory factors to this development. I acknowledge that these are indeed relevant considerations for this research but, in this study, they are dealt with in a cursory fashion. It was not the aim of this research project to account for a comprehensive array of influences that contributed to reggae’s global dissemination. I believe that each would require more in-depth complex analyses that could not feasibly be accommodated within this thesis.

5.7 Summary

The foregoing chapter presented my methodological approach and how I intended to draw upon Bourdieu's conceptual apparatus and the plantation economy model. I relied upon this analytical grounding to help me think through and gain some insight into practices within the Jamaican music sector. I outlined the practical and administrative aspects pertaining to data collection and how I organised the data as I prepared to engage with it more fully and move towards answering my research questions. I aimed also to provide justification for how I selected my sample of participants as well as my decision to utilise the narrative interview approach. When analysing the data, I focused
on detecting similarities in themes or categories arising from the primary accounts offered by the participants. I used the CAQDAS, NVivo12 to facilitate this effort. The chapter also included some thoughts on what I experienced in the field and while doing the interviews. In many ways, I see these reflections as subsumed within the data collection and analysis process that were also discussed here. Additionally, I drew attention to how I handled the potential ethical concerns associated with this thesis as well as touched on the methodological implications of my approach as I see them.

In the subsequent two chapters, I engage with the data. My analyses and interpretations are offered to show how social agents who operate within the field of the Jamaican music sector draw upon their ‘feel for the game’ to articulate their social space, and their sense of the potentialities that exist there. I also present my thoughts on how established social structures work upon that social space. They form the set of conditions and determine the relevance of the kinds of capital effectuated in that domain. In essence, these chapters should be seen as the effort to "construct and discover", as Bourdieu (1998: 32) puts it. When taken together, the next two chapters should be seen as the way in which I intend to address the overarching question that lies behind this thesis: Whither Jamaica’s music industry? The analyses are developed within the effort to locate cultural producers in the music sector in terms of their relationships with other individuals both inside and outside of the profession. I now turn to deal directly with my participants’ responses. In doing so, I consider them in relation to the concepts I have discussed in chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.
Chapter 6 Whither Jamaica’s Music Industry?

politics of recognition
in its contemporary form
promises to reproduce
the very configurations of colonial power
that Indigenous peoples’ demands for recognition
have historically sought to transcend.

(Coulthard, 2006: 2)

6 Introduction

In this thesis, the move towards effecting an understanding of practice takes as its analytical focus the perceptions, thoughts and actions of individuals who work within the cultural context of the Jamaican music sector. The interpretive effort recognises that while practices do contain articulable features, there are ineffable facets of human action that are of deserved importance. This latter set obtains significance because, as Bourdieu (1987: 3) argues, it discourages our inclination as researchers to remain mired in substantialist modes of thought which "recognizes no other reality than that which is directly given to the intuition of ordinary experience." Here, Bourdieu follows Cassirer in outlining a relational approach to sociological analyses which encourages us to take full account of the socio-historical contexts in which social agents find themselves rather than essentialising interactions and distinct characteristics embedded in the social order. Of concern in this study is the degree to which elements of the Caribbean experience are the culprits that have generated ‘a mysterious residual variable’, as Hann (2002: 8) might call it, which undermines the facilitation of social and economic progress.

In a similar vein, this thesis takes up the task of conducting a macroscopic critique of development. But, I argue that it must be accompanied by an orientation towards the microscopic modes by which the struggle for recognition is either affirmed or repudiated. Such an approach is an attempt to offer a more fine-grained account about the dynamics of practices within the local context. What deserves closer attention then is the interrelationship between the forces that imbue social practices and the historical templates that produced them. The analysis that follows proceeds beneath a set of theoretical rubrics that
embrace the notion that the phenomenal world of meaning operates in full lockstep with the noumenal world of action and should not be conceptualized as divorced from each other. As Rouse (2007: 536) tells us, they are simply “too entangled to allow clear and useful boundaries between them.”

This thesis argues that Pierre Bourdieu's social theory framework sensitises us to the tensions and contestations located through the plantation model and which mark existing industry practices within Jamaica. What informs this study is a series of narrative interviews conducted with cultural practitioners who work within the nation's music sector. The data collected suggests that the state of inertia which persists, even amidst evidence of a shared consensus among its primary stakeholders, can be traced to historical struggles which re-inscribes relations of power between dominating and dominated actors in a field. The analytical constructs derived from the model proposed for this study indicate that industry actors find themselves enmeshed in a constant struggle for recognition. For these actors, the extent to which they continue to encounter exclusionary tactics and denial to valued resources from those in positions of power is perceived in terms of a breakdown of respect and trust. This view remains in sharp contrast to the positive reception and affirmation that takes place outside of Jamaica's borders.

This thesis therefore suggests that prolonged experiences of unacknowledgment and disavowal of social and cultural value comprise a set of symbolically violent practices. I argue that these serve to induce elements of social suffering among cultural practitioners and saps positive social energies deemed essential to contribute to advancing development objectives. I further draw on Bourdieu's framework to frame the notion of 'negative cultural capital', as well as the Plantation Economy model's concept of 'dependency', as a means to capture this symbolic erasure of value within the cultural context of Jamaica. As outlined in the introductory chapter, the results of this study offers further insights into modes of development under late capitalism and post-colonial contexts. Further, it alludes to significant connections between the field of development studies and cultural policy frameworks, particularly for Jamaica.
I have also argued earlier in this thesis, that approaches to development are often clouded when they are beset within a rationalisation and modernisation framework that grants priority to the neo-classical economic paradigm. But, socio-historical struggles, imbalanced relations of power and socio-economic inequities, which can also represent typologies of deeply embedded structural arrangements, remain largely absent from development analyses. The obdurate presence of these uneven structural features is a fertile breeding ground for social antagonisms that, as Bhabha (1994: 173) argues, provide agents with adequate justification "for elaborating empowering strategies of emancipation." But I have become curious about whether the strategies that had to be devised by agents to carve out an existence in the Jamaican social arena are now infused with a practical logic inimical to normative development approaches.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, since music has come to occupy a place of significant cultural importance to Jamaica, I believe this presents us with an opportunity for constructing an interesting object of study. I have argued that it is an ideal site for exploring the types of subjectivities and social meanings that shape, or is being shaped by, that cultural terrain. In short, I want to explore these complexities through the effort to understand lived experiences and practice. Indeed, there are types of conditions that generate a passiveness within actors and which can work to attenuate efforts aimed at constituting an idealised model of development. How this materialises in the Jamaican music sector will become evident in the next two chapters. For example, we will examine how my participants see themselves as possessing a highly valued form of cultural capital attached to a national identity and which deserves to be recognised. But we will also see how they harbour perceptions of social injustice and disrespect that they equate with a colonised relation of power. It admits degrees of social importance along a spectrum of what is invaluable and unvalued.

The data collected further suggest that participants inhabit a sense of victimhood; one seen as inextricably linked with Jamaica’s institutionalised colonised relations of power. They implicate the legacy of slavery as constitutive of this condition. The findings suggest that within Jamaica, the
music sector is an inherently and highly conflictual arena wherein uneven relations of power and of recognition preside over historically contested claims over the social and cultural value of identity.

In proceeding to achieve the overall aim of this thesis, this chapter is organised in the following manner. I begin by drawing attention to the types of values the people I interviewed confer upon music. Not only does this give us a vantage point from which to view music as a cultural resource for Jamaica, but it also opens up a route towards obtaining an in-depth understanding of subjective processes of identification and assess the conditions with fuel motivations.

In Section 6.2, I aim to provide some insight into how the global consumption of reggae produced some significant effects back in Jamaica. I will show how global forces reverberated throughout the nation to engender what one of my participants refer to as ‘a cultural renaissance.’ It is in this sense that I consider the notion of an ‘all-embracing cultural institution to capture the totality of this phenomenon. In considering these developments in the social domain, this section also takes into account the interplay between environmental forces and the motivational elements that energised individuals to see value in the music and to decide to participate in the production of a cultural art form. Section 6.3 turns towards an analysis of the modes of practice that were fashioned in order to facilitate the making of music. In short, it reflects an analysis of the logic of practice. The final Section (6.4) engages with respondents’ perceptions about the state of the music industry more particularly. The discussion centres on the Jamaican government's efforts in designing a music policy and includes a cursory look at selected programmes. The section seeks to confront the issues related more directly to the state of inertia in Jamaica’s music sector.

My way into this is to see if we can glean something significant by paying attention to how individuals deal with a subject in their everyday talk (Edley, 2001; Potter and Wetherell, 2004; Tracy, 2012). Even though they are seen as
common-sense talk, these colloquial repertoires are important sources of information built on well-known forms of socio-cultural understandings.

To facilitate a reading of interview excerpts used to illustrate my findings, it will be helpful to consider the following protocol I have used. DH refers to me as the interviewer. The names used for my participants reflect aliases so that personal identities were not revealed and to keep in accordance with the ethical guidelines on which this research is based. The uses of three dots (...) indicate pauses or breaks in the narrative. Words or phrases placed within square brackets [ ] are used to assist in effecting a continuity of thought. Words or phrases appearing within parentheses ( ) indicate an attempt to provide definitions or clarifications especially if participants used a word or comment unique to the local dialect.

6.1 Music and the World: A Plantation-Cultural-Export Sector

6.1.1 ‘There is something special here!’ Symbolic Capital

What quickly became evident from my respondents’ comments, and as I have argued throughout this thesis, is the fact that Jamaican music is actively consumed in global corners. Both Marley’s popularity and reggae’s global presence are recontextualised as a substantiation of cultural excellence that can be used to negotiate a place in the world. Emanating as it has, from an island with a population of only 3 million, and to have emblazoned an indelible imprint on the landscape of global popular culture, is indeed something that, as my participants’ suggest, energises one’s self esteem and provides justification for claiming evidence of the nation’s cultural power.

But, the plantation theorists such as Best and Levitt (1975: 48-49) might argue that the “metropolitan ties are maintained and reinforced with the entry of a new staple [product]” into the old plantation framework. Here, I reframe Girvan’s (1970) prognosis for the mineral-export sector in the 1970s to argue that, when it comes to Jamaica, music can be understood as a plantation-cultural-export sector. For Girvan, the primary issue was that the relationship
structures that were in place precludes the “sector from serving as a growth pole within the host economy through backward and forward linkages, technology dissemination, and the reinvestment of profits” (Girvan, 2006: 335). We can find that the music sector displays similar characteristics. Furthermore, the belief that music is somehow embedded as a cultural trait for Jamaicans appeared as a taken for granted assumption among my participants. Since reggae has secured a place in global pop culture this serves as adequate evidence that foreigners hold Jamaica’s cultural producers and reggae in high regard. This was especially the case for those of my interviewees who had travelled or performed extensively outside of Jamaica or, who had resided in foreign cities for an extended period of time. In several cases, they recalled how, on the one hand, they had noticed the extent to which Jamaican music had become an integral part of the mainstream popular culture. On the other, it enabled them to effectuate and affix a national identity badge that could be proudly worn. LUCY, who works in the government, was adamant that there is indeed “something special here…and that is why a lot of people come here [to Jamaica]. They want a piece of it!” The ‘specialness’ to which LUCY refers suggests that music assumes potency as a cultural feature but notably has some significant value. Apparently, it derives its value simply from being constituted within Jamaica.

Throughout my discussions, there is a widely shared belief that music is a core component of the branded representation of Jamaica. LILY, who calls herself a social entrepreneur for the cultural industries, told me:

LILY “I lived in Trinidad ...[and I] had lived in Grenada before... and in Toronto. And, everywhere...Jamaican culture was huge!”

JOSEPH, an artist and producer, had migrated from Jamaica to attend university in America. He believes that it was the popularity of reggae that enabled him, as a Jamaican in a foreign environment, to feel "...extreme pride... extreme!" He tells me that,

JOSEPH: ...even when the Jamaican artists did some [collaborations] with an international artist... the kind of feeling that you felt. I used to take those music videos and have them... and watch them. You know what I mean...over and over!
A point crucial for JOSEPH is the intent located behind the efforts of international artists who are motivated enough to want to engage with Jamaican artists on collaborative projects. For him, this recognition act serves as an assertion of validation and respect which becomes a source of, what he refers to as, “extreme pride’ for Jamaicans. We begin to see how music forms part of the 'stock of cultural capital' that Throsby (1999: 3) referred to.

6.1.2 My Autograph: Symbolic Recognition

To comprehend culture as a resource then necessitates an examination of the modes by which it shores up identities, reassures self-esteem (Bennett, 1993; Frith, 1996) and how its productive capacity is mobilised. As I discussed in Chapter 4, Bourdieu argues that individuals are motivated by a desire to enhance their social being. We do so through an articulation of various forms of capital. But, if we are to gain a broader understanding of cultural value, then turning on such a task requires us to move beyond the narrow confines of economic exchange and remain aware that “people form judgments not just by introspection but also through a process of social exchange with others” (Throsby, 2001: 3). By elaborating on the occurrence and consequences of such forms of interaction, and through an understanding of the quotidian ways in which they shape identities, an articulation of cultural value becomes possible. But, for an attribute to serve as a candidate for recognition, it should possess or carry particular features to enable a particular individual to flag it as a distinct cultural marker.

In 2013, a report prepared by Jamaican journalist, George Davis appeared in the Jamaica Observer newspaper. The following is an extended extract from his experience:

It was in Stellenbosch, South Africa, that I realised for the first time just how powerful Brand Jamaica really is. It was December of 2002 and I was walking from the Stellenbosch University to my temporary residence a few hundred yards away from the main compound. I was dressed in khaki trousers, a white short-sleeved Oxford shirt, and loafers, with a wristband on my right arm bearing the colours of the Jamaican flag. A little Caucasian boy of no more than nine years old was walking towards me on the pathway.
When he got near, he stopped me and asked if I was really from Jamaica. I asked why and he pointed to the wristband. I said yes. The boy broke into a smile before dropping his book bag and asking me if I would kindly consent to giving him my autograph! Confused and a little embarrassed, I assented and scrawled my name on a page in his notebook. The boy told me he had read and heard so many wonderful things about Jamaica and was finally realising a dream of meeting a living, breathing Jamaican. He said he knew of Bob Marley and that his parents were loyal to Blue Mountain coffee. Before the strange encounter ended, the little boy shook my hand, his voice saying thank you and his eyes expressing a far deeper gratitude (Davis, 2013)

What exactly is it about an island located 12,000 kilometres way from his home in Stellenbosch that has the South African youngster so intrigued? In this single encounter, we are able to detect at least three possible objects of recognition. Firstly, Davis posits that being in the presence a ‘living, breathing Jamaican’, captures the youth’s attention. By virtue of his being identified as a Jamaican, Davis gains acknowledgment as an individual in relation to his national culture, a confirmation that rockets him into a quasi-celebrity status, albeit for a brief moment, when the boy seeks a souvenir of the occasion in the form of an autograph. The appeal for a souvenir is of some importance because,

[p]eople feel the need to bring things home with them from the sacred, extraordinary time or space, for home is equated with ordinary, mundane time or space. They can't hold on to the non-ordinary experience, for it is by nature ephemeral, but they can hold on to a tangible piece of it, an object that came from it (Gordon, 1986: 135-136)

Secondly, the colours of the Jamaican flag on Davis' wristband are also singled out and, in doing so certainly further highlights the cultural group of which he is a part. But, the South African boy also seemingly pays homage to the cultural artefacts and expressions associated with Jamaica, one of whom is the reggae singer, Bob Marley. Daye et. al., (2008: 44-45) believe that maybe it has something to do with the fact that Marley is “one of the most culturally validated icons of Jamaica’s history.”

6.1.3 Bob Marley: A Cultural Landmark

Earlier in Chapter 2, I argued that Jamaican music, largely driven by the popularity of Bob Marley and his international rise to fame in the early 1970s,
had helped to mobilise a political awakening among Jamaica’s youth. MOLLY, a former record label representative and who now works as a public relations specialist and a radio DJ, recalls that:

MOLLY: ...before Bob [Marley] died, he did an interview with Gil Noble11. I can tell you thank God for YouTube. But, I will tell you...a lot of us didn't see that interview properly that day. Because we were too happy! We were busy calling each other; jumping around; screaming... "Bob Marley is on TV", that we didn’t really penetrate the interview. And, at the time, on Sundays, there was a guy named Al Jackson who used to play music - oldies on Sunday [in New York]; and every once in a while he would play a [song by] 'Bob'. And that Sunday he did...and Bob was on Gil Noble earlier. It was madness!

MOLLY believes Jamaicans processed the event as a watershed moment in the nation's musical history. She tells me, “You couldn't talk to [any] Jamaican that day...because we were gone clear!' The notion of 'gone clear' can be likened to the image of chest-thumping pride and thus needs to be understood as a gesture to symbolise triumph. This position resonates with Mills' notion of ‘Smadditization’. It is an insistence on personhood by someone who lives in a world where it has been largely denied (Heron, 2001). Here we see that music serves to enable individuals to make the profound assertion of a Jamaican identity. One could argue that Bob Marley’s accomplishments for instance created for Jamaicans, what Hage (2003: 13) calls, “the magic of a national identification and the capacity to utter the national 'we'.” In Hage’s formulation, we could see Jamaicans’ exultant reaction to the airing of Bob Marley’s interview in international circles as providing the license to say: “show them what we (Jamaicans) are all about!” – to count as ‘smaddy’. The 'moment' in the spotlight for one thus serves as a moment for all.

At this juncture, it is worth asking: to what extent is Jamaica and its cultural producers enamoured by the charismatic myth of the artist as it relates to Bob Marley? One aspect that was constant throughout my interviews was the tacit esteemed reverence of Bob Marley as Jamaica’s cultural hero. Mention of Marley’s name appeared several times in my discussions with interviewees. This despite the fact that I stayed clear of asking direct questions related to the artist. It appears that what is now distilled within Jamaicans’ psyche and, I

11 Gil Noble (1932 – 2012) was an American television producer and host of the weekly TV show ‘Like It Is’.
would argue, as part of the Jamaican social order, can be likened to striations of a 'Marley fetish' that is unquestioned. I argue that sacralisation of Marley and his art enabled reggae to be consecrated within Jamaica and other territories around the globe (Burke, 2014; Cattermole, 2013; Johnson, 2015; McNeill, 2012). I suggest that Marley represents value and is displayed as a symbolic representation of Jamaica’s stock of cultural capital and, as such, is an important condition of the reggae genre’s existence. Following Bourdieu (1993) we can see Marley as a ‘landmark’ that lends not only symbolic meaning, but is often appropriated to become part of articulating a Jamaican identity.

Yet, this reaction by Jamaicans to their cultural artisanship being broadcasted on international airwaves was again observed when, in December 2013, a Jamaican singer, Tessanne Chin, was awarded the coveted top spot on NBC-USA's reality TV singing programme, The Voice. On the evening of the grand finale of the Voice competition, a major intersection in Jamaica's capital city of Kingston was cordoned off and a giant television screen was erected in the square. Hundreds of well-wishers gathered to watch the voting. Following Tessanne's victory announcement, one online news site reported that, "Jamaican pride reached new highs as Tessanne Chin was crowned the winner." Meanwhile, in her article that appeared in Billboard magazine (the leading music industry news magazine in the USA), Meschino (2014) acknowledged the frenzy surrounding the singer's victory, but carefully pointed out that, in her homeland of Jamaica, Tessanne's career had already reached "a ceiling" and her music had "received scant airplay." Meschino wants to make the point that the large turnout was not so much a reflection of an existing underground fan-base. Rather, it was one made up of a spectating public exhibiting a desire to savour the evaluation and crowning of a Jamaican by an international audience. Why is it that Chin’s appearance was cause for celebration relative to the cool reception to her music back in the home market?

6.1.4 ‘The Jamaican Vibe’: Identity Capital

But we can also see how another dimension emerges when MOLLY proceeds to tell me that,
MOLLY: During my [University] years [in the USA] we would always keep (put on) parties...and I became active in the Caribbean student association. That is when I realised the international draw of reggae.

DH: How so?

MOLLY: not just reggae...of Jamaica as well. It's as if the other islands and...I hope they don't get mad when I say this...it's as if they look to us for leadership...they look to us as the role models. You would not have any events and you don't have reggae and dancehall...[adding] some sugar up inside of it! Our Italian friends and Irish friends, who shared the same floor with us, inadvertently, started liking reggae because they heard so much of it. The club was a Jamaican dominant club, but it wasn't like we were forcing the music on anyone...they wanted it as well. They wanted to belong; to be a part of this thing! And so, [as] Jamaicans...we kinda carried the banner. The reggae...the Jamaican vibe...everybody wanted to be Jamaican. I saw this then. When everybody used to lie and say they come from Jamaica... and they didn't come from Jamaica.

DH: And you attribute most of that to reggae?

MOLLY: Yes...

From Molly’s perspective, reggae’s growing popularity in the international sphere is appropriated not only by Jamaicans but by some from other Caribbean islands. Is it that to be ‘from Jamaica’ is to enable one to add to a cache of personal resources that can be drawn upon to negotiate a more advantageous social position. But, it can be seen also as part of a strategy designed to alleviate the “instability and incompleteness” of personhood (Naimou, 2015: 26): a sensibility we now see being expressed by other Caribbeans with a shared history. And, as JOSEPH confirms,

JOSEPH: I don’t know if it made big difference to everybody. I know certain people it did make a difference to...like the other Caribbean students that were at the school. We [Jamaicans] were the ones expected to have a sound system and throw parties; when someone wanted certain type of song they were coming to me.

In these narratives, music is appropriated as a cultural marker for Jamaica to form a key component that energises the Jamaican to accede her national identity. The positive functions of music connect with broader discussions of Bourdieu's notion of capital and how immaterial forms can be important influences in social life. In socio-cultural interactions, particularly in foreign settings, we also encounter examples of how music infiltrates to signify and mediate relationships and enables a staking out of social positions. Here, I argue that social actors’ appropriation of music, or a cultural landmark such as
Bob Marley, reflects the search for a distinct set of foreign-supplied resources to enhance self-esteem and corroborate identity. We can introduce the concept of identity capital to denote what individuals ‘invest’ in and ‘who they are’. The notion of ‘investments’ was considered by Côté (1996b) to illustrate how elements of culture are often implicated in processes of identity formation. The idea is that individuals use these ‘investments’ to potentially reap future dividends in ‘identity-exchange markets’ (ibid). I argue however, that it could also represent a re/claim of identity.

6.1.5 A Question of Dependency

Bourdieu does not view action as constitutive of a rational behaviour to external forces. Rather, an individual draws upon a complex set of socio-culturally informed platform of ‘substrates’ of experience to navigate the world and draft appropriate responses. But, underlying this action is the need to “perpetuate or to augment their social being” (Bourdieu, 1993b: 274). In fact, Bourdieu goes as far as stating that ‘there is no worse dispossession’ than when social recognition is withheld or denied (Bourdieu, 2000: 241). As I discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4), the concept of illusio links up well with notions of interest or purpose, i.e., having a ‘raison d’etre’. This should tell us that the need to acquire social being runs throughout Bourdieu’s work (Hage, 2013). Accordingly, I interpret enhancing social being as strategies aimed at obtaining ‘identity capital’ of social agents. This means that the degree to which there is an homologous fit between the illusio (guided by the habitus) and the kind of capital that the field sanctions, determines how individuals assess possibilities or limitations to make identity claims (transactions). It is precisely through illusio that habitus is expressed in the field and manifests through practice (Colley and Guéry, 2015). An understanding of these ‘identity making’ acts is important to this study because it provides the basis for exploring dimensions of subjectivity formation and the kinds of action it inspires.

When layered onto a plantation economy, a Bourdieusian take on social actors’ orientation in a field points towards accounting for the motivation behind ‘interested’ action in search of identity or social being. Illusio is used to capture
how individuals ‘invest’ themselves or express interest in the field. For Bourdieu, it reflects the principle behind action and, methodologically, it is realized only in the relation between habitus and field.

It is here that I argue that social agents conduct identity market-seeking strategies in social exchange markets. When conditions that are perceived as oppressive or where domains of marginalization cannot adequately supply identity resources needed by individuals, it prompts an active search for sources or places where they can be obtained. When discovered in external markets, individuals become willing to deploy and trade forms of capital available to them in exchange for the subjective product of recognition. Having the necessary support and access to primary resources is essential to the production of trade-able assets that can be exchanged. Interestingly, such support mechanisms could help to counterbalance feelings of ‘lack’ of identity or ‘dependency’. However, this becomes further complicated when primary resources are themselves scarce. In these instances, dependency then leads to uncertainty and to choosing particular modes of practice that enables one to compensate for one’s disadvantaged and dispossessed position. We can link this back to the failings of the Industrialisation by Invitation ideology.

While in the narrations above we have largely examined how music sanctions personal identities in foreign domains for Jamaicans, self-identity also emerges from socio-cultural conditions and influences. Moreover, when music is positioned as a plantation-cultural export sector, within the context of Jamaica, as I have suggested here, what implications might this have, both on the configuration of subjectivities and on practice? In the following section, I turn to focus on the Jamaican context and to take account of other key elements that contribute to making cultural producers who they are.

6.2 Music: a Product of the Plantation

Before engaging in a more in-depth way with my participants’ accounts, a conceptualization of Jamaica music sector as a site for analysis is presented to
help us trace how, as a field, it offers possibilities or constraints to actors who participate in it. What I am also suggesting here is that this exercise will help us to grasp what is it exactly that shape their ways of seeing and “being in the world” (Bourdieu, 2000: 135). This is important because, Bourdieu wants us to consider that it is through appreciating the “mutual interpenetration” of social being and the social world (or field) in which we function that we can move closer towards an understanding of practice. Analytically, Bourdieu tells us that this requires us to expose ‘illusio’ because, as “bodily knowledge”, it effectively tethers habitus and field, and thus contributes to the constitution of the systems we use to make sense of the world and how we make decisions (Hubrich, 2015).

Here, I want to build on the plantation economy model to consider the idea of an Internal Hinterland of Exploitation (IHE). The IHE is a slightly adapted version of Lloyd Best’s (1968) notion of a ‘Hinterland of Exploitation’ as a Plantation System. Best put forward the idea that three spheres of settlement formations marked the European colonisation era. They included: conquest, settlement and exploitation. Those that represented conquest can primarily be found in South America; settlement hinterlands were the English colonies of North America and Australia; and, hinterlands of exploitation were the colonies of the Caribbean. For Best, the latter situation depicts a relationship between the metropole and the periphery but a core feature is that the periphery is export-oriented. This is to say, its focus is not on producing for domestic consumption. Given this typology, I consider that the Jamaican music sector admits features of a plantation system but that it can be productively be reframed as an Internal Hinterland of Exploitation. When designating Jamaica’s music sector as an Internal Hinterland of Exploitation (IHE), I am not only suggesting that it is ‘export-propelled’ (Best, 1968) but, that it also functions relatively autonomously from the dominant mode of production within the Jamaican domestic economy. Green (2001) takes up this argument and explains that within that relationship, it is best understood as a ‘disarticulated enclave’ or one that operates via its own mode of re-production.
The aim here is to utilise the IHE dimension in heuristic fashion in an attempt to illuminate the interplay between the larger social context and patterns of behaviour. Since I have already addressed the export-oriented dimension in the previous section, the ensuing discussion is to provide a contextual space where, through the narratives provided by my respondents, other dimensions can be explored. At the same time, it should bring to the fore the ways in which the present-past history inheres through the “dialectic of the internalisation of externality and the externalisation of internality” (Bourdieu, 1990a: 45). In other words, in the next few sections, we will see how, in addition to the roles played by family, the broader socio-cultural environment can also delineate and mould the "subjective sense of self" (Proshansky, et. al., 1983: 58).

6.2.1 ‘So much Culture…so much Music!’: Field and Habitus

The subjective sense of self is defined and expressed not only by nurturing relationships with others. Modes of socialisation can include the kinds of physical settings that fashion daily lives. Emerging from my data were ways in which various forms of socialisation processes converge to form a bed of experience which impact upon the identity projects of individuals. One element of the categories of perception they use to devise their own meanings is essentially the product of the incorporation of the objective structures of the social space. Therefore, what is central in our analysis is the need to remain in constant awareness of the nexus of physical place and the social agents' understanding of the world and of self-identity. Throughout my discussions with participants, they expounded on the communities in which they grew up and the types of experiences encountered there. In the case of my interviewees, it appears that music was the way (or illusio) for them to develop an attachment to place and community.

6.2.1.1 A Cultural Renaissance (Field)

In an important sense, we can see that reggae’s rise in the international arena represents what Chang and Chen (1998) curiously define as an
increased ‘flurry of activity’ by the studios, especially in the city of Kingston. They began churning out music at an unprecedented rate in response to the growing, but external market demand for reggae. It is in this regard that I suggest that this ‘field of action’ (Bourdieu, 2004: 34) can be viewed as ‘total’. In other words, we will see how the field “captures something of the time and interest of its members and provides something of a world for them” (Goffman, 1968: 4). For instance, MOLLY had served as a label representative, reggae promoter and PR professional. Here, in this extended extract from the interview, she provides me with an in-depth recollection of her early encounter with reggae music:

DH: ... How did you come across reggae?

MOLLY: From I was born...and where I grow up. Where I was born, my mother and others used to keep (put on) a lot of parties. And when I moved to [R-town] I lived across the street from Aston and Carly12. As a matter of fact, my older uncle ...he was actually the singer in the family. At the time in the 60s he was singing on the north coast (hotel circuit in Jamaica). And then the sound systems! You had a [number] of sound systems people who lived in my area...and a bunch of people and different 'sound men' used to warm up their sound throughout the week and test it out for the weekend. You had some clubs not too far away. I used to sit and listen to them warming up the set...and selecting for the week. That was a norm. So when they played Saturday night I used to know which songs were going to follow which one. And then my mother (and others) used to keep a lot of parties!

