

Trends in Urban Crime and Violence in Kingston, Jamaica

Sherrian Gray

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Comments may be sent to the authors at: sherrian.gray@gmail.com

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Introduction:

This case focuses on examining criminal activity in Jamaica, specifically on the country's capital city, Kingston. Over the past thirty years, there has been a general increase in rates of serious violent crime in Jamaica, particularly within but not exclusively the Kingston Metropolitan Area (which includes Kingston, St. Andrew and urban St. Catherine), as well as, the country's second city Montego Bay has experienced increases in crime. This case however will examine specific conditions in the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) relative to types of crime and the possible explanatory factors such as unemployment, socio-economic conditions and migration that may contribute to crime. It will also highlight examples of the Jamaican Government's efforts to tackle crime and violence in the country.

Justification: Why Kingston is a good case study for crime in Jamaica

Kingston has the highest rate of murder of the three major urban areas in Jamaica. Over the past three decades there has been a general increase in murders in Jamaica; the country's murder rate was 8.1 per 100 000 in 1970. By 2002, the rate moved to 40 per 100 000 and by 2005, it had risen to 64 per 100 000 population, placing Jamaica among nations with the highest murder rates in the world¹. Between the periods 1998 and 2005, the Jamaican police reported 8993 murders; approximately 76 percent of those murders occurred in the Kingston Metropolitan Area.² In this corresponding period (1985 – 2005) there was an increase in the total crimes³ reported to the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF). Over the years, the Government of Jamaica (GOJ) has responded through several initiatives and has produced several reports that examine cause and effect of crime and violence on the country. These reports highlight the collapse of the family structure, decaying community life, socio-cultural and economic conditions as the predominant contributors to the decline of the Jamaican way of life.⁴

¹ Jamaica Constabulary Force: Police Crime Statistics

² Murder totals do not include all homicides in Jamaica, specifically; killings by the police, armed forces and security guards are excluded.

³ Total crimes represent all crimes reported to the police.

⁴ Numerous reports have been produced by the Government of Jamaica addressing the issue of crime in Jamaica. These reports include the Report of the National Committee on Crime and Violence (Oct. 2001); Report of the National Committee on Political Tribalism (1997); Report of the National Task Force on Crime (Wolfe Report, 1993); Social conflict and Reform Project (June 2000) and the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) Violent Crime and Reduction in Kingston (January 2001).

Background

Kingston is the capital of Jamaica with geographic coverage of 430.7 square kilometres and is one of the country's three major urban areas⁵.

Map 1: City of Kingston



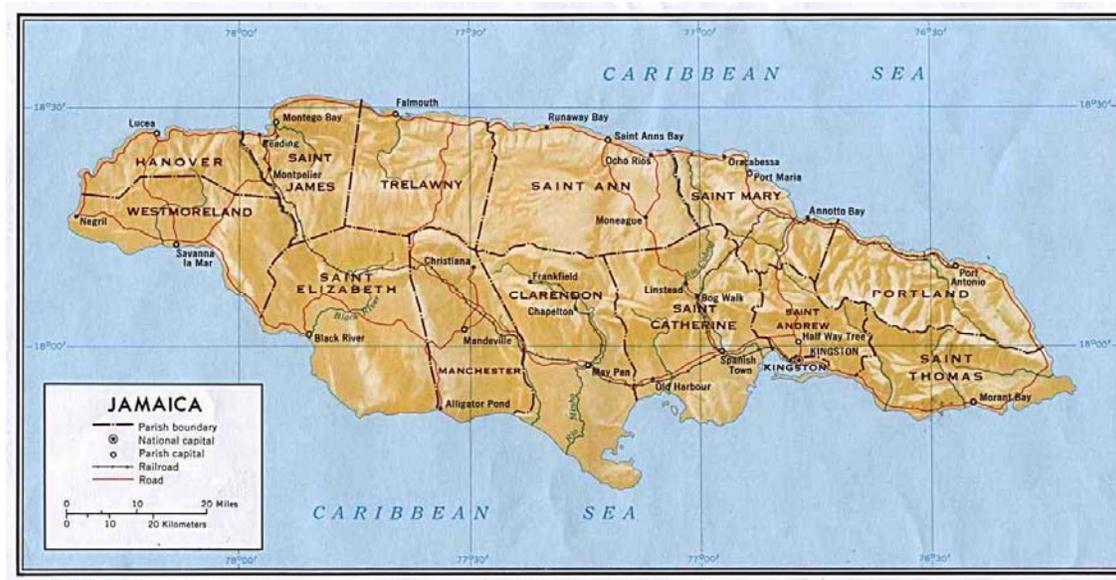
Source: www.caribbean-on-line.com/jm/kmap

The Kingston Metropolitan Area has a growing population with limited access to land and other resources leading to environmental issues such as squatting and the unsustainable use of natural resources. There are considerable strains on the environment in KMA resulting from the vast population growth, inadequate housing, waste management and improper drainage in some areas. The 1991 population census showed that 538,000 persons lived in the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) and in 2001 that number had increased to 651,880. At the end of 2005, Jamaica's population stood at 2,660,700 with a growth rate of 0.5 per cent. In other words, the KMA accounted for 21.52% of the population in 1991, compared to 24.5 % in 2001, which represents a population growth rate for the KMA of 2.30 percent that is more than four times higher than the overall population growth rate for Jamaica. The rate of natural increase for the country was 11.2 per 1 000 with estimated births to be 19.3 per 1000 mean population and deaths to be 6.4 per 1000 mean population. External migration continued to

