"Deviously Ingenious": British Colonialism in Jamaica

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During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British heteropatriarchal colonial system imposed sociocultural and structural constructs of gender and sexuality on local people as tools to maintain power and control. It created highly volatile states and a legacy of trauma for many generations of colonized people. This article, grounded in Peace and Conflict Studies, examines British colonialism in Jamaica, the use of slavery as a tool in Britain's war for trade and economic prosperity, and its impact on Jamaican inhabitants and their generations. It explores the concepts of nationalism and privilege as oppressive forces that encouraged the division of gender, class, race, and sexuality to establish and legitimize British authority over Jamaica. Finally, this article posits that British colonialism was a powerful psychological tool that was created by British economic and political elites who knew that sustaining their power into the future meant creating fragmented bodies and minds in Jamaica.

INTRODUCTION

This article explores the impact of British colonialism in Jamaica. British colonial patriarchal efforts, first developed and perfected on the island of Ireland,[1] have enslaved and colonized nations. In Ireland, the British colonial process included complete dominion and control over the land, settler economic profit, and the enslavement and servitude of the Indigenous Irish people.[2] The British colonial process used the gendering and creation of fragmented bodies and minds to cement its coercive control by institutionalizing unjust economic, cultural, political, economic, and patriarchical structures,

as well as traumatizing Indigenous people with religion and violence.[3] Peace theorists and practitioners have applied gender as an organizing concept for the exploration and understanding of the sociocultural and structural constructed efforts of patriarchy to maintain power and control in society.[4] Thus, colonialism was a system that racialized and genderized Indigenous people creating otherness, fear,[5] and violence in all its shapes and forms in the colonies[6] to accumulate profit. The wealth extracted from the colonization of Ireland by the British Empire increased its "appetite" for more economic prosperity despite the cost to human life.[7] Thus, the British Empire, with its elite navy and army, extended its reach to the Americas and the slave trade.[8] Walvin notes that, by the seventeenth century, "Britain had begun to rule the waves—with all the economic benefits that flowed from such domination." [9] Considered a part of the Americas, Jamaica was conquered by the British Empire in 1655 because of its potential economic benefits. Using a similar colonial system that exploited and devastated Ireland, the British Empire ruled Jamaica with "privilege and terror" to extract profits and maintain control. It left behind a divided system of unequal gender, race, sex, and class; it is so deeply entrenched that it ensures that violence in Jamaica is an everyday norm.

Jamaica was a colony of Britain until 1962. It has a growing population of over 2.7 million people[10] and is considered to be one of the most violent countries in the world where violence has become an epidemic.[11] In 2008, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) reported that homicide rates in Jamaica were approximately 60 persons per 100,000, falling to 40 people per 100,000 in 2011.[12] In 2010, the Pan American Health Organization reported that gender-based violence is an everyday occurrence in Jamaica.[13] In 2016, Amnesty International described gender-based based violence as domestic, physical, and psychological violence, including spousal murders as well as sexual violence that includes rape, incest, sexual harassment against women, children, and LGBTQ people.[14] Despite external and internal interventions, gender-based violence continues to increase, especially among the most vulnerable, namely women, children, and the LGBTQ community. There is little legal protection for LGBTQ persons, perceived or otherwise, within the Jamaican context. Further, one's public sexual expression can condemn a Jamaican youth to lifelong trauma or even death.[15] The Pan American Health Organization's Country Cooperation Strategy 2010-2015 report noted that Jamaica has the highest infection rate

of HIV and STIs in the Caribbean.[16] The infection rate among girls aged 10-19 years was three times higher than for boys aged 15-24. The report added that sexual violence against young people is the primary cause of sexually transmitted diseases. Brigitte Matthies et al. noted that the wounds are so deeply entrenched that it affects the physical, psychological, and social healing of each victim.[17] Gender-based violence is entrenched and normalized in systems of patriarchy that reinforce structural and cultural violence using unequal gender policies.[18] Gender-based violence can be seen as "a monstrous distortion of human society"[19] and its colonial history must be revisited in order to fully understand gender-based violence within Jamaica today.

This article outlines a brief understanding of the nature of violence that is important for the reader to connect to the violence of the colonial model. Next, it examines the British colonial system and slavery in Jamaica and its impact on its inhabitants and their generations during and after colonialism. In doing so, the article attempts to understand violence, trauma, and its impact on the inhabitants of Jamaica. Finally, this article posits that British colonialism was a powerful psychological tool that was created by a colonial mindset; in this mindset, sustaining power meant creating fragmented bodies and minds by encouraging gender-based violence on the island.