DH: On top of that?

MOLLY: Yeah... as a child, I attended [this primary school], which was one of those schools that participated in festival competitions in the area of dance. So we used to dance a lot and I used to be around 'Miss Lou'13 and grew up on (watching) Miss Lou. We used to be on 'Ring Ding'14 and used to be on 'Romper Room'. We used to dance for a lot of dignitaries and celebrities and what have you...whatever. And so I have always been thrust in this cultural world? I was supposed to be an attorney. My family wanted me to be an attorney and to teach. And then reggae music happened. Yea...reggae music happened.

DH: So reggae kinda changed the course. So tell me a little about reggae...which time frame was this?

MOLLY: I'm a 62 baby...I'm an independence baby.

DH: So we grew up in the same time frame.

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12 The Barrett brothers (Aston 'Family Man' Barret and Carlton "Carly" Barrett) were musicians, bass guitarist and drummer respectively, who played with Bob Marley and The Wailers, The Hippy Boys, and Lee Perry's the Upsetters.

13 Louise Bennett-Coverley or ‘Miss Lou’ (1919 –2006), was a Jamaican poet, folklorist, and educator.

14 Miss Lou hosted 2 popular Children’s television programmes: ‘Ring Ding’ and ‘Romper Room’.
MOLLY: Yes...there was a renaissance taking place...a cultural renaissance! And I was getting it on both sides. Because, like I said, I danced...I participated in cultural competitions; I was on Ring Ding with Miss Lou; we would be dancing at all these different events; we were at Ward Theatre; we were at Little Theatre; we were at Kings House. Then when we weren’t doing that, I was around [my uncles when they were] rehearsing. My uncles...they used to sing. We were in the yard singing! And the music was always the backdrop. Where my mother had her store on Beeston St...near Shims...near Orange Street, Bob [Marley] and them had a little record store right up the road...Needless to tell you...

DH: Was it Tuff Gong then?

MOLLY: No...No...this was just a blue fence that they opened up...like a little shack. It was blue...and then it had the red, green and gold colours on it. And I used to peep through...it was a little record store and a yard. I used to always make my way up there to peep and look through the fence...when they were beating the drums, and smoking, and chanting and singing. My mother’s store was really right in the heart of that whole bevy of entertainment bursting at the seams. As a child being around that area of Kingston, you know...you just got exposed to so much and that’s where the music was being birthed...right there!

MOLLY’s narrative above provides us with an account that is contextually rich. Not only does she refer to the fact that her mother hosted a lot of parties (which, in Jamaica, means friends, food and music) and that her Uncles were always rehearsing, but the proximity of her home and her mother’s store to areas where all this action was taking place meant being engrossed in a ‘bevy of entertainment’. She recalls being enthralled by what appears to be burgeoning levels of activity taking place around her. This highlights an important facet of the plantation, that “all-pervasive character of the internal dimension” which Beckford refers to (1972: 10). To be clear, it cannot be regarded as ‘totalistic’ in ways that Goffman (1968) might have envisioned it. Goffman’s (ibid: xxi) articulation of a total institution points to an “enclosed formally administered round of life” and thus implies one that is bureaucratic in nature. I suggest that we can consider that what was emerging in Jamaica at this time was the evolution of irregular forms of enterprise activity. But there was something bursting at the seams as Molly describes. It resonates with SOLOMON’s insistent remark that, “there was so much culture! So much music...you know, just coming out of Jamaica at that time!” MEGAN further time-stamps it for us when she reminded me that,

MEGAN: ...it was the 70s. And...that whole Rasta vibe was there; that was the youth culture...that was the culture at that time. You know...Bob Marley was a superstar.

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15 Ward Theatre and Little Theatre are local theatre performance venues in Jamaica.

16 King’s House is the residence of the Governor-General of Jamaica (the Queen’s representative).
We can recall that in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5), I highlighted the close linkage between the growing popularity of reggae and the Rasta ideology. MEGAN's account highlights for us trace elements of this socio-cultural phenomenon that was reverberating throughout Jamaica. Both MOLLY and MEGAN depict this “sense of place” in the objective sense of the world. I argue that ‘place’ is part of what enacts the habitus. The notion helps to demonstrate the tightly-knitted relationship between the personal and the social and how it combines to form a significant social construct that weighs in on one’s experience and history.

Proshansky, et. al., (1983) discuss the notion of the 'place-identity' which they see as a sub set of the total system very much implicated in the formation self-identity. It is comprised of “a past consisting of places, spaces and their properties which have served instrumentally in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social, and cultural needs” (ibid: 59). We see how this plays out when MOLLY points out that the Barrett Brothers lived just 'across the street' from her; and the store Bob Marley had opened up was a short distance from her mother's business. Here, we can assume she is talking about Bob Marley's first short-lived venture, Wail 'N' Soul Records, which he, along with his wife and mother, opened in the late 1960s (Moskowitz, 2006; Toynbee, 2007). The musical sounds, smoke (most likely marijuana) and level of activity coming from Bob's 'yard' seemingly intrigues MOLLY, and causes her to be constantly 'peeping' in order to absorb what was, unknowingly to her at the time, the dawn of a 'cultural renaissance'. It is only upon reflecting that she can now describe the experience in these terms. Nevertheless, noting the occurrence of the positive reception of reggae in the global market, it does begin to give us a sense of how external forces set in motion “the seeds of social dynamics” (Beckford, 1972: 38) in Jamaica. The time frame that MOLLY reflexively describes most likely corresponds to the late 1960s and early 1970s, which researchers tend to signal as the era during which the 'birth of reggae' occurred.

[T]he winds of change were already blowing in 1968 and when the Maytals [recorded] ‘Do the Reggae’ later that year, a new era was christened (Gooden, 2003: xxi).
It was a development which served as a catalyst to mobilise the “ghetto youth [who] saw music as their only possible financial salvation” (Chang and Chen, 1998: 55). Here, I argue that being immersed in, and exposed to, the ‘cultural renaissance’, as MOLLY refers to it, represents an emergent cultural phenomena that brought together ‘culture and cognition’ in an homologous relationship (Bourdieu, 1990a; DiMaggio, 1997). It is within this bourgeoning site of cultural production that new possibilities could be imagined.

6.2.2 ‘The Love of it...and Poverty!’: Habitus and Capital

6.2.2.1 “It is money time now!” (Economic Capital)

Music is also an object produced and consumed under commodification processes and succumbs to the economic logic of the market. Guillory (2000: 33) in describing Bourdieu’s economy of exchange, elaborates on what he calls “the mimetic market”. The term denotes a market where agents become deliberately engaged in marshalling the accumulation of cultural capital that can be exchanged for other forms of capital. The data I collected suggest that many of my participants were indeed motivated by the thought of economic opportunities. For them, reggae's growing popularity in the global arena offered a legitimate and realistic prospect for earning and employment. LARRY, who is a member of a band, has never performed outside of Jamaica. For him, the local market is quite limiting and he works part-time or side-jobs to sustain a living. He explains,

LARRY: We're doing it for the love of it... because we love it! It is what we do! But, basically it is money time now!

LARRY expresses an explicit interest in financial gain. It was my sense, however, that he felt achieving this objective could only occur outside of Jamaica. In the music world, a certain level of prestige or reputation is considered important to careers of artists who are interested in reaching large audiences. It appears Jamaican cultural producers' perceptions of the global market and the possibilities may undermine Bourdieu’s (1983) portrayal of the
field of cultural production as an ‘economic world reversed.’ Bourdieu argues that, to a large extent, market success is viewed as ‘selling out’ and those who admit to seeking financial compensation for their art, could be barred from achieving symbolic recognition from others. However, this might indeed be changing. In the meantime, a significant number of Jamaican performers have gone on to achieve international commercial success.

Dancehall artist Shabba Ranks, for example, is one of several Jamaican performers who had topped international music charts in the 1990s. Notably, his accomplishments were largely due to the economic and marketing support of a foreign music company. In due course, reports of the artist's accomplishments graced the pages of mainstream international magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek* (Chang and Chen, 1998) Gaining this level of media exposure, or symbolic recognition, is seen as imperative in this ‘professional’ domain of music. AMELIA comments on the international audience's reaction to Shabba Ranks, during the time when he was gaining popularity:

AMELIA: outside of Jamaica, it was really amazing to see how Shabella was [received]. People did not necessarily understand what he's singing...but it's just the music...you know, the music... [and] how people were just like..Shabba was a star! [He] was always popular. He was popular in Jamaica. But it was just this...it was more like a love! Overseas...it was more like. I don't know how to express it. It's like, you know when you have a bottle of water, and you know it is water. Just water... and the water is here. But, you bring it to somewhere where water is lacking. And them just...drink it up! It's like the sight of the water...is like (gasping)...some Michael Jackson 'ting!

DH: Did you get that kind of response internationally as well?

AMELIA: Yes, I did... and you feel the same way.

During her time as a record label representative, MOLLY was based in the UK market in the 1990s. I asked her to talk about what that experience was like:

MOLLY: I lived there [in the UK] between the years '92 'til about '96, on and off. I would spend long stretches of time. Because I worked with about 18 artists. I was representing these guys, and we were in Birmingham.

DH: Steel Pulse's hometown.

MOLLY: Not only Steel Pulse, but also Musical Youth. Music brought me to England...I was heading up a label [and] we had office spaces in Birmingham, I had these artists that were all in voice lessons, and we were training them and doing the whole A&R process, writing tunes, dealing with studios. We would release these tunes on vinyl and on CDs - this was in the early
days of CDs, and I used to be taking the vinyl...I remember my hands straining...down from Birmingham to [London]...coming down to London for the weekends. And it was good! But I have come to travel the world because of reggae music. And, I couldn’t have done it...couldn’t have gotten the exposure I have gotten via any other means...reggae did that for me!

DH: What was your take on the response in UK while you were there? Because you were there in the 90s which some consider that to be the heyday, after Bob of course...Shabba was out.

MOLLY: It was sweet! That’s why I was there. Because the music was making money! We were making money like crazy! We were the first people doing compilation albums. And I remember when this whole thing with one riddim (beat) and Steely and Clevie\textsuperscript{17} was mashing up (churning out hits) the place. And Mafia and Fluxy\textsuperscript{18}...but those days were the heydays. Those were the days when a lot of fusion was taking place in the music. A lot of foreign acts were fusing with a lot of the dancehall acts...a’ la Shabba Ranks; Cobra; Chakademus and Pliers...all in that time, it was just a bubble. There was a bubbling vibe. Junior Tucker was big on the charts. We were getting the advent of a Buju Banton. It was a nice time. And that’s why I was in England...to make money.

Here, Bourdieu’s notion of capital continues to serve as a lens we can use. It helps us understand how music mediates in the convertibility of talent or ‘artistic’ capital to gain material and symbolic benefit. Symbolic capital is important primarily to the extent that it can be acquired as part of the process to transact and exchange for material gain. But, while the field offers possibilities both economically and symbolically, significant quantities of both sets of capital are understood as obtainable in the external market. This speaks to a high degree of ‘dependency’ and thus, lends support to my earlier proposition that music, for Jamaica, is a cultural-export. For Jamaica’s cultural producers, the nation’s small size means that, ultimately, for those interested in a career in the music sector, efforts must turn to the outside. Ironically, it is this economic and “deep-seated psychological dependence on the outside world” (Beckford, 1972: 36) the plantation economy authors argue, that cripples transformative action for plantation economies. This is certainly a valid concern.

The narrative form of interviewing I adopted for this research project encouraged recollections about social and material conditions that my interviewees experienced. These conversations proved useful to learn about the social trajectories of my participants and the demands and constraints that marked their musical lives. Furthermore, they conveyed information pertaining

\textsuperscript{17} Jamaican music producers

\textsuperscript{18} UK Music producers.
to the conditions of neighbourhoods and their perceptions about life in Jamaica more generally. In this next section, I draw attention to some of the more salient points emerging from my interviews.

6.2.2.2 ‘Get out of this foolishness!’ (Cultural Capital)

Jamaica, as a site of cultural production can be viewed as a space of opportunity. However, the field, and the cultural producers that function within it, are set within a broader social space and, as a consequence, they are exposed to different sets of possibilities or limitations to which they must respond. Here, Bourdieu reminds us that people rarely exist in one field. Often, they traverse overlapping fields and must respond to differing sets of rules and impositions (Bourdieu and Johnson, 1993). Thus, struggles over capital that occur in one field are influenced by, and interact with, the kinds of capital deemed effective in another. Here, we pay attention to how fields obtain their dynamism and how they shape, or are shaped by, human practice.

I proceeded to ask SOLOMON, a drummer from one of Kingston’s garrison communities\(^\text{19}\), what motivated him to begin playing instruments in the first place. He pointed out,

\[
\text{SOLOMON: The love of it...and poverty! Yes, I love music...I love music more than life itself to be honest with you...you know. But there is another fact...something else that factors in there that make me want to continue it and it's called poverty! Because I was born and raised in the middle of a jungle they call [ST]. And I just knew from like 'bout 13 years old that I would have to get out of this, and not the way... other than jail...or prison...or the morgue...you know. I going to have to get out of this foolishness ...and the morgue is not my direction; and the jailhouse is not my direction. So I had to just put my skills together and hone my skills and learned to play drums.}
\]

\[
\text{DH: But, at some point, did money ever become the sole motivator for you trying to get out of your environment...?}
\]

\[
\text{SOLOMON: You know what, I don't think it was just the money to be honest with you because I did not know anything about money. I did not know what money could do because... where I come from we never even used to see drug dealers. I never see nobody who used to make money. Everybody around me was poor! And I just knew that there had to be a better life! There had to be a better way because I used to walk through [a certain area] and I used to see people living in decent houses and where we used to live...I lived in a zinc house. You know...zinc made the walls of my house. And sometimes when it rained, it is a miserable night ahead. You know what I am saying...so, that was part of the reason for me...you know. I never...}
\]

\(^\text{19}\) It should be noted here that most of my participants hail from humble beginnings, or what could be considered lower or lower-middle class backgrounds.
knew anybody that was rich...other than the politicians! You know...the politician, when he comes around, he is in the car...I even thought police was rich because they had vehicles...you know! And we see them every day come beat up a couple of us and shoot some of us...plus the misery! Just the misery of living in a ghetto in that environment...because every morning I woke up, there was somebody who died down the street...either police kill them or their 'bad-mind' (not well-intended) friends kill them.

Here, it might be relevant to take note of reggae singer, Freddie McGregor’s song: To Be Poor is a Crime:

\[
\begin{align*}
To be poor is a crime: \\
Man haffi know dat inna dis ya time^{20}
\end{align*}
\]

SOLOMON describes his community as a ‘jungle’. His use of the ‘jungle’ metaphor conjures up images of an arena where each day is one of unpredictable outcomes and where the fight for survival is based upon pure instinct. It is a garrison community: one of “those abandoned sites that are fundamentally defined by an absence – basically that of the state” (Bourdieu, et. al., 1999: 123). Note that SOLOMON has constructed an identity as someone who feels he deserves ‘a better life’. He recalls instances when he was walking through other neighbourhoods and saw, ‘decent houses’, and having the belief that anyone who had a vehicle was rich. These images prompted him to take more seriously the position he was in and to take note of his ‘misery’ as he puts it. But, his perceptions are also illustrative of how the ‘Other’ can be generated through the perception and presence of social inequalities. Moreover, Bourdieu argues that we should view the physical space as mirroring the boundaries of hierarchical positions in a society. But, much more than this, is to remind ourselves that the reality of Kingston’s garrison communities can be traced directly to spillover effects from the social organisation and structure of Jamaica’s plantation society.

However, SOLOMON sees music (i.e., learning to play drums) as a means to obtaining a better life and towards escaping the ‘misery’. Again we see how capital becomes relevant. The incorporation of spatial structures, which directly relates to social structures (Bourdieu, 1972[1977]) tend to produce the kinds of mental dispositions that influence action. But, for SOLOMON to see music as a ‘way out’ was because, similar to MEGAN and MOLLY, he was aware of the

\(^{20}\) Translation: “People need to acknowledge the severity of the situation in the present period.”
'cultural renaissance' taking place in Jamaica during this particular period. For him, music conjured hope. It became a pathway – a form of capital - that could potentially relieve the trepidation he felt he was dealing with on a daily basis. Here, we are reminded of Goffman’s (1968) contention that, in a totalitarian institution, the inmate’s social reality is constituted in relation to ‘getting out’. Similarly, Beckford (1972: 65) argues that those who are indeed relegated in the plantation society “aspire to getting their children away from it, even if they see no possibility of getting out themselves.” It is the feeling of stagnation or the existence of encroachments on one's perceived or desired social mobility that can begin to tear at the very foundations on which hope resides and engender social anguish. Dispossessed and marginalised populations, especially those who reside in Kingston’s 'ghetto-ised' garrison communities, have had to deal with challenging socio-economic situations which threaten daily existence.

I had an opportunity to talk with LEWIS, a singer who tells me he hails from Trench Town. In Chapter 2 (Section 2.5) I argued that Trench Town is considered one of Kingston’s notorious garrison communities. It is a site of upheaval and one marred with regular violence. It was apparent from my conversations with LEWIS that memories of being exposed to politically charged violence, which marks communities such as Trench town, had left some mental scars. When I asked him what it was like growing up there, he articulates a deep personal account of daily experience in one of Jamaica's most marginalised neighbourhoods:

LEWIS: ...It was pretty rough.

DH: ...In what sense?

LEWIS: Well...politically and then economically. And, then... you know that when it comes to... when it comes to family...when you are born in the ghetto...you are like the victim of having... having not! Politically you had violence from both sides [PNP and JLP political party affiliated gangs] and so sometimes I had to run and leave the house. When they say, "Rema21 man a come!" ...and you have [to leave the] house. So, I spent a lot of nights sleeping at peoples' house...we had to run and leave. I was small [but] I still remember those things. I watched so many of my friends... dead... many of them (pauses)...tears coming to my eyes. Many of them..."

LEWIS now sees music as,

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21 Rema (Wilton Gardens) is a name given to one of several rival sub-communities inside Trench Town.
LEWIS: ...fire for me. It is not like really just burning everything...it is like a musical fire for righteousness. It is more of like... representing the poor, equal rights and justice for all, and non-racial elements. It is just pure music for the world and uplifting music for everybody.

One could argue that poverty in the urban areas of Jamaica takes on a different dimension. The nation's capital of Kingston for example, has the unenviable distinction of being among the list of cities with the world’s highest per capita murder rate (Mead and Blason, 2014). The ghetto communities of Western Kingston in particular are seen not only as sites of unbridled criminal activity and unabridged violence but as important bases of political power. (Figueroa and Sives, 2002: 82-83) argue that these 'political garrisons', as they are often called, are indeed unique to Jamaica's political process and implicate them as sites of widespread voting manipulation during election periods. For Figueroa and Sives, the 'garrison' is,

[i]n its extreme form, a totalitarian social space in which the options of its residents are largely controlled. Indeed the most tightly controlled (or core) ‘garrisons’ exhibit an element of extraterritoriality; they are states within a state. The Jamaican state has no authority or power there, except in as far as its forces are able to invade in the form of police and military raids.

To sum up, thus far I have briefly explored the idea of the Jamaican music sector as an IHE within a plantation system. In this framing, I argued that, as a burgeoning field of social action, this internal ‘hinterland’ exhibited a ‘totalistic’ feature in the way it enveloped Jamaica in a cultural evolution. Moreover, much like the garrison community, the sector operates relatively autonomously from the broader Jamaican economy. We have seen how forces from within the global domain helped to fuel Bob Marley’s popularity, the concomitant rise of reggae, and, by extension, triggered a ‘cultural renaissance’ in Jamaica. I also attempted to show how my respondents perceived the field as offering opportunities to procure economic and symbolic capital, albeit primarily from outside Jamaica. It is in this sense that I consider Jamaican music as a plantation-cultural export sector.
But, the subjective sense of self is defined and expressed not simply by physical conditions. Nurturing relationships from, and with, important others can fashion daily lives. In the following section my respondents elaborate on how they come to see value in a field and, in many ways, to believe that they are somehow pre-destined to participate in the ‘game’ as creative practitioners. In short, I examine other modes of socialisation.

6.2.3 ‘In the Blood’: Habitus and Capital

6.2.3.1 ‘In the game’: (Habitus – Illusio)

Researchers and theorists remain keen to explore the myriad of ways in which processes of socialisation serve as primary mechanisms for moulding a social context and fashioning human conduct (Wacquant, 2006). In one aspect, these processes can operate at an organisational or occupational level whereby participation in a group, which anticipates the notion of belonging, is predicated upon the acquisition of skill sets and values deemed necessary to demonstrate compatibility. But, integration can also be activated on more social grounds to attune individuals to ethical norms and social conventions. Socialisation, as a process thus exhibits a polymorphic nature. Its multi-directionality accommodates a "complex interplay between evolutionary predispositions and genetic and socio-cultural factors" (Grusec, 2011: 243).

For example, AMELIA, an internationally renowned singer, recalls singing in the church choir from a tender age:

AMELIA: My mother put me on the choir from when I was about four.

DH: Four years old!

AMELIA: [Yes]...before I could even read good.
Children are particularly susceptible to early forms of socialisation because they encounter parental and family influences throughout much of the formative stages of their lives. The family sits at the pinnacle of human institutions where it functions “truly, [as] a masterpiece of the human experience” (Morman and Floyd, 2006: xi). It is from within the family unit that mechanisms, such as emotional bonding experiences, friends, interests and leisure activities, for example, are diffused to constitute a sense of togetherness. The concept of habitus is critical in this framing. This is because Bourdieu regards early forms of socialisation to which children are exposed as important launching pads that influence and shape dispositions and the point from where they develop their future imaginings. Consider VICTORIA, who manages an artist, but started out as a radio DJ. In discussing some of her early activities in the entertainment field, she revealed the following:

VICTORIA: Well my mom was a singer and she was into entertainment; the majority of my family on my mother’s side they loved music; they were into entertainment besides...and I have like... cousins who were also involved; they have bands; my sister was a solo singer she did solo singing throughout the Caribbean and she did background vocals for [foreign celebrities] But, everybody in my family can sing, but I can't... I would not even try.

DH: That gene didn't pass down [laughter]?

VICTORIA: No...I guess my mom didn't cut my little fingernail [laughter]

While the pathway to music as a career could not be described as linear or even planned, it was evident that parents’ or family members' interests were key mediating factors in sparking early interest in music. Indeed, when my respondents discussed their early encounters and reflected on their formative years of their lives, the family was presented as being at the frontline of socialisation initiatives. Recreational activities, membership in church choir groups, the interests of friends or even a radio constantly playing in the household, are all examples of different mechanisms that respondents mentioned in relation to their early years. I had continued my conversation with VICTORIA by asking her:
DH: So what was that like growing up then...being around music... at that time?

VICTORIA: Every Sunday I would hear like Jimmy Cliff\(^\text{22}\) or Alton Ellis\(^\text{23}\). On Saturdays, I mean we would...we would hear more like the soca and stuff like that, but... and then my Mom...she likes anything by Burt Bacharach\(^\text{24}\). She was very eclectic really. And, then on my father's side, my step-grandmother was a teacher...well she was like a headmistress, but she also taught piano at her home and we were all supposed to be going to her for piano lessons. But, I used to jump out of the window and go to the park to play netball.

VICTORIA's narration presents a household that is immersed in music. Immediate and extended family members are involved in one aspect of music or another. It is interesting however that VICTORIA also makes reference to her inability to sing. Here, she discloses her own socialisation by drawing a comparison between herself and 'everybody' else in her family who she believes 'can sing'. The dodging of her step-grandmother's piano lessons might have indeed allowed her to escape the singing 'gene' and engage with other interests such as netball. But, although, as a young adult, VICTORIA proceeded to work in a seemingly unrelated field at the time - paralegal practice - she eventually found herself returning to engage with other aspects of the music; interests she now attributes to family influences. It permit us to put forward the idea, as Bourdieu does, that habitus arises from early experiences in family settings and from engaging with various social institutions (Reay, 2004).

I had a similar conversation with LARRY. He is a musician who has been playing in a band in Jamaica for about ten years. He attributes his influence to his parents and describes being encouraged by his mother, in particular, to participate in singing competitions that were held in church and in school. He believes he somehow developed a "talent for singing from ever since, but...actually singing to the public... was my mother's doing." LARRY has now come to accept that he became comfortable with performing because his mother placed him in situations where he had to put his talent on public display, i.e. in church and competitions.

\(^{22}\) Jimmy Cliff is a Jamaican recording artist.

\(^{23}\) Alton Ellis is a Jamaican recording artist.

\(^{24}\) Burt Bacharach is an American composer, producer and performing artist.
Similar to AMELIA, VICTORIA and LARRY, the discussions with my other participants suggest that they too may have developed a particular predilection towards music and performance through early family socialisation efforts. Swartz (2002) points out that the acquisition or internalisation of the family contexts help to explain why a child raised in an artistic family is likely to develop and acquire the disposition to interpret, criticize and appreciate works of art. Sustained exposure to particular settings and family nurturing not only collude to design a physical world experience for the child but also gains significance in relation to modes of learning.

This importance of the family context and early exposure became even more pronounced in my discussion with GRACIE, an emerging singer, who has only been involved in the music industry for approximately three years. She explains that her Father operated a bar and also owned a sound system that he used to play at various parties. When she was a small child, her mother was working but attending night classes at the same time. Having no baby sitter, both GRACIE and her brother spent long hours and late nights at the bar with their father while her mother attended her classes. Being placed in this environment meant that she had to listen to, and be around, lots of music. She also informed me that as soon as she was tall enough to reach the turntable, her Father would allow her to play records on the turntable or act as 'selector' (or DJ) for the bar patrons.

GRACIE: …I was there all night... every night!... and then eventually when I got tall enough to fit around the turntables he would let me select.

DH: So you were selector as well?

GRACIE: Yes...I was in the game!

We can make an assumption here that there is the likelihood that upon being 'there all night...every night', GRACIE had observed, not only how her Father selected (played) records, but the reaction of bar patrons to the type of music he played. When she was conveying the story about being given the opportunity to 'select', I interpreted GRACIE's reaction as one of excitement.
The validation by her father instils a sense of achievement. She expresses it as finally being "in the game!"

Experiences can indeed be 'structuring', in the Bourdieusian sense of the word. They can shape and influence other areas of social participation. At the same time, they are also 'structured' in the sense that they are configured by socialisation schemes and social mechanisms. This is Bourdieu's 'habitus'. As I discussed in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4), Bourdieu uses the notion of habitus to illustrate how a system of 'dispositions' integrate with past experience to activate the pursuit of an interest in a particular field of play or, illusio (Lau, 2004). We can apply this mode of thought to help us grasp the motivational interests that are pursued by individuals. It accounts for the inclination of individuals to express interest 'in the game'. Again, it is the presence of illusio, which resides internally within the habitus, which denotes how individuals are urged to implement unconscious and unintended strategies to reproduce the game and motivate an investment (Aycock, 1998). What is more, the acceptance and recognition by others is the mechanism that solidifies the value of engaging in a game. Participating in music thus emerges as an activity of relevance for agents inculcated to appreciate and express a desire to invest in the music 'game'. As Wacquant (2014: 126) explains, here we are able to see how "desires are aroused and channelled toward their proper objects in repeated interaction with other participants sharing the illusio specific to the universe studied." Yet, I sensed that my participants seemed to harbour the belief that Jamaica is possessed with a natural tendency towards musical and creative proclivities. I wanted to explore this further.
6.2.3.2 ‘In the Blood’: (Embodied Cultural Capital)

My participants have come to view qualities they possess as a ‘gift’ or a natural talent with which they were born. After a sound-system stint during the 1970s, BLAKE, transitioned into producing music for artists. With several international hit songs now to his credit, it was interesting to learn that he had not pursued any formal training whatsoever to learn music production techniques.

DH: So, you created the riddim (beats) and everything?
BLAKE: Yes man!

DH: So where did you get that knowledge from?
BLAKE: It’s in the blood! It’s in the blood… as a music person!

When I asked ROHAN, now an emerging dancehall artist, about where his inspiration to do music came from, he tells me: "...it was just an attitude...a human thing; a natural thing."

Being 'in the blood' or finding themselves with this 'natural attitude' are examples of expressions used by participants when attempting to describe why or how they became inspired to do music as a vocation. It appears that music is mapped onto the body. Here we can see how a form of capital (in this case, music) assumes corporeal or symbolic attributes and how it is incorporated to do some work in the identity formation process. For my participants, music, or
even the music business, was not something outside of them. It simply represents an extension of who they are. Similarly, I asked MEGAN, another prominent female entertainer, to tell me why she got into the music business. Her response to me was:

MEGAN: You mean the music biz decided to get into me! I was always singing and...I was always singing around the community...singing on sound stems. But, my early recollection of myself... was that of singing.

DH: So you just found yourself singing? You never really like...intentionally went into the singing business then?

MEGAN: Yeah...Yeah...it was like I wasn't a natural at anything else.

DH: Did you ever think about anything else, or did you just gravitate towards the music biz?

MEGAN: Many times...actually...well...I thought about going back to school, I thought about a lot of stuff but...I don't know. I guess I just resigned myself to thinking this is my lot in life.

We return to AMELIA, who, we may recall, has been singing since she was four years old. She explains to me that she "felt like this is what I was born to do...to sing!" And, LARRY now believes he has somehow acquired a natural "...talent for singing from ever since!"

