

WHY CRIME PLANS FAIL: CITIZEN SECURITY RE-EXAMINED IN THE ANGLOPHONE CARIBBEAN

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Abstract

*This article suggests that crime and violence are essentially **development issues**. It contends that crime and violence may be viewed as a cyclical process. The level of poverty or vice versa the rapid economic development in country (which leads to social inequity), the high level of illiteracy, high levels of unemployment, the creation of inner cities and the weaknesses of public institutions, ineffective criminal justice systems and the level of corruption, are to a large extent risk factors which impact on crime and violence within a country. While these risk factors may be responsible for increases in the level of crime and violence within the country, it should be noted that, as a United Nations Joint Report (2007) pointed out, the high rates of crime and violence in the region have both direct effects on human welfare in the short-run and longer run effects on economic growth, social development and by extension citizen security.*¹

The first section of this article will provide a brief overview of the scope of the problem as it relates to citizen security in the countries of Antigua/Barbuda, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Suriname, St Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. It will commence with, by way of background, a brief account of the level of crime in the countries under review and examine the extent to which the more vulnerable in the society are susceptible to crime.

The major argument of this paper is that as countries develop economically as a result of globalization and marketization; these factors have had, to some degree, negative influences on the quality of life of its citizenry. In particular, it has been suggested that increased globalization has undermined local cultures, placed intellectual property rights ahead of human rights, contributed to unhealthy dietary patterns and promoted unsustainable consumption.² But globalization and marketization did more than increase the gap between the very wealthy and the very poor. In addition, globalization brought with it a rapid growth in illegal drug markets. Indeed, one sociologist documented the impact that the illegal drug markets especially crack markets in the mid to late 1980s had on the increase in violent crimes in urban areas particularly among juveniles.³

¹ See Report No. 37820 March 2007. A Joint Report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank: *Crime, Violence, and Development: Trends, Costs, and Policy Options in the Caribbean*.

² See Terrance Witkowski. 2005. "Antiglobal Challenges to Marketing in Developing Countries: Exploring the Ideological Divide." *Journal of Public Policy and Marketing* Volume 24 (1) Spring 2005 :7-23

³ *Reflections on the Crime decline: lessons for the Future?* Proceedings from the Urban Institute Crime decline Forum. Jeremy Travis and Michelle Waul. Urban Institute, Justice Policy Center: Washington DC:13

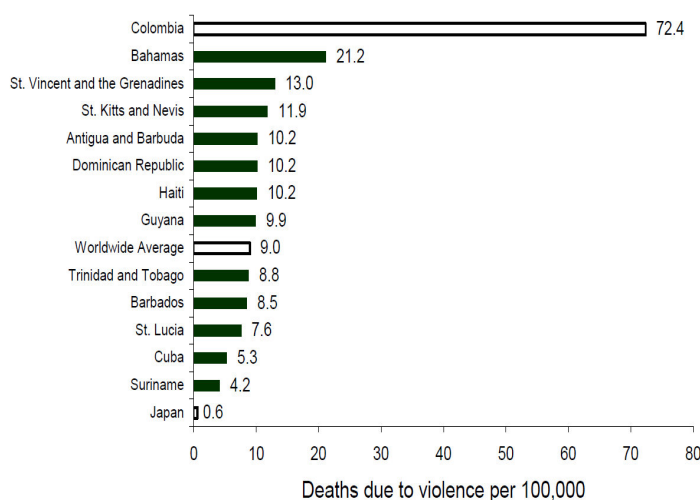
While it has been advanced that when the economy is good, crime should go down, in many cases this has not been the case in a number of countries. Rather what was evident was that as the economy of countries grew, in a number of ex-colonial and developing countries, emphasis was placed on the expansion of institutions, expansion in the work force, and, concomitantly the introduction of more regulatory and legislative controls. As it relates to citizen security, in many of these countries, a law and order orientation was maintained and policies, particularly with respect to policing and the judicial systems, were primarily punitive in nature rather than rehabilitative. But, little of no emphasis was placed on policies such as increasing the wage of lower skill workers or introducing programs for juveniles and youth. Policies that would have perhaps would have contributed to the lowering of the levels of crime.