UNDERSTANDING VIOLENCE

Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) researchers agree that violence is complex and has varied definitions.[20] For example, Betty Reardon defines violence as a product that is "the unnecessary and avoidable harm to life and well-being."[21] In addition, Sean Byrne and Jessica Senehi opine that violence is a "product of social divisions based on the intersection of race, power, ethnicity, class, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, and other identities or competing ideologies."[22] Similarly, Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer, David Dunn, and John Burton argue that these social divisions might be caused by unmet basic human needs that create fear and a reaction by a group who often uses force to maintain or secure that need.[23] Galtung and Fischer note that violence on an actor "lowers the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible."[24] Cook-Huffman further describe violence as a "means" to justify oppression that "confuses" an individual and makes him or her lose control.[25] Direct, cultural, and structural violence exists at all levels of a society, from the intrapersonal to the national, each

influencing the other.[26] Survivors can experience trauma from violent con-
flicts.[27] Nevertheless, despite its deep roots, Deborah Prothrow-Stith and
Howard Spivak stress that violence is preventable.[28] Also, Byrne and Senehi
state that it is important to understand how violence is produced in order to
reduce, transform, or end it.[29]

Violence is not always visible and can be hidden in the ordinariness of
everyday life.[30] Structural violence is there in the shadows, "normalized" and
often embedded in systems of power.[31] Structural violence is imposed by
elite groups who maintain their power through the continual manipulation
and exploitation of marginalized groups through the denial of their basic
human needs.[32] For example, Lisa McLean and Maria Lucia Zapata state
that feminist examinations of violence have unearthed structural violence
in the form of "racism, sexism, poverty, and colonialism that are hidden"
within the oppressive patriarchal structures that continually "perpetuate
inequalities."[33] Also, Australian feminist peace researcher Robin Burns notes
that structural violence is linked to the removal of some actors' right to
define self and its denial of people's individual rights by controlling groups
within systems.[34] Further, Reardon contends that the system of colonial-
ism has had a devastating impact on people from the Global South, and in
particular in the marginalization and control of women.[35]

> In its contemporary form, colonialism, though challenged by
> nationalism, keeps the Third World in economic subservience
> to the First World. Similarly, First World women, despite the
> franchise, have continued to be economically dependent on
> the men who run the economic systems (Reardon, 1977b). By
> controlling the terms of trade and the transfer of technology,
> the First World continues to dominate the world economic
> system. By discrimination in wages and exclusion from the
> socioeconomic power structure, women as a group are kept in
> a position of subservience to men. Both instances indicate how
> enforced dependency operates to maintain dominance.[36]

Hence, structural violence exploits and "imped(es) consciousness formation
and mobilization."[37] Galtung and Fischer add that it is within the societal
structure and its institutions that elite powers penetrate, segment, and im-
plant thoughts of nationalism and privilege, as well as a biased reality that
fragments, divides, marginalizes, alienates, and represseses certain groups.[38]
Peace researchers argue that these structures of violence operate in gender

contexts as parts of patriarchy.[39] Structural violence is invisble and kills people slowly.

Galtung and Fischer add that direct violence is used to create and maintain structural violence.[40] For example, the centuries of African slavery in the Americas killed millions through direct violence to create and maintain a profitable economic system:[41] "after some time direct violence is forgotten, slavery is forgotten and two labels show up, mild enough for public consumption: 'discrimination' for massive structural violence and 'prejudice' for massive cultural violence."[42] Similarly, gender inequalities, which are "one measure of structural violence," have continued to marginalize women and children globally, leaving them vulnerable to rape, suicide, homicide, and infectious diseases that are all embedded in the societal culture.[43]

Kevin Avruch contends that culture is a derivative of peoples' lived experience that is deeply rooted in ongoing past or social practice that is flexible, fluid, and responsive.[44] Unfortunately, all forms of violence are legitimized through cultural norms or practices.[45] Hence, Galtung and Fischer note how cultural violence reinforces direct and structural violence.[46]

> "Cultural violence" is those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics) that can be used to justify, legitimize direct or structural violence.[47]

For example, Sally Merry recognizes that gender roles and performances are entrenched in patriarchal systems and, when individuals fail to conform to the expectations, they are faced with gender policing in the form of harassment and violence:[48] "Violence breeds violence."[49] Culture perpetuates violence and cultivates aggression.[50] Also, some central cultural norms may remain the same for long periods of time insinuating that cultural violence may indeed be permanent.[51] The British colonial system is related to the interconnections between cultural, direct, and structural violence and how it unfolded on the island of Jamaica.