⁵ Jamaica's three major urban areas include Kingston, Spanish Town and Montego Bay. The latter is called the country's second city.

impact on growth rate with the majority of migrants from Jamaica going to the United States of America. (ESSJ)⁶

Map 2: Jamaica: Major Rural and Urban Centres



Source: www.caribbean-on-line.com/jm/kgmap

In 2006, KMA had the highest population of all urban areas with an estimated 4760 persons per square mile and a population of 1.1 million residents (SERHA/MOH).⁷ The population density for Jamaica was estimated to be 211 persons per square kilometer in 1991. Over half of the country's population lives in urban areas, with 43% of the population living within the Kingston Metropolitan area itself. The Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) has the lowest poverty rates (10.6%) compared to rural areas estimated at 22%; in some remote areas, these figures are doubled (UNICEF, 2000).⁸

The greater Kingston Metropolitan Area remains the most criminally active and dangerous area on the island, generally, and witness to specific offences such as murder, assaults, shootings and robberies. Kingston is one of the country's most populated area perforated with numerous squatter settlements. In recent times, crime in Jamaica and in Kingston specifically can be attributed to a several key factors: lack of employment opportunities, absence of employable skills by job seekers, inadequate housing facilities which leads to persons illegal squatting on lands, gang violence and the illegal drug trade. Most violent crimes occur in

⁶ Economic and Social Survey, 2006

⁷ Southeast Regional Health Authority/ Ministry of Health for 2006: Public Health Inspectors population estimate from KMA surveillance survey.

⁸ UNICEF JAMAICA (2001): A Situational Analysis of Women and Children. Kingston, Jamaica

inner city communities which are generally characterized by a proliferation of guns, improper infrastructure, inadequate social services and inaccessibility to basic utilities.

A Look at Jamaica: Contributors to Crime

From Jamaica's independence as a nation in 1962, the country has faced many challenges at the national and community level. As a nation, it has faced economic hardships and conflicts which have permeated institutions such as the family, schools, communities and structured institutions. In Post Independent Jamaica there was also a steady increase in crime as noted by the late Carl Stone (A Jamaican Political Scientist). In Crime and Violence: Socio-Political Implications (1987), Stone sets out a number of factors that he considers to have contributed to the escalation in crime, particularly in urban areas.⁹

- The shrinkage in the agriculture sectors which gave rise to urbanization;
- An increase in outward migration weakened the family's socialization of the young; many parents migrated seeking economic opportunities in North America, leaving their young to be raised by grandparents or other family members;
- A decline in the living standards since the 1970's, which Stone argued followed an economic depression and difficulty adjusting after a twenty year growth period and;
- The creation of an "expectation gap" which followed two decades of growth in the 1950s and 1960s. Persons sought to bridge this gap through migration or crime if they could not achieve material advancement by legal means- hence growth of the underground economy.

Another major contributor was the development of 'garrison constituencies,' many of which were identified with one of the two major political parties. In 1980, the country was overshadowed by a nine month long election campaign. During that year, the country recorded the highest number of murders ever before experienced in Jamaica. There were 889 murders recorded by the police, as compared to the previous year 1979 with 351 murders. Of the total murders in 1980, 643 of these murders were by the gun. In 1981, murders were reduced by approximately fifty percent to 490. During 1980, there was a significant increase in the use of the gun in murders and other offences such as felonious wounding (2,458 reported cases) and shooting with intent (2,283 reported cases).¹⁰

Another contributing factor was the development of community leaders known as 'dons' in many garrison communities in Kingston.¹¹ Some dons are believed to be involved in the illicit drug transshipment trade between Jamaica, North America and Latin America. It has been argued that these dons headed the underground economy in which young people from weakened familial structures were recruited as foot soldiers and socialized into a culture of drugs and violence. Some of these persons are believed to have migrated overseas, and have

⁹ Carl Stone (1987): *Crime and Violence: Socio-Political Implications*

¹⁰ Op Cit: Jamaica Constabulary Force: *Police Crime Statistics*

¹¹ The term community leader has a negative connotation in Jamaica. It refers to a single figure that has illegitimate power within the community. These persons are usually believed to be involved in illicit drug trade, extortion and activities in the informal underground economy of the country.

become involved in the trans-national drug trade. There has been no evidence to support this argument. Many persons who operate within this underground economy when they got caught were not jailed in prisons in the developed world, but were later deported to Jamaica where they have continued their life of crime; these persons were called “deportees” in Jamaica.¹²

The significant use of the gun in the 1980’s and the illicit drug trans-shipment trade changed the country’s crime landscape from conflict between individuals to violent conflict over turf. In Harriott’s (2000) *Police and Crime Control*, noted that the crime and violence which became firmly embedded in the social fabric of the Jamaican society may have the following characteristics:

- Pervasive criminality and disregard for law across all social classes;
- The overlap between business elites of the formal sector, the political elite and the criminal elite;
- A developed, well-integrated underground economy;
- Majority approval or at least tolerance, of the types of crimes driving the underground economy;
- Criminality becoming increasingly anchored in institutionalized relations and occupational roles (subsequent development of extortion and racketeering);
- Increasing acceptance and prevalence of elements of the criminal normative system and moral neutralization process;
- Criminally acquired resources easily translatable into social power;
- Pervasive criminality within the justice system and general authority structures.

