

## Racialisation in Jamaica: is Jamaica really an “ideologically raceless” society?

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### Introduction

Jamaica is an island country situated in the Caribbean Sea, the third largest island of the Greater Antilles (Island Chain in the West Indies) and a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. A country which is well known for its history of slavery and colonialism, it only recently gained its Independence in 1962 and there are many things about contemporary Jamaican society which are yet to be discovered. Jamaica is often portrayed by its government institutions as “one of harmony” and an “ideologically raceless society”, the country’s national motto is “Out of Many, One People” (Joyce, 2012, p.1) this suggests that despite ethnic differences all Jamaicans live as one Jamaican people. However is this image realistic considering Jamaica’s history? Is this simply an image portrayed by government institutions to benefit the tourism industry? Is Jamaica really an “ideologically raceless society”? This report will aim to answer all these questions by analysing the processes of racialisation in Jamaica and how they have been shaped by the slave trade and colonialism. This report will also look at why Rastafarianism was created and how Reggae music has been used as an anti-racism mechanism. Jamaican Identity will also be considered and how it has been influenced by European and African identities through past and present globalisation. Most importantly one of the main focuses of this report will be the rise in Skin Bleaching amongst Jamaicans and debates which exist surrounding this growing phenomenon and also try to uncover why black Jamaicans feel they need to lighten their natural skin tone? Above all the purpose of this report will be to find out if Jamaica really is an “ideologically raceless” society.

### The Ethnic Identity of Jamaica

The perception of Jamaica by the west is that it is homogenously black, in reality Jamaican society is “a situation of considerable racial ideological complexity” (Alleyne, 2002, p.194) and is far more ethnically diverse than is often perceived by other countries. In 2010 90.9% of the Jamaican population was Black, 1.3% East Indian, 0.2% White, 0.2% Chinese, 7.3% mixed ethnicities and 0.1% other ethnicities (Oxford AASC, 2010). The mixed ethnicities group includes people of Afro-Jamaican, Asian-Jamaican, European-Jamaican and Indian-Jamaican descent. There are a number of reasons for Jamaica’s diverse ethnic demography, however it is without a doubt that if events such as the Slave Trade and Colonialism hadn’t taken place the ethnic identity of Jamaican would be very different.

For many years Jamaica has been a country of classification, many claim that today “race and skin colour figure prominently in the stratification systems of the Caribbean” (Chevannes, 1989. P.3) and that contemporary Jamaican society is divided by a “colour-based classification of race” (Joyce, 2012, p.3). This type of classification splits Jamaicans into three distinct groups: White, Brown and Black. These groups are seen to correlate with “the socioeconomic categories of upper class, middle class and working class” (Alleyne, 2002, p.193). This colour scheme “characterizes the social, economic and political institutions in Jamaica today, even though over time colonial prejudices have been hidden behind education and social class” (UN Commission on Science and Technology for Development, 1997). This colour-based classification also defines the rich-poor divide in Jamaica because skin colour and social class are so closely linked. This also suggests that perhaps due to Jamaica’s diverse ethnic identity the processes of racialisation in Jamaica are not based on ethnicity but on skin colour.

## **The Slave trade, Colonialism and the beginnings of racism in Jamaica**

“Slavery was a defining period in Jamaica’s history... its values woven into the fabric of Jamaican society” (Espeut, 2010). Racism and colour discrimination became “the legacy of more than three centuries of slavery” (Anthony, Gates, 2005, P.337). Therefore in order to analyse the processes of racialisation in contemporary Jamaica we must look at Jamaica’s history to understand how racism developed and if it still takes place today. Colonialism came to the Caribbean during the 15<sup>th</sup> Century; it helped form the region into what it is today. The aims of colonialism were very political and economically based, the aim was to control people’s wealth: what they produced, how they produced it, and how it was distributed, due to its economic and political components colonialism was in fact one phase of globalisation. During this era of globalisation “civilisations were destroyed; genocide on the widest scale occurred; riches gleaned from the natural resources of expropriated societies were taken from those countries to enrich Europe, enormous numbers of Africans were forcibly taken from their homeland to be enslaved in the region; cutting them off from their ancestral homes and way of life: racism of its most reprehensible powerful form was developed as a ‘scientific theory’” (Burton, 2009, p.9). Racism may have existed before however certainly not to the degree exhibited during this period. Racism is one of the main aspects of the ideology used to justify an “internal structure of exploitation”. As a result of the slave trade and colonialism racism in Jamaica is the ideologically constructed view that the white race is “physically, morally, intellectually and culturally superior to the black race” (Bakan, 1990, p.6). The persistence of racism as an ideology has always been a constant factor in Jamaica’s subordination in the global imperial system; it was used as an element of justification for colonial domination of Jamaica in the British Empire.