BRITISH COLONIALISM AND SLAVERY IN JAMAICA

The British empire extended its reach to Jamaica in 1655.[52] Its interest was accumulation of wealth through sugar cane production, slavery, and colonialism.[53] The British colonial model included complete sovereignty of land, people, and commodities creating divisive systems using divide and

rule policies, land, ethnocentrism, religious suppression, education and language, native inferiority, depoliticization, loss of livelihood and sustenance, and trauma and inward violence.[54] This oppressive system was not devoid of resistance, forcing the British Empire to adjust their colonial model within their colonies and with each colonial encounter.[55] However, some key elements remained consistent, including the death of millions of Indigenous peoples within British colonies.[56]

Jamaica, like other British colonies, became subject to a heteropatriarchal British colonial system and slavery with clearly defined goals of economic gain achieved through "all" forms of violence imaginable to man.[57] The British Empire began its colonial rule in Jamaica with the immediate control and division of land, the enslavement of Indigenous African people for plantation labour, nationalism and privilege policies, trauma and violence, and treaties to end resistance.[58] Patterson provided a brief account of what took place in Jamaica during slavery.[59]

> This was a society in which clergymen were the "most finished debauchees" in the land; in which the institution of marriage was officially condemned among both masters and slaves; in which the family was unthinkable to the vast majority of the population and promiscuity the norm; in which education was seen as an absolute waste of time and teachers shunned like the plague; in which the legal system was quite deliberately a travesty of anything that could be called justice; and in which all forms of refinements, of art, of folkways, were either absent or in a state of total disintegration. Only a small proportion of whites who monopolized almost all the fertile land in the island benefited from the system.[60]

Despite its "volatility and immorality," a place where British nationality was unsettled, Jamaica was considered the "jewel" of the Caribbean[61] and human slavery was the "key" to its wealth.[62]

Control of Land
Land conquest and ownership played an intrinsic role in the domination, control, and acquisition of wealth for the British Empire during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[63] The European development of the plantation model, specifically sugar cane cultivation, demanded large acres of land and slaves.[64] According to Walvin, the British Army took Jamaica because

of its vast abundance of land and its "plantation" potential.[65] Walvin adds that, upon conquest of Jamaica, the land was "lavishly distributed to the men of the conquering army."[66] The plantation model not only determined the wealth of the British Empire but also established and maintained order within the colonies,[67] thus creating a system of nationalism and privilege within the then Jamaican colony.

British Nationalism and Privilege

The British conquest of Jamaica invited migration of varied diverse Europeans to the island.[68] Following, it became critical for the British Empire to use "national belonging" to maintain order and control.[69] According to Wilson, Jamaica experienced several shifts in European migration.[70] The first wave of white settlers came from "Barbados, Surinam, and the Windward Islands as well as the British Isles, and even included some Romany-speaking gypsies."[71] They sought "relief from social pressure at home . . . freedom on the far side of the Atlantic for persecuted minorities, and a beachhead, in the Americas, for further attacks on the fabled wealth unlocked particularly by the Spaniards."[72] The second wave shaped British governance within the Jamaican colony

> intensifying both residents' links to the "mother country" and their staunch insistence on the protection of their British liberties, properties, and independence against the imperial parliament, a contest that increased as residents became more vocal in claiming their right to define their own identity as British subjects of the empire.[73]

In addition, the economic focus of the Jamaican colony demanded a large local labor force from the slave trade.[74] Wilson notes that white privilege was displayed in "conspicuous consumption" and "notorious brutality."[75] Terror was used against slaves, was "integral to the performance of rank, nationality, and entitlement," and was reinforced by British military presence and local white militias.[76] Further, Wilson's analysis of the Jamaican colonial State notes that "atrocities" were justified under the banner of "white privilege" and the Jamaican local government attempted to impose laws on the Indigenous people based on racialized nationalities.[77] For example, "whites" claimed protection under British liberties, including trial by jury, while blacks existed beyond the borders without protection and free people of color were caught in between.[78] Whiteness became the ideal, signifying

freedom, belonging, and privilege.[79]