Key words: Anglophone Caribbean; Citizen security; law and order orientation.

Introduction

It has been suggested that in the case of the countries of the Caribbean, the primary source of insecurity is not war or even direct activities and human rights violation of the state. Rather, the primary source of citizen insecurity is social violence, that is the violence of citizens against other citizens.⁴ Published reports indicate that the rate of murder in the Caribbean region is higher than for any other region in the world and these continue to rise. Assault rates, also, are significantly higher than the world average. For instance, as Table 1 illustrates, while the worldwide average for deaths due to violence is ranked as 9.9%, in many of the Caribbean countries under review the average is significantly higher. Similarly, as Table 2 illustrates, for the years 2002 the number of deaths due to homicides in these countries was also extremely high. (See Tables 1 and 2)

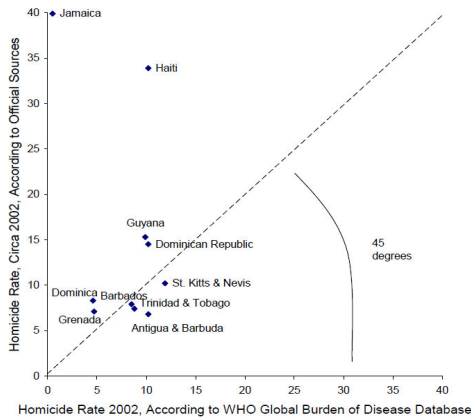
Table 1: Death Rates from Violence in the Caribbean and Comparison Countries



Source: Human Development Report 2006

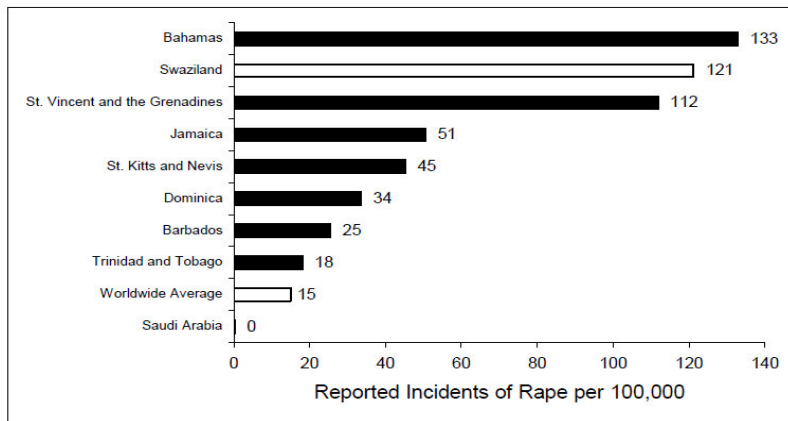
⁴ See Anthony Harriott. 2010. *Citizen Security and Human Development in the Caribbean – Some Thoughts. Charting the Way Forward for the Preparation of the Caribbean Regional Development Report on Citizens' Security. Kingston: January 2010:3*

Table 2: Homicide rates According to Who vs. Official sources Homicide Deaths per 100,000



Apart from these broad statistics, however, data suggests, too, that the victims of crime are sometimes those who are considered to be the more vulnerable in the society, for instance, women, children and the aged. In the countries under review, for instance, it was found that while many cases of rape have not been reported, as Table 3 reveals, the reported cases rape was rated as significantly higher in these countries when compared to the world wide average of 15%.

Table 3: Rape rates in the Caribbean and comparison countries



Source: Crime Trends Surveys – United Nations (various years).

The statistics for youths as victims of homicides was also significant in these countries as Table 4 indicates.