The Slave Trade was brought to Jamaica by the Spanish when they colonised the island at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Spain began importing slaves from Africa as they had started trading local produce back to Europe and needed slaves for labour. In May 1655 the British Naval forces captured Jamaica from the Spanish and gained control of all their slaves and goods (Satchell, 1999). Jamaica was eventually controlled by Britain for over 300 years. Through British control Jamaica soon became more involved in trade and the exportation of sugar, cocoa and other agricultural products (Embassy of Jamaica, 2007). Plantation agriculture was first introduced by the Sir Thomas Modyford a sugar plantation and slave owner in Barbados, as a result “Jamaica soon abandoned its respect as a free land, and soon turned into one of the many plantation colonies of the Western world” (McLean, 2011). At the beginning of the 1700s a number of sugar estates were created across the island, and it was through the establishment of the plantation system the slave trade developed. “Slaves of both genders and every age were found in all facets of the island’s economy” (Anthony, Gates, 2005, P.338). Slaves worked as labourers on plantations, domestic servants and skilled artisans (tradesmen, technicians and itinerant traders). “The wealth created in Jamaica by the labor of black slaves has estimated at £18,000,000 more than half of the estimated total of £30,000,000 for the entire British West Indies” (Satchell, 1999). 10,000 slaves were imported annually, when Britain finally abolished the institution of slavery in 1834, Jamaica had a population of more than 311,000 slaves and only about 16, 700 whites. The Slave trade not only caused undeniable class inequalities, it also changed the dynamics of Jamaican society in terms of ethnic groups. During the slave trade there was a rise in the coloured population, “coloured” is a term used by the former British colonies for people of “mixed European and African descent” (Satchell, 1999). This increase was caused by white men on the island having relations with black women, black women who were enslaved and those who had their freedom. The children born to free women were free but this was not the case for the children of the slave women who also had to live life in captivity. Sometimes slaves would be manumitted by their Masters for different reason, this was very rare. Some coloured children born into slavery were freed through manumission. This rising group of coloured Jamaicans formed a middle group on the social ladder separating blacks and whites. The coloured Jamaicans often distanced themselves from the slaves but were not accepted by their white counterparts. A lot of the free coloured Jamaicans or “Mulattos” (Mohammed 2000) worked as merchants, mechanics, teachers and journalists, some even inherited plantations from their father however this was very rare. They became very aware

that education was one of the key ways to gain upward social mobility and acceptance by whites, therefore many free coloured Jamaicans were well educated and went on to attend Universities in Britain . This new population quickly bettered their social status and were much wealthier than the black slaves. Eventually after years of protests through petitions and memorials, in 1830 the coloured Jamaicans gained equal rights just before the institution of Slavery was abolished.

“Full emancipation was a gradual process in the British colonies” (Satchell, 1999). In 1834 the legislative act known as apprenticeship was brought in in all British Colonies by British Parliament. “All slaves’ children under the age of six or born after this date were freed” all other slaves were to undergo a transitional period as “apprentices” before full emancipation (Anthony, Gates, 2005, P.340). This program soon became an administrative burden and was ended, eventually in on August 1<sup>st</sup> 1938 full emancipation was granted to more than 300,000 slaves in Jamaica.

Since the end of slavery in 1834, black people in Jamaica have achieved much upward social mobility, mostly through “entrepreneurship and education”. In terms of political power, the first black man to be in office was Percival Patterson and since he was Prime Minister black people seem to be in control. However that was only since very recently in 1992 and many issues “concerning race have not been fully resolved in Jamaica” (Satchell, 1999). Many Jamaicans believe that the attempts of emancipation caused even more inequalities to exist in Jamaican society “Freedom is complex, it means making decisions for yourself and this led to more division and derision.” (Johnston, 2011) Racism was at its highest during the slave trade; it subsided temporarily after emancipation but recurred after the 1840s more intensively. Racism was no longer the “hand – maiden” of slavery but “the ideology of an empire”, and it had 3 distinguishing characteristics “paternalistic, scientific and nationalistic, it was to be the dominant form of racism for the next hundred years.” This ideology of racism originated from colonialism and unsurprisingly was still very dominant in Jamaica after emancipation; it is possible that racism still exists in contemporary Jamaican society.