These comments suggest that there is a belief shared by my interviewees that their knowledge and talent were somehow meant to be an internalised part of their material and spiritual psyche. Bourdieu’s ‘cultural capital’ can do some methodological lifting here. As conceptualised by Bourdieu, cultural capital can exist in three different forms: objectified, institutionalised and embodied (Bourdieu, 1986). Objectified cultural capital refers primarily to physical objects desired for their practical functions and that may carry some symbolic meaning in a particular field. Some examples of this include owning an art or music collection. Institutionalised cultural capital denotes that which a society admits primarily through educational and professional qualifications. And, embodied cultural capital explains the set of dispositions and tacit knowledge that are internalised from exposure to a particular habitus or from socialisation (Bourdieu, 1986; Swartz, 1997). In the latter instance, the acquisition of these qualities exhibits how the body is socially inscribed.
Thus far, through my respondents’ recollections, early childhood participation in church or recreational entertainment activities has surfaced as a process involving on-going work that takes place on the family level. Regardless of whether a parent was actively involved in the music sector or not, music was often the soundtrack of their lives. But, it appears as if the family was unknowingly socialising them into the world of music in ways that could be described as composing a ‘musical’ or ‘artistic’ habitus - in the Bourdieusian sense. For Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 161) early childhood socialization serves as "the generative, unifying principle of conducts and opinions." That is to say it forms the basis of the habitus. It reflects “an ingrained set of orientations” (Jackson, 2008: 164) that serve as a basis for the understandings and expectations that become the guides for the practices and strategies we adopt. But, embodiment should not just be viewed in corporeal terms but also in a social and relational context (Csordas, 2002). Thus, it provides a key route in thinking about the dialectical interplay between the body and the social world that lies at the heart of Bourdieu’s social theory. It is a perspective that points towards a more fine-grained analysis of how the social structures of the ‘plantation’ pierced “every important aspect of social life” as Beckford argued (1972: 60).

To sum up this section, I worked with the narratives offered by my respondents that alert us to forms of socialisation in Jamaica's cultural space. In the next section, I engaged in conversations with my participants about their experiences related to what one needed to do in order to get an opportunity to record and to gain exposure. In short, the discussions reflect my attempt to comprehend practices in the music sector. The discussions emerged from direct questions I posed to them in the effort to elicit their specific thoughts on this subject. In other instances, the natural flow of conversation triggered relevant comments. Overall, for my participants, there is still a lack of emphasis being placed on what they saw as important organisation development features. As a result, Jamaica's cultural producers remain vulnerable to exploitation and find themselves pitted against each other to advance their own interests. But, these accounts also alert us to the authoritative structures that exist.
6.3 A (Subordinated) Logic of Practice: Forms of Capital

6.3.1 ‘There was not an infrastructure!’

We can recall from the discussion in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5) I suggested that, in the 1970s, tensions were rife between reggae performers and the government. It is possible to argue that reggae achieved a ‘symbolic’ status and popularity in the global sphere by ‘defying the odds’. That is to say, without locally developed infrastructural economic pillars or government intervention. It even accomplished this feat amidst claims that industry actors continue to engage in unbridled non-traditional practices. Following from this, I consider Best’s (1968) argument that we view the slave plantation economy as a ‘segmental economy’, or ‘hinterland’, which describes a self-governing unit that operates “almost completely independent of the rest of the economy.” This has a number of implications particularly as it relates to development. Firstly, although it is tightly integrated with the “overseas economy” (ibid: 45), the problem is that all the value-added service functions, including provision of financial capital, resides in the metropole. Secondly, the nature of the transactions that are undertaken with the metropole, and the ways in which they are conducted, indicate that very little money flows in the direction of the plantation (Beckford, 1972). As a consequence, well-needed resources that can stimulate development are held to a minimum. For instance, MEGAN explains that,

MEGAN: where reggae was concerned... there was an [economic] machinery that led to Bob Marley's rise to fame. But, there are other artists...who could have gotten exposure... but there was not an infrastructure." Remember, there wasn't anybody like...you know...a Chris Blackwell...that was doing anything where reggae was concerned. Bob Marley came. Another thing is that...I guess the machinery behind Bob Marley. But, there are other artists in the 90s who could have gotten exposure but there was not an infrastructure. Not saying that they would be as great as Bob Marley but there was not an infrastructure in place at that time. Remember what happened – they [foreign music companies] signed all these reggae artists when reggae was doing well. Then, when the music stopped selling, they're like...good bye!

As Williams (1977) convincingly argues, it is a myth to assume that any society is driven primarily by the dominant social order or dominant modes of
production. With this in mind, I consider that, functionally, the IHE departs from conventional modes of organisation and production. Green (2001: 64) also explains, too often “different levels of social structure or social analysis are collapsed into each other; or all levels are read off from an ‘ultimate’ core.” Therefore, it is important for our analysis not to ignore the structures and subsidiary or alternative modes of practice that undergird the Jamaican music sector.

In this section then, I focus on exploring approaches to practice that places value on social actors’ ways of knowing and being as integral to their social reality. In doing so, I enquire into forms of practice and explore how they are manifested in the field by drawing upon Bourdieu’s use of practice. Warde (2004: 18) explains that “usually when Bourdieu talks of practice(s) in substantive analysis he is talking either of practical sense or performances.” Therefore, I consider patterned behaviour or sets of taken-for-granted assumptions that seem to motivate action.

As I discussed earlier in this thesis, a comprehensive review of the historical factors contributing to the legacy of music in Jamaica cannot be adequately accommodated in this thesis. Nevertheless, in linking back to the discussion in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5), I suggested that it was the early sound system DJs who transitioned into being among some of the first studio owners and producers during the rapid growth stages of reggae. But, while they displayed an entrepreneurial spirit, they often ruled their various enterprises with threats of violence (Chang and Chen, 1998; Toynbee, 2010). The kinds of exploitative tactics taken by Jamaican producers have been well documented (Chang and Chen, 1998; Gooden, 2003; Niaah and Niaah, 2008). For example, during my conversation with LEWIS, he was describing a particular dispute (over pay) with a studio owner:

DH: You did not ask for any pay?

LEWIS: No.

DH: Why not?

LEWIS: Watch here...it is best to walk away sometimes. Because I have been through it already...where you try to ask for your things (what is due). Before you know it you have to really
get upset, and then the whole thing change and escalate into something different from where it has been.

DH: You mean relationship-wise?

LEWIS: Yeah...and even sometimes mouths meet (quarrel) and anything can happen. And I did not really want to go there because I know the kind of mentality. And [he] had some type of little goons around him where everything he says goes. Probably they are going to feel like they [have] to do something [to me]. I did not know what next was going to transpire so I said, "you know what, you never know"...I just left and I just did not return. Because he (the producer) is a person where you can't just run up to and say [anything]. Because he normally boasts about [how he handles] people like that. Because he once talked about [this one artist who] spoke up about his thing (pay). And he carried him into the studio and put on the 24-track [recording board] and just pressed the red button and reeled off (recorded) the whole album and said, "Go on...[leave]" and then fired [gun]shots past his ears. I cannot take those kind of things.

LEWIS' example emphasises the precarious nature of the field of action for cultural producers. There is a paradoxical element here. In one sense, this site of music production offers the prospect that 'stakes' acquired in the game can lead to a better life. But, on the other hand, to gain entry often exposes the risk involved and or being subject to exploitative practices. I suggest that this paradoxical situation modifies the 'stakes' in the field thus precipitating a state of ambivalence among emerging artists. My respondents pointed to these types of structural conditions and constraints as central to fostering, what they believe is, a hustler type of mentality within Jamaica's music sector.

6.3.2 ‘You can only come in by socialising!’

For example, we discussed the ways in which they went about seeking an opportunity to record. If one is technically savvy or possess audio-engineering capabilities, nowadays, it was indeed possible to take advantage of modern day computer software and record at home. For many others, it still means finding a studio and a producer who is willing to work with you. As JOSEPH, who is a young producer, explains, when it comes to "Jamaican studios...[it] is not every studio in Jamaica have, like... strict recording times." To get around these obstacles, an emerging artist will 'hang out' at the studio with the hope of being seen by the studio owner (or producer) and thus be given a rare opportunity. FAITH is now a prominent female artist in her own right. But, she explains that when she decided to pursue a career in music,
FAITH: I started becoming a ‘hang-outer’; it felt like an artist. A lot of that goes on in this business. You can't come in with a resume; you can only come in by socialising...which is stupid! You can't come in by virtue of talent; you have to come in by virtue of socialising.

It appears there is a ‘social’ aspect to this practice. Socialising through a recurring presence at a studio is often used to build up legitimacy as an artist. It is important to ‘feel’ like one. This activity seems to connect with Bourdieu’s conception of ‘social capital’ as we begin to see how individuals believe there is some value in building and establishing relationships by simply being at the studio. Similarly, LEWIS’ first trip to the studio was when his friends, who were also aspiring artists, asked him to accompany them. Eventually, he found himself going there on a regular basis.

DH: So you got up every day and you just go to the studio?

LEWIS: Yeah... You'd just go to the studio and voice (record). That was basically like my job.

Not only does it make one ‘feel’ like an artist to hang out at the studio, but for LEWIS it became ‘like my job’. Many of my respondents participated in this activity of 'studio dwelling'. It seems it was an important part of the process by which one found work in the game of music. AMELIA, another female artist, tells me that, “getting the jobs was not very hard to do, you know... you just go hang out at the studios.” ‘Studio dwelling’, as it is posited here, provides the up-and-coming artist the opportunity to see, or be around, the big name acts when they were recording at a particular studio. An ideal situation is to be given a chance to record with one of them. The practice also gives the studio owner or producer access to a ready pool of talent from which to choose. Figure 10 depicts the primary industry actor roles/positions in the Jamaican music sector.
Those who may display a hint of talent, or seem promising, will sometimes get an opportunity to record but more often than not, without compensation. LEWIS for example explained that:

LEWIS: I did some work for some people ...and I did not really get paid for all those works. And that was something like three months. At the studio... I mean, I like slept there.

Despite the fact that he did not get paid, LEWIS still ‘invested’ time in being at the studio. Bourdieu explains that within a social space there is indeed a harmonious interrelationship between the structures of a social space and the dispositions they give rise to. In other words, the practice of studio dwelling was devised by a habitus that took into account the possibilities and constraints in the field. It now appears as a taken-for-granted assumption if one wants to get into the game as an artist.

Linking back to the discussion in Chapter 4 (Section 4.4), here, practice serves as an example of doxa. Bourdieu uses the concept of doxa to represent the tacit understanding we have of social practice; of what seems natural. In other words, it is the unquestioned taken-for-granted assumptions we have of the world. JOSEPH, a young artist but also producer, was also concerned about the ‘studio dwelling’ practice. He believes it leads to other problems for the industry overall. Quite often, due to the emphasis placed on recording, little
importance is given to executing the agreements related to securing appropriate intellectual property rights for the recordings.

DH: Does that still go on by the way? People just hanging out...outside studios?

JOSEPH: Yeah man! Even up the road. If you look up the road, you see a bunch of artists outside and some of them are not even trying to write. Some just want to be in the mix. You go to a studio and you will see 50 people outside and the producer might just want to voice something...and it keep going like that. So, where is the paperwork, you know?

DH: What about the folks that you work with? When you step to them with...you know, "we need to have certain kinds of agreement". What kind of response do you get?

JOSEPH: I have given some of them an agreement to sign and everything was good up to that point. And they even said, "Okay, yeah man...no problem." That was three, four years ago. I haven't seen them since...to this day! But there is even a fear from producers who want to bring up paperwork before the session.

DH: Because they're afraid of how the [artist] will react?

JOSEPH: Yeah, that maybe it will affect the song-writing process.

So, the ‘studio dwelling’ artist will jump at the opportunity to record. But, when it is time to confront the legal aspect of the creative process, it is likely that trepidation sets in. While the artist is afraid of being exploited, at the same time, many do not take the time to understand or learn about Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) and what is it exactly they are entitled to. JOSEPH reasons that the artist doesn't see IPR as a priority at this point. He thinks this is because they see the preferable route to recognition as "jump into the studio and record, [even though they] don't have one line written yet...because [they] know they can [record anything] and repeat it three times...and go and pay some money (payola) to get it on the radio. Toynbee (2010: 369) has drawn attention to the fact the reggae flourished even though it adopted modes of practice that defied “principles of copyright, but also the economic logic which underlies it.”

As I discussed earlier in this chapter, there is a belief-assumption within the music field that, the ability to obtain exposure (or symbolic recognition) is critical in the building up of a mass audience following. Indeed, this is an important component for an artist or song to achieve commercial success. Within Jamaica, obtaining radio airplay or, getting a popular ‘Sound-System’ DJ to play your songs, are considered important marketing strategies for achieving maximum exposure in the local market.
Several radio and sound-system DJs have developed a mass audience following because they reportedly will play the latest releases that have the potential to become popular songs. A song that finds its way on a selected DJs playlist thus gives the audience the impression that the artist, as well as the beat on which the song is based, might very well be the next sensation. However, an overwhelming concern, as voiced by my respondents, is that getting to the sound-system or radio DJs - who could potentially make such an impact - can only be obtained in a particular way: one gains access by engaging in the practice of Payola. Coase (1979: 1) explains the practice as:

[u]ndisclosed payments (or other inducements) which are given to bring about the inclusion of material in broadcast programs.

Since GRACIE was an emerging artist, I was curious to hear her thoughts on what she saw as obstacles, if any, standing in the way of getting her career moving forward:

DH: Is there anything that is frustrating for you at the moment?

GRACIE: Oh yeah!

DH: Such as?

GRACIE: Getting out there. If you don’t have ‘links’ or if you don’t have a bag of money. You have to pay selectors to play songs. You go to the radio, and they want...it is a money thing!

DH: Did you try?

GRACIE: Yeah... I spent money.

DH: Did they play it?

GRACIE: They did! Not a lot... like a couple of days, you know. And then...that [was] it! So, I’m like...what’s the point!

GRACIE sees social and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) as essential components. She draws attention to the importance of having ‘links’ (a network of contacts) and lots of money. Here we can assume the latter refers to the
need for a significant marketing budget which, for Jamaica, suggests money to pay the selectors and radio DJs. Interestingly, GRACIE had offered payment to get her song played believing it would help her gain the well-needed exposure. There was compliance on the DJs part, albeit limited in her view.

I had posed a similar question to LARRY. He had never performed outside of Jamaica, so I decided to ask him:

DH: So what do you think has been ... preventing you then from going to the next level?

LARRY: It is a combination of things but maybe it's the payola. From the music scene... industry scene in general...it's terrible! Yes-man it flop!

DH: What causes that though? What do you think is the reason for that?

LARRY: We are talking about Jamaican mafia business and payola.

I sensed from LARRY’s remark that he is resigned to believing that 'things will always be this way' in Jamaica. He situates payola within the broader contexts of ‘mafia business’ or, more accurately, corruption, which some argue, remains rampant throughout Jamaican society and is entrenched within the island's political system (Bracking and Bracking, 2008; Collier, 2002a; Harriott, 2000). But payola also serves as an exclusionary tactic. If it is indeed rampant throughout, as my respondents attest, it means only the ones who can afford to pay will be allowed in. As a producer with several local and international hits under his belt, BLAKE mostly works outside of Jamaica, but returns quite often. When pressed on the issue of payola, I noticed he was quite somber when he remarked:

BLAKE: When you realise what is happening in Jamaica now. Jamaica has radio stations... not playing any good stuff. They're playing a lot of rubbish! And I am listening to the radio stations and they are playing all these songs... and I know that you have all these good songs [out there]. Only to find out that... people (DJs) were getting paid to play. So they play rubbish because people [are] paying [them] to play the things (songs).

We return to JOSEPH who agrees with this assessment. In his view, payola is a major issue because:

JOSEPH: "It is not the quality of music that's coming out, it is just what can be paid for, you know ... So even though you have a good message (song), that person is not going to get benefit."
ROHAN, who is considered a popular dancehall artist in Jamaica, believes that many of the songs being played on the radio, "can't even pass airport!" ROHAN's somewhat sarcastic remark was his way of suggesting that, the quality of the songs appear to be well below the quality level that would be accepted for airplay in a more mainstream international market. In other words, in his assessment, why should Jamaican radio stations and DJs play a song that would not even be able to compete on a more global level?

The question of 'payola' in Jamaica’s music sector has been a long-standing issue. For Kozul-Wright and Stanbury (1998: 29), it is reflective of an "anarchic and rent-seeking environment" which ultimately has a detrimental effect on product quality. Despite being outlawed in many countries worldwide, after years of debate, an effective code of practice addressing songs selected for airplay has yet to be legislatively passed by Jamaica's parliamentary and regulatory bodies. An article which appeared in the Jamaica Gleaner newspaper in 2008, referred then to a press release from the Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica (BCJ) which expressed that the Commission was:

"attempting to implement regulations that would require broadcast media houses to keep and have ready for inspection formal music sheets and music logs and to also have a music or programme coordinator" (Henry, 2008).

In 2011, the Jamaica Gleaner again reported that,

"The Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica has indicated that laws to make the practice of payola a criminal offence could be on the books by next June” (Barrett, 2011).

A more recent report, published by the Jamaica Gleaner in 2014, reflected the following:

“… the BCJ has been engaged in a public education campaign in the hope that "people will change their behaviour in light of the new regulatory framework that is to come". He [the Executive Director of the BCJ] added that the commission is pushing for payola to become a criminal offence” (Brooks, 2014).

I argue that these instances of ‘non-action’ are illustrative of the state of inertia, or ‘implementation deficit’ (PSOJ, 2012), that seem to persist in the Jamaican music sector.
6.4 Music and the Plantation System: A Politics of Mis-Recognition

Earlier in this chapter, I discussed how the positive reception of reggae, especially in the international market, demonstrates ways in which music becomes interpreted as a source of legitimate cultural value. I also offered instances from my interviews which reflected participants' comments on how music made them feel proud to be Jamaican and how it became embodied within them seemingly as a natural 'gift' of talent. I further alluded to the idea that reggae’s rise in global popular culture was indeed a motivating force. It had inspired many – especially those who were previously predisposed to music - to deploy their ‘embodied cultural capital’ as a means towards overcoming marginalised social conditions and social positions. The aim was to demonstrate the extent to which music, both as an art form and culture, mediates social interactions. It is often appropriated to advance social position and enhance identity.

6.4.1 ‘Don’t say you’re a musician!’ Negative Cultural Capital

I kinda feel...you ever just feel...I don't know if should just use (the term) 'disillusioned', because I have never been under any illusion. I just feel disenchanted probably...more like I lost that fire! I don't really feel that interested...it’s not as appealing as it used to be. Yea...I just get tired.

~ Excerpt from interview with FAITH

In this section, I aim to draw attention to the ways subtle forms of oppression mark the Jamaican cultural space. I will draw upon Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence to frame the discussion. The analyses further points to an attachment of identity to place as it works in collaboration with modes of socialisation to constitute a habitus. Additionly, we will see how habitus fastens onto forms of capital to occasion a sense of national pride and self-identity. But, we will also see how capital, viewed as resources, can contain contrarian characteristics thus leading to humiliation, exclusion and social derision. We begin by exploring comments made by my participants which are
indicative of how they perceived their position in the social space in relation to how others viewed them.

After FAITH had completed high school, she became interested in pursuing a career in music and started going to the studio regularly. She recalls her mother’s reaction when she broke the news that music was what she wanted to do:

FAITH: There was a lot of cussing; and a lot of bawling; and a lot of mourning..like I was dead and turned worthless! My mother almost died! The reaction was awful! [My family] didn’t think it was a real job. I guess because they wanted me to study law or something like that.

It appears that GRACIE had a similar conversation with her mother upon being close to finishing her high school studies:

GRACIE: My mother was like, “[final exams] are coming up... what you want to do? And, I was like...”I want to be a singer!” She looked at me and she was like... “Well, that’s not a definite job! You cannot guarantee that you’re going to survive after singing!”

In Section 6.3.3 of this Chapter I discussed how the family seemingly encouraged their children to partake in music-related recreational and cultural activities. I argued that, as an early form of socialisation, it prescribed an artistic habitus that internalised an embodied cultural capital that inclined them to believe that music was a ‘natural’ feature of their sense of self. But, despite being the primary agents who initiated the process by which their children were inculcated to develop a ‘taste’ for music, parents now express a deep concern over the aspiration of their children to enter into a musical career. Apparently, music is perceived as not “a definite job”; at least, not like the field of “law, or something like that” that enables one to contribute to an adequate means of survival. Instead, a career in music seems to be objectively positioned and discouraged as an unattainable goal. Here, we are beginning to see the formation of, what I propose as ‘negative cultural capital’. As Bourdieu (2000: 217) tells us that the process works through “effects of the conditionings imposed by the conditions of existence [which] are added to by the directly educative interventions of the family, the peer group and the agents of the educational system.” The revelation of following a musical career is one likely to provoke an angry diatribe from the unsupportive significant other.
LARRY: I hid it from my parents and my parents never knew. I was doing shows and my mother found out by turning on the television.

DH: How was the reaction?

LARRY: Lots of cursing...because it wasn't the role that she expected.

Bourdieu & Passeron (1977: xiii) tell us that “power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are, but in the form that renders them legitimate in the eyes of the beholder”. Parents do not share the view that the type of cultural capital accumulated by their children is endowed with any value such that it can be exchanged for material or economic capital. Yet, I found it interesting that, despite facing opposition negation and negation, especially from important others, my respondents still decided to follow a music career. LARRY expresses that there is a perception of hope by his mother that he might have pursued another vocation deemed more amenable to his daily survival. In this regard, MILLIE tells me a story recounted to her by a friend:

MILLIE: He went to get insurance for registering his vehicle and they asked him about his occupation. He said..."I am a musician". Then they began asking him... "What else do you do?" Apparently, the rep was like, “do you work?” So, don’t say you’re a musician! Because, initially, they had said it would cost about $30,000 JAD for the year to insure his vehicle. But, when he said he was a musician, it escalated!

Apparently, being a musician does not demonstrate that one is engaged in a legitimate form of ‘work’. As a result, the escalated cost of the insurance not only suggests the perception of a precarious existence for MILLIE’s friend’s situation. The act symbolically affixes it and, in doing so, labels him a victim of his distinctive identity; of his claim to be accepted as “a musician!” Being a musician also means possessing the type of capital recognized as ‘negative’ in that it permits exploitation by dominant others (Bourdieu, 2000). According to Bourdieu (1986; 1990a) we can look to the uneven distribution of cultural capital to discover what organizes social stratification lines and, relatedly, to provide insights into hierarchical structures of power within a particular field.

The comments provide an initial foregrounding of the subtle forms of practices which conditions people’s lived experiences. The social subject who is immersed in a space of relations of power and hierarchy also develops a
subjective sense of self from the experiences obtained from a close inter-relational experience with that same world. But, where we can detect forms of structural oppression and exclusion, invites us to take seriously “the lived experience of domination and exclusion and the feelings this produces” (Frost and Hoggett, 2008: 440). Thus, in the experience of social rejection, what kind of sense of self emerges? AMELIA recollects some of her early experiences in her musical career when she was singing on the hotel circuit in Jamaica.

AMELIA: Did you know that I couldn't even sing any reggae? Yeah...we couldn't sing reggae... and that was always weird to me

DH: So what were you singing then, cover stuff, or...

AMELIA: Everything...except reggae. You know... at the time you had... and all these female reggae artists and I wanted to sing their songs. And I couldn't sing them...unless you ‘pop’ it up!

DH: So you did want to sing it?

AMELIA: Yeah! But couldn't! So, you would try and sing it ‘poppy’ you know... like do it in a different style... so it sounds more accessible. The only way we could really get loose you know like... you're a resident band... is after you would play 2 sets or 3 sets a night to the tourists. Now, that is when we would jam some real reggae music... because nobody was there! And it was the funniest thing because the hotel guests [responded]. They never really wanted to hear music [that they can hear in their own country]. I couldn't understand how the entertainment managers never got that!

DH: So who made the decision...the entertainment manager for the hotel?

AMELIA: Yes, because... you know... dem (they're) stoosh (upper class); so they feel like reggae music is...is... I guess how people would look at Rap Music, "Oh...that's ghetto... some duty (dirty) Rasta music or whatever."

As we saw in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3), Beckford emphasises the issue of recognition for plantation economies. The legacy of plantations, he tells us, leaves cultures without a method for self-recognition. In the extract above, we see this play out in the following way:

Greenwood (1982) speaks of tourism as concerning itself with the presentation of cultural authenticity. But, it appears AMELIA’s account is demonstrative of where a cultural and indigenous art form is seemingly being dispelled by its own peoples. Girvan (1975[1981]) concedes that a key element of the plantation social structure was the bourgeoisie’s tendency to reject anything related to ‘blackness’. The Entertainment Manager’s decision to withhold recognition from reggae and from within of its own cultural domain, subjects AMELIA to experience a state of confusion. As one can
see from this description of AMELIA’s practice experience, a particular account of a practice story reveals the complexities that make the issue of neglect so difficult to determine. Here, I argue that the rejection of reggae from its habitat has a concomitant repudiative effect on AMELIA; one she describes as feeling “always weird!” This ‘weirdness’ can be flagged as the outcome of practices of symbolic violence as there is a discovery that one lacks the resources or capabilities to resist and is forced to accept the very rules by which domination is being exerted. For example, there is a sense of powerlessness which emerges from being a ‘resident band’ that suggests that performance must comply with the requirements of the Entertainment Manager or else succumb to the risk losing one’s source of income. Interestingly however, the band feels empowered to “jam some real reggae music” only when “nobody was there!” Thus, identity is recognised by the self only when it escapes oppressive discourses and practices.

Furthermore, linking back to a point I emphasised in Chapter 2 (Section 2.5) of this thesis, AMELIA also highlights an instance when she noted the associative stigmatism of ‘Rasta’ with reggae music. Again, this hints at how social relations of power formed from within broader socio-historical struggles can indeed continue to reverberate and have practical implications within the domain of a sub-field.

From these data, I suggest that within the local music sector, cultural producers who participate in the field are invested with a ‘negative cultural capital’. While they are seen to be holders of the requisite cultural capital that mark them as actors ‘in the game’, in their view, the social space in which they exist downgrades the value thus limiting its exchange potential. It is not a surprise, as Wacquant (2007) notes, that the effectiveness of a species of capital can vary from one social arena to the next. It is the notion that this disavowal promulgates feelings of negation in Jamaica - the home of reggae - that renders it a paradoxical dilemma to my participants.

The context in which these cultural producers find themselves in Jamaica is one that admits an ambivalence concerning the recognition and position of
music in contemporary Jamaican society. We have seen that the reggae genre is widely accepted as central to the nation’s culture and to Jamaican identity. The state has a long history of sponsoring studies and committees related to creative sectors. However, perceptions that the support has been marginal means that government interventions are now seen as token efforts and evidence of inauthentic rhetorical celebration. For my respondents, it reflects a refusal of policy makers to adequately respond to calls for finding ways to advance the Jamaican music sector. It represents a chronic failure to harness and organize a cultural resource for development. But, how exactly could this cultural resource, as I have positioned it, be effectively targeted and mobilised to assume a role in the enterprise of economic development?

Therefore, the next section turns to consider actions taken by the Jamaican government towards implementation of an entertainment policy. I evaluate my participants’ comments as well as key statements from government actors on the basis of key themes extracted from Pierre Bourdieu’s work and the plantation economy theorists. My respondents had much to say about the role of the government and I further tapped their thoughts about the state of the Jamaican music industry in this regard.

6.4.2 ‘A Tool for Progress’: Symbolic Violence

Indeed, some researchers claim that efforts to harness and organise Jamaica’s music sector have remained elusive due to the individualistic and fragmented nature of the industry (Power and Hallencreutz, 2004; Witter, 2004). Propositions for advancing the music sector now seems to be based on a set of assumptions centred on ‘unprofessionalism’ and operating ‘like a business’. In acknowledging these pre-suppositions, I deploy Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic violence to understand these discursive acts. An evaluation of symbolic violence suggests interrogating the discourses by those agents who claim, or are given, the right to speak. They are recognised by the field as legitimate based on the volume and structure of capital they possess. These subtle violent acts are inflicted to the extent that the dominant agents seek to impose meaning on the world and on social relations. These meanings become
entrenched as accepted ways of thinking and doing in that the dominant party may not be aware that they are perpetuating the norm. In fact, as Bourdieu (1990a) argues, the dominated are often complicit in imposing these norms. Bourdieu (1999) argues that the state commits a form of treason when it portends to institute transparent and open processes but which contain often-veiled practices. These practices cast a net of symbolic violence upon those who lack access to resources or the capabilities to respond accordingly. In the wake of such dominating acts, is a trail of institutionalised victimisation and frustration.

In a statement given to the Jamaica Gleaner newspaper in 2013, the state minister in the Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment commented that:

"We want to see it run more like a business, so that it can be more substantial and people can generate more income from it" (Campbell, 2013).

And in the same newspaper account, the artist known as, Chronixx\(^\text{25}\), added:

"...I just want the artistes to unite and reclaim the integrity of our music. The music is not easy to get commercial backing but we can aim to make it more professional and reduce back-door dealing (Campbell, 2013).

As these examples indicate, the arguments proffered call for a recognition of a dysfunctional sector and issues an appeal for actors to amend their practices accordingly. What they also demonstrate however is the emergence of a consensus that reduces the discussion related to the sector to issues centred on professionalism, the need for ‘better’ business practice, and about the positive effects they can deliver.

The problem is this kind of rhetoric is more likely to resonate with cultural producers who are inculcated with an orientation towards adopting conventional modes of practice and organising. In other words, in Bourdieusian (1984) terms, they already have the appropriate habitus and forms of capital that would enable them to respond to, and adopt, conventional forms of practice. Having a

\(^{25}\) Chronixx is a popular emerging artist from Jamaica.
sense of what we could call, ‘music business capabilities’, is only acquired from being socialised in, and exposed to, experiences that would enable this kind of knowledge to develop.