Table 4: Youths as victims: Homicide rates in select countries

Country	Year	Total	All Ages Males	All Ages Female	Male Age15-29	Female Age15-29
Bahamas	1995-1997	14.9	26.1	--	48.4	--
Brazil	1995a	16.7	23.0	4.1	81.2	6.5
Chile	1994	3.0	5.4	0.8	6.7	--
Cuba	1997	6.2	9.6	2.7	18.4	5.7
Colombia	1995	61.6	116.8	9.0	212.5	15.0
Dominican Republic	2002a	10.2	19.7	2.12	35.3	3.22
	2005b	26.41	49.9	4.4	--	--
El Salvador	1993	55.6	108.4	8.4	133.1	8.8
Guyana	1994-1996	6.6	11.8	--	--	--
Jamaica	2004a	55.7	102.1	10.5	188.0	14.8
Trinidad and Tobago	1994	12.1	17.1	6.6	21.6	--
LAC average		19.3	34.7	4.0	68.6	6.4
United States	1998	6.9	10.7	3.1	23.6	4.6
Canada	1997	1.4	1.9	1.0	3.2	1.1
World		8.8	13.6	4.0	19.4	4.4

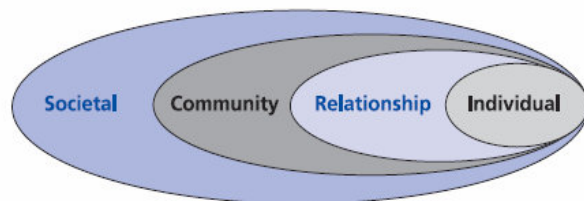
Source: World Health Organization. 2003. World Report on Health and Violence. Geneva.

a: Based on data obtained from World Health Organization (August 2006).

b: Estimates from National Police Statistics.

For all, seven countries, the prevalence and continuing increase in the levels of crime and high levels of the fear of crime by citizens are issues which nearly all the governments in these country claim to be one of their first priorities. The challenge for these governments, so far as public policy making and policy implementation to curb crime is involved, however, is far more complex. Policy making, it should be noted, does not begin with the formulation or implementation of an Act or Regulation to address an issue or problem. Rather, policy making should begin with policies that place emphasis on the prevention of social crimes. This is where crime intersects with policy and the nature of the policies is determined by environmental demands and societal needs. See Figure 1 below.

Figure1: Ecological Model for Understanding Crime and Violence (WHO 2002)



Ideally, the management of crime, should be addressed from two dimensions. The first dimension involves preventative mechanisms. Thus, for example, emphasis may be placed on a number of measures including an increase in school placements, increased emphasis on training programmes, better living conditions, and expanded avenues for employment of low income earners. What is obvious is that involving citizens in the discussion could also allow for measures that are more appropriate to meet the needs of a specific community. The second policy dimension involves measures to reduce or minimize the incidence of crime.

In the case of many of the countries of the Caribbean, these two dimensions were largely neglected. Rather even when the economy of the countries expanded, a large proportion of the budgetary allocations of the countries was spent on recurrent expenditure. In many countries, unemployment particularly at the level of unskilled workers remained high and policy decisions were determined primarily by the political elites with little or no input from the citizenry. See Table 5 below.

TABLE 5: INDICATORS FOR SELECTED CARIBBEAN TERRITORIES - 2001-2004

COUNTRY	POPULATION*	GDP*	LITERACY %	UNEMPLOYMENT %
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	87,884	\$17, 400	85.8%	11
BARBADOS	286,705	\$22, 000	89.6%	10.7
GUYANA	744,768	\$6, 900	91.8%	11*
JAMAICA	2,868,380	\$8, 500	87.9%	11.4*
ST. LUCIA	161,557	\$11, 100	90.1%	20
SURINAME	491,989	\$9, 400	89.6 %	9.5
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	1,227,505	\$21, 200	98.6%	5.8*

Source: Central Intelligence Agency, the World Fact Book.

***Population statistics have been estimated from July 2011 * Unemployment figure for Guyana estimated from 2007 and Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago from 2009 *GDP figures estimated from 2009**

To a large extent, the policy decisions of the regimes in the various countries were very similar. Policies were made at the top of the organization with little or no input from the rank and file. Understandably, this kind of decision-making was possible because of the kind of institutional arrangements that were in place were inherited systems that had experienced little or no change over time. Section 1 will accordingly examine the arrangements in place since these arrangements informed policy making in these countries.