The rising crime rate in Jamaica captured the attention of policy makers and persons within the wider society. In response to widespread concerns about crime, in August 2001, the National Committee on Crime and Violence was created to examine the root causes of crime and recommend strategies to tackle the increasing levels of crime and cycle of violence that perpetuated the society.¹³ Among the factors identified were the following:

- The Destabilized family structure (poor parenting): The Jamaican society has often been called a matrifocal society. Many families are female-headed households without the presence of a male figure. Children from these household manifest a number of internalizing and externalizing behavioural problems, including sadness, depression, delinquency, aggression, sex role difficulties, early initiation of sexual activity and teen pregnancy, as well as, poor social and adaptive functioning and low self-esteem.¹⁴
- Urban drift
- Economic instability (including high unemployment)

¹² UNICEF and UNPA (Final Draft: September 2001): “Anywhere yuh be, yu not safe”: Adolescents in Jamaica

¹³ National Committee on Crime and Violence Report, October 31, 2001

¹⁴ Impact of family structure on children: Sunday, April 6, 2006: *The Gleaner*

- The Drug culture: The drug economy in Jamaica is perceived to be as large as 50% of the country's GDP, and has flourished at the expense of a declining economic performance of the formal sector. The problem of drug production and transshipment and of drug money laundering poses a major challenge to the Jamaica. It endangers the capacity of governing countries to uphold the rule of law as it corrupts not only the state apparatus but many acts of violence are committed by those within the drug business.¹⁵
- Political tribalism
- Emergence of non-traditional/ parallel leadership within communities
- Ineffectual, citizen- unfriendly policing: The Jamaican citizenry has a general mistrust of state agencies which has resulted in ineffective communication between the community and the police.
- Negative perceptions regarding access to security and justice (particularly in poor communities)
- The High availability of firearms and other weapons: There has been a proliferation of firearms over the years.
- Lack of community empowerment (to address /ameliorate problems before they escalate)
- Weak financial status of civil society organizations which limits pre-emptive and response capability and;
- Corruption within all state structures has weakened the communication lines between the citizenry and the state.

These factors were also highlighted in reports produced by the National Task Force on Crime Committee (1993) and the Police Executive Forum Report - PERF (2000).

Analysis of Crime Data

During the period 1990 and 2005, there has been a steady decline in the total number of crimes committed in Jamaica; reported crimes moved from 18,361 to 8,461 for the stated period. In 2003, total major crimes¹⁶ increased by approximately 26%, when compared to the previous year; in the following year there a 4% decline. (See Figure 1)

Over that sixteen year period there has been a decrease in property crime (Figure 2), but a steady increase in the violent crimes such as murders, shootings and sexual offences.

¹⁵ Acosta, Andres et al: The Policymaking Process in Jamaica: Fiscal adjustment and Crime fighting policies, February 28- March 2, 2005

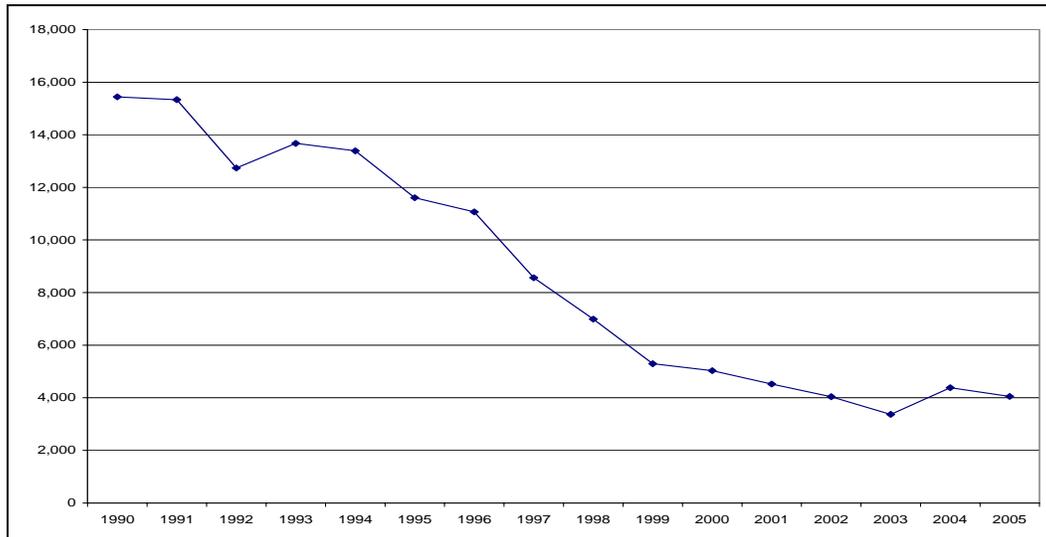
¹⁶ Total crimes is an operational term used by the Jamaican Constabulary Force; it is accumulation of the following offences robbery, carnal abuse, murder, rape,