In July 2013, Jamaica’s policy makers engaged in a parliamentary debate to outline their sectorial initiatives. One of the Junior Ministers, representing the Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment, delivered a presentation outlining several steps the government was preparing to take as it related to the entertainment sector. Entertainment, the Minister argued, is to be “emphasised, strengthened and accelerated” so that the sector can be fully positioned and applied as a “tool for progress” (GOJ, 2013: 9). The presentation brought into sharp focus the government’s position on the Entertainment industry that was, in this case, linked to the ‘development and outcomes for the creative economy’ (GOJ, 2013: 2). Arguably, it was one of the most visible responses to date by the government to confront the ‘challenges’ of Jamaica’s entertainment sector. It amounted to an elaborate programmatic agenda, consisting of about eleven initiatives, promising to cover a wide-ranging gamut of areas including, among others, an artist education and certification programme; offering marketing and media support for local events and touring artists; a proposal to petition UNESCO for the heritage protection of Reggae as a Jamaican indigenous art form; as well as a showcase event for garnering market exposure for new and emerging talent.

Crucially however, in seeking to justify the plans to the parliamentary body, the Minister draws attention to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development report (UNCTAD, 2010) which, as he explains, takes into account that, “Entertainment is now well recognized as having the capacity to contribute substantially to economic diversification and growth, notably in developing countries.” Further, he pointed to trade in creative and cultural industries as having proved remarkably resilient in times of economic downturn, suffering less severe declines and recovering more rapidly than other sectors (GOJ, 2013: 8).
Given reggae’s global popularity, as well as the symbolic value often attributed to Bob Marley, one could argue that the Jamaican Minister’s reliance on UNCTAD’s claims appears as part of an effort designed to convince his own parliament of the importance of their nation’s cultural power. Here, we are reminded of McIntyre (1971: 166) who once argued that the Caribbean region still has an inordinate tendency to rely upon the world for “ideas about themselves.” It resonates with Beckford’s (1972b: xvii) concern regarding the inclination of policy makers and regional elites to address “problems through the eyes of metropolitan man.” I relate this to Bourdieu’s notion of doxa that, as I explained earlier, draws attention to how the social order is maintained but in ways that too often go unquestioned. Thus, they end up forming the common-sensical notions that make up our social reality. But, for Bourdieu, it is the presence of doxa that allows symbolic power to become efficacious because, more often than not, it is the dominant players’ version of social reality that becomes situated and accepted by the disadvantaged. The ideologies, or doxa, anchors positions, beliefs and attitudes, and they come to be accepted as legitimate forms of knowledge.

6.4.3 ‘Nothing is ever done!': A State of Inertia

The empirical data I gathered indicate that, when it comes to state policy on cultural action, my respondents exhibit an overarching suspicion and cynicism. They are now conditioned by the familiar regurgitation of a set of ambiguous promises that have become ensconced in political rhetoric over the past several decades. At bottom, there appears to be a severe disjuncture between the state’s economic development interests, which shape cultural development policies, and the need to create a more sustainable autonomous industry, as envisioned by cultural practitioners.

I proceeded to ask LUCY, a government employee, to share her thoughts on the extent to which she feels the government has done everything in its power to facilitate development in the music sectors. She conveys that:

LUCY: Because, really and truly what has been happening... why the ministry of finance and all of those persons have never really seen entertainment and music and the creative sectors as valuable is very precisely because there were not able to quantify the earnings.
LUCY’s comments are indicative of the tensions that remain between the worlds of art and the commodifying system of market economics. And, as I discussed earlier, when it comes to Jamaica’s music industry, a plethora of studies were conducted in order to assist the government with formulating a national music policy. Among them, the Kozul-Wright and Stanbury (1998) report drew upon several published accounts (Watson, 1995; Bourne and Allgrove, 1995) to claim that, it is estimated that Jamaican music generates in excess of US$1 billion globally. And prior to assuming her ministerial position, Lisa Hanna, Jamaica’s Minister of Youth and Culture commented that,

"The Cultural Policy [report], in citing the Recording Industry Association of America, said reggae music earned US$14.5 billion for the United States. How have we benefited? We have a supreme advantage to leverage this status to add value to our economy. But we are not organised to claim our wealth, and so others take it!" (Hanna, 2011).

However, Nurse (2007) contends that these numbers might be unrealistic and argues that the discrepancies stem from the inherently informal nature of the sector. Additionally, the extent to which reggae productions and performances take place outside of Jamaica’s borders complicates the ability to get a firm handle on concrete and quantifiable evidence. Despite this, many industry practitioners share the view that policy makers have yet to come to grips with the “economic importance and export potential of Jamaica’s music” (Nurse, 2003: 6).

Within a neo-liberal framework, drawing up policy on the basis of limited economic evidence is bound to have policy consequences. In fact, LUCY further adds that she believes that there is an “ad hoc nature about the music industry” and this might have something to do with why “successive governments have not really taken it seriously.” Here we see expressed concerns that the industry needs to find ways to get its own house in order. Indeed, as we have seen, it is a field that is conditioned by a particular logic of practice. Cultural producers who function in this field have developed ways of being and doing in order to be able to articulate a set of conditions quite distinct from dominant forms of organising. Following Levitt and Best (1975), I argue that, firstly, there is a need to understand the alternative modes of production
that underpin the sector as a functioning system. Secondly, to recognize that it operates in a ‘dependent’ mode. As such, its interest is much more aligned with foreign networks than with national interests. Therefore, in the case of the Jamaican music sector, what needs to be taken more seriously is that it is an Internal Hinterland of Exploitation.

In returning to the sectorial presentation mentioned earlier, the Junior Minister had also pointed out that, while Jamaican culture is indeed largely responsible for enabling the global recognition of the nation’s cultural identity, he offered, what amounts to an admission of sorts. In his view, the state still wrestles with the “long-standing challenges in managing the local entertainment sector and protecting our share of the international industry” (GOJ, 2013: 10).

This statement speaks directly to the state of inertia with which this thesis is concerned. There is an expressed interest in ‘managing’ the local sector: an objective that has proven elusive for the government for quite some time. Bourdieu locates such typifying arguments within a neoliberal discourse that is well founded on the economic imperative. For Bourdieu such discourses are characterised by a universalising principle that can only interpret actions in terms of “quantifiability, calculability, cost-benefit rationalization and business management techniques” (Chopra, 2003: 423). Furthermore, Oakley (2004: 70) makes the point that we find ourselves “in a stage of almost uncritical acceptance” of arguments claiming that creative and cultural industries can be the saving grace for development. In her view, there is a “widening gap” between the political rhetoric being trumpeted by international organisations and the evidence available to support the types of policy action being proposed. In other words, the creative and cultural sector is now the new ‘buzz’ phrase for policy makers. The problem is no one seems to be undertaking the difficult work of gathering the long-term evidence to determine whether proposals being designed make sense for the cultural sphere.

In this vein, MEGAN, who I had spoken to earlier, for example, pointed out that when, at a recently held conference event in Jamaica, a foreign reggae promoter described the extent of the activities in which they have been involved
in for decades, “a lot of people were asking...why haven't we implemented that in Jamaica?” And, when I spoke to AMELIA about state intervention, she was adamant that,

AMELIA: The issue of reggae is never a big enough to make them have some kind of integrity! It is never a big enough! That passion is never big enough. The problem just continues...it just continues. And we just always complain...all the time over the years. Once in a while you see a discussion, but it is always the same thing. It is very frustrating! Nothing is ever done!

Consider MILLIE a local practitioner who organises various community events. I had asked about her views on the role of the government and she proceeded to tell me that:

MILLIE: I mean I think we need to stop looking at tourism... sand and beach and everything. The true investment is really the people and the art...the music. I think even more directly to the music I totally agree that if performance places are built, I think it is better if it is built by private sector [rather] than government. But having said that, I think that the government has definite things to do. Look at noise abatement and for the fact that we don't have buildings to keep events in...so we have to keep it in public spaces. And this stuff about licenses and permits for parties...and the money for promoters... it is so hard! These regulations...stipulations and [the costs]. I feel it is the one industry that we are never really investing in, yet we are ready to ridicule and a rebuke. You look at tourism, and look at agriculture mining.. banking..whatever it is, all the subsidies and inputs are being given to creating a framework.

In MILLIE’s’ comments, she expresses concerned over the government's policy which continues to shuttle in culture as a driver for tourism. She believes there should be more explicit and targeted approaches directed at shoring up the cultural and creative sectors. In other words, it should be taken no less seriously than other traditional sectors. For example, to date, there are no dedicated concert venues in Jamaica. Indoor events are generally held at theatres or in local school auditoriums with rather poor acoustics. MILLIE’s concern does resonate with McGuigan’s (2004) criticism that, due to their non-industrialised base, too often countries in the Global South are locked in the mind-set that cultural sectors can only contribute to economic development through tourism. As a globalised framework for development crafted within the Global North, to what extent do emerging and developing economies feel empowered to devise alternative and indigenous solutions?
MILLIE also draws attention to the discourses or ridicule often aimed at these sectors. She argues that they belie the lack of resources and facilities made available to cultural practitioners that ultimately limit their capacity to achieve their full potential. This resonates with Beckford’s (1972a: 83) position that,

[r]igid pattern of social stratification restricts mobility; the concentration of social, economic, and political power prevents emergence of a highly motivated population.

MILLIE’S comment helps us to reflect once again on Bourdieu’s understanding of the symbolic violence. Bourdieu argues that in our analyses, we must attend to the institutionalisation of inequalities by dominant factions of society. Symbolic violence is reinforced through the imposing demands on cultural producers who are not able to acquire or mobilise the essential resources to mount an adequate response. As MILLIE points out, regulations are being implemented, in the name of progress, but ends up making it “so hard” for some and only affordable for those who have the necessary economic capital.

I had asked other participants about their thoughts on the role of the government as it pertains to music industry. VICTORIA emphatically agreed that,

VICTORIA: “they should be concerned about it. There is a role for the government in all of this because [the music] is a brand. Besides tourism, reggae brings in money; it also brings in tourism. The Jamaican music [industry] is not in order. To me, I have always stressed that [the industry] should try and follow a blueprint and the government should probably step in. Say, for example, you get people... I want to say trustworthy people. This is why they have to implement a board... an advisory board you know somebody to monitor what is going on because it is...

DH: But you know ... they have these things...

VICTORIA: They have them? Where are they?

Here we see that once again, there is perception that music for Jamaica remains closely linked to tourism. But, VICTORIA also brings in the idea of a brand along with the view that economic benefits can be derived from reggae
as a ‘money maker’. However, she argues also for a developmental plan of sorts, or a “blueprint”, as she puts it, and feels that the government can in fact play a role in getting the industry ‘in order’. But, when I pointed out to her that such a board does exist, she appears genuinely surprised but with an air of sarcasm to wit. What is interesting in this exchange is that while VICTORIA points to the need for an overseeing advisory board of sorts, at the same time, she expresses a concern about trustworthiness in the potential board’s makeup. I elaborate on the element of trust in the next chapter.

For now, it might be worth pointing out that, in 1996, among the National Development Plan strategic recommendations was the creation of a Music Industry Advisory Council (IAC) as a coordinative inter-ministerial body that would be charged with developing strategies and programmes to alleviate constraints and unearth opportunities. However, lacking a clear strategy and encountering duplication of effort across several government agencies the initiative soon lost support (UNCTAD 2010). The government had claimed that the IAC’s recommendations could not be fully implemented due to resource constraints (JAMPRO, 2004). Since then, several Entertainment Advisory Boards have been appointed by the Minister of Tourism and Entertainment including in the years, 2001 (Herbert and Leclercq, 2003) and again in 2012 (Reynolds-Baker, 2012).

LILY further highlighted that it is not for having a lack of plans why the industry seemingly finds itself in a predicament. She believes that while:

LILY: all those sorts of plans are excellent, and very detailed, but our failure to implement hinges on the fact that we have not put in place a mechanism to facilitate public-private sector partnerships. The [development] plans speak heavily with those being the methods for actually achieving the objectives they have described. But, without the actual guidelines being in place... you know, I mean the industry does not know what it is supposed to do! The government-typical inertia...fine. But, also there is, or could be, a genuine failure for doing this because of new territory.

What is interesting in this exchange is that, in the first instance, we can link LILY’s comments back to an earlier discussion in my introductory remarks. I had highlighted how the PSOJ’s Chairman considered the idea of ‘implementation deficit’ disconcerting. But, LILY also refers to talks about the propositions for ‘public-private’ partnerships which, seemingly left unattended,
has diminished conditions of possibility. This inattention, which LILY partially attributes to as some form of bureaucratic ‘inertia’, is again illustrative of an incident, which symbolically excludes others from access to potential resources that could transform their situation. Additionally, I interpret LILY’s description of the “government-typical” inertia as an almost taken for granted assumption that, when it comes to the cultural sectors, very little is expected from the government.

As these comments demonstrate, there is a genuine perception that the government has not done much or gone far enough to effect changes in the cultural and creative sectors in Jamaica. Repeatedly throughout my interviews, there were expressions of mounting concerns surrounding support for cultural sectors both in terms of consumption in the local market as well as the effectiveness of government policy interventions. However, the policy inaction cannot be attributed to the lack of studies, plans, recommendations which have been conducted and presented as a basis for policy action.

6.5 Summary

In this Chapter, I drew on my participants’ accounts to draw attention to how music, for Jamaica, serves as a cultural resource. Using Bourdieu’s conceptual notion of capital, I show how music is implicated in the formation of identity projects and is drawn upon to articulate a position in the social world. But, I argued also that, for cultural producers, we see how they developed a taste for music by tracing their early socialising experiences. We have also seen how these experiences led to feelings of being embodied with a musical nature. Here, the notion of habitus contributes to our understanding of the inclinations we have but also how they are constituted in relation to larger social determinants (Navarro, 2006).

This section also focused on my participants’ commentary on efforts by the Jamaican government to harness and organise music as a cultural resource. My respondents further pointed to types of structural conditions and constraints,
such as payola\textsuperscript{26}, that appear central to limiting opportunities. I engage with transcripts from relevant government documents to examine state intervention discourse and actions. Yet, despite the rhetoric surrounding the move towards positive action, I argue that my participants still perceive the music sector is being mired in a state of inertia. They also believed that this has led to the institution of a particular set of negative practices. For my respondents, this further contributes towards individuals losing hope as it relates to advancing the music sector. Here, it is possible to argue that the subjectivities of individuals are being shaped but in relation to a "representation of what appears to be objectively possible" (Robbins, 1991: 60).

I have also suggested that, the extent to which Bob Marley appears in my data as a taken-for-granted assumption “that […] goes without saying” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 168) indicates that cultural producers display an implacable belief in the Marley myth. I argue that the charismatic myth of Bob Marley is a socially constructed condition of existence for reggae: one that is now integral to Jamaica’s image and its cultural producers. The international accomplishments of Marley still stand as an example of possibilities that continues to fuel aspirations. Indeed, there is a heralded image of the artist that reverberates not only within Jamaica but also throughout global popular culture. It is now a historically situated condition of knowledge that makes it difficult for one to envision a reggae genre without the Marley image.

In the final analysis, a recurring question that still remained open for me was why these practices persist even when we consider past and recent rhetoric that creative and cultural industries can contribute to development. I now draw upon the narratives towards effecting a more in-depth understanding of the practices in Jamaica’s music sector.

\textsuperscript{26}As of the time of this writing, not much has changed. Another newspaper article entitled, ‘Get tough on payola’ (Campbell-Livingston, 2013), reports that the BCJ was still “recommending [to the government] that payola be made a criminal act.”
Chapter 7 Tracing Plantalogical Subjectivities

No one is ever educated or liberated from the past by being taught how easy it is to substitute new shibboleths for old.

~Elsa Goveia

Perhaps there are factors inherent in the plantation system which serve to impede transformation from a state of underdevelopment.

(Beckford, 1972b: xxiii-xxiv)

7 Introduction

In the preceding Chapter, the aim was to begin the work of grasping how the subjectivities of Jamaican cultural producers are shaped. But it was to also gain further insight into the state of affairs surrounding the Jamaican music sector. By drawing on excerpts from my interviews with cultural producers, I showed how they conveyed forms of socialisation that mediated the construction of their identities in relation to socio-economic and socio-cultural phenomena, both globally and from within the Jamaican local context. I suggested that, for Jamaicans at least, music tends to foreground ideas of nationhood and is often tapped to negotiate both economic and social positions. I further argued that these are legitimate bases for taking music seriously as a cultural resource. From the perspective of affirming a sense of self and belonging, the aforementioned aspects might be viewed as positive.

However, when it comes to the issue of developing an industrial infrastructure for Jamaica's music industry, policy prescriptions have a historical tendency to stagnate. In this regard, we have seen evidence of a prolonged apathetic stance exhibited by the state. We can recall that, in the introductory chapter, I drew attention to the theme of an economic forum held by the PSOJ in 2012: Consensus but no action: Why can't we just do it? (PSOJ, 2012). I argued that, in important ways, this theme connects with the commitments of this thesis. I suggested that the theme of the PSOJ's forum should incite us to
ask questions about why a state of inertia appears to persist in Jamaica’s music sector. It permits us to speculate on what might be the socio-political and socio-cultural underpinnings when conflict or, more appropriately, inaction trumps consensus. The inability, or refusal, of those in positions of power to respond adequately to calls for finding ways to advance the music sector is viewed by those I interviewed as a recurring failure to harness and organize a cultural resource for development.

This chapter purposes to deepen the analysis of my data by focusing on the way in which social agents attempt to grasp the social reality in which they find themselves. This should satisfy the second major tenet of my research that concerns my effort to understand the implications of a set of complex registers of subjectivities which seem be at work within the field of Jamaican music and the broader Jamaican social space. In the first section, I re-engage with the Plantation Economy’s concept of dependency by exploring the features that I believe emerge as contributing to its durable nature. The second section reflects my effort to make an associative connection between practices and, what I have termed, ‘plantalogical subjectivities’. More specifically, I centre my analyses on what appear in my data as institutionalised recurring common patterns of interpretation that participants use to describe their social world. I closely examine the symbolic expressions they use to depict day-to-day practical encounters as well as the perspectives they offer with regard to Jamaica’s socio-cultural make-up. Attention to such discursive practices should not only elucidate understandings of subject positions, social conditions and related tensions, it should also enable us to examine them for their wider repercussions. Therefore, I place particular emphasis on an array of my participants’ thoughts, perceptions and beliefs in situ.

7.1 Recognising the Colonial Mentality: A Recirculating Past

In Chapter 6, I noted that a key theme that emerged as prominent in my data was the issue of recognition. It takes into account the modality through which individuals acquire a justification for existence. In this framing, the social world becomes a battleground where contestations are played out as agents
are seemingly engaged in an endless pursuit of identity recognition. Put another way, the global field can be seen as an identity-exchange market where cultural producers are actively engaged in conducting social transactions. Here, cultural capital is traded in exchange for economic capital and symbolic recognition. The implication of this, Bourdieu tells us, is that society is now tasked with the responsibility to produce and distribute “what is rarest, recognition, consideration, in other words, quite simply, reasons for being” (2000: 240-241).

Thus, what I am suggesting is that tensions, hopes and aspirations that unfold in everyday life can be construed to form the structural properties of political and societal debates. As a result, they are fertile grounds for considering the nature of symbolic struggles. In the first part of this chapter, I draw attention to three major elements that emerged from my empirical data: the ‘foreign mind’, gaining respect, and, dependency.

7.1.1 The ‘Foreign Mind’: a Legacy of Slavery

From the standpoint of my participants, the impetus for contestations can be hypothesised as emerging out of perceived threats to identity and culture from both inside and outside the field of the music sector. Repeatedly, they expressed growing concerns related to the marginal levels of support received in Jamaica from both the local community as well as from policy makers. As I discussed in the Introduction of this thesis, despite an ample set of reports and studies attesting to the potential benefits that could be derived from the music sector a state of inertia persists. But, according to LILY, a social entrepreneur who works in the creative sector, the quality of the reports may not be the issue as much as who prepares them. While we were conversing about why initiatives outlined in the reports were not being implemented, she explains that one major stumbling block may be related to the fact that too often,

LILY: ...we rate foreigners over ourselves. In other words even when there are local experts... we have a tendency not to listen to what is being offered locally and reach for outside support or outside consultation and so forth; and not have a strong enough belief in ourselves to forge a new path.
LILY’s observation connects with Griffith’s (2005: 983) observation of the “emulation of metropolitan values” by colonial subjects. Moreover, they tend to exhibit the belief in the superiority of anything related to the Global North. As we can see from LILY’s comment, indigenous knowledge is invalidated or rejected whereas foreign knowledge that originates from the outside is more likely to be accepted or endorsed. She has seemingly observed a predisposition “not to listen” if solutions are being offered from within. Rather, there is the display of a preference to “reach for outside”. While this exemplifies the distribution of recognition by a society, it flows in an outwardly direction. Use of Bourdieu’s concept of misrecognition becomes relevant for these analyses. For Bourdieu (2000), misrecognition is a form of symbolic violence, akin to a misperception. It represents tensional acts but those that seek to unconsciously legitimise ingrained practices. Because they remain mis-recognised, ultimately, they end up reproducing the patterns of domination in a field (Swartz, 1997).

In this case, we posit that when a bourgeoisie or institutional habitus confronts the habitus of local individuals’ the encounter sparks feelings of denial in subordinated social actors. The institutional habitus fails to recognise or misrecognises lower-class culture thus reproducing social inequality. LILY sees this is suggestive of a fragile sense of self among native Jamaicans and, as a result, the ability to imagine or design homegrown alternatives becomes tenuous. She reasons that it illustrates a lack of self-confidence and, subsequently, the rating given to foreigners and foreign-supplied knowledge comes across as something Jamaicans do intuitively. LILY’s comments also link up with Beckford’s concerns as it relates to the notion of dependency and inferiority. For Beckford (1972b), an inferiorized mind slows the development of self-confidence and thus encourages an outward gaze in search for validation. What further troubles Beckford are the traces of social and institutional structures from the plantation economy that still contaminate a post-colonial and post-independent Jamaica. The ‘points of view’ we see being expressed in LILY’s comments are those that have become deeply embedded and, as such, can be traced to the habitus of individuals involved (Bourdieu, 2000).
This dispositional outward gaze, referred to by Jamaicans as the “foreign mind” (Pruitt, 1993), was prominent throughout several of my interviews. The term refers to the inclination to have a high regard for anything associated with a foreign country (primarily US and Europe). But, it is accompanied by relegating any native associations to an inferior position. Jamaicans use the term to recall the active presence of the superiority/inferiority complex that can be traced to a plantation system of colonial relations as Griffith (2005) argues. For instance, in commenting on a recent government initiated project aimed at mobilising the music sector, AMELIA, a prominent artist, explains that,

AMELIA: ...the government’s plan (was) to pay for these [foreign] people [to come to the island] and hope to get a deal. And I am thinking... “we should have had our own shit! We should have had our own company from years ago!” Why do we always depend on the outside? It’s a mentality of...we can’t do it ourselves. We always have to look outside! I do not know what caused it, or if it is freaking slavery!

Here we note that AMELIA’s use of the word ‘always’ points to possible recurring acts. These are the kind of ‘conditionings’ that should tell us something about habitus and clue us into “principles”, or the social and mental structures, which influence thought and action (Bourdieu, 1972[1977]: 53). However, in this excerpt, AMELIA reflects on the government-sponsored project and appears quite concerned about the fact that policy makers had to solicit outside intervention. Her reaction seems to suggest that the government had the option to choose between finding ways to mobilise local actors in the effort or to seek assistance from foreigners. Since the latter option was pursued, there is an inherent message being conveyed: resources and/or capabilities are non-existent locally because there is a belief that “we can’t do it ourselves”.

However, something that is quite telling for AMELIA emerges from a presumption that Jamaica has had ample time to learn. As she puts it, “from years ago...we should have had our own shit”. Similarly to LILY, AMELIA highlights the outward gaze of the ‘foreign mind’ by questioning the inclination to “always depend on the outside”.

Emerging from AMELIA’s and LILY’s position is a depiction of individuals mired with a cognitive inclination, or habitus, positively associated with the outward gaze. But, it points to a recurring and consistent dispositional feature that remains unaddressed. The playing out of these ingrained errors not only
reproduces mechanisms of dependence, but, when left unchecked, they stunt
the development of local capabilities and further dampens opportunities to
nurture an internal dynamic that can support future growth (Brewster and
Girvan, 1973). Notably, AMELIA wrestles somewhat with her search for
explanations to this phenomenon but eventually suggests that it might have
something to do with the legacy of “slavery.”

Indeed, when my participants were asked to reflect on the state of Jamaica’s
music industry they provided explanations riddled with elements of frustration
and they elaborated by using narratives drawn from within a colonial-slave
imaginary. My respondents relied upon recollections and narratives to distil a
cognitive understanding of a social world shaped by plantation-ized socio-
cultural referents. As one of my interviewees, MILLIE, remarks, “it is like...
when you look at the plantation. It is the same thing now! It is not just the
entertainment industry... [it's] the Jamaican society. It is sad!” MOLLY, who is a
publicist and a radio presenter, seems to agree. She explains that:

MOLLY: You see the reggae music [industry]|... the collective? There is a sickness that we
suffer from. And the wounds that have been inflicted on reggae have been self-inflicted
wounds. And because we don't love ourselves, we continue to use a paradigm that doesn't fit
us!

DH: Where does that come from...that denouncing of self?

MOLLY: ...from the legacy of slavery! We are a colonised people. And so, the colonials did a
very good job of keeping our brains shackled. And you see when people try to convince you
(otherwise) you [still] see that mentality there!

DH: So, you think we are still carrying that stigma.

MOLLY: Absolutely...we suffer from it! We suffer from it in so many ways. So, we
have...yes...we are still living with the baggage of colonialism and it's all part of the vestiges of
slavery.

MOLLY refers to the “legacy of slavery” as “a sickness” that has now
resulted in what she perceives as self-loathing. In her view these are
detrimental effects that comprise a set of factors that contribute to the
challenges facing the reggae music industry today. Here, we could proceed to
ask, how much is MOLLY’s narrative illustrative of the ways in which her
subjectivity has been shaped? Bourdieu argues that this is reflection of a
socialised habitus: the internalisation of being exposed to a long history of a
particular social structure that is likely to induce “silent suffering, which may find bodily expression, in the form of self-hatred, self-punishment” (Bourdieu and Eagleton, 1992: 121). Categories and labels we use to define issues, individuals and groups reflect our social conditionings.

This argument links back to an earlier point made in Chapter 3 (Section 3.3.1) about the ‘Third World’ label that is generally cast on Caribbean nations. Indeed dependency theorists such as Mignolo (2012) and Grosfoguel (2000) have argued that post-colonial societies have a tendency to exhibit a kind of devaluation of self-knowledge through cultural self-doubt. They posit that this is associated with the universalization of western epistemology and the spread of Eurocentrism that was indeed part of the work of the colonial project. In other words, one holdover effect of colonialism is the idea that intellectual thought is likely to be viewed as “the exclusive property of Europe” (Nettleford, 1979: 190). MOLLY’s descriptions gain some relevance in the plantation economy framework, but within a broader spectrum than economic underdevelopment. We can recall that, in Chapter 3, I drew attention to plantation economy theorists’ concern (Beckford, 1972b; Girvan, 2006) related to ways in which the colonial plantation system works upon the social psyche. Those who feel marginalised are victims of the social stratifications that are still stubbornly in place according to Beckford. Badejo (2010: 5) takes up this argument and points out that the self-loathing is typical among former colonized groups because,

[t]he success of the colonial enterprise has been in perpetuating the most negative image of the culture of the colonized to the point that he/she has so internalized self-hatred almost beyond redemption. In other words, even when he/she succeeds in “discovering” who he/she is, he/she is forced to detest what he/she uncovers.

This view resonates with the position of Fanon, who suggested that,

[E]very effort [was] made to bring the colonized person to admit the inferiority of his culture that has been transformed into instinctive
patterns of behaviour, to recognize the unreality of his "nation," and, in the last extreme, the confused and imperfect character of his own biological structure (Fanon, 1965: 236).

Fanon’s critique may also help explain why the Caribbean dependency theorists posit the notion of the plantation economy as a site that exhibits the kind of characteristics that smothers creativity and entrepreneurial impulses. Bourdieu sees the instinctive patterns to which Fanon refers as evidence of the durability of ‘colonial’ dispositions that, “when carried along by its own internal logic, the colonial system tends to develop all the consequences implied at the time of its founding – the complete separation of the social castes” (Bourdieu, 1962b: 146). For Bourdieu, they are a reflection of a habitus that engages in acts of symbolic violence through the way it induces and perpetuates feelings of colonialised power relations of superiority and inferiority. We can see how this plays out below:

Commenting on the same government project mentioned earlier by AMELIA, TOM, an author and cultural activist claims he was at the event and made several uneasy observations and posted the following on his Facebook page:

TOM: [The event], to me, was interesting light shed on this relationship between artists and government. I was backstage in what I guess was the artists’ quarters... and across the way was the area designated for the "executives" from abroad I suppose. I never laid eyes on them so I don't know if they actually exist. It's like there was a deliberate separation so that the government officials in charge could insert themselves as middlemen. It was woefully clear and very much unappreciated even from the perspective of this lowly observer. I also saw our...prime minister enter the scene, and her entire procession walked past the artists’ area and went directly to foreigners tent... I’m still not sure if the artists’ area registered in the landscape for her and her entourage (Tom, 2013).

As evidenced by TOM’s account, un-acknowledgement or repudiation, takes up a different positioning. Instead of “not listening to local experts”, as LILY pointed out in an earlier comment, it is being demonstrated through the government officials’ exclusionary act of “walked past the artists area” and going “directly to foreigners tent.” Such practices of exclusion can be read through Bourdieu’s notion of symbolic violence and misrecognition. Again we see the imposition of subtle forms of violence. The views they have of their positions in the social space colludes with a habitus to inform the kind of
practices that seeks to legitimate social differences associated with their class positions.