### **Rastafari and Reggae as anti-colonial movements**

“Rastafari is a political, religious and cultural movement” (Clark,2009) which developed in Jamaica during the 1930s following the coronation of Haile Selassie I as King of Ethiopia. It is based on traditional African beliefs, Pan-Africanism and Christianity; it was started by the first literate blacks in Jamaica relating themselves to certain stories of the bible. Psalm 68, verse 32 is the most important verse for Rastafari as it they believe the prophecy was fulfilled when Haile Selassie was crowned King of Ethiopia. “Princes shall come out of Egypt, Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God” (Clark, 2009). Rastafarians believe that Haile Selassie is God and that he will return to Africa all the members of the black community who are living in exile as a result of colonisation and the slave trade, they believe that Ethiopia is their homeland. The theology of Rastafari was developed from the ideas of Marcus Garvey, a Jamaican political activist who wanted to improve the status of fellow blacks. Marcus Garvey spoke about “black self-empowerment” (Martin, 2009). At the time of the creation of Rastafari it had been less than 100 years since Black Jamaicans had received their freedom and were probably still facing immense inequalities.

For the first couple of decades after it was developed Rastafari existed as a “more or less isolated Jamaican phenomenon” (Glazier, 2001). It was during the 1970s and 1980s when it gained supporters from around the globe, this was mostly due to the development of Reggae music. Common socio-political topics of reggae music included black-nationalism, anti-racism, anti-colonialism, anti-capitalism and criticisms of political systems. “Through music, the black people of Jamaica felt happiness and hope” (Novick, 2009). In particular the music of Bob Marley a follower of Rastafari helped spread the message of the religion. Bob Marley found international success through his music which was infused with “a sense of spirituality” (Masouri, 2009, p.424). Marley was incredibly inspired by Marcus Garvey; this can be seen

through his songs which are often anti-racism pro-African protest songs. "Redemption Song" is one of the best examples of Bob Marley's protest songs, it draws influence from a speech given by Marcus Garvey in Nova Scotia, 1937(Grant, 2011, p.113).

Old pirates, yes, they rob I;  
Sold I to the merchant ships,  
Minutes after they took I  
From the bottomless pit.  
But my hand was made strong  
By the 'and of the Almighty.  
We forward in this generation  
Triumphantly.  
Won't you help to sing  
These songs of freedom? -  
'Cause all I ever have:  
Redemption songs;  
Redemption songs.

Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery;  
None but ourselves can free our minds.  
Have no fear for atomic energy,  
'Cause none of them can stop the time.  
How long shall they kill our prophets,  
While we stand aside and look? Ooh!  
Some say it's just a part of it:  
We've got to fulfil de book.

The lyrics vividly tell how awful the slave trade was and how uprooted the Africans were, as well as giving us an image of how Jamaica was during the 1970s. One of the messages which Bob Marley directed towards Jamaicans was that they should learn from their pasts, know their present and fight for their future. Jamaicans should remember the years of slavery their ancestors were forced to do and make sure that it does not happen again. The lyrics "Emancipate yourselves from mental slavery; None but ourselves can free our minds" was taken from Marcus Garvey's speech in 1937, which suggest that even though slavery had been abolished it still impacted the lives of Jamaicans and oppression still existed in Jamaica. "Emancipation is a process that is not yet complete. Many of us are still to free ourselves from the way of thinking of our former masters" (Espeut, 2010). Through his lyrics Bob Marley helped turn a music genre into a movement which represented the struggle that Jamaica had to face at the hands of others, "Reggae is in a way interpreted as a voice of the oppressed that should not be forgotten" (Mclean, 2011).