Figure 1: Total Crime for Jamaica: 1990 – 2005



Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

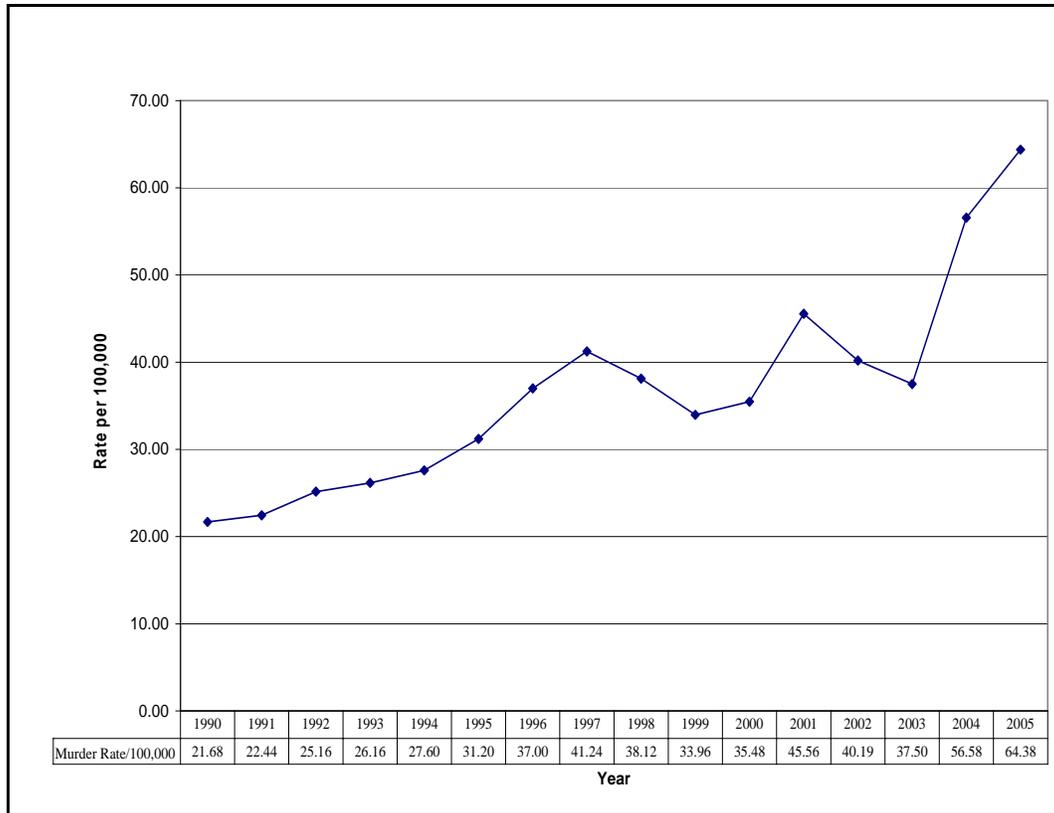
Figure 2: Total Property Crimes for period 1990 – 2005



Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

There has been a steady increase in numbers of shootings and sexual offences (including rape and carnal abuse); while murders have more than tripled for the similar period, (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Jamaica’s Murder Rate per 100,000: 1990 - 2005