We see this theme emerge again when I asked LARRY, a musician in a local band, about his thoughts on what the future might hold for the Jamaican music industry. He indicated that he had some renewed hope and began to mention a slew of emerging reggae bands whom he thought were playing great music. In his view, they should have bright futures. However, his brief enthusiasm suddenly shifted:

LARRY: ...but, let me tell you something. Jamaica has a history of not giving anything ratings until a foreigner gives it a stamp of approval...when in truth and in fact, it should be the other way around. But, it is like a self-esteem thing!

What is worth noting is that LARRY had displayed some initial excitement when he began talking about the new bands on the scene. But, it was short-lived. He subsequently displays some disquiet that the bands were not getting the local support and respect they deserved. This form of perception that LARRY displays when referring to these bands may have some implication for future development. Assuming the band-members share LARRY’s sentiments, this does give rise to questions such as: what kind of activities will they engage in at home versus outside? Or, what kind of support systems do they have in place at home? How much time and effort will they invest into the home market? However, like LILLY, LARRY has used the term ‘ratings’ in his remarks to highlight the patterned propensity within Jamaicans for according high regard for something only after a foreigner validates it. In LARRY’s view, this kind of behaviour has a “history” and, he sees it as possibly emerging from a lack of appreciation of self. As a result, whenever individuals who have similar cultural characteristics create something, it is often subjugated to mediocrity. Jamaican cultural producers can create music value, but are not valued.

We are getting the sense of a deep-seated shared belief by respondents that there is a presence of an in-grained tendency (or habitus in the Bourdieusian sense) to seek confirmation of cultural products and knowledge claims from beyond local borders. We have also seen examples of the symbolic acts of misrecognition in which dominant actors in the field engage. LARRY’s
primary concern then is that the bands have little choice but to develop their craft elsewhere. But, there are significant implications. LARRY continues by explaining that,

LARRY: ...[musicians] would rather leave Jamaica because they can get to work with people who respect each other...even if it is not [for] a lot of money. They also have a following...people who come out...who like music! People outside of Jamaica seem to me... to really appreciate it. And, as a musician, you feel good!

Here again, we see another factor that fortifies the outward gaze. Linking back to the discussion in Chapter 6 on identity markets, according to LARRY, economic capital is important but cultural producers are also interested in accumulating ‘respect’. LARRY expressed this as intrinsic need for musicians to “feel good!” But, feeling good is depicted as emerging from acts of appreciation, a show of support or from simply being given the opportunity to interact with people who have a mutual “respect [for] each other”. However, the concern is that it slips from a mere seeking of legitimacy for one's craft towards confronting the 'diss' of the Jamaican self-identity. In other words, for the people I interviewed, their social identity is comprehended as inseparable from their national identity. The experience of alienation caused by the internalised feelings of disrespect at home is a puzzling and contradictory condition. It undermines selfhood (or an embodied cultural capital), one that needs recognition and reassurance. I explore these concerns in the next section.

7.1.2 ‘We don’t respect reggae!’ Negative Cultural Capital

In this section, the aim is to elaborate on my participants’ concerns about the presence of enduring phenomena that not only impinges upon their social conditions but also imbues them with a sense of marginalisation and stigmatisation of their social group. In addition to the ‘foreign mind’ orientation, what was consistently emerging from my data is that, inside Jamaica, reggae, and the cultural producers associated with its production, appear to take on a negative value. In contrast, there is a perception that at the international level it is quite the opposite, as LARRY has suggested. In chapter 4, as well as in Chapter 6, I had put forward the idea of ‘negative cultural capital’. The term was offered to expose when social agents see value in acquiring a stock of cultural
capital, but it is one that is negated and marginalized within the home-space. That is to say, this finding confirms Bourdieu’s argument that value assigned to a ‘capital’ can certainly be field-specific (Wacquant, 2007). In this case, cultural capital is acquired in Jamaica but is valued outside of it, not in it. I reframe this to suggest: capital is negative in one field and positive in another. As a result, marginalised actors may come to believe they are left with little choice but to abandon the negative field of action in search of a positive alternative field where the capital is valued. In one sense, the belief is that a positive field-match will produce social importance. But, the consequence of that, from a plantation economy perspective anyway, is that it imbues a “chronic dependency syndrome” (Beckford, 1972b: 215). Yet, in Jamaica, there is another important dimension to this process. Returning to AMELIA, she explains her motivation for focusing the majority of her efforts outside of Jamaica:

AMELIA: ‘...we (as Jamaicans) don’t respect [reggae]. We know that people love it and we live off that hype but we don’t respect it; so, over the years people (we) see that... I don’t know what it is going to take...don’t know. But you see it! You see the disrespect at home. I don’t know what it stems from. I know I don’t get the respect in Jamaica. It is only after leaving Jamaica and achieving a level of success …and go back …they respect me.

Firstly, AMELIA’s comments serve as a reminder to consider the ineffability of aspects of human experience. Gaining reinforcement from important others is crucial to gaining social importance and selfhood (Bourdieu, 2000). The feeling of being alienated puts identity at risk and thus, in the case of Jamaica’s cultural producers, allocates an experience of suffering. Here, we encounter the process of subjectification as we see AMELIA having to come to terms with a feeling of being devalued due to her cultural work. Further, AMELIA’s remarks exemplify the ambivalence of the Jamaican cultural producer: identity is disregarded, accepted elsewhere, but only to be re-acknowledged in the first instance. As she points out, “it is only after leaving…and go back…they respect me.” For AMELIA then, what is at stake is her identity, that which gives her a sense of being and her sense of reality (Bourdieu, 2000). Again, AMELIA’s remarks reflect the belief that she possesses a ‘negative cultural capital’ where it is revered in the foreign setting but negated in the local field. However, it is possible to recover this identity locally, but only after going through the validation process.
Althusser’s (2008) process of ‘interpellation’ can be brought to bear on this analysis. In Chapter 4 (Section 4.3), I suggested that the notion of interpellation might be useful to how subject formation is produced and internalized. Interpellation works through ‘hailing’ or the naming of a particular ideology (Brondo and Bennett, 2012). In AMELIA’s case for instance, perceptions of disrespect exemplifies her sense of place as marginalized. For Caribbean historian Elsa Goveia, it is the work of “an elaborate ideology of innate superiority and inferiority” (Goveia cited in Chamberlain, 2004: 174) that forms the basis of the plantation society. Thus, I put forward the argument that the plantation society recognizes cultural indigeneity but, through the lens of its ideological premises, it is ‘hailed’ as inferior. Identity is thus negated so that it is subjected to a marginalized position in favour of a superior (external) Other. It points to the formation of ‘Plantalogical Subjectivities’. We observe that institutions and their concomitant structures are established to weed out agents who do not adopt the requisite categories of perception, evaluation, and action (Wacquant, 2014). Being forced to confront themselves as devalued, psychological and sociological aspects function to produce a process of subjectification in individuals (Gillborn, 2008; Steele, 1997). AMELIA does experience the feeling of being respected. But, it is only acquired after she has been legitimated from the outside. Here, I argue that the feeling of abandonment and exclusion of recognition, not only consolidates the ambivalence of cultural producers. It instantiates the Jamaican space as a site of suffering and, in so doing, exemplifies a reiteration of colonialized relations which it finds lodged in the discourse of experience. It recirculates the plantation past. Indeed, what became evident throughout my interviews, and as will be addressed several times throughout this chapter, is that my participants place significant emphasis on acquiring or recovering the symbolic capital of ‘recognition’.

To summarise, we can see that within the context of Jamaica’s music industry it appears as if the foreigner wields a form of symbolic power. We have seen how reggae cultural producers assert that reggae takes on the form of a ‘negative cultural capital’ in the local (first) context. In other words, reggae,
as an indigenous art form, and the cultural producers, assume an inferior quality. In a Bourdieusian sense, any form of capital that fails to attract any legitimacy within a field is likely to quickly lose value. For cultural producers then acknowledgement and respect are seen as rare forms of capital needed to confirm their sense of existence and, seen as such, they find themselves in a constant struggle to acquire them. However, upon finding acceptance and validation in the foreign arena (second), their capital can be legitimated. Once they pass through this process, they can be re-inserted into the local context and be acknowledged. Here, I suggest that the accommodation and positive reception of capital after it was first internally negated, then externally ratified, points to the lingering effect of an institutionalised colonial mentality: one which seeks validation of itself only through the lens of the Other (Memmi, 1965). The observation of this re-constituted/re-conversion process may indeed have some social and political affects.

![Diagram](image1.png)

*Figure 11 Negative Cultural Capital - Validation Process*
As Girvan and Girvan (1973: 3) explain, ‘dependency’ was conceptualized to illustrate how the dynamic “interplay of internal economic, social and political variables is conditioned by factors which function within the system, but which are determined from outside of it.” It can also be understood as being expressed when social importance is established but only through the reliance upon and intervention of the ‘Other’. We can see how “individuals drift away from settings that do not gratify their social libido and gravitate toward settings that do” (Wacquant, 2014: 128). Nettleford (1979) explains that this is in large part why the decolonization project, which began in the 1960s, still remains an unfinished venture. He argues that the region still stands as a symbol of “…the old-style plantation system; not only in terms of economic dependency but also in terms of an abiding Eurocentrism which puts everything European in a place of eminence and things of indigenous (i.e. native born and native bred) or African origin in a lesser place” (ibid: 3). Elliot and Harvey (2000) take up this argument to highlight an important point of connection between the notion of dependency and the need to look upward for instructions. They argue that this feature is ubiquitous throughout former colonies and it is, in fact, what tells us that what we are now left with is a society inscribed with “weaknesses of their plantation past” (ibid: 395). Plantation economies succumb to the universalising impulses of Western ideologies handed down from the colonial masters.

I argue however that we can extend the concept of dependency beyond the realm of the economic and to see it as encompassing the social and the cognitive. Therefore, on the one hand, dependency can be understood as a basis for symbolic power as it serves to demarcate the relational boundaries between those who maintain the power to distribute recognition and those who seek it, albeit from subordinate positions. On the other, it reproduces the superiority/inferiority complex embedded in socio-historical relations between the dominant positions occupied by former colonial masters and the marginalised positions of the colonized. But, inspired by Bourdieu, I suggest that dependency, vis-à-vis the foreign mind, is best understood as a habitus. It encapsulates the internalization of the historical social and institutional
structures of the plantation - through interpellating a devalued subjectivity – embeds concomitant dispositions, which then inform the kinds of ‘plantalogical’ practices we will discuss in the next section. What I am suggesting is that dependency habitus gives rise to the kinds of ‘plantalogical subjectivities’ that paralyze the creation of any internal dynamic that can fuel development in Jamaica’s music sector.

In an effort to make sense of their social predicament, individuals draw upon the past and, as a consequence, fasten perceptions and judgments associated with a colonialized imaginary. In my interpretation, the past recirculates to reproduce the asymmetry of relations in the post-colonial present. It recalls memory traces of the ‘plantation’ and its status as a ‘dependent’ economy. Since these acts occur throughout the course of ordinary relations, they exert an interminable form of symbolic violence: “a gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible even to its victims…” (Bourdieu, 2001: 1). Its presence however also provokes questions about the kinds of externalised practices they encourage and, the extent to which they work to temper participatory and deliberative possibilities. Yet, this thesis complexifies the dependency process through the way in which it absolves ‘negative cultural capital’ through the reconstituted/reconversion process I described in the previous section. In this regard, within a nationalist narrative and a post-colonial framework dependency continues to raise important questions. But, what occurs of ‘dependency’ within the reality of globalization or when we reconceptualise “territorial space” beyond borders (Agnew, 2008: 187) might be a debate worth opening for the future.

7.2 Plantalogical Subjectivities: The Struggle for Recognition

In this section, I turn to deal more specifically with participants’ remarks as they relate to practices within the music sector. The aim is to take account of the patterns of behaviour that emerged in my data and to examine the categories of perception respondents use to describe them. The discussion proceeds on the basis of Bourdieu’s insistence that habitus pre-disposes agents to respond in particular ways. However, as Bourdieu (1972[1977]: 72)
explains, while such practical actions might appear as ‘regular’, “they are generated without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any ‘rule.’” The move towards an understanding of practice with this orientation is to provide a means that will aid in the grasping of ‘plantalogical subjectivities’. The key elements I explore in the next sections include: individualism, dis-trust and unprofessionalism.

7.2.1 ‘Individual Ego’

In the excerpts presented in this section, my respondents express disenchantment and appear to want to separate themselves from the ‘others’ who exhibit acts of individualism. When it comes to the Caribbean, the epiphenomenal effects of the colonial project are likely to be found in the everyday circulations that restrict conditions of productivity and constrain collaborative efforts (Beckford, 1972b; Casimir, 1992; Elliott and Palmer, 2008). In outlining a list of obstacles that contribute to underdevelopment in plantation economies, Beckford (1972a: 99) adds that the lack of “progress-oriented values” and an ethos of “strong individualism” are constitutive elements. He implicates the legacy of dependency and a vanishing hope as contributory factors to their persistent nature. Indeed my participants made references to the pervasiveness of behaviours that contradict efforts towards collective action.

For example, EVELYN, who works as a personal manager for artists, tells me that she is passionate about the performing arts in general and wanted to play a role in helping to move the cultural and creative sectors forward by lending her expertise. She tells me that, “for a while, I was keen on getting in on steering committees…and getting involved! I cut that out!”

What began for EVEYLYN as a desire to be a part of collective effort ended in disillusionment. It now appears she is expressing an inability to understand or empathise with others. In her view, being around others who were exhibiting disinterestedness or uncooperative attitudes, she felt drained and unproductive. EVELYN’s comments appear to reinforce the idea that plantation economies, like Jamaica, become starved of the internal dynamism deemed essential to the
fostering of social cohesion (Casimir, 1992; Sankatsing, 1998). But, the extent to which people end up feeling overlooked or resented may indeed engender demoralizing practices.

Similarly, JOSEPH, an artist turned producer explains that, at one point in his career he had decided to take a break and focus on getting a degree. He had become discouraged by what he describes as, “something in Jamaica music industry that tells you that you have to keep within a certain lane; and if you go too far from it, you will not get accepted.” When the opportunity to study abroad arose, he took it and spent several years outside of Jamaica. But, when he returned, he was motivated to pick up where he left off only because, “I immediately found a set of guys that had been doing music over the years…and they had just [opened] a studio. It was great for me because it was a little bit secluded…a little hidden from the main industry.” Nevertheless, JOSEPH is still concerned because he observes a display of certain tendencies, which, for him, illustrate that:

JOSEPH: …everybody wants to be on top and they are willing to befriend [whomever] they need to befriend until they are ready to step on them. We’re here fighting [among ourselves] and I don't see that changing! I don't know how it will change!

DH: You see it as a big issue?

JOSEPH: …It is a big issue! Because we could, like… have probably 15 to 20 times the amount of successes coming out of Jamaica… if we could just work together!

Firstly, it is worth noting that JOSEPH considered himself fortunate to have connected with a network of contacts that appeared to be prepared to work together. What is interesting however is the fact that he and his colleagues work out of an area that could be described as an enclave of sorts in the sense that, according to JOSEPH, it was “hidden from the main industry”. Nevertheless, JOSEPH seems to acknowledge that he can never be completely outside of the influence of the larger Jamaican music industry or the Jamaican social space. We can see that JOSEPH still reflects on this issue of self-centeredness with some trepidation. I also recall detecting a feeling of despair in his demeanour when he continued to tell me, “I feel like we should not be going there but, that's where we're going…and that's where we go! I don't know why that is in Jamaicans!” Further, I sensed that JOSEPH was saddened by the
fact that, recurrently, individuals engage in the kinds of practices that might be commonly seen as negative but which they, consciously or unconsciously, seem to pursue anyway. This resonates with Bourdieu’s notion of the habitus. JOSEPH senses an obdurate ‘embodied’ presence of a particular disposition “in Jamaicans” that he questions but with a deep concern. Furthermore, while he speculates about the untapped potential within Jamaica’s music sector (“probably 15 – 20 times”), he suggests that what appears to be lacking is a more positive attitude towards cooperation; a notable trait he finds unexplainable.

Here, a Bourdieusian account of practice (1972[1977]; 1990a; 2000) requires drawing attention to the relationship between habitus and the field or, between agency and structure. In other words, while habitus attunes us to the agent’s behavior, understanding practice cannot be divorced from their lived experiences or their socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions of existence. It is this dialectical relationship that shapes dispositions and, in turn, the categories of perception that lie behind the decisions they make. Habitus is a ‘structured structure and a structuring structure. Bourdieu (1986) further argues that within a social space, agents occupy various positions. These positions are determined based on the type and volume of capital they possess. Thus, access to, and accumulation of, resources that are valued in the field become important considerations. Given this brief analysis, it may be helpful to recall that the fields are also “arenas of struggle” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Therefore, agents who have chosen to adopt individualistic modes of practice are likely to have done so on the basis of the habitus conducting an overall assessment of their package of capitals and drawn upon how their past experiences have pre-disposed them to act.

In this regard, plantation theorists reason that the structural constraints in the plantation society – held over from the colonial era – weigh in heavily on the marginalised and dispossessed peoples. Beckford (1972a: 97) for example targets the disparate economic inequalities and argues that they serve to uphold the vast spatial and social divisions “characteristic of the plantation system.” They ultimately undermine incentives needed for individuals to apply
themselves and to find adequate justification in helping to underwrite the
development process. Indeed, the vast majority of my respondents had similar
concerns. LILY expanded on her earlier explanation regarding the perceived
unwillingness of those in more dominant positions to listen to local expertise.
She points out that within the vast amount of reports published to date that
outline proposed initiatives for the development of the music sector, there is a
common underlying theme. The reports highlight the need to cooperate
especially as it pertains to building public-private sector partnerships. But, as
she explains, Jamaica, as a place for doing cultural business, is challenging:

LILY: ...to be completely frank...it is just very hard to work in Jamaica. You see the real
challenge is...it is not that we don’t know what cooperation is ..because everybody knows that.
You know what, everybody has read the same reports... everybody [has] the same discussion
and feels that the cooperation is needed. [But] there are two truths. [One is] mental slavery.
The second thing: Ego! You see individual ego out here [in Jamaica]? Everyone wants to be the
one that did it!

DH: So let me ask you then... in terms of egos. Which egos are you sensing? With the artists
you work with... [the ones] you’re trying to collaborate with?

LILY: No, No, No! With the organisers...the people trying to bring the solutions! So, in other
words, remember we all have to collaborate. But instead of collaborating on one solution,
everyone is working on his/her own solution.

DH: They want the spotlight...

LILY: Exactly! And, it is like... there is so much... like...if you were to look at the [the number
of] research proposals or papers that were done by various agencies concurrently. That, to me,
indicates [the head] not knowing what the tail is doing.

According to LILY, individuals seem intent on pursuing an innate desire to
devise their ‘own solution’. Furthermore, despite stakeholders having access to
a swathe of proposals that suggest the importance of collaboration there is a
sense that these recommendations have failed to mobilise any form of
concerted action. LILY seemingly frowns upon the lack of a cooperative ethos
and the tendency towards individualism because, for her, these are the
characteristics that present Jamaica as a frustrating place to do business.
When she tries to make sense of why these features persist, LILY offers these
tendencies she has described as evidence of two situated ‘truths’ that define
the Jamaican society: ‘mental slavery’ and ‘ego’ (egocentric individualism).
Again, Beckford (1972) argues that the colonial condition and individualism are
indeed symptomatic manifestations of the plantation system that are inimical to
the advancement of social or economic development. However, the lack of
cooperation is not just characteristic of industry actors but it extends to policy makers as well. GRACIE, who is an emerging female artist, offers her opinion about the government’s role in the music industry. Although she believes some important changes are needed in the music sector, she claims that policy makers are “definitely not helping us”:

GRACIE: …it doesn't even matter who is in the government or who is in power! They are all for themselves! Everybody wants to be in charge; everybody wants their idea to get done!

So when it comes to policy prescriptions, regardless of which political party gets elected, according to GRACIE, no significant changes should be expected. Her belief that policy makers appear to be “all for themselves” further supports the view shared by my respondents that an element of self-interest may indeed be partially responsible for the timid support being directed towards the music sector. For example, during my discussion with BLAKE, a well-known producer, the question of support was also raised:

BLAKE: ...they don't do anything in Jamaica... it is only recently they started to...and only because when Bob [Marley] and certain man gone (others who have passed away), they had to run [to] the BBC [in the UK] to get footage... because they did not do anything in Jamaica! [For example], my career and [accomplishments] in the [music] business - it is not documented! We, as ‘reggae’ people, are not people who support and unite. They would rather break it down.

DH: Where does that come from?

BLAKE: It comes from slavery…slavery it comes from!

BLAKE contends that, for the most part, it would be difficult to expect a show of support from what he calls “reggae people”. BLAKE’s perception and naming of the ‘others’ associates a stigma to a group who he feels is unsupportive. While he echoes GRACIE’s belief that Jamaicans are more inclined to engage in self-interested acts, he goes even further to suggest some may even have malicious intents (“break it down”) instead of working together. Here, we get a sense of how, quite similar to EVELYN’s earlier reaction, experiences from social encounters or from the broader social space (field structures), may have shaped BLAKE’s own subjective expectations and evaluation of objective possibilities (habitus). What is more, BLAKE draws attention to the paucity of efforts to document achievements of Jamaica’s cultural producers. As a renowned producer, one who has been credited with several international hits,
he his unaware of any projects being undertaken within Jamaica to document and preserve his musical legacy. In fact, he informs us that following the passing of Bob Marley, documentation related to the singer’s legacy had to be retrieved from foreign sources. This is a crucial point and, it links up well with the idea of ‘negative cultural capital’ I discussed earlier. Inside Jamaica, it appears there was a lack of information available on the celebrated cultural hero (negative value) but it was quickly accessible from an external source (positive value). But, what is also salient in BLAKE’s remarks is that he, like LILY, unhesitatingly attributes these qualities to the legacy of ‘slavery’. Again, we see the slave past actively structuring present perceptions.

In these accounts, there is a clear attempt to persuade us that the individual who has not yet fallen in line is a victim of a colonial history. This victimhood is emphasised as the account continues and it culminates in the profoundly potent phrase ‘it’s a slavery thing!’ We are therefore asked to accept that an actor’s potential for bad behaviour (“not people who support and unite”) is read in the context of a slave’s subjectivity. We can also sense another connection between BLAKE’s and LILY’s comments. They both describe actions that are likely to frustrate incentives and restrict the development of morale. To elaborate, during my discussion with LUCY, a government representative, we were conversing about a particular funding programme for the creative sector. She explained that the programme had been in place for quite some time but, apparently, it is not one that was well publicized. As a result, the scheme was being vastly underutilized and monies are still available. Yet, as she explains:

LUCY: ...but, even for the ones that do know (about it) you see...they don't necessarily want to tell other people. Because, if you tell people that it's happening the perception is...you will get less.

DH: I wonder why that's the case?

LUCY: Really... you asked me that question? Or, is it one of those rhetorical questions? [laughter]

LUCY’s non-response suggests to me that she believes that, since I am a Jamaican, I should already be aware of why this is the case. For me, the fact that we both left the answer ‘unsaid’ implies the extent to which there is a
shared common perception about a societal inclination to engage in opportunistic behaviour.

In summary, the excerpts from the interviews present the lack of collaboration as one of the culprits among the list of challenges facing Jamaica’s music sector. We are also able to see that my interviewees are inclined to cast a broad net when they express their concerns. Their use of all encompassing terms such as “everybody” or “reggae people” suggest that the features they attempt to describe are perceived as social characteristics now embedded in the Jamaican psyche. We have also seen that, at times, the spirit of cooperation is celebrated rhetorically, especially within industry development plans and policy reports, but gains little traction in practice. The concerns being described by my participants align with Beckford’s (1972b: 205) assertion that the plantation system created a condition that ultimately manifests in significant ‘interpersonal rivalry’. As a result, it propagates an ethos of individualism but with features that mitigate any ‘meaningful co-operation’ (ibid: 205). However, the weakening of social cohesion might also be related to the degree of trust between people, collectives and social institutions.

7.2.2 ‘No one is Trusted!’

In this section, I focus on the concept of trust as my participants conceive it: a relational element or, to put it another way, the basis upon which one develops confidence that the relationship with another is worth maintaining (Granovetter, 1985). But, it is also important to understand the bases upon which individuals acquire the capacities for commitment and trust. Hardin (1992) refers to this as the ‘street level epistemology of trust’. Developing such dispositions of trust then is based upon the presupposition that individuals are socialized with positive experiences during previous encounters or, were exposed to a societal environment where cooperative relations were nurtured and openly supported. Thus, there might be something we can understand about a social system when others are “not always willing to reciprocate with the actions or responsibilities necessary for its success” (Gawley, 2005: 56).
Constraints to progress are fundamentally linked to the extent to which a culture of collaboration is present within a country. In this regard, some development theorists argue, that the concept of social cohesion has been considered essential to engender confidence in the future among citizens. These authors (Beckford, 1972b; Chan, et. al., 2006; Easterly, et. al., 2006) see social cohesion as being configured with objective and subjective elements: its objective features include individuals or groups who engage in the act of contribution, collaboration and in support of each other. In the more subjective sense, the term denotes instances where notions of trust and a sense of belonging are engendered. We can apply these perspectives to the Jamaica music sector. For instance, when it comes to producing creative works, or participating in the “art world”, as Becker (1984: 25) refers to it, activities are part of a collective effort. As Becker tells us, this is because it involves “a network of cooperating people, all of whose work is essential to the final outcome.” In other words, it becomes part of a set of social relations that increase the ability of an actor to advance her/his interests. From the Bourdieusian perspective, this links up with the notion of social capital. Bourdieu sees social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (Bourdieu 1986: 248). Siisiainen (2003) points out that while Bourdieu does not discuss the problem of trust explicitly, it often becomes a key resource in the social struggles that are carried out in different social arenas or fields. Thus, when an element is valued in a field, it becomes implicated as part of the overall symbolic struggle. One could argue then that, ‘trust capital’ is indeed a scarce resource in the Jamaican music sector.

Several of the cultural producers I interviewed expressed concerns about the difficulty encountered when working with others or in attempting to build any long-term relationships. They felt that there were always hidden agendas attached. For instance, in addition to working as a radio presenter and event promoter, MOLLY stages music business related forums on a periodic basis. She recalls a particular encounter:
MOLLY: ...there are some people now doing this annual event. Now, they said..."you know [we attended your forum] and it gave us an idea and we're going to do this... thing!" And they picked our brains the first two years... [then] they adopted some malicious attitude and don't speak with us anymore.

Noting MOLLY's dilemma, this could explain why Bourdieu (1986) argues that, to maintain enduring productive relationships is difficult work. This is important because at any moment, individuals may choose to sever the relationship or it may become modified through, what Bourdieu (ibid: 87) calls, "some form of misalliance." MOLLY speculates that it is quite possible that the folks in question may have discovered some level of success with the project idea and are now unwilling to share. However, she is not surprised because, "this is the kind of thing our people do!" Of interest here is how MOLLY's attitude appears to have been shaped by past negative encounters. People who have been taken advantage of during past 'trust development' encounters are indeed less likely to display a readiness to trust in subsequent interactions. These past experiences contribute to building up a cache of positive or negative results over time (Durston, 2001) and, as a result, diminished trust levels can incite opportunism.

For instance, in the following excerpt from FAITH, a popular singer and songwriter, she recaps a past incident that has since impacted her expectations about practices in the Jamaican music sector. She tells me that, at one point, she had signed a long-term deal with a major international music company. But the deal was upended when business colleagues from a past relationship produced documents to the firm claiming to have partial ownership rights to some of the songs she had written. In fact, the documents were forged. She explains:

FAITH: It was scary that people would actually do that; but then I said, "you know what...I'm being naive because I know that stuff like this exists!" I just never really...I couldn't really picture that people I had known for years, and who I had been doing business with, [would do such a thing!] It's bad business practices! Not just bad... but dishonest business practices... where somebody would deliberately misrepresent! I did not even want to sing again! At first, I was so broken...I felt betrayed! The people who had once endorsed me the most had just pulled the rug out from under me. It was really bad!

From FAITH's recount of the situation, she had formed, what Hardin (1992) calls, a 'thick relationship' with her former associates; because these were
“people I had known for years!” Based on this knowledge, she did not expect that they would go through such lengths (“deliberately misrepresent”) in order to make money from her trading relationship with the music company. Here we can recall JOSEPH’s earlier point about the extent to which others “…are willing to befriend [whomever] they need to befriend until they are ready to step on them!” It also aligns well with what BLAKE meant in his earlier comment when he mentioned the tendency displayed by some who would rather ‘break it down’ instead of being more supportive. But, yet again, FAITH’s encounter flags up for us the extent to which past experience sets the tone for future dispositions towards trust. This is also evident in LEWIS’ account. He is a singer and songwriter and recalls being embroiled in a dispute with a former producer over unpaid royalties. He shares with me that,

LEWIS: …I noticed that my name was spelled differently on a recording. When I asked the producer, he was telling me it is a typo error. So, I decided to do my own investigation. Since I knew someone at the [place] where it was done, I went and asked…and they showed me the paper. Then I realised that this [fake name] was on a lot of different things that he was collecting under. So, he fooled me again!