British nationalism and privilege also extended to white planters in Jamaica. Third generation mulatto children and descendants of foreigners born in the Jamaican colony were used to increase the white populace and control the other castes.[80] Wilson adds that the "whitening" of the population ended after the 1760 slave uprising in the British Caribbean. The Jamaican Assembly passed a law that limited the amount of land that a planter-settler could give to his mulatto children, destroying the inheritance of significant estates that ended the distinction between white persons, negroes, and mulattoes.[81] Hence, the 1761 law suppressed the economic power of the people of color preserving the distinction between the whites, people of color, and free blacks.[82]

The notion of family that existed within the Jamaican Colony became akin to the Roman patriarchal family model:[83] slaves, free slaves, and a married couple could forge a distinctive social and family structure that challenged the traditional British family structure. In contrast, Aimé Césaire notes that the "colonial enterprise is to the modern world what Roman imperialism was to the ancient world: the prelude to disaster and the forerunner of catastrophe."[84] As Jamaica as a colony increased in wealth, British observers looked to the Roman patriarchal family model on the island as indecent and their offspring—mulatto children—were seen as degenerates.[85] Wilson explains that the white men's sexual promiscuity and procreation with slaves were blamed on the lack of resident white women, naming them as the primary cause of the white man's immorality and violence.[86] The few white women on the island were taught modesty and their children were segregated from the influence of the black race while slaves were placed under surveillance to discourage relationships or bonds between whites and blacks and to prevent rebellion.[87]

The relationship between slaves and their owners was complicated; it involved economic opportunity and psychological control.[88] Tamika Haynes-Robinson notes that sexuality for the female slave was a rite of passage and involved physical and mental humiliation, ensuring that the slave was aware of her role as a worker and vessel to bear more slaves.[89] As noted in his diary, Thomas Thistlewood's first-hand account of his relationship with his slaves stated that there was no emotional attachment to his forced or unforced sexual encounters with his female slaves; it was just for his pleasure.[90] Thistlewood's diary further stated that his continuous

sexual encounters with slaves were because there were few white women in the planter class in the colonies.[91] These sexual relationships of the planter class with slaves were not uncommon and, according to Walvin, in some cases later led to relationships akin to marriage that imposed their authority and control on the female slaves.[92] Over time, the planters, merchants, and metropolitan overseers saw the danger of racial mixing to their authority and control and opted to instill "racial criteria for demarcating who had the rights and privilege of the Englishman and who did not."[93]

Enslavement of African Indigenous People

Slavery was a necessity for the British colonial model. It was a tested tool with the potential to unlock the wealth of the sugar plantation in Jamaica.[94] Walvin explains that the African slave was sold at an affordable prize, which meant more labour and more sugar for the British Empire.[95] However, African slavery in the Caribbean was a destructive force of domination and submission,[96] mistrust, and violence[97] that dehumanized[98] and traumatized the oppressed.[99] The aggression and brutality of slavery in the Caribbean embodied every form of physical and psychological violence available to the settlers to brutalize and dehumanize the Indigenous people.[100] Thus, the colonial system was devoid of morality and it created a legacy of in-tergenerational trauma and a social environment of inequity, inequality, and self-destruction[101] for the oppressed and the oppressors. For example, as Claudius Fergus writes, "unquestionably, the evidence adduced at the parliamentary inquiries into the slave trade between 1788 and 1791 was more than adequate to condemn the commoditization and enslavement of Africans as crimes against humanity, even by the standards of the day."[102] He describes slavery and colonialism as "pure evil." Aime Cesaire describes this 'evil' as contagious, infecting all within its proximity.[103]

Slavery ended in 1834, which created a "New World" for the once black slave. This New World was filled with Jamaican people who were rebellious and aggressive against what they felt was exploitation.[104] Frederick Hickling further adds that the violence was later turned inward and, for some, resulted in an onslaught of their self-destruction.[105] Before the "emancipation" from slavery could occur, the British Empire "unleashed" its art and strategy of colonial state-making in Jamaica.[106]