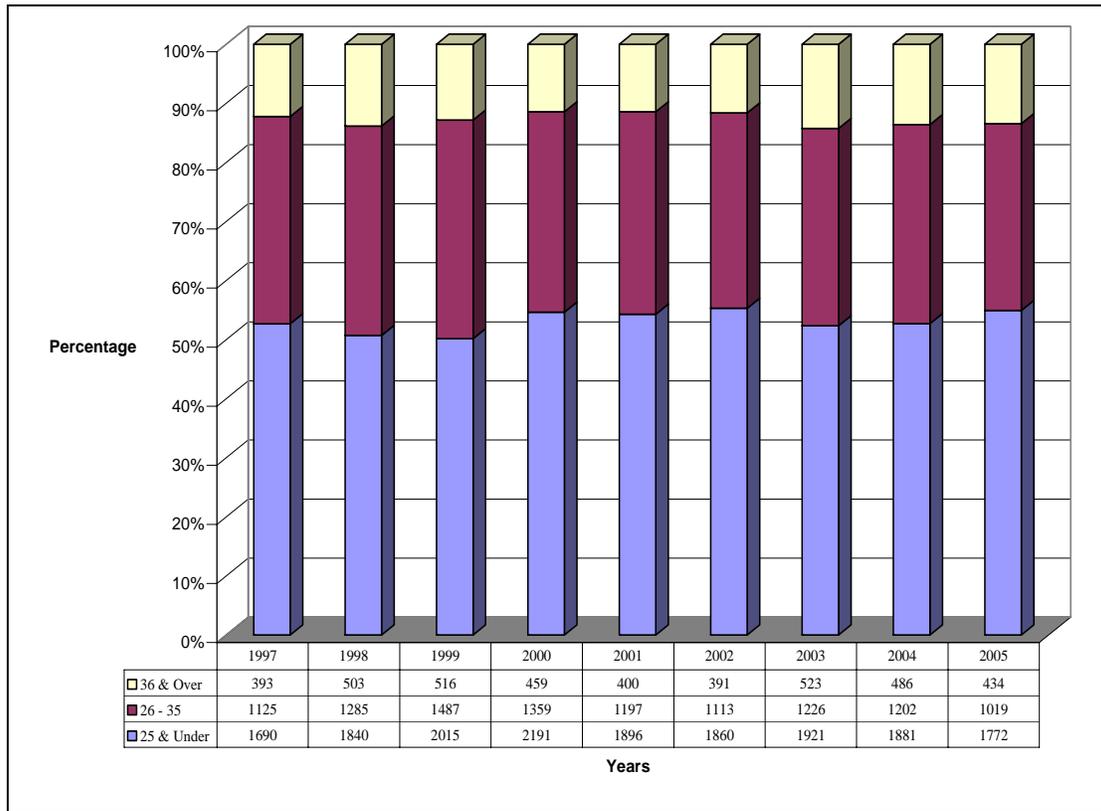


Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

Between 2001 and 2005, the Jamaica Constabulary Force reported that for over forty percent of murders committed; the reported motives included rape, political and reprisal.¹⁷ The next highest percentage share between domestic and gang related murders at 19 and 17 percent respectively. For the period 1997 to 2005, 99 percent of murders were committed by males. Approximately 53 percent of all the murders were committed by twenty five years and below age cohort, (figure 4 below).

¹⁷ Other Criminal Acts is a cumulative percent of murders with motives such as rape, political and reprisal.

Figure 4: Age Group Percentage of Males Committing Crimes for Jamaica (1997 – 2005)

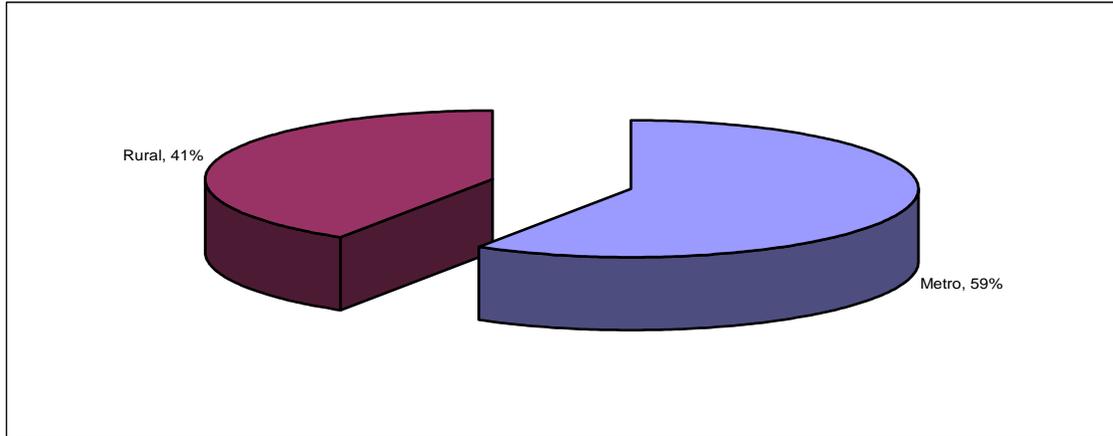


Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

Crime by Region

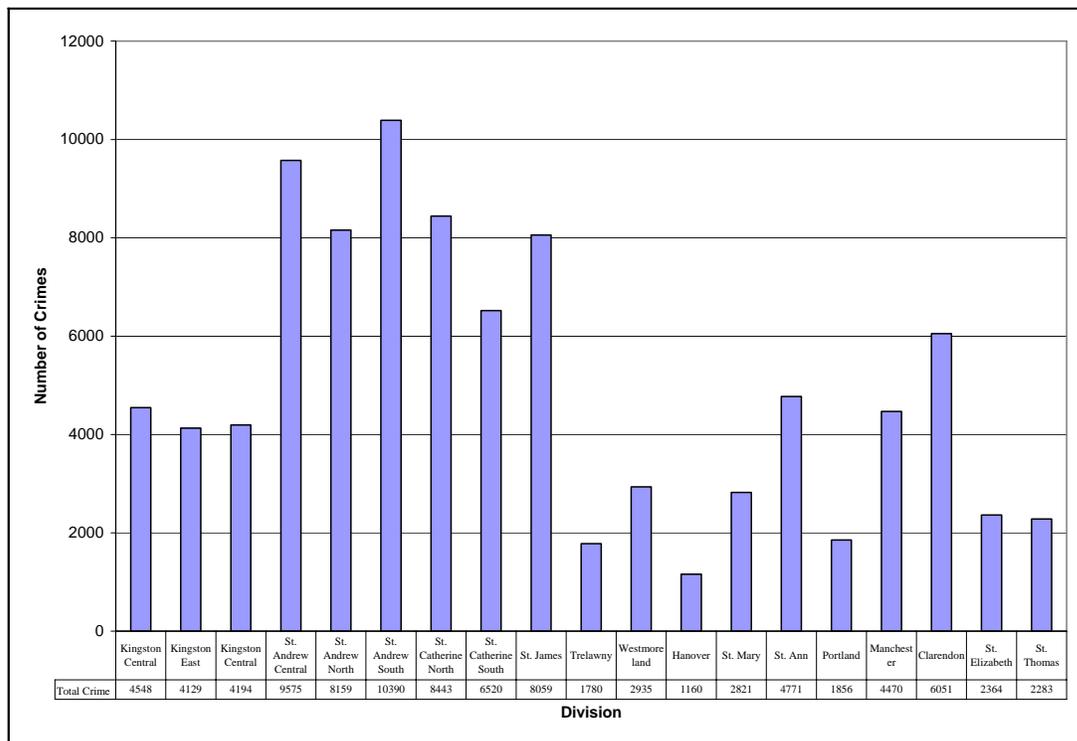
For the period 1996 to 2005, the total numbers of reported crimes in the metro region was greater than rural regions (Figure 5). The total number of reported crimes for the Kingston and St. Andrew is double the total number of crimes reported for the parish of St. Catherine, and more than four times greater than those reported in the parish of St. James, (Figure 6) Interestingly, Montego Bay is recognized as the country’s second urban centre and has also experienced increase in certain crimes, but there is a significant difference in the total number of crimes committed in that parish.