Both LEWIS’ and FAITH’s accounts further highlight how prolonged experiences of this nature could become situated and to reproduce feelings of suspicion about the behaviour of others. The examples further demonstrate how violations of trust not only tend to fracture social relationships but also weaken the capacity of individuals to learn how to trust. Several other interviewees shared similar stories of betrayal that has now left them quite suspicious and sceptical of others. But, the capacity to trust can also extend to the government as well. Here we can return to AMELIA from an earlier discussion. She was responding to a question I had posed about why she thinks the government was so reluctant to allocate more funding to cultural projects. She proceeded to tell me that,

AMELIA: …because there are a lot of thieves there! It is like...no one is trusted! It is very hard to trust people. You might be full of ideas...but not necessarily get any backing (funding). But, if someone gets the backing, you will hear, “the money is already spent, but on what?” Or…”they steal the money!” It is always a situation like that!

In AMELIA’s explanation we see an example of stigma being applied to others, as she seems to be aware of some history of socially deviant practices.
Here again, we can recall from Chapter 2 how cultural producers were seen as being associated with a stigma linked to middle-class beliefs and attitudes towards Rasta. In this instance though, discrediting attributes are being assigned to members of the government or to people in authoritarian positions. This interpretation suggests there might be a need to consider bi-directionality of stigma processes (Farrington and Murray, 2013). Figure 12 presents a high level overview of the actors in the field and the primary position takings they hold.

![Figure 12 Field of Jamaican music inter-subfield relations](image)

I was also quite intrigued by participants’ comments and references such as, "those people..."; "artists need to..."; "the government should..."; "they are thieves..."; "don't trust them...", etc. It seems to me that it is possible to view these narratives as indicative of the way social or symbolic boundaries are being interpreted and created and that they are of some significance (Lamont and Molnár, 2002; Yuval-Davis, 2010). Discursive references to others is always suggestive of how one’s own identity is being configured (Wodak, 2009) but I argue it should also tell us something about how identity is being positioned in relation to others. Where boundaries are being constructed between ‘us’ and ‘them’, this has implications for power relations and perceptions about social divisions. Yuval-Davis (2010: 276-277) suggests that
narratives of identity that tend to severely vilify the other points to a relationality of the identity construction underpinned by a sense of “complete exclusion and negation.”

Such stigmatic associations leads AMELIA to argue that the state might be sceptical about lending support based upon having a generalised sense about negative practices that abound in the music sector. She further suggests that even if one’s ideas might be good, in the current environment, it will be difficult to get support because the level of trust has been diminished. Although the extent to which social actors learn the ability to trust is based upon the results of past encounters, those experiences now form part of their subjectivities that they must now use in the present to make judgement calls about a future. LUCY, who actually works in the government sector, appears to agree with this assessment. She explains that there is a tendency within the government to:

LUCY: ...conceive of policy and implement policy in a framework of mistrust. I will tell you exactly what I mean. We make policy for the lawbreakers... not for the healthy. We make policy to prevent...prevent! There is a way to devise and create policy that actually benefits the nation. But, you have to come out of the mind-set that “every Jamaican is a criminal!”

What lies behind LUCY’s remarks seems to be a perception that a culture of trust as a norm has yet to be developed in the Jamaican society or within the music sector. We could also examine the comments through an Althusserian lens to see how subjects are interpellated by institutional positions. Nevertheless, this excerpt demonstrates how lack of trust seems to pervade policy-making decisions. Indeed where market and social forces threaten or induce precariousness, practices are more likely to be tilted towards opportunism and unbridled behaviour. My argument here is that the precarious nature of the existence of most individuals who work in the creative and cultural sectors (GOJ, 2003) appear to be misrecognised. In the next section, I examine some of the practical implications when a future is perceived as laden with uncertainty.
7.2.3 The Professional ‘Hustler’

“...there is something in Jamaica society infrastructure... I don't think it's just the artist alone...but there is something endemic to Jamaica... is it because the majority of the artists that make up this thing come from a certain community? And these communities that they come from... or circumstances... it is like you are back in the 50s, 60s or 70s.

(Harris, 2011)

Bourdieu (2000: 221) argues that, “without a future” there is no desire to ‘invest’ in time. This means that, for individuals who find themselves engaged in the lengthy and on-going encounter with limited access to resources or inadequate support, life chances appear limited. Notions of success, achievement and social mobility are then understood as illusionary phenomenon. In Bourdieu’s (ibid: 221) view, the consequence “of these people without a future” is that they engage in what appears as “disorganized and even incoherent behaviours constantly contradicted by their discourse.” In this section then, I want to explore how habitus influences action when chances are perceived as more and more distanced from reality and the natural world is imagined as fleeting. I further examine some of the wider implications of these actions.

When I spoke to VICTORIA, who manages an artist, she observes that most of the industry actors demonstrate an attitude of short-termism in their actions by displaying, what she calls, “a grabby-grabby mentality.” She explains that being unconcerned about the future, she finds that some artists are unwilling to build long-term relationships with promoters or even take the time to develop their fan base by touring smaller markets. Instead, “they are just going to grab… to see what they can make today.” She further adds:

VICTORIA: ...because I think most of the people who are involved in [the industry]...it is like a hustle for them. And tomorrow...they are not looking toward the future... like for their children, or those who are coming after them.

When seen as a ‘hustle’, the dispositions of individuals are more likely to centre on strategies and practices that can deliver more immediate results rather than entertain long-term development plans. As VICTORIA points out,
there is no “looking toward the future”. VICTORIA’s narrative shifts beyond a focus on the practices displayed by cultural producers to what she claims are her observations of Jamaicans more generally. She explains that there are:

VICTORIA: “...a lot of Jamaicans who open up businesses and, as soon as they make a little money, they have to buy a car: a Mercedes-Benz or a BMW. They expect to make a ton load of money within a month...or two... or three months. After three months, the business is closed down!”

VICTORIA’s comments also connect with Dumas et. al.,’s (2014) claim about the kinds of positions generally taken by those who experience socio-economic marginalisation. In their research, these authors argue that when groups, “…experience a perpetual sense of urgency to respond to immediate needs such as food, shelter and employment” they display a strong tendency towards “present-time orientation” (ibid: 140).

As already discussed in Chapter 4, Bourdieu sees an intersection between social structure and practices (or the habitus). Fundamental life chances influence, and are also influenced by, the habitus and thus becomes expressed in our inclinations, the way we talk, our attitudes and our actions. In Bourdieu’s formulation, it is the habitus that serves as the ‘generative principle’ that lies behind decision-making processes and the assessments we make in our everyday life choices. For Bourdieu (1972[1977]) the dialectic process occurs when the habitus internalizes the objective conditions and produces responses it feels are appropriate. Therefore, when people are exposed to, and experience, contradictory or dominating structures they are likely to develop the kinds of practices that reproduce those same structures. Beckford (1972a: 96) argues that what we are likely to find in Jamaica is that,

[...] the basic social framework of Caribbean economy and society is one that still reflects the structural properties of the plantation system. This fundamental observation provides the most important clue for analysing the persistence of underdevelopment in the region.

As a result, groups can become locked into a vicious circle. In this regard, MEGAN, a singer and songwriter who has seen her share of success, has been
performing for well over three decades. She was enthusiastic about some of the new emerging acts coming out of Jamaica and, in particular, “…in terms of quality of music and representing [Jamaica], as a brand, musically…their freshness, their whole different approach, and their professionalism.” I then asked her why she mentioned ‘professionalism’ as one of the traits. She explains that:

MEGAN: I would think that the energy has been around about the ‘professionalism’ about the dancehall/reggae artists [for example] when they go abroad. Their expectations, their whole behaviour...how they treat promoters, how they treat people!

Concerns about the ‘unprofessional’ nature of practices employed by actors within the Jamaican music sector were common throughout the conversations with participants. These concerns are also heightened with published media accounts of disagreements and antagonistic relationships between artists and promoters. They contribute to conditioning the stereotyped images deemed not conducive to normative ideas of a well-structured industry. Artists and managers are generally portrayed as lacking the technical and business knowledge deemed essential to ensure the constitution of professionalism. The stance towards this level of capability, or lack thereof, seems to be represented as “a particular portrait of symbolic power - who has it and who does not” (Budd, 2003: 25) Following are extracts from a number of industry-related media accounts concerning conduct within Jamaica’s music sector:

"...we create the problem, because we are undisciplined, and we don't have that professional approach" (Campbell, 2015).

“In my estimation, the music and artistic industry, in terms of its growth and development, is a work in progress that has brought Jamaicans tremendous pleasure, great happiness and niceness, but also considerable pain and worry (...) it is a work in progress, (and), as a profession, it is not quite there; yet there are many artists behaving unprofessionally, (who) are blocking the advance of this sector” (Williams, 2014).

“Reggae artists are some of the most unprofessional people one can deal with. Not all of them, but a large portion. Doing things like abandoning contractual obligations last minute because they found better deals, or because the shows weren’t packed like they thought they should be, forgetting or lying about other contractual agreements, or a variety of other ridiculous reasons” (SNWMF, 2010).

While normative expectations of professionalism may offer a negative interpretation of such practices, it may obscure the socio-economic and socio-cultural factors that have shaped the perceptions and understandings of social
agents. As Storr and Bucknevitch (2007) suggest, it is helpful to understand the cultural underpinnings that delineate prospects and form the basis upon which people deploy their actions. In their study, Storr and Bucknevitch utilise a subaltern lens to analyse fictional literature relating to entrepreneurial pursuits of marginalised actors. They analyse the former Soviet bloc and former Black British colonies to suggest that, for example, both “colonialism and communism were corrupting systems that forced people to live a lie; that encouraged them to be suspicious of strangers; that led several of them to equate business success with bribes, kickbacks and blat27" (ibid: 258). So, to those who see themselves as marginalised, these systems were understood as mechanisms to deliver rewards only to those in positions of power and authority. In this regard, FAITH, a prominent singer and songwriter expressed some disgruntlement with the leadership in music-related organisations and those in government positions. She explains that,

FAITH: We have always been approaching government. We set up unions and all kinds of stuff that none of us stick to because it doesn't make sense for us. The unions...it's kind of like a 'rub shoulder' and opportunity for some people.

Any chance of success or survival therefore meant finding ways to work around the system and relying primarily on, what Dussel calls, an “inventive living situation”: which can only be fully addressed by drawing upon “the practical experience learned by and through daily encounters” (Dussel, cited in Gomez, 2001: 22) Nettleford might agree as he once remarked that Caribbeans seemed to be confronted with the kinds of consciousness and power imbalance "that requires the swampland genius and bush intelligence as well as the studied cunning and sophistication of the guerrilla warrior" (Nettleford 1979: 183).

We can get a sense for how these ideas translate into practices and their implication based upon the following extract from my conversation with LEWIS, who we can recall, grew up in one of Kingston’s garrison communities. He believes that, in many cases, artists who come from certain marginalized

27 Blat is a Russian word that, although used in various ways, quite often represents the informal exchange of favors.
neighbourhood tend to closely align themselves with gangsters. For example, in discussing some of the issues that lie behind artist and promoter relationships, he explains as follows:

LEWIS: ...try to disrespect them and see [what would happen]. Their entourage...because, where every man step (everywhere they go), you find a crowd (group) of them. Why do you think those things start to break out on stage? [It is because] a living bad man [is] walking with him on stage; [one who] does not have any sense. They are going to disrespect the promoter... [who has] spent so much money to put up those big fancy lights on stage. And they are up there, on [the promoter’s] stage and being disrespectful...you understand?

Here, we can recall the discussion from the previous chapter on early socialising influences. LEWIS then, wants us to understand that the actors involved are not always socially equipped to resolve deteriorating situations amicably. LUCY further explains that the government’s noted hesitancy and uncertainty about taking bolder steps might be related to “institutional factors” as well as the “nature of the players in the industry”. Here, it appears that one of the reasons for the reluctance of policy makers to support the music sector might be linked to social ascription as well as normative beliefs about industry conduct. In the same vein, one could argue that the industry actors themselves remain unaware or indifferent to the possibility that they might be complicit in reproducing the kinds of behaviour which serve to maintain associative stigmas. We can return to AMELIA who explains that, “I have seen how the Jamaican artists behave. Like a disrespect thing! People and fans will have a lot of respect for them; but then they will say derogatory things right in front of [fans].” For example, LUCY tells me that,

LUCY: We have these players who are also ad-hoc in nature...of a common class... make no mistake about it. And, so even [with considering the rise of] Bob Marley and the music, reggae was still [seen as] a Rastafarian 'knot-up head' thing... so the class... the class issues came in.

Class or, rather, the perception held by the broader society about particular groups and communities linked to reggae, is pronounced in this extract. For Beckford, the concomitant “rigid pattern of social stratification” remains a hallmark of a plantation system (1972b: 204). Once individuals become marked with “ascriptive characteristics associated with a low status” (ibid: 2004), they are the ones most likely to be denied access to essential resources and, as a result, the ability to exhibit their true potential proves more challenging. As a
consequence, finding little support from within social and political organizational structures the relationship between individuals and their future is put into question. Their experiences exemplify the poverty of societal hope and, under these conditions, “people craft ways for themselves to secure hope even under the direst privations” (Lindquist, 2006: 8)

7.3 Summary

In this Chapter, the primary objective was to use the plantation economy lens to examine how Jamaican cultural producers interpret their social reality. The ways in which they depict the state of affairs in the Jamaican music sector should encourage us to ask questions about how the subjectivities and knowledge claims become actively deployed within the Jamaican context. The accounts my respondents provided indicate that they see the Jamaican social space as a polarised field. The lack of support they perceive is interpreted as a devaluation of their cultural capital and thus a repudiation of personal identity. This meant they were of little social importance (Bourdieu, 2000) and, as a consequence, prevented from achieving their full potential (Beckford, 1972). Many of my participants describe feeling disregarded and disrespected both from the state and the broader Jamaican society. Feeling alienated within their own society, they engage in a struggle for recognition and respect as a way to combat and reconcile their ambivalent social existence.

The works of Bourdieu (1990; 1972[1977]; 2000; 1983; 2011) were drawn upon to understand the constituent elements implicated in the kinds of practices and beliefs found in the Jamaican music sector. I argue that it is possible to see social agents’ search for recognition as dealing with feelings of ambivalence as analysed though the concept of negative cultural capital. I considered whether dependency, seen as a habitus, could illustrate the tendency to look outside, for ‘help’ in recovering a negated identity. In one sense, it is seen as an essential struggle to constitute the accumulation of being and, thus, a necessary component in the construction of social identity. In another, and as the plantation theorists feared, it reproduces the ‘foreign mind’ mentality. This rootedness to the outside and the structures that work to maintain social
divisions are flagged up in this study as suspected forces contributing to the 
state of inertia in Jamaica’s music sector.

This chapter, when taken in concert with chapter 6, present my empirical 
data in accordance with the conceptual outlines of this thesis. I relied on 
excerpts from my data in order to offer specific examples of the issues that I 
wanted to explore. In the next chapter, I summarise the study as a whole by 
turning towards addressing each of the research questions as well as offer 
some comments on the theoretical, empirical, and practical implications of this 
thesis.
Chapter 8 Conclusion

8 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to explore subjectivity formation and its role in contributing to a development impasse in the Jamaican music sector. In the introductory chapter, I argued that we can find evidence that there exists a situational entrenchment and that its enduring presence contributes to constraining notions of progress in this important creative and cultural sector. I suggested that, given that such prolonged inaction can persist even amidst widespread consensus among social actors of the music's cultural and potential economic value brings this social dynamic sharply into view. This act of inaction, as I have termed it, that is, the sense that particular subjectivities have become entrenched in Jamaica that they can influence development outcomes, is played out in social relations. I argued that we could problematize the state of inertia of these interactions and constitute it as an object of sociological analysis. Thus, I offered this thesis to take account of unresolved debates and questions surrounding Jamaica’s music sector on the basis that it might advance understanding of societal relationships particularly in post-colonial environments.

I also suggested that a primary objective was to provide new insights into the dynamics of practices that the Caribbean plantation economy model was unable to articulate. My way of doing so was to employ its theoretical underpinnings in collaboration with Pierre Bourdieu’s social theory of practice. A set of research questions was also formulated to guide the research task. They are as follows:

1. How do the lived experiences of Jamaica’s cultural producers contribute to shaping patterns of thought, judgment and action?

2. What are the characteristics of the social and structural conditions in which cultural producers exist?
3. What is the role of subjectivities when it comes to the question of development in the Jamaican music sector?

4. Is there evidence of a colonial mentality displayed within the feelings and experiences expressed by Jamaican cultural producers?

This chapter then is intended to reflect on the study in its entirety. I proceed by providing a summation of the significant findings of this research endeavour. There were some concerns I held towards Jamaica’s music sector when I began this thesis and they engendered the research questions I have just outlined. I will address each of those questions in the subsequent sections. Chapters 6 and 7 will serve as the analytical bases for this discussion. Following this, I present an overview of the theoretical and methodological approaches and how they were applied to the empirical data. Next, I recap the contributions of my thesis after which I will close the chapter by giving consideration to the implications of this research project. Included also are some thoughts on the kinds of research possibilities and practical considerations this study may inspire for the future.

8.1 Summary of conceptual and methodological frameworks

The study originated with a concern about the current state of the Jamaican music industry. More specifically, why is it that, despite the fact that reggae could be seen as a popular genre within the global music landscape, a state of inertia towards Jamaica’s music sector persists. In the introductory chapter, I suggested that this question could be aptly re-framed as, ‘Consensus, but no action, why can’t we just do it?’ (PSOEJ, 2012). Upon seeking to demonstrate this inertia, I showed how, over the past few decades, concerns over the state of Jamaica’s music industry seemed to have sparked a flurry of activities and deliberations aimed at bolstering the sector’s economic and cultural position. But, despite these efforts, few concerns have been effectively addressed.

In Chapter 2, I drew attention to the fact that, over the past few decades, a cultural shift within the international development arena has occurred. It is one
that calls for the creative and cultural sectors to be integrally positioned in the development process. This movement has indeed influenced some of the debates pertaining to Jamaica’s music sector. The chapter also included a brief historical synopsis of the emergence of Jamaica’s reggae music genre. I submit that Jamaica’s music cannot be well understood without some attempt to provide an exegesis of Jamaica’s colonial history or the socio-cultural and socio-political forces that are deeply implicated in reggae’s trajectory.

Chapters 3 and 4 reflect an elaboration of the conceptual framework I use in this study. Firstly, Chapter 3 begins with a cursory discussion on the Dependency school of thought. Since its theoretical undercurrents significantly influenced the plantation economy theorists, it serves as a lead-in towards a more in-depth discussion on the plantation economy model. I believe the plantation economy approach is a relevant body of scholarship for this study because it brings us closer towards developing a fundamental understanding of the Caribbean condition. Specifically, I engaged with the work of Lloyd Best’s *Outlines of a model of pure plantation economy* (1968); George Beckford’s *Persistent Poverty* (1972b); and, Norman Girvan’s extensive commentary in *Caribbean Dependency Thought Revisited* (2006). Throughout the thesis, I draw on relevant scholarship as a way to complement my overall analysis. Works from postcolonial analysts, social identity and social group formation theorists were helpful to expound on concerns such as inferiority, self-esteem, trust and recognition. I supplemented this conceptual model by incorporating French theorist, Pierre Bourdieu’s social theory framework (1972[1977]; 1983; 1986; 1989; 1990a; 1996; 2000). Thus, in Chapter 4, I provide an overview of Bourdieu’s analytic concepts in order to facilitate points of connection between the plantation economy model and to show they can be utilised to explain mechanisms of social practice and sense-making systems.

The research methodology adopted for this study was the focus of Chapter 5. This chapter outlined my ontological and epistemological positions that influenced my approach. Since I was primarily interested in understanding practices, and the thought processes that inform and constitute them, I thought it best to centre on teasing out subjectivities of cultural producers. My data was
formed by utilizing the narrative interview method with a sample group of 18 cultural producers who work in, or are involved with, the Jamaican music sector. The data I gathered was qualitative in nature and administered using NVivo 12 qualitative data analysis software as well as manual methods. The chapter also includes my thoughts related to any ethical concerns, my reflections, as well as the methodological implications emerging from my approach.

The findings and related analysis for my data make up the topic(s) of discussion for Chapters 6 and 7. Since I used narrative interviews, the data I gathered was quite rich in nature and included in-depth accounts of cultural producers' lived experiences and thoughts related to Jamaica’s music sector. Throughout these two chapters, I presented selected excerpts from my interviews to elucidate and expand upon theoretical treatises of my conceptual framework as well as to provide real life examples to enrich the discussion.

I began Chapter 6 by attempting to situate reggae’s global position as a prime cultural resource for Jamaica and to show how it is often appropriated in the work of national and personal identity making. For all of my respondents, reggae is indeed thought of as ‘special’. I then moved to engage with themes related to modes of socialisation. The aim was to illustrate the various types of conditions and situations that, one could argue, do the work of ‘making’ the Jamaican creative practitioner. The data indicates that factors such as family, place and social conditions are all implicated in this process. Overall, the chapter cuts across macro-micro levels of analysis by attending to the interrelationship between the social structure and individual behaviour.

Chapter 7 reflects an effort to offer a more in-depth insight about subjectivities. In this chapter, I again drew upon my conceptual framework to argue that enduring footprints of colonialism and slavery still abound in the social psyche of my respondents. These ‘plantalogical subjectivities’, as I have referred to them, can generally be seen in comments about forms of individualism, dis-trustfulness and short-termist attitudes that are still observed, or harboured, by my respondents. Dependency, or, what Jamaicans refer to as,
the ‘foreign mind’, seemed to be central to the mind-set they wanted to explain. A key element of the ‘foreign mind’ mentality is the inferiority or ‘slave’ complex it implies. On this occasion, and elsewhere in this thesis, I suggested that ‘dependency’ could be productively understood as habitus in a Bourdieusian sense or as ‘plantalogical subjectivity’ in a plantation economy sense.

Having provided a synopsis of my thesis, I draw upon my foregoing analyses and discussions to formulate answers to my research questions. To engage with the research questions however one must begin with what motivated this study in the first instance. The origins of the study lie with the concern presented by what I have argued is a noted impasse related to advancement of Jamaica’s music sector. With this in mind, I proceeded to ask:

8.2 Research Question #1: Lived Experiences

How do the lived experiences of Jamaica’s cultural producers contribute to shaping patterns of thought, judgment and action?

This question aimed to illuminate the complex interaction between actors and their social world. It is an attempt to elucidate subjectivities. In this thesis, I explore the question of subjectivity formation through Bourdieu’s triad of concepts: habitus, field and capital. My interpretation of discussions with my participants suggests three major themes emerged: experiencing music as ‘embodied’ cultural capital (in the blood), ‘recognition’ (appreciated by foreigners), and ‘negative cultural capital (no respect at home). Overall, striving to function as a Jamaican cultural producer is best understood both for the rootedness music provides as an assertion of self and disavowal of identity. In short, it is experienced as one of ambivalence. In this interpretation, both internal and external processes gain relevance.

8.2.1 Embodied Cultural Capital

The basis of lived experiences is conceptualised in the study in terms of modes of socialisation. It is a position grounded on the idea that early forms of
socialisation are the key background elements of identity construction (Bourdieu, 2000; Jenkins, 2014). These “earliest conditions of acquisition…” are portrayed by Bourdieu (1986: 245) as significant factors that contribute to the internalization of dispositions that shape the habitus. Thus, it permits us to ask: what are the features of my participants’ social space and the imaginaries they draw upon to make sense of their lived environments and that enable dispositions. As noted on several occasions throughout Chapter 6, family, social space, market forces, and so on, are significant in understanding how the identity of Jamaican cultural producers are constructed around music. But we also see what, Williams and Bendelow (1998: 8) claim, is evidence of an interconnectedness where embodiment confirms the “existential basis of our being-in-the-world.” Thus, we are encouraged to take seriously the mediating interplay between the body and the world. Emblematic of this have been my interviewees’ claims that, for them, doing music is ‘a natural attitude or, ‘in the blood’. In fact, Clycq (2014: 3) agrees that,

[t]he macro and micro level are linked in such a way that (...) becomes embodied as a second nature into individual dispositions that are felt to be ‘in your blood’.

Indeed, it is important to take note of the ways in which my participants have, over time, gravitated towards music or have become assimilated within the structures of Jamaican music culture. I interpret this as evidence of their commitment and complicity in the belief of the importance of music to Jamaica, and to their lives. Such practices occurred even despite protests from parents as we saw in FAITH’s and LARRY’s cases in particular. We can reframe this within the Bourdieusian idea of illusio. Illusio is useful here to draw attention to how actors develop a commitment and ultimately become interested enough to invest time and effort in something. Bourdieu (1998: 77-78) explains that it is illusio that presents something as “important and interesting because they have imposed and introduced to your mind, in your body . . . a form called the feel for the game”. In this study, I positioned illusio as a deciphering device within the Bourdieusian model that does the mediation and translation work between signals sent by the field and how the habitus interprets and responds.
8.2.2 Recognition: Symbolic and Economic Capital

But, we have also seen that, in the context of Jamaica, music not only gains vibrancy through tradition and through the territorialised framing of culture as indigenous, but also reach. The response to, and consumption of, Jamaican music in the global arena apparently opened a spectrum of possibilities. This development served as a crucial signal (or calling) for those pre-disposed to music to participate in the field. Analytically, a Bourdieusian method illustrates the interconnection between Field, Capital and Habitus (through the Illusio). Imperatives of the field of music motivated the kinds of action that assume the form of what Bourdieu (1986) refers to as conversion of capital. For example, how respondents utilised talent (embodied cultural capital) and sought out a network, through studio dwelling (social capital), to enable access to other resources of value further illustrate the role of ‘capital’ from a Bourdieusian framing. In this thesis, capital is used to demonstrate judgements of economic and non-economic value. Actors in a field find value in capital specific to the field. But, it is a process that works through the homologous fit between the illusio and a field’s structures and conditions (Bourdieu, 2000).

One imperative that is inspired by the illusio is the realisation that the field of music offers possibilities to accrue economic and symbolic benefits. This topic came up in several cases during my interviews to proliferate real and ideal versions of what it means to have a career as a cultural producer. Yet, economic and symbolic opportunities are deemed to primarily exist outside of Jamaica. We can recall that I highlighted in the introductory chapter of this thesis that a relatively robust and active calendar of large reggae events appear to exist. In Chapter 6 for instance, my respondents attributed Jamaica with a ‘specialness’ that served as a distinct cultural marker. Bob Marley, who I have positioned is a cultural landmark for Jamaica and, by extension, reggae’s rise in the international market, are offered as evidence of symbolic and economic value bestowed upon indigenous creativity. Based on the commercial successes of cultural producers and recognition achieved in the global marketplace, reggae became a catalyst for the distribution of national identification and a positive sense of self among cultural producers and among
Jamaicans more generally. My data suggests that music is positioned as an important lens through which external (foreign) others recognise and confer value upon Jamaica, and things Jamaican. This supports my motivation for positioning music as a key ‘cultural export’ for Jamaica and offered a conceptual argument that extends to the proposition that it is an asset transacted on the identity-exchange market.

Capital as a manifestation of field is also exhibited in MOLLY’s recollection of Jamaicans’ reaction to Bob Marley being interviewed on a major international TV Network back in 1980. In another important sense, we might ask: why is it that seeing one of their own on a worldwide network continues to be something worthy of joyous national celebration? When we consider that a similar reaction was noted when the Jamaican singer, Tessanne Chin, was a finalist in the US-televised singing competition, the Voice, it does beg the question: In what ways does exposure to global media and popular culture shape everyday experience of Jamaicans? Posing such a question might begin to yield some insight into forces that constitute postcolonial identities. This requires us to take a broader historical perspective in order to get a firmer grasp on this phenomenon. A key question here then is the degree to which these performances represent a celebration of the subaltern moment whereby subjectivity is “directed towards the re-discovery of truth” (Harootunian, 2010: 378). Following Harootunian (2010), maybe it was indeed a celebratory moment when the subaltern was “counted and included” (ibid: 378). But, for Caribbean peoples, and Jamaicans, in particular, in that moment, reggae became a voice for the subaltern.

8.2.3 No Respect: Negative Cultural Capital

For my respondents, the positive prospects of Jamaican music’s commercialised global activity intensifies the sense of economic possibilities and, at once, strengthens the cultural attachment to place. But, it is primarily an outward construction. This is because an important feature of the outside is that it is perceived also as a space cultural producers “can get to work with people who respect each other” as LARRY explained. From the Jamaican government’s perspective, while they remain “keen on improving the sector” (JAMPRO, 2015), it is generally part of a strategic deployment to support
tourism. Again, this is Bourdieu’s ‘illusio’, that which denotes a social actors’ cognitive investment and belief in the value of the stakes in a field. The notion of recognition remains important in this framing of music for its relation to identity and cultural capital. It is illustrative of the ways in which music is strategically deployed to serve a number of interests. Important here however, is the extent to which the international market for reggae is highly valued for all stakeholders. Yet, I interpret this overreliance on the external market as the central concern expressed by the plantation theorists. Beckford (1972b: 5) implicates the plantation system for “this continued state of general dependency.” It becomes solidified because, in the plantation economy, there is a tendency to give limited attention to the domestic sectors of the economy while giving privilege to the more dominant metropolitan enterprise (Green, 2001). For example, for my participants, since reggae is inextricably linked to Jamaica and is largely responsible for enhancing Jamaica’s national image, policy makers have an obligation to take the sector seriously and help to build up its infrastructure. Some point to the rampant issue of payola as example of a longstanding practice that is left unattended. Still others hint at the notion that it might have something to do with reggae being burdened with lingering effects of a Jamaican bourgeois mentality. Earlier, in Chapter 2, I noted how the genre was stigmatised as ‘Rasta music’ back in the 1970s: a point that a number of my respondents corroborated.