Rastafari was created in retaliation to the Slave Trade and a religion which brought hope after the years of suppression faced by Jamaica. Reggae music was used "as the medium of expression of Rastafari sentiments" (Chevannes, 1989) highlighting the Rastafari core beliefs and used as a way of protesting against the systems which took Black-Jamaicans away from Africa. Reggae music is "more than just a beat or rhythm; the lyrics are extremely powerful and meaningful", it is "a form of verbal history" (Novick, 2009). By looking at Reggae lyrics and the popularity of the genre it becomes apparent that even though "Slavery was abolished... its repercussions are still being dealt with" (Mclean, 2011).

### **The link between Racism and Class conflicts in Jamaican society**

Many argue that regardless of the full emancipation which came to Jamaica in 1838, "Racism is alive and well in Jamaica, and it is within" (Espeut, 2010). Racism is seen as a set of ideas that "further justify and reinforce relations of class domination" (Bakan, 1989, p.6). Ever since slavery, racism and class have always been intricately linked and "maybe these two have become confused" (Espeut, 2010), to fully understand their impact on Jamaican society we must look at how they both influence each other. The institution of slavery encouraged the ideology of racism within Jamaica; it was also legitimized by

colonialism. Eventually the legacies of colonialism and the slave trade “created a society divided on two closely coinciding axes: race and class” (Water, 1989, p.8).

After emancipation Jamaica’s class system was based on the notion “the fairer the skin colour, the higher the social status was likely” (Bakan, 1990, p.6). This originated during the years of plantation slavery has since developed into the basic class and racial system of Jamaica which includes a small white ruling class managing the affairs of a society where the majority were black slaves, black peasants and eventually black workers. “Emancipation... may have made slaves legally free but it did not break the link between colour and class in Jamaica” (Espeut, 2010), this happened mostly because the slaves received no compensation for their suffering. While they were granted their freedom, they also had their food and shelter taken from them as they were no longer bound to their former slave owners. This led the Jamaican class system to become even more unfairly split, there existed a huge gap between the wealth owned by mostly white former slave owner and black former slaves. “They had no land and no education, and there were no jobs to speak of, outside the same plantations on which they were slaves” (Espeut, 2010). This incredibly noticeable difference in social status between the ex-slaves and former slave owners was also apparent in other opportunities in society, for example the ability to vote. Due laws at the time in order to vote, or be a juror the individual had to own land. As the majority of the land was owned by small minority, it meant they could control the politics and running of Jamaica. “This perpetuated the link between colour and class” (Espeut, 2010). This class structure eventually started changing slightly after the 1940s as a result of the “advance of coloured (or mixed race) individuals” and also a small number of blacks into the Jamaican middle class and ruling class (Bakan, 1990, p.6). However Jamaica still continued to resemble its slave based predecessor’s structure immensely, as the old racial concerns continued to “eat into the heart and spirit of its people at all social levels, moulding their perceptions of their lives” (Bakan, 1990, p.7).

In contemporary Jamaica the link between racism and class is still visible in society, the education and health care systems and almost every other facet of Jamaican life have been constructed on these realities. Many Jamaicans do not recognise the unequal distribution of economy and the social inequalities as they accepted them as normal especially because they do not know any different. “Race has agency in determining social mobility, as such, Jamaica’s class structure is primarily built upon race; a fundamental determinant of economic expectation and success” (Joyce, 2012, p.2). This inequality can be seen in the spread of wealth, a greater percentage of ethnic minorities “either own property or are located at highest levels of Jamaica’s class/status hierarchy” even though more than 90% of Jamaicans are black. In the same way “the greater percentage of the very poor, underemployed and/or unemployed is dark skinned or black” (Hope, 2006). This shows that ethnicity or maybe skin tone influences your social status and black Jamaicans are more likely to be of a lower social class because they are black.

The Jamaican High Commission has no record of racially motivated crime which means none have been kept by the government statistical body. This within itself suggests that this lack of evidence and statistics held by the government body is because “Jamaica’s image is established upon a code of ignorance and concealment for the purposes of tourism” (Joyce, 2012, p.2). Unfortunately despite the attempts to turn the country’s racial problem into a less oppressing class structured one “class is [still] aligned with race” (Austin-Broos, 1984). A lot of Jamaicans focus on how bad the class and racial inequalities were in the past and believe that they Jamaican Society is much more equal than it once was however the sad reality is that “the class structure of Jamaica is inexorably tied to racialisation” (Joyce, 2012, p.2). However racism and class are still alive and exist in Jamaica and as a result of the legacy of colonialism life colonialism for certain groups life opportunities are more limited because they are a certain ethnicity and this immediately influences their social status.