Figure 5: Total Crimes: Rural vs. Metro: 1996 – 2005



Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

Figure 6: Total Crimes by Police Divisions: 1996 – 2005

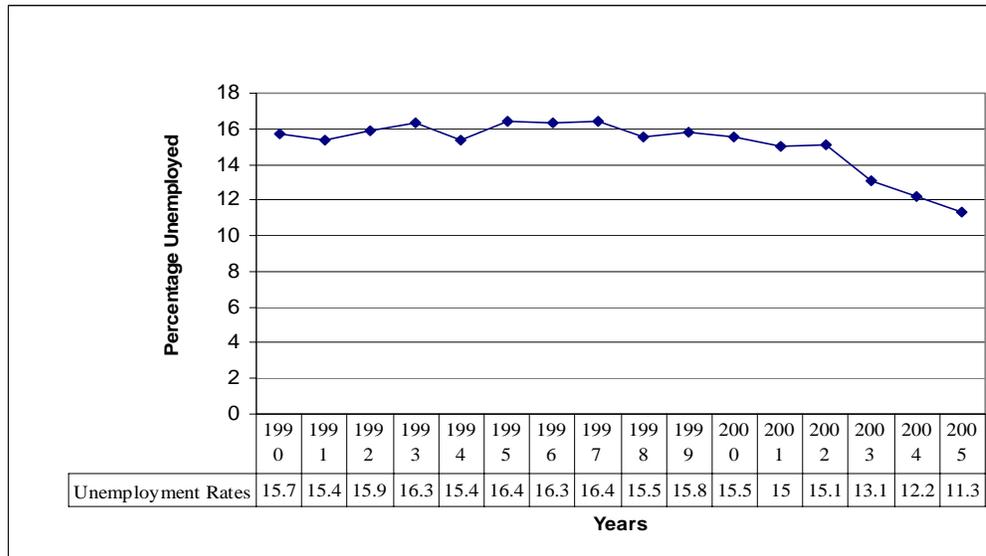


Source: Police Statistics Division, Jamaica Constabulary Force

Factors driving crime in Kingston

Although there has been a steady decline in the unemployment rate of the country from 1990 to 2005, Kingston's unemployment rates are more pronounced than other urban areas. In 1990 Survey of Living Conditions Survey, Kingston represented the fastest population growth, with one of the city's main urban area, Portmore expanding significantly. St. Andrew, the other commercial belt of Jamaica total population accounted for 22.8 percent; St. Catherine with 15.3 percent and St. James represented 6.6 percent of the total population.¹⁸ Portmore, a municipality showed the highest growth of all urban areas followed by Montego Bay in St. James. As these cities grow, the unemployment level rose as persons moved from rural areas seeking job opportunities. Although the national employment rates have declined from 15.7 percent in 1990 to 11.3 percent in 2005; (Figure 7) Kingston's unemployment rate almost doubled the national figures¹⁹. Increased unemployment and underemployment have been attributed to migration of persons from very rural parishes with very little opportunities. Nine of fourteen parishes are predominantly rural and possess little opportunities outside of the agricultural sector.

Figure 7: National Unemployment rates: 1990 – 2005



Source: Statistical Institute of Jamaica, STATIN

There has been steady increase in the number of persons being criminally deported to Jamaica. From the study Analysis of Risk and Needs Assessment of the Criminal Deportation Population (2000), upon return to the island majority of deported persons settled in Kingston. These persons usually return with minimal skills and are often not absorbed by the labour

¹⁸ Survey of Living Conditions, 1990

¹⁹ Survey of Living Conditions, 1990

market creating an added burden on a city with limited land, improper housing structure, increased environmental degradation and violence.

Police officials also noted an increase in gang activity within Kingston. Former Police Commissioner Francis Forbes noted that gangs in Jamaica increased from 35 in 1994 to 85 in 2004.²⁰ Many gangs under police scrutiny were operated in Kingston such as the Shower Posse (West Kingston), Bi-Bow Posse (Arnett Gardens), Mad Squad (Hannah Town), Colour Red (West Kingston), Gideon Warriors (Papine and August Town) and One Order and Clans Massive from Spanish Town. The latter gangs, One Order and Clans Massive gangs were believed to be involved in the illicit drug trade, illegal guns and ammunition, counterfeit goods and currency, operating extortion rackets and laundering large sums of money.²¹ The One Order gang police confirmed set up extortion rackets in other parishes such as Clarendon, and were responsible for the death of several persons.²² In 2006, a riot occurred in Spanish Town as a result of the death of the reputed leader for the One Order gang; supporters looted and set an old courthouse on fire in retaliation for his death.²³

Kingston (unlike other parishes) has many ‘inner city’ communities characterized as garrisons²⁴ and numerous squatting settlements adjacent to affluent neighbourhoods, and these communities become ripe breeding grounds for gangs to operate. Persons residing in these communities are usually low skilled and represent a majority of the unskilled labour force. These communities are predominantly violent and often have little trust in justice apparatus. When crimes are committed in such communities it is seen as a way of life and not reported to law enforcement officials. Over time these inner city communities develop their own security system to protect their turf. These ‘defenders’ are often criminals involved in the illicit drug trade whose interest is to protect their turf.