Divisions, Rebellions, and Treaties

Slavery was a well thought out and developed operation that controlled the African slaves on the island using absolute terror[107] and division[108] in order to shower wealth on the British Empire in the eighteenth century. Despite the extreme measures of physical and psychological violence inflicted on the slaves, they eventually rose up in rebellion. For example, a significant number of slaves escaped to the mountains of Jamaica, forming communities that led rebellions against "the systematic dehumanization of plantation enslavement," using African folklore as a form of "survival and resistance."[109] They were called the Maroons.[110] For the Maroons, Anansi stories — African folklore—inspired the art of warfare, which led to the signing of the 1739 treaty between the British Crown and the Maroons.[111] Gale Kenny further adds that, in the treaty, the Maroons, in exchange for their freedom, agreed to turn a blind eye to slavery, aid in the capture of runaway slaves, and defend Jamaica alongside the British military when necessary.[112] This agreement also allowed the Maroons to own land, creating and reinforcing the perpetuation of terror and division between both groups.[113] Barbara Kopytoff adds that the treaty placed the British Crown in a position of ultimate power over the Maroons and also decided who died and who lived within the communities.[114]

Meanwhile, the Afro-Creole culture began to grow in Jamaica and "informed how black Jamaicans conceptualized and actualized freedom."[115] Christianity was influenced by "African belief systems, Anglican liturgics, African American Baptists, and the dissenting theology of English missionaries."[116] Kenny further notes that the planters used Christianity to pacify the slaves and religion provided the slaves one way of "asserting control over their own souls and validation of their humanity."[117] It is with this validation of their humanity, alongside their conceptualization of freedom, that led to the abolition of the slave trade and then the emancipation of slavery in Jamaica. Fergus writes:

> In the true "spirit of ubuntu," a southern African concept affirming the interconnectedness of all human beings, African antislavery struggles were not intended to destroy the enslavers but, rather, to win respect for the enslaved people's own humanity and create secure spaces of freedom for themselves.[118]

However, the wounds of slavery ran deep. The "spirit of ubuntu" was seemingly "drowned" under new post-emancipation colonial laws that the British

put in place in Jamaica, which used gender as a key divide and rule strategy.

BRITISH COLONIALISM POST EMANCIPATION IN JAMAICA

The post-slavery heteropatriarchal colonial system created another layer of understanding and confusion for the ex-slaves and their descendants.[119] The abolition of slavery meant civilizing black people by enculturing them with the values of their former masters and cementing it with religion.[120] The ex-slave had no space to realize or to locate her/himself within a context that was built on British systematic and traditional values of patriarchy, with clear distinctions between male and female. The men held power, led, and dominated all levels of society from the micro to the macro, including the creation and execution of laws, the management of business, and the creation of knowledge.[121] This space, locality, and positionality were solely for a few elite white males.[122] However, Jamaica's ex-slaves created highly volatile spaces that embraced, mimicked, and rebelled against white patriarchy.[123] This section of my essay explores the British colonial model post-emancipation. Its volatile gendered construction of the ex-slaves and their descendants and their efforts to resist a "gendered" colonialism are embedded within structural, cultural, and direct violence.

Gendering the Ex-slave

The gendering of relationships was intrinsic to colonialism in Jamaica. It included a perverse system of colonial heteropatriarchy that imposed and created cultures and structures of inequity and inequality on Indigenous black people.[124] Heteropatriarchy is a "colonial inheritance"[125] and structuring principle; gendering and heterosexuality— the dominant male and the submissive female—are imposed at all levels within a society, continually intersecting and reinforced until it becomes a cultural norm.[126] "The 'gendering' process was a complex one, beginning at birth and constantly reinforced throughout life,"[127] thus creating certain aspects of an individual man or woman's identity that is shaped by cultural traditions and values.[128]

The institution of patriarchy continued post-slavery with the introduction of wage labor in Jamaica, which created a powerless space at the socioeconomic and political levels for ex-slaves.[129] According to Juanita De Barros, Jamaica, like other Caribbean islands, was impacted by the economic depression of the 1930s, which increased social and political inequalities between racialized groups and poverty across the island, fuelling protests

and strikes against colonial authorities.[130] To address the poverty, cement their authority, and restore calm, the British government introduced the Moyne Commission Report that outlined the importance of using religious values and gendering as foundations of the nuclear families.[131] For example, Joan French notes that the Moyne Report had three main pillars that were embedded in gender differences: social welfare, trade unionism, and land settlements:[132] "its mission civilisatrice."[133]

Division of Labour

Post-slavery, the Moyne Report intensified the division of labor on the Jamaican colony so that it was socially unacceptable for women to work. Black women could not work alongside black men in the fields, restricting them to remain as stay-at-home mothers.[134] The goal of the Moyne Report was to create more job opportunities for men. Unfortunately, women's loss of economic independence was not compensated and those mostly white women who resisted in the anticolonial labour struggles of the early twentieth century were punished.[135] For example, French writes that,