### **The rise of Skin Bleaching in Jamaica**

Skin bleaching is a phenomenon which occurs in many countries around the world, it is “the use of dermatological creams, cosmetic creams and homemade products by some people to

bleach the melanin from the skin” (Charles, 2010b, p.25). It has become increasingly popular in Jamaica and there is now a growing concern about Jamaicans who bleach their skin, often putting their life at great risk. There have been multiple studies which have documented the effects of skin bleaching but little research on why the practise of skin bleaching occurs. Finding out the reasons why Jamaicans bleach their skin will help uncover the processes of racialisation within Jamaica.

In Jamaica skin bleaching has been spoken about in the media since 1990s, only recently has there been a growing concern and awareness about the dangers of it. In 2007 a “Don’t Kill the Skin” Campaign was held by Jamaican health Officials to educate people about the dangers of skin bleaching (Desmond – Harris, 2011). However the number of Jamaicans bleaching their skin has not decreased and has reached dangerous proportions even in the country’s slums. Another reason this phenomenon is on the rise is because lightening creams are not effectively regulated, some Jamaicans will also resort to “mixing chemicals such as household bleach and hydrogen peroxide with various creams, lotions and gels... to bleach their skin” (Harris, 2014). Eva Lewis-Fuller the Jamaican ministry’s director of health promotion and protection is redoubling education programs to combat bleaching in the predominantly black island.

Skin Bleaching has taken place in Jamaica for many years, as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century captive Africans would bleach their skin on commercial plantations. During the colonial period skin bleaching newspaper adverts were popular advertising the beauty and virtues of light skin (Charles, 2010a). Shepherd (2000) explains how skin bleaching is viewed “as the expression of mental slavery” – which is similar to a lyric from “Redemption Song” by Bob Marley which may refer to the racism which Jamaicans experience today as a result of colonialism which causes them to feel the need to lighten their skin tone.

Jamaicans who bleach their skin are often referred to as “bleachers”, “browning” is also used to refer to “non-White peoples with light or fair skin complexion” (Charles, 2010b, p.26). Studies have been carried out to try and uncover what the views are on skin tones in Jamaica; these studies have been carried out on samples of different age groups. One study carried out by Gopaul – McNicol (1995) asked Jamaican children to identify their preference for a black or white doll, the results showed that the majority of Black Jamaican preschool children preferred to play with a white doll. Gopaul – Nichol suggested that the preference for the white doll indicated “self-hate and rejection of Black racial identity” (Charles, 2010b, p.26). Similarly another study conducted by Miller (2001) found a preference for lighter skin tones among high school adolescents of all skin colour groups in Jamaica (black, brown and white) and that “satisfaction with their body image was based on its closeness to light skin complexion, which is the ideal” (Charles, 2010b, p.26). A study conducted by Mohammed (2000) found that a light skin complexion is still important in heterosexual relationships; “coloured” or “Mulatto” women are still the objects of desires for Black men. Peter Espeut a sociologist and a human development consultant also found that many women seek alliances with lighter-skinned men “to improve the skin colour of their children, and possibly their own social standing.” From these studies it is quite evident that there exists a preference for lighter skin in Jamaica and this is relevant for Jamaicans of different age groups and worryingly of some who are very young but it may not be as a result of self-hate.

Many people around the world chose to bleach their skin, especially in places like North America, Africa, Europe and Asia. Several reasons have been given as to why. Hall (1999) has argued that as a result of the cultural domination of Blacks by Whites some Blacks view white skin as more valued and ideal and choose to bleach their skin. Mire (2001) focused on internet skin bleaching advertisements and found that the politics of colourism “which gives social benefits and access to light-skinned over dark-skinned people” (Charles, 2010b, p.26) was the reason for skin bleaching.