Government Action and Partnerships

In a Joint session address to the St. Lucian parliament, Jamaica’s former Prime Minister, the Most Honourable P.J. Patterson noted that ‘CARICOM states had become increasingly concerned about new forms of crime and violence threatening the stability and social and economic well-being of the Caribbean region.’

The Government of Jamaica (GOJ) recognizing the level of social problems and crime affecting the country, created several social programmes, which would operate at the national, parish and community level. Using a collaborative approach, GOJ has sought funding from several international donor agencies for various social/ crime initiatives. These international

²⁰ All Out Assault- “Operation Kingfish” to Target Dons, Gangs: Wednesday, October 20, 2004- Daily Gleaner

²¹ “Kingfish targets a dozen major gangs’: Tuesday, October 26, 2004: Daily Gleaner

²² Extortion plaguing May Pen, One Order gang said to spearheading crime wave: May 22, 2004: The Gleaner

²³ Spanish Town revolt- Slaying of ‘ One Order’ gang leader sparks riot: Thursday, February 9, 2006: The Observer

²⁴ Garrison communities are defined as squatter communities that have been homogenized by a dominant party and are characterized by the development of large-scale housing schemes sponsored by the State. Hard core garrison communities usually exhibit an element of autonomy, that is, they are states within a state.

agencies include the InterAmerican Development Bank (IDB), Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), UK Department for International Development (DFID), United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the European Union (EU) and the World Bank. One such programme sponsored by DFID is the Jamaica Social Policy, Evaluation Programme (JASPEV) which is a policy driven initiative, that is, it seeks to involve the citizenry in policy and decision making process. JASPEV operates at both the national and community level and takes a bottom approach to the formulation of public policy, and employs a 'joined-up' approach to government. It has had greatest impact in addressing conflict and mistrust between youths and police, particularly in the rural community of Brown's Town in St. Ann. Through a public forum, which served as a catalyst issues, surrounding mistrust between the youth and police and possible challenges were discussed.

The Report from the National Committee on Crime and Violence has also informed the adoption of policies to address problems and gaps in the criminal justice system. The report endorsed three national level programmes whose mandate has been to reduce crime and violence- the Dispute Resolution Foundation (DRF), Peace and Love in Society (PALS) and the Police Mediation Unit. These entities offer mediation training to community members, police, teachers, lay magistrates and the youth. They also develop programs to teach non-violent conflict resolution in schools and communities and have incorporated peace education. Another programme emerging from the Ministry of National Security (MNS) is the Peace Management Initiative (PMI) which was set up as an early warning and intervention mechanism to detect and manage potentially explosive, violent or criminal situations at the community level.

Under the direction of Dr. Peter Phillips, the Minister of National Security, the Ministry of National Security has embarked on a major process to develop the law enforcement infrastructure required to tackle the problem of crime and violence in Jamaica. A multi- level approach is being used, which involves police crime fighting initiatives, legislative reform, modernization of the police and social intervention programmes at the community level. Among the strategies identified by the Ministry are:

- Modernization of the Police Services including the acquisition of new technologies and equipment and improvements in training of police officers;
- Improving the investigative capacity of police specifically, using an intelligence approach to operations and the introduction of new technology.

One major accomplishment through police initiatives has been the dismantling of gang in corporate area by Operation Kingfish. Operation Kingfish was launched in 2004, and targeted gangs, crime bosses, extortion rackets and narcotics trafficking. Operation Kingfish has been successful in its mandate and has recovered numerous firearms and ammunitions and equipment used in the illicit drug trade. The Minister of National Security, Dr. Peter Phillips noted that the unit had made big drug busts and arrested several persons since its inception. In a Gleaner interview, Dr. Philips reported major reductions in homicides and shootings in traditional hot spots such as St. Andrew South and St. Catherine North Police Divisions. Specifically, there was a 54 percent fall in murders and 4 percent decline in shootings in some

areas. These areas included some of the Kingston Metropolitan Area's most violent communities, including Greenwich Town, Payne Land and Olympic Gardens.²⁵

These changes in the operations of the Jamaica Constabulary force will work in tandem with other policing initiatives such as community-based policing, and several social and crime prevention initiatives implemented by the Ministry of National Security. These initiatives—specifically the Citizens Security and Justice Programme (CSJP) and the Community Security Initiative, operate predominantly within the Kingston Metropolitan Area. The former is funded through a partnership between the Government of Jamaica and the Inter-American Development Bank, and the latter is funded by DFID.

These two major social intervention programmes were created to enhance community safety and security. The Community Service Initiative (CSI) was created to ensure efficient and effective 'joined up action' between existing programmes focused on improving security and safety, reducing poverty and strengthening social development in critical urban communities. CSI has convened a social intervention committee of various social service agencies providing different services to inner-city communities. This committee encourages the sharing of mandates from various agencies, examines what each agency is doing in the identified "hot spot" communities.²⁶ CSI works closely with the JCF within these hot spot communities and examines duplication of efforts and better integration processes for the delivery of social services post police operations.