> The family was to be the answer to the unemployment, the lack of wage work and the land hunger of the masses, which the Moyne Commission identified as the main socio-economic problems facing the island. Through the family, the scarcity of jobs would be eased by withdrawing women from the paid labour force, by convincing both men and women that wages were a man's prerogative, and that a "proper" family meant one in which a woman was dependent on a man for all her financial needs as well as the needs of all those left in her care.[136]

French further adds that, unlike white women, black women did not have a tradition of dependency on their male counterparts.[137] They perceived this decree as a new form of slavery; most of them continued to work for much lower wages than their male counterparts. The post-emancipation period saw the introduction of a gender-differentiated wage scale with lower rates for women; this created an economic structure of inequality between men, between women, and between women and men that were connected to race.[138]

Marriage

The imposition of marriage by the Moyne Report and its related gender roles

within post-emancipation Jamaica created a culture of women as second class citizens who were inferior, weak, and propertyless.[139] Patriarchy oppressed and repressed them individually within the family as well as socially, economically, and politically.[140] The Moyne Commission Report defined family and marriage through the promotion of monogamy whereby young women were encouraged to seek husbands to deter female single-headed households.[141] The Report further argued that the lack of nuclear families with the man at the center within the islands were the cause of the rampant poverty people were experiencing, especially among the poor or ex-slave communities.[142] The institution of marriage comprised of the husband as the breadwinner, the wife as nonearning party and as dependents. In addition, the woman/wife's responsibility within the confines of the marriage/family was to service her husband and to rear their children.[143] Also, within the marriage, the woman becomes the property of her husband.[144] Marriage as an institution was perceived to be "morally superior and prestigious" and "single women in towns were arrested for unbecoming behaviors."[145] The Jamaican police also arrested men when they did not comply with the law that they were indeed "breadwinner" and "husband."[146] The ex-slaves struggled and resisted the newly constructed gender based responsibilities. Butler notes, "taking on a gender is not possible at a moment's notice . . ."[147] Despite the consequences of these newly imposed sex roles on Jamaican black women, many resisted the institution of marriage, fearing it was a brand-new form of slavery[148] that encouraged domestic violence and took away their freedom as parents and in terms of their choice of sexual partners.[149]

The institution of marriage gendered interpersonal relationships and created otherness or the objectification of women.[150] Otherness is threatening, instigates fear, and creates the notion of the enemy.[151] The ex-slave knew only violence under the British colonial system. The end of slavery only came with new ways of oppression in the forms of policies for marriage and imposed gender-based responsibilities had consequences. It became a matter of voluntarily accepting or not accepting a different form of oppression or violence[152] for the ex-slave. The condemnation of their children as illegitimate was the cost for a couple who chose not to conform or accept marriage.[153]

Sexuality

According to Scott Morgenson, heteropatriarchy was a colonial project that also imposed restrictions on sexual desire.[154] The institution of marriage guided sexual desires, limiting and directing them into heteronormative relationships between men and women, valuing virginity, and condemning adultery.[155] Haynes -Robinson adds that ". . . the ex-slaves chose to become more pious in some respects than their former masters, in rejection of all that was slavery."[156] They embraced asexual morality imposed on them by the British to attain the social status of "respectability." It is within this rejection of sexual slavery and colonial heteropatriarchal that sexual morality is used to control and subjugate women. The sexual aspect of the "woman" is socially constructed and imposed through policy,[157] while, unconsciously, the ex-slave "takes on" or purposefully assumes or embodies an identity so that virgin equals a respectable woman.[158] For example, Butler posits that,

> Gender is not only a cultural construction imposed upon identity, but in some sense gender is a process of constructing ourselves. To become a woman is a purposive and appropriative set of acts, the acquisition of skill, a "project," to use Sartrian terms, to assume a certain corporeal style and significance.[159]

Hayes-Robinson notes that the acceptance of moral sexuality by ex-slaves was also grounded in the idea that they would morally transcend the white elite that encouraged sexual exploitation and violence during slavery.[160] However, taking on this heteropatriarchal aspect of identity had its consequences because any sexual desire outside of the sanctioned institution of marriage was against the law and punishable under the law.[161] For example, the 1533 anti-buggery act remained in place and it applied to ex-slaves. It reinforced gendered sexuality and violence, imposing a social construct of masculinity and femininity while prohibiting homosexual acts in private or public places; "layman's law in Jamaica grants unofficial permission to impart violent 'justice' on perpetrators caught before the police arrive."[162] Moreover, the religious institutions cemented gendered sexuality and its consequences.[163]