In terms of Skin Bleaching in Jamaica, the reasons why “bleachers” choose to lighten their skin are linked to the effects the Slave trade and colonialism have had on African Identity and how it is perceived. Shepherd (2000) stated that Jamaicans choose to bleach their skin as a result of an “identity crisis among people of African descent and the disrespect they

experience” (Charles, 2010b, p.26). Another finding on Jamaican Skin Bleaching by Anderson (2000) found that skin bleaching is done in the hope of improving physical appearance because of the “dysfunctional preoccupation with body perfection”. Dr Petra Elaine Robinson from Louisiana State University argues that although the desire for lighter skin is a global issue, it is of particular relevance and significance in Jamaica because “the majority of the population is of African descent, yet there is an elevation of Eurocentric values and a denigration of Afrocentric values in many facets of life, specifically in the promotion of light skin as an indicator of beauty and social status” (Nelson, 2013). Espeut (2010) also argues that “social values of worth and economic racialisation are fundamentally determined by skin colour”. Therefore Skin Bleaching in Jamaica takes place for reasons which are slightly different to the ones for Skin Bleaching in other countries around the world. Jamaicans who bleach their skin seek to improve their physical appearance and social status as they feel they are discriminated against because they are of African descent. This racism against African identity shows that even though the institute of slavery was abolished nearly 200 years ago it still has an influence on Jamaican society.

One of the common theories behind skin bleaching is the “black self-hate thesis” (Hope, 2011, p.166) “self-hate” amongst black Jamaicans is a “legacy of slavery” (Charles, Thompson, 2009, p.2). The “black self-hate thesis” is often seen as a “one-size-fits all explanation” to a very complex problem, alternative explanations are colourism and miseducation. Colourism is “the ideology which assigns light-skinned people in society privileges and benefits unlike their dark skinned counterparts” (Charles, Thompson, 2009, p.2). Colourism stems from the “legacy of the racist ideology, which justified European colonization and slavery in Americas” (Charles, 2012) Dr Christopher A.D Charles from the University of the West Indies has ran numerous studies to see if self-hate really was reason that Jamaicans chose to bleach their skin. After looking at the self –esteem of Jamaican “bleachers” Charles concluded that they do not “suffer from self-hate. However, they have been miseducated into believing that the inly standard of beauty is the one defined by European ideals.” (Charles, 2003, p.726). The participants who bleach their skin “are linked to British colonialism and plantation slavery through colorism and miseducation rather than self-hate”.

It is evident that this rise in Jamaicans choosing to lighten their skin tone is the result of centuries of racist ideologies controlling Jamaican society, which have exist as part of the legacy of colonialism. Many skin bleachers accept their African Identity and do not want reject it, they do not want to become white they choose to bleach their skin to better their social position. “The conflation of skin colour with power, a pervasive shadism, remains a social and cultural legacy of Jamaica’s slavery and colonial history, with lighter skin (identified as ‘brown’ in Jamaica) still perceived as positive and ideal” (Hope, 2011, p.167). Carolyn Cooper a professor of literacy and cultural studies at the University of West Indies argues that if Jamaicans really want to “control the spread of the skin bleaching virus” they have to first “admit there is an epidemic of colour prejudice” in their society. No amount of education about the physical dangers of skin-bleaching will be effective if the deeply entrenched problems that inspire it go unchecked.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion through the analysis of Jamaica’s history, it is clear when racism originated in the country and why. Looking at the theology of Rastafari and the intentions of Reggae music, we can see that racism was still a recent problem for Jamaicans and that the legacy of colonialism still influences Jamaican society. “The processes of racialisation in Jamaica reflect a complex and sustained ideological grounding upon colonial logics which actively repress perceived racial otherness. Despite the insistence of governmental institutions and the projected image of a raceless nation, contemporary Jamaica is still subject to over and entrenched forms of racist discourse” (Joyce, B, 2012). Jamaica’s national motto “Out of Many, One people” may be more of a future “accomplishment” for the country (Espeut, 2010). “Even though slavery has been officially abolished for many decades, it is a living social memory for many, and the legacy of slavery still negatively impacts the vast majority of Jamaicans” (Espeut, 2010). This is evident in the increase of “bleachers” in Jamaica,

black Jamaicans who feel the need to lighten their complexion in order to fit into the society. The legacy of slavery is also present in terms of the class structure and its links with ethnicity, Jamaica's class structure was initially developed during the slave trade and has never really changed. Therefore this shows that Jamaica is not an "ideological raceless society" and there still exists race divisions which control the life opportunities of Jamaicans based on their skin-tone.

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