The Citizen Security and Justice Programme operate in fifteen violence prone communities in Kingston. These communities are not hot spot communities, but have been marred by violence. CSJP has been instrumental in providing critical support to residents and developing legitimate community leadership and structures. The following synopsis was provided by the CSJP as one example of one highlighted success story, which was also publicized in the Jamaica Daily Gleaner:

Fletchers Land is a community located in downtown Kingston and was highlighted as a model community for parents united for the best interest of their children. CSJP introduces several initiatives to the targeted communities including remedial education, mentoring programmes, identifying job and skills training, dispute resolution, homework programmes, continuing education services and parenting workshops. The writer noted that 'the parenting workshops were a direct reaction to the general breakdown in family values which currently plagues our society; young people becoming parents at an early age have contributed to genuine need for better parenting skills.'²⁷ The success of this initiative has resulted in the development of parenting groups in other CSJP communities²⁸.

Another model community to be highlighted in Kingston is the Grants Pen community. The American Chamber of Commerce (AMCHAM), along with USAID and GOJ, remodelled

²⁵ Campbell, Howard: 'We are winning the fight against crime- Phillips', Friday, August 25, 2006 The Daily Gleaner

²⁶ Hot spot communities are determined by the Jamaica constabulary force. These communities are usually marked by upsurge in crime and violence.

²⁷ 'A Village Raises its child- May 2006: Daily Gleaner

²⁸ Many persons have been benefited from the CSJP programme through skills training opportunities, the continuation of their educational dreams, the building of several multipurpose facilities in communities like Mountain View where persons can access computing facilities.

Grants Pen using the crime prevention through environmental design approach. In the Grants Pen model, changes were made to improve the image and aesthetics of the health and policing facility; there was a creation of an open space; visibility and surveillance capabilities were increased; implementation of adequate communication and technology structures by providing a cyber cafe, community meeting area, postal service and payment facility; as well as enhancing the equitable distribution of facilities and amenities and removal of overgrown vegetation.

Although there has been no evaluation of the structural changes made within the community, Grants Pen, which was once considered to be one of the most volatile communities in Kingston, has not recorded a single murder since the start of 2006. A two-pronged approach was taken in Grants Pen to reduce the level of crime and violence: community policing and the implementation of a Peace and Prosperity Project (PPP). Sports also played an integral role in transforming the crime ridden community; residents have Peace Park for youngsters to use recreationally. The PPP was set up with a grant of US \$2.6 million to provide entrepreneurial opportunities to residents of Grants Pen and the neighbouring community of Standpipe and over 100 jobs were sourced for residents in these communities. AMCHAM also rebuilt the health centre and police station making them more user friendly for the residents. Police Officials have cited Grants Pen as a troubled community where community policing has worked to the advantage of the police by improving the relationship between law enforcement and community members.

The Government of Jamaica, in collaboration with the World Bank will be implementing a project to remove physical barriers from around selected inner city communities in Kingston. Through World Bank funding, the Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF) launched the Jamaica Inner City Basic Service project. This project comprised four components; the provision of urban infrastructure and basic service, crime and violence prevention, community based infrastructure management capacity building and micro enterprise development in several communities across the island.

The National Housing Trust (NHT) has also implemented an Inner City Housing Project (IHP) intended to improve the living conditions of 5000 Jamaican households. The programme will build new housing in selected inner city communities where shelter and environment conditions have deteriorated. The project has already begun transforming the lives of numerous residents who have been afforded the opportunity to continue their education and live within a safe and clean space.

Conclusion: Lesson to Be Learned

One of the primary lessons to be learned from the Kingston experience is that with the right combination of effective policing and community collaboration it is possible to reclaim even extremely volatile communities. It should be noted that these programmes cannot be applied as a whole to all other urban areas, as these programmes have not been assessed. However, the approach used can be duplicated by other urban areas using the following principles:

- Crime prevention approaches must operate at the grass roots level, where the common citizen can see, feel and react to issues. Generally, Jamaica had success at the tactical and conceptual levels but it was not felt by the citizenry;

- Utilize a prescriptive approach rather than reactive approach which fails to attack the root of the problem. The community needs must be assessed through consultations with key stakeholders and solutions determined with input from relevant stakeholders;
- Infrastructure must be implemented to accommodate mainstreaming of policing and programmes. For example, the inner city housing project is constructing structures which will allow for easier policing and maintenance.
- The engagement of community structure in all levels of planning and development. To ensure the successful implementation of policing strategies and social intervention programmes/ initiatives, communities must buy-in into the process, and be recognized as partners in maintaining their own security.
- Investing in human capital- many social interventions programmes such as CSJP and other international finding projects have found investing in the individual bears greater fruit than investing in structures. Evaluating investment in persons is difficult; however it serves as reinforcing the work of social intervention programmes, in countries that face economic and social challenges like Jamaica.

In conclusion, an evaluation of these social intervention programmes implemented in Kingston in the immediate or short term would be premature. Follow-up and continued evaluation of the programmes will be more fruitful as strategies must respond to dynamism of Kingston's crime landscape.

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