As I showed in Chapters 1 and 6, government programmes appear to have had limited effect or simply never got off the ground. But we have also see policy makers point to a sector plagued by organisational issues and a lack of professionalism. While industry actors concede these concerns, for them, the perception is: “Nothing is ever done!” Or, even when some offer to contribute to industry reform, efforts appear unappreciated, unwanted or inferior. Read through a Bourdieusian lens, these are seen as acts of symbolic violence. LILY’s remark in particular seemed to demarcate this theme in the data when she argued that there is “a tendency not to listen to what is being offered locally and reach for outside support.” As a result, industry actors placed recurring emphases on feeling disrespected. Some even become resigned to believe, like BLAKE does, that “reggae people are not people who support and unite!”
We can recall that in Chapter 3, I drew attention to Beckford’s concern that some of the hallmark features of the plantation economy include ‘strong individualism’ and the social structures that engendered feelings of ‘inferiority.’ These elements surfaced in my data. For Beckford (1972b: 211), the plantation is self-perpetuating because “the majority of the people have limited access to the wherewithal for material advance and are culturally and psychologically dependent.”

In summary, Jamaican music makes possible associations that situate capital and identity formations. These data indicated that cultural producers’ habitus – operating through the illusio - has predisposed them towards participating in the field of music. We have also seen that early forms of socialisation have an important role in embedding cultural capital (Reay, et. al., 2005) within individuals. Capital is of significance for social actors because it further demonstrates how action is motivated by the effort to accumulate and exchange forms of capital (Shilling, 2004). In the Jamaican context, we can see music being experienced as embodied cultural capital. As such, we can also see how it becomes implicated in the exchange for economic capital and in shoring up identity projects.

The analyses further point to ambiguous and contradictory expressions of subjectivity that emerge when explored in relation with dimensions of cultural capital and broader social contexts. It illustrates that immersion in music during the early stages of their lives socialised them with a musical habitus that later became embodied. The embodiment of cultural capital has been explored by researchers who have engaged in studies on athletes (Warde, 2006) and bookshop workers (Wright, 2005). Themes taken from the narrative content further demonstrate that we could begin to grasp the dynamics of the field of Jamaican music, and the subjectivities it propagates, by considering the notion of negative cultural capital. Elaborating on Bourdieu’s (1986; 1989) conceptualization of symbolic capital, and adapting themes from Barker’s (2013) discussion on negative cultural capital, I argue that the concept helps to identify how particular groups are motivated to acquire what they perceive as a rare and valuable resource. This despite the fact that, at times, it can be
accorded with little or no significant value by others in more dominant positions in a field. Here, I argue that the notion of negative cultural capital signals the instantiation of a contradictory and ambivalent subjectivity in this study. But, it also moves us closer towards tracing the motivational elements that instigate the struggle for recognition. As importantly however, is that it colludes with the illusion to direct the habitus towards the global arena in order to satiate this interest. In doing so, it shifts the allegiance of cultural producers away from Jamaica and thus represents a lived experience that produces a ‘dependency’ habitus’.

8.3 Research question #2: Conditions of Existence

What are the characteristics of the social and structural conditions in which cultural producers exist?

The intent of this question is to unpick material and ideational phenomena that comprise the social reality of my participants. However, it expresses a wider ambition. It is to open up an awareness of the internal and external forces that scripts human action.

8.3.1 Global Forces

I begin by giving consideration to the external forces associated with large-scale cultural production and the proliferation of global media content. This speaks directly to debates related to globalization forces and the notion that the world’s openness to global cultural flows and consumption continues to shape and re-shape inter-societal connections (Appadurai, 1990; McLuhan, et. al., 1968). In the case of Jamaica, it illustrates how global and local forces collude to both affirm and give meaning to cultural forms and to induce individual responses.

As seen in Chapter 6, and as I have argued elsewhere throughout this thesis, in the 1970s, reggae’s rise in the international arena transformed Jamaica into a hotbed of musical activity (King, et. al., 2002). First, it animated what one of my respondents termed “a cultural renaissance”. In other words, as
SOLOMON corroborates, “there was so much culture...so much music...coming out of Jamaica at that time!” Secondly, We can recall MOLLY’s pronouncement that “the music was making money!” This suggests that there was a belief that material benefits and symbolic recognition were indeed possible for a Jamaican cultural producer, or even for a Rastafarian. This enables us to illustrate how forces in the external environment kindled the aspirational impulses (or illusio) of Jamaicans who possessed musical or artistic inclinations (or habitus). Here, I would agree with Bourdieu to argue that Jamaican music is indeed, “a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object” (Bourdieu, 1985: 16).

8.3.2 Ideology: The Charismatic Myth of Marley

I argue that the charismatic myth of Bob Marley is a socially constructed condition of existence that is integral to Jamaica’s image and its music sector. Marley now serves as a functional institution that provides Jamaica and cultural producers with a kind of “magic and supernatural power that can control insecurity” (Menger (1989) cited in Røyseng, et. al., 2007: 3). I suggest that Marley’s symbolic positioning was such a key element in the cultural imagination of policy makers that it played an important role in determining what was thinkable and what was unthinkable in terms of a national entertainment policy. The state’s cultural agenda for music included policies ranging from Tourism marketing to justifying the submission of an application to the United Nations to safeguard reggae music of Jamaica as part of the world’s intangible cultural heritage.

8.3.3 Conditions for Productivity: Field, Habitus and Capital

The framing of Marley in this thesis however points to two concerns when considering conditions of existence. First, and as MEGAN reminds us, “...there was an [economic] machinery which led to Bob Marley's rise to fame.” Second, MEGAN continues by stating, “But, there are other artists ...who could have gotten exposure... but there was not an infrastructure.” Related to the first, Marley’s rise cannot solely be attributed to “creative genius” (Becker, 1976; 1984; Bourdieu, 1983; 1993a)It is important to note that Marley's international
rise to fame was fostered in close collaboration with foreign international capital and aggressive marketing strategies (Stephens, 1998; Stratton, 2010). For the second, what the Marley myth does not reveal are the constrictions that stand in the way of others’ achieving objectives when they do not possess all the essential ingredients. What I am referring to here is the configuration of economic, cultural and social capital that will need to be deployed in the arduous work of developing the notion of an industry.

Moreover, gaining entry into the highly competitive foreign market requires resources or, at minimum, a strong local presence in the first place. Yet, as my respondents pointed out, the ability to secure the necessary cultural and symbolic capital is not always within their control. The cumulative effect was to impede the opening of the music career door to all but those who had substantial economic and/or social capital. A strategy had to be fashioned in order to compensate for the uneven distribution of the kinds of capital deemed essential for gaining market exposure. The Jamaican local ‘machinery’ of creative activity existed and operated not by virtue of any scheme that simulates an organised mode of operation. Its fragmented nature rendered it uncertain, unstable and limiting, thus opening up the Jamaican music sector as a field of contested relations. These conditions trigger a pitiless competition on the home front. This resonates with Beckford’s (1972b: 205) argument that the plantation society is a site where “we find considerable interpersonal rivalry.” Additionally, since Jamaica’s geographical position and small size is perceived as having limited market expansion possibilities, it reinforces inclinations to depend on foreign markets.

Getting a song recorded and ultimately receiving local airplay exposure are seen as pre-requisites to gain entry. But, they both require a fair amount of economic capital. An example of symbolic violence emerged when my respondents described how individuals display a tendency to hang out at local production houses for an opportunity to record. They did so in the hope that they would get noticed and be given an opportunity to prove themselves at a moment’s notice. On the one hand, it was through these networks that aspiring artists vied for an opportunity to work with well-established producers or artists.
On the other hand, one could build alliances with peers that could prove useful for the future. To an important degree, getting a break in this way depended on understanding the 'rules of the game' and learning how to use them for personal gain. This ‘locally improvised action’ referred to here as ‘studio dwelling’, is now commonplace in the Jamaica music sector.

For instance, FAITH admitted, that she “started becoming a ‘hang-outer’ and, how it made her feel “like an artist”, helps us to see how external forces translate into the kinds of practices that are ‘unspoken’ yet they slip into becoming structural elements of a field. However, the practice of studio dwelling also entrenches exploitative relationships with producers. While the artists may fear being exploited, the desire to record obscures awareness of the nuances of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) or copyright processes. Yet, despite this, the practice continues. This is what Bourdieu sees as ‘doxa’. These “silent experiences of the world” are where we need to look to find the bases of what is now institutionalised as common sense structures of meaning.

8.3.4 The Jamaican Music Sector: A Sub-Economy

Building on this perspective, at the more micro-level I argue that the uncertain production processes within the Jamaican music sector need to be understood according to its own terms. “Studio Dwelling” exemplifies an incoherent yet crucial mode of practice. But, it also indicates how people “have invented themselves, their lives and their livelihoods” (Green, 2001: 69). Too often, operating on the outer-margins of the economy is read back into dominant conventional models as being ‘unprofessional’ or ‘backward’. Green (2001: 67) reminds us that one vestige of colonial capitalism is a “dual social structure” that has manifested in what she sees as “mutually disarticulated enclaves” of production. While a dominant enclave services the conventional capitalist networks, there is a complexly configured subsidiary mode that functions within “the nooks, crannies and living networks” of the domestic economy (ibid: 69). Beckford (1972: 46) describes them as “segmental” units that are self-provisioning but remain detached from the broader economy. Much like in the garrison communities, power relations in the field of the Jamaican music sector during the 1960s and 1970s are closely articulated with local
producers who developed their entrepreneurial enterprises through instilling fear or violence. We can recall LEWIS' comments about the producer who had threatened another artist. The structure of the music sector can thus partly be traced to a direct result of a de facto 'power mogul' group who had accumulated 'producer capital' and was in a position of advantage with access to a large pool of labour.

Conditions of existence are understood in this thesis as a set of forces and structures in the world that are interpreted by social actors and enable them to justify and actualize an existence. In this sense, habitus functions much like a “perception-enabling prism” (Lee, 2003: 42) through which social reality is interpreted.

I also pointed to doxa as a mechanism by which individuals tend to commit symbolic violence in their struggles to improve their social positions. The practice of studio dwelling for example, illustrates how actors are complicit in instituting a practice and in maintaining or encouraging exploitative relationships. It is important to highlight however, the role of capital in this analysis. For Bourdieu, capital is tightly bound up within the structures of the field. The kinds of capital that is relevant for a specific field are only recognised and understood by those who have a particular habitus that is attuned to the demands of the field. Capital takes the form of stakes in a field as well as the set of resources deployed to achieve objectives.

But, how social conditions are perceived and subsequently become internalized is an integral part of the process by which social reality is constituted. For Bourdieu (1972[1977]; 1990a) practice cannot be considered in isolation to the material, social, cultural contexts from which it arises. In terms of this study, this requires the effort to understand individual practice at the micro level in relation to larger social determinants and how they are perceived as an array of possibilities and constraints. It also links up well with Bourdieu’s concern with exposing the false antinomy in analyses that often de-link the local from the global, or the micro from the macro.
8.4 Research question #3: Subjectivities and Development

What is the role of subjectivities when it comes to the question of development in the Jamaican music sector?

The third question aims to explore the role of ‘subjectivities’ and its influence on development initiatives. It speaks at once to interrogating the source(s) sustaining the state of inertia as I have posited in this thesis.

When interactions between these social relations and the policy making structure have resulted over time in ‘implementation deficit’, they tend to cement ‘doxic’ beliefs that lead to narrowing development options. What appears to be playing out is an asymmetry of interests through a production of what I refer to as ‘Plantalogical Subjectivities’. But, subjectivity formation does not just happen in a social vacuum. It is perceived to be the result of a unique individual and collective history that reflects the influence of the past. Within the Bourdieusian apparatus, habitus operates much like a repository of social memory. Habitus thus exemplifies a “socialized subjectivity” (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992: 126) that develops from a reciprocal interrelationship between social structure and human action or between individual and society.

In Chapter 2 for example, I drew attention to the oppressive conditions of Kingston’s garrison communities. We can recall that it was from within these sites of exclusion, devoid of state intervention – save for law enforcement activities – that the reggae genre emerged as a musical art form. What is more, it was inspired by Garvey’s Pan-Africanist agenda and a Rastafarian anti-government ideology. Following a policy of “deliberate urban abandonment” (Bourdieu et. al., 1999: 132) of the ‘jungle’ and of the ‘have-nots’, as my respondents describe it, the Jamaican government was also largely disengaged from reggae’s early beginnings. One could argue however, that what it did provide were the support mechanisms that held in place the social and institutional structures of a plantation economy system (Girvan, 2006). Interestingly, political economists have variously described Jamaica’s social and economic structure as a “two-sector economy” (Dupuy, 1983; Lewis, 1954) “segmented economy” (Beckford, 1972b; Best, 1968); and have pointed to
subordinated areas as “informal economy” (Girvan, 2002) or the “sub-economy” (Green, 2001). Viewed as an enclave within the plantation system, I have suggested that the music sector can be described as an Internal Hinterland of Exploitation. It is suggestive of similar dynamics of a plantation economy, but its ‘internal’ characteristic points to its distinct location in the Jamaican social space, its export oriented focus and to the fact that an alternative mode of production was devised.

Further, I have also shown in Chapter 2 that the relationship between the government and the industry was always an antagonistic one. But then, as MEGAN tells us, “Bob Marley (became) a superstar!” With Marley as a cultural landmark, music was transformed to become a prime cultural export for Jamaica. It follows that the global arena must now be acknowledged as important to the economic, cultural and symbolic needs of both industry and state actors. According to LARRY, industry participants see the international market both for what it can offer materially (‘it’s money time now’) and symbolically (‘have a following…people who come out’). From another perspective, the government views the cultural heritage benefits (‘something special here’) and the entertainment value that music can potentially contribute (‘a tool for progress’), as being an integral part of its tourism strategy. These arguments suggest that both the state and the music sector are firmly embedded within the international market and have come to depend on it for survival. But, as we have seen from the data, the antagonisms persist. I argue that the oppositional stances that continue to mar the relationship can be traced to ways in which subjectivities are shaped by influences of the past. To clarify this position, I point to three overarching themes and discuss each in turn: Bi-directionality of Stigma, Mis-recognition and Dependency habitus. It is important to note that the discussion that follows is not to suggest no progress has been made since the 1970s. However, what I do argue is that without attention to the following concerns, transformative action will continue to remain elusive.

8.4.1 Doxa: Bi-directionality of Stigma

In my data, mis-perceptions and labeling emerge from both groups of actors. The unbridled practices by industry actors are understood by the state as “ad-
hoc in nature” and, in addition to this, the “class issues came in” as LUCY explains. The flip side of this coin is that many creative practitioners remained skeptical of the government. In Chapter 6, I highlighted what appears to be a widely shared view among respondents that regard government as not taking the industry seriously enough. I argued also earlier in this Chapter, that my respondents displayed an ambivalent subjectivity as well as feeling as if they are tagged with a ‘negative cultural capital’ as Jamaican cultural producers. I suggested that lived experiences conditioned their beliefs about feeling undervalued. FAITH comments for example, “we have long been approaching government […] but it doesn't make sense for us.” And, AMELIA adds a more pointed remark: “…there are a lot of thieves there!” Their comments reflect a long and frustrating history of ‘implementation deficit’. It seems to have facilitated the production of perceptions that stimulate the formation of the kinds of cognitive conditionings that reinforce cultural producers’ view of government and its position.

Following Bourdieu, I have also attempted to illustrate that there exists a dialectical relationship to suggest that the field shapes, and is shaped by, actions of the agents that are active within it. Following from this, we can posit that signals sent from within the field can be perceived and reacted upon in a number of ways by agents who have different life trajectories or backgrounds. Put another way, to a large extent, industry actors who see themselves as having ‘negative cultural capital’ still lack trust in the government, while state actors seem to want the industry to adopt utopian-like practices in accordance with their doxic ideology of business practice and development. Following Bourdieu, from their relative positions in the field, they have internalized the field’s (plantalogical) structures and accordingly, have led one to misrecognize the other.

8.4.2 Symbolic Violence and Misrecognition

The empirical data gathered in this study suggest that practices help to ensure domination of one group over another. This was mostly exhibited when it had to do with the rhetoric of development and inclusion. But, as I highlighted in Chapter 6, such rhetoric is often accompanied by a questioning of
‘unprofessional’ practices. Having this quality seems to indicate that being seen as a ‘professional’ should indeed be a pre-requisite in the construction of cultural producers’ identity or have some importance for advancing the sector. We have seen for example where industry actors have joined this discourse to label their industry counterparts as ‘unprofessional’ or as MEGAN expressed, “how they treat people”. Some others claim the music sector needs to be run “more like a business.” A Bourdieusian take on this exposes these acts as struggles over the power for control of the symbolic elements that serve as “instruments of knowledge” and that structure categories of perception about social reality.

But, what might be foundations on which these knowledge claims are based? Maybe it is because we have seen several media reports draw attention to instances when artists have found themselves the subject of media reports related to accepting performance fees and failing to show up (SNWMF, 2010). In this case, an artist, who is an active participant in the music sector, arguably takes up a different position, but whose actions fall within the category of ‘unprofessional’. It is possible to argue then that the Jamaican music sector reproduces the conditions of its own position through government actor and industry actor subjectivities.

For example, when notions such as ‘unprofessionalism’ or ‘hustler’ surface alongside salutary discourse about the music sector they further illustrate these tensions. Bourdieu would argue that this is mis-recognition. As I argued in Chapter 6, state actors commit acts of symbolic violence when they call for ‘professionalism’ and ‘business like practices’ on the premise that all actors have access to the same volume and structure of capital. Here, we can reframe Beckford’s (1972a; 1972b) view, to suggest that the imported concepts that state actors are relying upon for knowledge are contradictory to the local industry context and, as a result, contributes to the persistence of underdevelopment. Put another way, what I am suggesting is that stakeholders in the Jamaican music sector bring to the relational encounter “alternative logics of practice” and a habitus that is misrecognised. This contradiction engenders an asymmetry of ‘interests’ (capital) between these two groups. Green (2001:}
48) explains that, in a plantation economy, we find that “respective circuits of reproduction fundamentally diverge from each other.” At bottom, the state of inertia persists because, according to AMELIA, “the issue of reggae is never big enough” and, as a consequence, “nothing is ever done!” How individuals recognize and seek to transform these dispositions is still an important question. The problem is that the kind of dispositions in place are deeply embedded within the global arena to constitute a ‘dependency habitus’. When it comes to the question of development, this particular “socialized subjectivity” has significant implications.

8.4.3 Dependency Habitus

Developments in the global arena have had significant impact on the Jamaican music sector in important ways. An example we can use to illustrate this is the advent of digital download technology that significantly impacted the music industry. With the advancement in technology being an external force, it has affected different fields in different ways. Within the field of music, not only have consumer purchasing patterns changed, but the traditional business model and marketing techniques were modified accordingly. With limited to no investment from international music companies and, still faced with virtually no industry infrastructure, what becomes most important is the ability to earn. The external markets offer this opportunity. In my interpretation of participants’ accounts, their interest in economic capital indicate that the Jamaican music sector is located in the heteronomous sector of the field of cultural production. According to Bourdieu this suggests that it will be subordinated to the demands of economic capital and to the forces from the wider field of power.

On the government side, we can view the ramping up of the discourse related to cultural and creative sectors as a significant development, both within the field of cultural policy more generally and for Jamaica in particular. As I discussed in Chapter 2 (Sec 2.1), developing nations are actively being encouraged by organisations, such as the UNCTAD, to find novel ways to bolster cultural and creative sectors. This suggests that as forces develop in the global domain, and they make their way into specific fields, programmes such as cultural policy or technology advancements, are refracted and re-
contextualized (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) based on how the actors perceive what is at stake or important to them. My argument here is that both groups have subordinated the focus on development to the immediate benefits of what the external market offers. In short, both groups are now actively engaged in a ‘hustle’.

With strong bonds to the international market, and to its discourses and practices, this external orientation connects with the plantation economy theorists’ concern about the nature of dependency. A ‘dependency habitus’ is understood in this thesis as when there is a structural (Best, 1968; Girvan, 2006) and psychosocial dependence on the outside, as suggested by Beckford (1972b). I argue that the extent to which the global linkages favour the outside serves to relegate stakeholders’ attention to creating transformative action in the local sector. What I am suggesting here is that it this dynamic that reaffirms tendencies of a dependency habitus. Thus, I implicate it as a key contributory factor to the persistent state of inertia with the Jamaican music sector.

8.5 Research question #4: The Colonial Mentality

Is there evidence of a colonial mentality displayed within the feelings and experiences expressed by Jamaican cultural producers?

The final question of this research asked what was the degree to which it can be said that cultural producers in Jamaica exhibit a ‘colonial mentality’. To evaluate the presence of this phenomenon, I consider how perceptions are expressed and the ways in which dispositions infiltrate the field and sub-fields to configure action. Bourdieu (2003: 68) further reminds us that, when performing our research practice, we should accord “due place to the efforts of agents to construct their subjective representation of themselves and the world.” In other words, we should take seriously the ways of ‘talking and knowing’ that comprise the encounter of everyday life. This has much in common with the position taken by Giddens (1984) who suggests that we
consider the shared typifications used in the practices and narratives of actors as evidence and the instantiation of social structure (Cluley, 2012).

Analysis of the cultural producers’ accounts suggests that they attempt to make sense out of their social reality by drawing upon Jamaica’s colonial history and its concomitant slave system of organisation and production. In this regard, the plantation economy themes (Beckford, 1972a; 1972b; Best, 1968; Girvan, 2006; 2009) seem to function as a metanarrative. As seen in the previous chapter, the narratives they use to convey the meaning of their social world and to present themselves reflect interrelated ‘plantalogical’ themes.

8.5.1 Memory Traces

What were distinct within the data were cultural producers’ descriptions of interactions that left them feeling inferiorized or with a sense that their efforts in were undervalued in the local domain. During the interviews, this is usually explained by using terms and descriptions that were laced with inferences about the colonial and slavery eras. Firstly, the idea that there is a tendency to privilege outside knowledge was prominent in my data. For instance, we can recall that both LILY and LARRY held the belief that Jamaicans “rate foreigners” over themselves. I pointed out in Chapter 7 that the term represents a dispositional outward gaze that Jamaicans describe as having a “foreign mind.” But, more importantly, it also suggests placing the Jamaican culture or individual in an inferior position relative to the foreigner. What was interesting is that for most of my participants, this inclination is now a taken-for-granted assumption in Jamaica. We saw the theme emerge for example when the interview centred on projects related to music sector reform. My respondents claimed that quite often there was an indifference to, or rejection of, ideas offered by local experts. The preference would be to ‘reach for the outside’. There was also the shared belief that this is reflected with regard to Jamaicans’ response to reggae at home. Furthermore, the explanation given by my interviewees about why this attitude persisted was usually framed as “freaking slavery”; “legacy of slavery”; or, “it’s a slave thing!” I suggested in Chapter 7 that these practices and the dispositions that condition them can be best
understood as mis-recognition. Use of the concept illustrates for us when some practices, those which unconsciously seek to legitimate inequalities, become so embedded that they are now part of the social order.

While these attitudes are generally identified among the elite classes of the society, my respondents seem to believe it is pervasive in the Jamaican society more generally. Beckford (1972) tells us that these are the demoralizing influences of the plantation. They protrude from persistent social inequalities and sap the energies of people. Research on post-colonial identities and subjectivities more generally, have drawn similar conclusions (Adesida and Oteh, 2004; Mbayu, 2012). In their study of a Filipino-American community, David and Okazaki (2010) and Okazaki et. al., (2008) show that a colonial mentality can traverse generations. It transmits through socialisation experiences and through continued exposure to forms of subjugation and oppressive measures. And, in her landmark study, DeGruy (2005) has traced the effects of what she calls “post traumatic slave syndrome” which remains untreated.

8.5.2 The Legacy of Slavery

For my participants, these features have now become systemised and internalised and, as such, represent lingering effects of a colonised mentality that persists among a contemporary populace. Here I argue that, as a result, they experience their social existence in Jamaica as being in a present-past history. To recall MILLIE’s remark, “it is like… when you look at the plantation. It is the same thing now! It is this ‘recall’ of the plantation that constitutes the social pathology that, according to Beckford (1972b), entraps a society and reproduces the cultural undertones of underdevelopment.

There is indeed a discrepancy between the declarations by my respondents that point to the fact that the slave mentality is still perceived as a social pathology and the fact of historical record of emancipation. But, I argue that, social actors see ‘colonial mentality’ as a peculiarity precisely because they
perceive their social world as still encased with colonial values even though they have become out-dated.

Furthermore, for my participants, patterns of behaviour they see as negative point to the situated-ness of the colonial mentality. What stood out in my data for example were growing concerns about distrust and individualism. These findings connect with Beckford’s concerns about the type of practices that the plantation economy engenders. Beckford (1972b: 216-217) argues for example “strong individualism contributes more to clashes of interest in interpersonal relations than to co-operative activity.” For Bourdieu these experiences become situated as regularities, which then condition the habitus to assess prospective life chances, and structure practices accordingly. In these circumstances, a typical response is acquiescence or modifying subjective expectations to fit with objective possibilities. Beckford (1972b) also takes up this point to argue that, without feeling they have a stake in their country, people’s confidence in a future is decimated.

In a post-colonial Jamaica, memory traces for those who feel marginalized point to colonialism and a slave system that has long been associated with dispossession. Firstly, it flags up where indigenous cultural capital is negated. But, it also suggests an internal mis-recognition of value. This is because it is felt that meanings of value and knowledge remain mired to colonial legacies tied to the plantation system and to a ‘foreign mind’. Secondly, the identity of Jamaica’s cultural producers is now loosely and informally defined in its relationship to a state who in their view has abandoned them. The relationship of the broader populace with the state in a plantation society is one where the individual is more apt to “cut out” any sense of collective participation and resort to individualistic and distrustful inclinations as Beckford predicts. I suggest that when these themes reverberate across each other in the post-colonial space, they further destabilize an already ambivalent identity. Finally, the scale of the negation constitutes ‘plantalogical’ subjectivity in two ways: first, it leads to an overreliance on the external field of play where it goes in search of affirmation of identity and personhood. Secondly, the psychosocial effects reproduce the
‘colonial mentality’ that continues to destabilize social relations that work in tandem to deny positive development actions.

8.6 Contributions and Implications of this Research

8.6.1 Theoretical and Methodological Contributions

The conceptual framework utilised by this thesis was built upon seemingly disparate theoretical schemata, residing in the works of French theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, (1972[1977]; 1983; 1986; 1989; 1990a; 1996; 2000) and Caribbean Plantation Economy political economists (Beckford, 1972a; 1972b; Best, 1968; Girvan, 2006; 2009). In proposing this approach, the aim was two-fold. Firstly, it was based on the realization that the research study was about to confront a complex and contentious social space. It was a space marked by prolonged and recirculating debates. Thus, there was a need for a novel conception that could be constructive in attending to, and rethink, the complex relational dynamics of a postcolonial context. Secondly, it needed to accommodate the demands of this thesis. That is, to advance understanding about the contributory factors characterising subjectivity formation. Subjectivity was targeted based on the speculation that it contained linkages that could account for creating development impasses within the context of the Jamaican music sector.

Both Plantation Economy theorists and Bourdieu share common interests when it comes to the question of power relations and the importance of history. Importantly too, is that they are both concerned in attending to the dynamics of the context that relates to the site of action. Plantation Economy was conceived on the premise that former colonial economies experience a state of persistent underdevelopment. It assumes that this dilemma is precisely because regional policy makers tend to rely on ‘imported’ concepts and theories that belie specificity of context. Once this approach is adopted, the post-colonial society becomes entangled in a sustained state of ‘epistemic dependency.’ The reconceptualization of the colonial ‘plantation’ socio-economic system then
serves as a theoretical rubric. In this way, it encourages a critical orientation that seeks to account for the stubborn mechanisms that re-inscribe a reconfigured colonial hegemonic order.

Bourdieu’s sociological arsenal offered a set of analytical constructs that seem well suited to the challenges at hand. Bourdieu is interested in uncovering ‘subtle’ modes by which taken-for-granted assumptions or accepted ways of thinking are firmly held in place to obscure social inequalities. But he does so through the articulation of “a cohesive conception of symbolic language, symbolic power, and cultural production in human action, including social institutions” (Budd, 2003: 20). His master concepts comprise a group of potent ‘thinking tools’ that enables a systematic and rigorous methodological intervention. Bourdieu moves from the assumption that social life is agonistic and, as such, his method was deemed appropriate to contend with a contentious Jamaican social arena. More generally, it provided a sociological vernacular that allowed a rethinking of unsanctioned and unendorsed practices that form the crux of everyday life but are too often ignored in research engagements. For example, notions such as symbolic violence, doxa and misrecognition alert us to the kinds of practices and tendencies ‘that go without saying’ but which are usually the culprits that restrain transformative imaginings. More specifically, Bourdieu’s notion of the field sensitises us to the idea that ‘spheres of action’ contour social life and that they are the arenas where the struggles for different forms of capital take place. The concept of habitus is appealing because not only does it suggest that the inclinations we display are formed through a “complex interplay between past and present,” it also captures the embodied nature of practice. In this sense, it speaks directly to subjectivity. The notion of capital proved most useful because it alerts us to the economic and non-economic phenomena that serve as a springboard for human action.

I view the blended approach of the Plantation Economy model and Bourdieu as a valuable contribution to knowledge because it was:

a) acutely fitting in interpreting highly uncertain articulations of practice
and,

b) productive in identifying how subjectivities are implicated in development outcomes in a post-colonial context.

This approach further enabled a reworking of the plantation economy’s notion of ‘dependency’. In this thesis, it was extended and integrated with the Bourdieusian concept of habitus to conceive of the idea of a ‘dependency habitus’. Additionally, the conceptual framework enabled me to detect that within Jamaica, cultural producers experience a state of ambivalence about their identity and thus, find themselves engaged in an arduous struggle to accumulate the capital of ‘recognition’.