Guiding Institutions of Socialization

The gendering of the Jamaican colony became a part of the social, economic, and political policy and was reinforced by the institution of marriage, education, both vocation and formal schooling, and churches to maintain British

control over the freed slaves.[164] For example, French notes that bourgeois women were tasked with educating the lower classes and the poor and, for the most part, preparing girls for marriage.[165] A large part of the school curriculum focused on domestic science while boys were exposed to trade so that they could become breadwinners for their families. The churches reinforced gendering, encouraging women to be submissive and dependent on men; in doing so, women would become fulfilled.[166]

The British colonial model within Jamaica during and post emancipation of slavery has created divisions in class (upper over middle and lower class, middle over lower), race (whiteness "over" blackness), sex (heterosexuality over homosexuality), and gender (masculinity over femininity), the domination of powerful men over other men, men over women.[167] These destructive and dynamic divisions became embedded within the systems of power of guiding institutions and continue to create and fuel social, economic, and political forms of violence within Jamaica.

CONCLUSIONS

Driven by an appetite for the accumulation of wealth, British colonialism was described as pure evil. It is evident that Jamaica's colonial model was a strategic art form that guaranteed domination, control, and subjugation of the labor force using all forms of violence. The British colonial process, which began in Ireland, shares some commonalities to the model imposed in Jamaica during British rule, such as divide and rule, enslavement of the Indigenous population, control of the land, and political and cultural domination. The impact on inhabitants and their generations has been catastrophic. In Jamaica, British colonialism created cultural identities of "Whiteness" as superior and "[b]lackness" as inferior; it legitimized and reinforced this biased reality through nationalism and privilege of Whiteness and alienating, repressing, and marginalizing "[b]lackness.[168] It imposed patriarchal ideologies through the construction of unequal gender norms, sex, race, and class in policies to control its colony.[169] The 1761 law prohibiting land ownership for mulatto children and the Moyne Commission of 1934, which cemented authority using religion and gender to pacify and suppress rebellions against British authority, are examples of this ideology. Strategically and simultaneously, British colonialism in Jamaica created systems of violence against the oppressed to maintain authority and control over its colony.

The slaves and their generations in Jamaica have known nothing but

violence. For the slave, violence was a rite of passage and a way of life.[170] Today, black Jamaicans continue to experience poverty, sexism, racism, and gendering, sometimes hidden in the ordinariness of everyday life[171] and creating a sense of powerlessness and self-destruction. Galtung and Fischer argue that violence breeds trauma and further violence.[172] The British colonial process in Jamaica has extended its reach through time, reinforcing patriarchal ideologies of biased realities through age-old policies, religion, and gender that continue to encourage violence from within.

In summary, British colonialism in Jamaica created a society of extreme wealth and poverty. Using a model that can only be described as deviously ingenious to divide and conquer the local Indigenous community, British colonialism imposed visible and invisible strands of violence at every level. Over three hundred years later, Jamaica, once noted for its notorious social disorder during British colonialism and slavery, is considered today as one of the most violent countries in the world.

ENDNOTES

1. See Sean Byrne, Aziz Rahman and Mary Anne Clarke in this issue.

2. See Byrne, Rahman, and Clarke in this issue.

3. Betty Reardon, *Sexism and the War System* (Syracuse NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996).

4. Celia Cook-Huffman, "Barbara Deming: Feminism and Nonviolence," in *Gender and Peacebuilding: All Hands Required,* ed. Maureen Flaherty, Sean Byre, Hamdesa Tuso and Thomas Matyok (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2015), 3-16; Sally Merry, *Gender Violence: A Cutlural Perspective* (West Sussex, UK: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2009).

5. Reardon, *Sexism and the War System.*

6. Cook-Huffman, "Barbara Deming"; Janie Leatherman, *Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2011).

7. See Byrne, Rahman, and Clarke.

8. James Walvin, *Questioning Slavery* (London, UK: Taylor and Francis, 2002).

9. Walvin, *Questioning Slavery*, 12.

10. "Population Statistics," Statistical Institute of Jamaica, accessed

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