By taking on such a fresh approach, the framework also encouraged an inter-disciplinary orientation. Firstly, I was able to engage with the works of several other Caribbean cultural theorists in order to further deepen the contextual grounding of this research. Green (2001), Heron (2010), Mills (1997), Nettleford (1979) and Storr (2002) have all drawn upon plantation economy elements in their own work to theorise cultural and political practices. They are incorporated here as conceptual aids and primarily to understand historical tensions and debates that mark the Jamaican social space. It was also useful to broaden the scope of Caribbean scholarship within this study in an effort to make linkages to Bourdieu’s master concepts or to stretch them where appropriate. For example, Mills’ concept of ‘smadditization’ (somebody) was usefully connected to Bourdieu’s concepts of cultural capital and symbolic recognition. But, more importantly, it links up well with Bourdieu’s motif of the accumulation of ‘social being’.

Engaging with some analytical blueprints offered by postcolonial ideas, such as Spivak’s (1988) ‘subaltern’ and ‘Othering’ as well as Said’s (1985) ‘Orientalism’, were useful to tease out the myriad of ways identity formation are both repressed and strategized. Understandings were further bolstered with Côté’s (1996a; 1996b; 2002; 2005) work on identity. It indeed proved useful in providing key routes towards gaining more insight into how Jamaican cultural producers’ practices are integrally linked with, and motivated by, the quest for
identity and personhood. The thesis does include contributions from various cultural policy scholarship to locate Jamaica and its music sector within the broader cultural policy space and cultural discourse.

Additionally, Bourdieusian scholars such as DiMaggio (1979), Calhoun (2002), Robbins (1991), Swartz (1997; 2013) and Wacquant (2004; 2007; 2014), all played a critical role in helping to make lucid Bourdieu's apparatus beyond the primary 'thinking tools'. The work of Hage (2003; 2013) in particular was also essential in enabling a more serious consideration with the idea of distribution of 'hope' and a sense of the national 'we'. While concepts such as field, capital and habitus occupy central roles in this thesis, I have drawn on notions such as illusio, doxa, and symbolic violence in order to contribute to understanding about the inter-relation and inter-connectedness between subjectivity, practice and structures.

More generally, although analysts have argued that Bourdieu's triad of concepts: field, capital and habitus are more appropriately applied in concert with each other, my analysis does lend some privilege to habitus and capital. The notion of field, while it is certainly not ignored in this thesis is not firmly rooted in this study. In part, this is because this thesis makes some assumptions about the nature of the field in which the cultural producers operate.

Finally, there might be one contradiction in seeking to link up a strand of Caribbean dependency school of thought with Bourdieu. This is raised only because a core concern of the plantation economy theorists is the wariness about drawing on the use of 'imported' concepts to understand the Caribbean condition. While this was initially aimed at economic development approaches, the same is true of Western researchers who seek to evaluate what takes place on the ground. It is important to mention that Dependency theorists (including the plantation economy scholars) where heavily influenced by Marxist and structuralist modes of thought. But more crucially however, is to acknowledge that Bourdieu developed his sociological approach when he was a young ethnographer assigned to, what was then, the colonised space of a French
Thus, I argue that the conceptual union between Bourdieu and the Plantation Economy model enabled a critical yet appropriate orientation toward research conducted in a postcolonial social space such as Jamaica. This thesis most clearly offers then a contribution to knowledge on how subjectivity is differentially configured within Jamaica, in particular, and in post-colonial societies, more generally. What is more, it seeks to add value to addressing a persistent Caribbean conundrum by seeking to shed some light into an under-researched area. That is, exposing ways in which historical patterns of colonial relations have occupied contemporized mental spaces and where they now leak out to impose themselves on development undertakings.

8.6.2 Implications for Future Research

My interpretation of the data has of course led to drawing some conclusions in relation to the research questions I proposed. Therefore, the discussions surrounding the results I have presented are bound to lead to implications. For instance, while I have proposed a consideration of ambivalence, ‘negative cultural capital’ and ‘plantalogical subjectivities, these are not being proposed here as presenting a comprehensive picture of a Jamaican creative practitioner. The fallouts and presentations discussed in this thesis is not intended to suggest that they can easily be applied to the population of the Jamaican music sector or to other Caribbean cultural producers. Taken together with questions of cultural migration, ‘beyond border’ debates and globalisation forces should raise important questions about the subjectivity of the postcolonial subject. Moreover, value measurements individuals use, may undoubtedly differ from my own interpretations of what constitutes a ‘positive or ‘negative’ experience.

From a plantation economy perspective, the role of the Caribbean diaspora in shaping inter-cultural consumption patterns should give rise to even more questions about what is a ‘pure’ foreign market. It suggests that the continued debate centred on core/periphery debate still has relevance but should
anticipate being questioned. Thus, an area of interest to explore further is how these questions can extend or reconfigure the concept of ‘dependency’ in the plantation economy model or on how they may unsettle postcolonial subjectivities.

Additionally, future research could perhaps widen its scope to expose the complex make-up of the Jamaican music sector. For instance, this study could have explored further the formal and informal learning approaches of cultural producers. It may have revealed a relation between social trajectory and level of achievement in a music career and thus enabled further insight into the various ways resources are accumulated and deployed. For example, how social capital facilitates or over-compensates the use of other forms of capital might be of value. In this regard, postcolonial and plantation economy researchers are encouraged to explore further the idea of ‘trust capital’ and how it can be nurtured to temper colonial continuities. More broadly however, Bourdieu’s notion of capital could be fruitfully applied, and extended, to examine the various forms of resources post-colonial subjects draw upon to creatively navigate their social space.

Following from this or, in addition to it, a more fine-grained analysis such as ethnic background or gender could have been considered. While such differences were evident with my respondents, the interviews did not engage in any in-depth discussions surrounding these aspects. Since they were not considered as primary factors motivating the concerns of this study, as a consequence, they were not theoretically positioned within the thesis. It is important to note that while in recent times we have seen Jamaican artists and musicians who have emerged from various sides of the racial divide and class backgrounds, this does not suggest that concerns are eliminated. The bleaching of dark skin, for example, continues to be an item of concern in Jamaica. How these factors shape the ‘habitus’ of cultural producers in Jamaica and the relation between such differences and practices might be an object of analysis that could further contribute to debates on postcolonial subjectivities.
This thesis has hopefully contributed to the call for researchers to remain sensitive to specificity of context. It also reiterates the importance to give ‘voice’ to the marginalised. In this vein, one strategy could include adopting a vigilant questioning of normative assumptions about dominant neo-liberal modes of practice and its relevance to the Jamaican music sector. In this regard, further research might consider taking more seriously the need to gain insight related to practices conjured within sub or informal economy spaces. This position aligns with analysts such as Elliott and Palmer’s (2008: 203) view that informal norms remain “the least understood aspect of institutionalism.”

Furthermore, in employing the use of the plantation economy framework, this thesis contributes to the idea that the model may be an appropriate analytical tool in helping the Caribbean region to reassert the “[willingness] to look for comprehensive explanations of [its] own reality” (Sankatsing, 1998: p.12). When it comes to the question of imagining an alternative future for Jamaica’s music sector, one lesson emerging from this study is that a first step might be for government actors and industry actors alike to take a more mundane yet all important step in creating an atmosphere of mutual ‘respect’. To reframe Bourdieu et. al.’s (1996: 5) caution, this might only be possible if “every effort is made to eliminate the faulty 'signals' inherent in an incomplete” decolonised condition. Following Hayward (2004), what I am suggesting is that, in a postcolonial and uneven space such as Jamaica, it might be imperative to adopt an orientation that seeks to upend norms about the (un)professional, the (in)formal and the hustler as irrational or disorganised. This suggests we should at least be willing to consider much broader conceptions “that recognises multiple legitimate deliberative aims or ends, as well as multiple legitimate styles and forms of deliberation” (Hayward, 2004: 6).

This would require researchers to remain attentive to tensions that can arise from presuppositions about knowledge claims. It is on this basis that future research and practice could explore ways to rethink evaluative measurements of the Jamaican music sector in particular, and of cultural and creative sectors more generally.
The aim of this section is to illustrate how an exploration of issues related to the Jamaican music sector can be used to inform and enhance cultural policy and practice. Comments are confined to the implications of the findings for policies that can not only meet the challenge of understanding the contemporary creative practitioner (Gibson, 2002). I also wish to follow Mercer (2002: 112) to suggest that the empirical evidence gathered, and the interpretive approach adopted for this study, should prompt us to engage in discovering and exploring “new techniques of ‘listening’ at micro, meso and macro levels of policy formulation.” Taking such a position implies that researchers and policymakers should give serious consideration to rethinking oversimplified cultural policy models. It further suggests that we should be alert to the rapid diffusion of global media and communications technologies and the extent to which they machinate with forces of economic capital and patterns of global migration and mobility. Taking account of these fluid ‘global cultural flows’ (Appadurai, 1990; Warde, 2000) and their inter-structuring should provoke some curiosity about how the global social space is being reconfigured. For example, attention is drawn in this thesis to how reggae, a cultural form of expression emerging from Jamaica, was configured and reconfigured to become situated within global popular culture. My contention here is that there is much to learn from engaging with a vast range of cultural and artistic practices that take place in far-flung global corners and the kinds of cross-border cultural and economic engagements they inspire. Hesmondalgh and Pratt (2005) remind us that there is an international dimension to cultural policy. Thus, policy attention must now be redirected to consider the structural levers and resources that can induce wider participation of cultural producers. The caution however is to ensure that the voices of those who are historically disadvantaged are not silenced in the process.

This proposition has particular implications for architects of post-colonial governments and societies. Drawing upon the plantation economy model, this thesis suggests they must be willing to supplant hegemonic Euro-American prescriptions on topics related to cultural production. In this regard, findings
outlined in this thesis should encourage policy prescriptions to have a more rigorous contextual orientation within them. In a similar vein, it reiterates a call to researchers and policy makers to become more vigilant and sensitive to the dynamics of relations of power.

But, we have also seen how the legacy of colonial power relations has historically infused the meanings and practices of cultural producers within the Jamaican music sector. This thesis has argued that their repertoires reveal a set of social pathologies and stereotypical attitudes that can have real consequences for social arrangements and for development outcomes. The durable feature they exhibit however does give rise to the question of whether there is scope to overcome past histories of exclusion through policy intervention. Findings in this study allude to an important question: can matters of personhood and recognition become central tenets of policy initiatives? What might be needed then are vehicles that are tasked with translating these concerns into elements of policies that incorporate the goal of augmenting inchoate social relationships. This thesis suggests that in social spaces marked with ‘plantalogical subjectivities’, policy makers should be prepared to do difficult work. This has particular implications for a nation such as Jamaica.

The extent to which these current policy provisions can succeed in changing perceptions of industry actors remains questionable. The problem is that they tend to be underpinned by the assumption that Jamaica’s cultural competence is only strategically important if it is situated to bolster tourism revenues. We can see that positions adopted by the government seem to remain wedded to conformist policy approaches. To be clear, this is not to suggest that all policies currently being undertaken are opposed. But, policies must be devised with the scope to remain attuned to the voices of cultural producers, and their interests. They should also be pre-fitted with the kinds of resources that enable them to be acted upon.

For instance, highlighted in this thesis are conditions in which social trust have been historically impoverished. What is more, the rhetoric that continues to rely upon preconceived and ‘imported’ notions of unprofessionalism to label
industry actors serves only to enact a redrawing of social borders. They are flagged up in this thesis as acts of misrecognition and symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991). Clearly, within Jamaica we can speculate that attention to 'low hanging fruits' such as concerns about payola, and the paucity of dedicated concert venues, are two areas in which changes can be made on the informed basis that they can deliver immediate, positive effects. While neither proposal is likely to serve as a panacea for reforming the music sector, their manifestations could yield positive results. Such efforts would send a message of inclusivity and be seen as important steps toward improving relations. Within a post-colonial space, actions take precedence. They conjure feelings of hope (Hage, 2003) and, in so doing, move some way towards kindling the trust needed to assure some confidence of a ‘future’ (Beckford, 1972b).

### 8.6.4 A Relational Point of View

Having discussed how the findings presented herein might be usefully applied to informing cultural policy frameworks, I turn now to offer a reflection on what it means as a creative practitioner/researcher to take up this research engagement. But, how should one begin to think or proceed to write about a society as complex as Jamaica or even its dynamic music sector?

Hopefully, the qualitative approach I adopted for this study permits an adequate rendering of what is it exactly that contributes to the persistent state of inertia within Jamaican music sector. But, in order to gain full comprehension of the implications of this research endeavor may require the consideration that it did not begin when I decided to undertake it as an academic project. Instead, its roots can be more acutely represented in the dimensions of my own situated-ness with regard to the site of analysis. Interestingly, I discovered that the moorings of this relationship are located in the rich narratives of my participants. What I am referring to here are the ways in which this research enabled manifestations of my own socialized habitus to be revealed.

As one of my respondents put it, I am a “…62 baby!” This is to suggest that my ‘early acquisitions of experience’ occurred while growing up in Kingston
during Jamaica’s post-independence period. Notably, it was a time riddled with socio-political tensions that, in part, contributed to the emergence of the cultural and musical expression we now call ‘reggae.’ Indeed, I do recall the extent to which there was “…so much music, so much culture” as another of my respondents so aptly declared. The point is, if one’s lived experience is post-independent Jamaica, music is “…in the blood.’ What is more, it was through music, and arguably its concomitant relationship with Rastafarianism, that I became so intensely aware of being a by-product of a ruptured history. At that time however, I was not yet privy to reggae’s global reverberations.

It was not until I had migrated to the United States that I began to grasp the ‘specialness’ of reggae to which my participants refer. To hear Jamaican music in regular rotation on the playlist of foreign mainstream radio stations instilled a sensitivity that can only be described as ‘extreme pride…extreme’. And, a few years later, when I too watched Bob Marley being interviewed on a major network, another thought struck home: reggae, and by extension, Jamaica, had indeed ‘gone clear.’ There is something to be said here about the role of a ‘cultural resource’ in shoring up one’s personal identity. To use Mills’ (1959) term, Jamaica was now ‘smadditized.’

It seemed to me that reggae was well poised to exploit fully the economic opportunities a global music industry market could offer. This perception may also have something to do with how I was socialized as an Accounting and Business undergraduate student in the United States. It could further explain why I began this research with a concern about the strong negative repute which characterized the reggae music environment. Such anxieties first arose when I became an avid concert-goer in the mid 1980s. It was then that I observed that, all too frequently, the audience experience was being marked less by the music than by promoter – artist squabbles, or by performing artists failing to show up at events. For me, these interactions, defined in this thesis as ‘unprofessional’ or ‘hustler mentality, sparked a serious question. Why did they persist? A further thought was, how is it that as a collective, we did not realize that such negative repute may in fact constitute obstacles that could prevent us from taking full advantage of what the market had to offer. It is worth mentioning
that more than three decades later, those concerns are still prevalent. I return to AMELIA’s comment as she exclaims, “we should have had our own shit!” But, I now understand what Bourdieu et. al., (ibid: 614) mean when they claim we should see our sociological work as engaging in a sort of “spiritual exercise” (...) aimed at a true conversion of the way we look at other people in the ordinary circumstances of life.”

It is quite possible, that the motivation for doing this study eventually emerged out of the relation between a socialized habitus and the multiple positionalities of my own trajectory – a Jamaican ’62 baby, part of the Caribbean diaspora, a business manager, a creative practitioner and a researcher. In undertaking this study, I initially decided to reframe my anxieties in the following form: Whither Jamaica’s Music Industry? Learning from strategic failures to harness and organize a cultural resource for development.

But, I was not aware of the extent to which drawing upon Bourdieu’s thinking tools would enable me to “push that formula toward revealing itself more fully” (Bourdieu et. al., 1999: 613). And, I was also not aware of the extent to which an interrogation through a Plantation Economy lens could help towards constituting an active ‘sociological imagination’ (Mills, 1959). Such an orientation, according to Mills, aids in comprehending the close interrelationship of history and biography and how it shapes the cultural undertones of a society.

What I have found as a consequence of my research is that I have become more attentive to how elements of culture are forged out of a present-past relation between social and institutional bases. I am now more sensitive to my own positionalities and their implications for relations of power in a social space. But, what this research process has also revealed is that, in order to apprehend the nature of practices - with some precision - requires being alert to their historical funded-ness (Ostrow 1981: 280). When it comes to Jamaica, my claim is that if we are to overcome the crisis of ‘implementation deficit’, we must be willing to confront and acknowledge the deep presence of ‘plantalogical subjectivities.’
8.6.5 A Critique of the Jamaican Music Sector

There are numerous serious and complex questions facing the Jamaican music sector at this time. What appears to be lacking is a set of frameworks, groundings, and contexts to address these questions. The crucial point here however relates to understandings of ‘value’, and ‘recognition’ that DeGruy (2005) believes will remain repressed until there is an effort to confront the dark past and begin the healing process. In the Jamaican music sector, the plantalogical subjectivities, as I have described them, remains active to ensure that the interests of the state differ quite significantly from the interests of industry actors.

I would argue that Jamaica’s policy makers remain fixated on selecting from a standard menu of policy approaches for addressing the nation’s economic challenges. Within this social domain, plans tend to devote scant attention to the significance of historical factors associated with institutional structures. Ensuing cultural policy initiatives then are likely to ignore the extent to which deeply embedded structures have shaped particular ways of viewing the world that can render programmes irrelevant. In this instance, ‘negative cultural capital’ is put forward as a means to identify the weakened state of relations between both sets of actors. Additionally, the notions of ‘dependency habitus’ and ‘plantalogical subjectivities’ signal that tensions closely linked to historical origins remain insistent. Bourdieu reminds us that habitus is still active even after conditions in which it was socialised have been uprooted. This could be one explanation why initiatives that attempt to tap creative and cultural endowment resources in Jamaica become stalemated in short order. What this might indicate is the need to understand it on its own terms before drafting recommendations.

Furthermore, the emergence of the organisation Jamaica Reggae Industry Association (JaRIA) in 2009 is a positive yet weak signal. The organisation’s efforts may have limited impact on alleviating the sector’s concerns unless the socio-historical bases that implicate the current state of inertia are taken into
The ability of JaRIA to follow through on the potential programmes is already being hampered, as the organisation is not adequately funded to respond to the sector's challenges. It is important nevertheless for the organisation to find ways to assert itself and to ensure that it has full support from the creative practitioners it claims to represent. There remains a risk that if development objectives are not clearly outlined and supported, the future structuring of the Jamaican music sector will continue to be influentially shaped primarily by characteristics of individual interests. Moreover, without close collaboration with public and private investment that may have a stake in it, the Jamaican music sector should expect to remain marginalized within the global context.

Having said that, I must acknowledge that individuals I have met over the years and, more recently, in engaging with cultural producers as a part of this research study, have revealed that many express a willingness to commit to advancing ideas of a developed Jamaican music industry. We can return to the introductory chapter where I noted forms of collective action by groups that seem motivated by shared interests. A proposed intervention method could involve a focal actor, such as JaRIA, that seeks to integrate these relationships in order to develop a more cohesive argument on behalf of a global Jamaican music community. It is perhaps from within unexplored spaces that more progressive global responses on local sector advancement might emerge. Industry actors could consider building on other forms of capital at their disposal that might be of some significance. Here, Bourdieu's notion of social capital is relevant. It further points to what Adler and Kwon (2002: 19) call 'bridging' forms of social capital to suggest that “the actions of individuals and groups can be greatly facilitated by their direct and indirect links to other actors in social networks.” Within this conjecture, I would suggest that discussions and proposals that take place must be informed by the kind of approaches adopted in this study or, those areas for future study I have offered in this chapter.
Cultural producers may have fashioned reggae as a social ‘weapon of the weak’ (1985) in response to their social conditions and, in opposition to integration with any form of modern ‘Babylonian’ socio-political system. But, for Scott, the problem is, although the weapons they forge can be effective, they often display a tendency to persist “both before and after the revolution” (Scott, 2008: 303). I would add that maybe the weapons could be retooled for a different revolution.

There is no question that in many ways things are ‘better’ for some creative practitioners in Jamaica. In the 1990s in particular, there was expressed interest, followed by an infusion of capital, from internationally based major record companies that enabled many Jamaican performers to achieve celebratory status. But we are already witnessing Jamaicans being marginalised in the global arena when it comes to reggae. This thesis suggests that in order to engender some collective notion of a Jamaican music industry, broader questions about instilling social acknowledgment, trust and access to resources that can mobilise the productive capacity of an art form are more complex issues than what most postcolonial cultural policy plans are designed to address. In the conversations I held with my respondents these are formidable concerns. Attending to the idea of ‘recognition’ might indeed be a starting point on which to build in order to conceive of any transformative action.

The music sector is made up of none other than people who engage in a set of practices, who interact with and relate to each other, and who must confront particular social and economic conditions regardless of whether they are directly related, or not, to the work of cultural production. It seems to me that, to grasp ‘what is going on there’, these lives, encounters and lived experiences must be explored. But, as Bourdieu (1989: 18) tells us, “this in no way means one can construct anything anyhow.” And, in much the same way, I would argue, practices do not simply emerge from anywhere or anyhow. So, there remains the task of finding out: who these people are; where do they come
from; what do they think; why do they do what they do; and, how they do what they do.

Are there, as Bourdieu (1989) argues, structures within the social space that operate beyond the purview of willing agents to somehow shape the practices and representations of their social reality? I wanted to use this thesis as a way to illuminate the antecedents of subjectivities that constitute perception, thought and action. The genesis of such dispositions is fluid however and often contingent on hidden structures or forgotten experiences. Therefore the research task has involved finding ways to peel back the layers of superficial interaction to unpack the processes and unveil the 'invisible' that constitute them. Through the conversations with cultural producers, subjectivities are rendered as a product of bitter contests to recover and establish identity and sense of self-worth. For the cultural producer this engagement in a ‘politics of recognition’ means attending to notions of belonging and dealing with the fluid ambivalence of a cultural identity.

By drawing attention to the plantation economy framework, this thesis contains the promise of extending the work of the early Caribbean dependency scholars as it situates itself squarely at the intersection of the postcolonial, institutional and development studies arenas. Its coupling with Bourdieu’s approach was to establish a more conceptual and methodological grounding of this thesis in order to understand forces contributing to oppositional responses in a complex social domain. In drawing upon the Caribbean context, it is broadly positioned to contribute to on-going debates that address the relation between structure and agency and to the wider discourse on approaches to development in post-colonial societies. But, seeking understanding is only a first step. The hope is that stakeholders within the Jamaican music sector may find something useful here that can contribute to charting and channelling more fruitful courses of action.
Appendix

1. Access Documents

1.1 Invitation to participate in research

Invitation to participate in a research project about Jamaica’s Reggae Industry.

My name is Donald Harper and I am a PhD candidate in the Management School at Leicester University. This invitation is being forwarded to you in an effort to seek your participation in a research project that is designed to enable a more in-depth understanding of the social dynamics within and surrounding Jamaica’s Reggae Music Industry. The underlying premise behind this project offers that uncovering such factors can potentially contribute to more informed policy and practical approaches aimed at harnessing a key cultural resource. With this in mind, I would like to extend this invitation to you to participate in this critical study. The working title of the project is: "WHETHER JAMAICA'S REGGAE MUSIC INDUSTRY? Learning from strategic failures in harnessing and organizing a 'cultural resource' for economic development."

Participation in the study is entirely confidential and information will be kept in a secure location. The findings of the study will be included in my PhD thesis and may be presented at academic conferences, published in academic articles and eventually book form. It is important to note that your identity will never be revealed. All recordings will be kept for the duration of my write-up period (approximately 2 years) after which they will be deleted. Below, you will find some more detailed information about the project and the terms of your participation. Thank you for your consideration.

A brief project overview.

It can be argued that Reggae, a musical genre indigenous to the Caribbean island of Jamaica, achieved a level of unprecedented global popularity despite a noted lack of developed infrastructural economic pillars, unsupportive government policies and what is often described as ‘invader like’ practices adopted by agents operating in the country’s music sector. At the same time, Jamaica’s policy makers and industry actors appear to concede that if the state of the music industry could be improved, Reggae could play a critical role towards the country’s economic development efforts. Yet, intervention programmes attempted by the government over the past two decades have been termed at best and, at the same time, appeals for improvement of professional conduct among industry actors have gone unheeded. Why? Is this failure to harness and tap Jamaica’s ‘cultural resource’ for economic development simply due to lack of political will or something else? Despite all of this, Reggae ‘defied the odds’ i.e. without any sustained major investments, without significant government intervention or without industry actors shedding their unbridled non-traditional practices. A state of inertia towards Jamaica’s music sector appears to persist even amid evidence of a shared consensus among primary stakeholders that potential benefits to the economy could be realized. Comprehending these phenomena, and their effects, may require the necessary endeavour to undertake what Margaret Archer (1995: p1) refers to as the ‘vernacular task of understanding the linkage between structure and agency’

What is the purpose of the study?

The research project, as outlined, seeks to interrogate the genesis of this ‘inertia’. To what extent can this be attributed to institutional and cultural practices? Moreover, what are the mechanisms through which these ‘structures’ work to embed themselves to shape agents’ representations of social reality? What is the role of history in all of this? Equally important however, will be how new insights can contribute towards effecting more informed strategic approaches to cultural policy development, especially in a post-colonial environment. But the implications stemming from this research go even further. I plan to employ the use of the ‘plantation economy’ model to provide the project with an historical framework as well as re-introduce the idea that the model may be an appropriate analytical tool in helping Caribbeans to reorient the [callaloo] to look for comprehensive explanations of [their] own reality” (Sankoreh 1998: p.12). The project therefore contains the promise of extending the work of the early Caribbean dependency scholars (such as Lloyd Best and George Beckford). Additionally, use of the comprehensive sociological apparatus developed by French theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, will invite critical and unbiased enquiry into whether social agents (policy makers and industry actors alike) might be equally compliant in reproducing their ‘distant worlds’. In other words, do they both commit acts of what Bourdieu calls, ‘symbolic violence’ that serve as an example of careless concretization of the idea that ‘development’ for Jamaica is a vision incapable of coming about? This research endeavour then will not only situate itself squarely at the intersection development and cultural studies arenas, but it is broadly positioned to contribute to the on-going debates that address the relation between structure and agency and the wider discourse on approaches to development in post-colonial societies.

Why have I been invited to participate?

I am seeking to interview participants who work within, or interact with, Jamaica’s music sector in order to gain insight into their ‘lived experiences’, thoughts, perceptions and attitudes. Participants will be solicited from beyond...
the artist sphere: to include artist managers, producers, promoters, agents, journalists, DJs, etc. By casting this wide net, the idea is to elucidate the various representations of social reality that encapsulates, what is often referred to as, "the industry." Further, I am interested in learning about these 'insiders' assessments regarding the conditions of possibility for Reggae as well as any perceived obstacles.

What will happen if I take part?
Taking part in the research is entirely voluntary. If you decide that you would like to participate I will arrange a convenient time and place to conduct the interview. I anticipate that the interview session could last for up to 90 minutes. You do not need to prepare anything for the interview. Discussions will centre on your experiences of Jamaica's social space as well as within the field of the music sector. The session will be audio recorded so that I have an accurate record of what is discussed to reflect on. The interview will be conducted in a semi-structured fashion, i.e., while it will most likely take the shape of a conversation or discussion, I may have a number of specific questions that may need to be elaborated upon.

You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to and you may withdraw from the research at any time. Whilst no financial remuneration is offered for participation, I hope that this project will contribute to a further understanding and research on what I believe are structures that impinge upon possibilities for Jamaica. I intend that this project will be of benefit to all stakeholders involved and that broad findings be used to act upon obstacles and contribute to on-going progress.

Will what I say in this study be kept confidential?
All personal information collected will be kept strictly confidential. All participants will be anonymised and any details that might identify individuals will be altered. Only I will know the identities of the participants (unless you wish to disclose your own involvement). Any identifiable data that is recorded on portable devices will be encrypted, where this is not possible the identifiable data will be erased as soon as possible after it has been transcribed.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of the study will be included in my PhD thesis and may also be presented at academic conferences, published in academic articles and potentially book form. Results can also be made available in a condensed format to the participants and any organisations involved in the research.

Who is organising and funding the research?
I am conducting the research as a PhD candidate in the School of Management at University of Leicester in the United Kingdom. My PhD research is self-funded.

Who has reviewed the research?
This study has been approved by University of Leicester’s Research Ethics Committee, the School of Social Sciences and the School of Management.

What should I do if I want to take part?
If you would like to take part in this research project, please review and sign the enclosed 'Participant Consent Form.' If you would like any additional information, please feel free to contact me by email at:
dwh10@le.ac.uk

Or, write to me at the following address:

Donald Harper
University of Leicester
School of Management, Ken Edwards Building, University Road, Leicester, LE1 7RH, United Kingdom
Telephone: +44 (0) 116 252 3530 Fax: +44 (0) 116 252 3949
Participant Consent Form

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Working Title: WHITHER JAMAICA'S REGGAE MUSIC INDUSTRY? Learning from strategic failures in harnessing and organizing a 'cultural resource' for economic development

Researchers: Donald W. Harper  
Affiliations: University of Leicester (School of Management)

Purpose of data collection: PhD thesis

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I agree to take part in the above study.

I am giving my consent for data to be used for the outlined purposes of the present study.

All questions that I have about the research have been satisfactorily answered.

Please tick box

Yes  No

I agree to the interview / focus group / consultation being audio recorded

I agree to the interview / focus group / consultation being video recorded

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

Name of Participant: DONALD W. HARPER  
Date: 20 Feb 2015  
Signature: 

Name of Researcher  
Date  
Signature: 

I will be able to obtain general information about the results of this research from the researcher at their e-mail address: dwhl0@le.ac.uk

Participant Invitation – Research Project (Donald Harper)  
Page 3
2. Conceptual map of Jamaican music genres positions

![Conceptual map of Jamaican music genres positions](image-url)


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