Section 1: The Organization of the State and Citizen Security

The nature or the type of any public policy that is introduced by the government of a country is based on a number of factors. The first determinant is the issue of the organization of the state. According to Howlett and Ramesh (1995)⁵ how the state is organized shapes what it, or rather its officials can do. There are two dimensions of any state that affect its ability to make and implement policy: autonomy and capacity. Autonomy is referred to as the extent of the state's independence from self serving and conflicting social pressures, while the capacity of a state is a function of its organizational coherence and expertise.

All of the countries under review were formerly colonies of Great Britain and in the case of Suriname, Holland. Essentially, the effectiveness of colonial administration rested on two basic pillars namely the maintenance of law and order and secondly the collection of adequate revenue with which to finance the running of the country. Inherent in colonial rule was a source of authority, new judicial institutions and personnel. In nearly all the British colonies, a dual system of law was introduced which was largely alien to the conquered colonies. While villages adhered to traditional practices, both the method of policing, including the use of rural constables, as well as the judicial systems that were introduced were modeled on those systems that were employed in Britain. Judicial authority lay largely in European hands and it was

⁵ Michael Howlett and M. Ramesh. 1995. *Studying Public Policy. Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems*. Canada: Oxford University Press.

found that the new systems of courts became an essential mechanism for establishing and maintaining law and order. It was suggested that colonial rule created new 'crimes' many of them which were offences against the imposed structure of colonial management.⁶ Indeed, one Ghanaian jurist was reported to have said that it was the British who introduced crime in Africa since the tribal societies had its own method for dealing with offenders.

While the colonial administrators punished wrongful acts of one person against another the essential feature of colonial law and policing was enforcing colonial rule and punishing those that breached them. The forces employed in all the colonies consisted primarily of government police in the front line with the military in reserve. While still under colonial rule, a number of experiments were introduced by the colonial administrators to ensure that there would be stability within the West Indian colonies. Attempts were made in 1935 to unify the public services of the various colonies but this was found to be untenable due to unevenness in the phase of development of the colonies and the lack of adequate human resources in the various colonies.

Other experiments included the federal experiment and then various countries were granted independent status. Before these colonies were granted independence, however, a number of systems, structures and mechanisms were introduced into these countries, not the least of which was the political system, the Westminster Whitehall model of government which was adapted from the Westminster system in Britain. The major difference in the political system of the colonies and that of Britain, though, was the inclusion of a written constitution. Entrenched in the written Constitutions of the various countries were a number of executive Public Service Commissions- the Public Service Commission, the Teaching Service Commission, the Statutory Services Commission, the Judicial and Legal Service Commission and the Police Service Commission. The Constitutions of the countries generally entrenched considerable power in the hands of the Prime Minister of the country including the power to appoint members of the Police Service Commission, the Judicial Service Commissions and the other Commissions. The Commissions, in turn, were responsible for appointment, promotion, training, discipline and termination of the various categories of staff. The appointment of a Police Commissioner and the higher ranks of the various forces were made by the Governor General of the colonies on the advice of the Commission.

In all the Caribbean countries, the Police Force maintains internal security under the direction of a Minister (in the case of Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, for instance, this is the Minister of National Security). The Ministry responsible for national security has general oversight for the police forces as well as budgetary authority. In all the countries, however, that there were a number of major shortcomings with respect to this sector. The challenges included:

- (i) There was no independent entity with the capability to monitor the performance of the police force toward the accomplishment of the goals set by the Ministry;
- (ii) Although the Commissioners in the various countries were free to make operational decisions, the office of the Commissioner had very little authority to exercise internal control that would ensure their execution;
- (iii) Virtually all information about the performance of the police sector came from the Ministry itself;
- (iv) In many of the countries the police sector was responsible for investigating complaints against officers;

⁶ David Killingray. 1986. "The Maintenance of Law and Order in British Colonial Africa." *African Affairs*. Volume 85, No. 340 (July) : 411-437 (413)

(v) While the PSC had persons with strong civic, legal and business credentials they had no staff with expertise in policing and lacked the requisite knowledge and experience. Indeed, in a number of countries as Table 6 indicates the Police Accountability Systems while they had civilian oversight bodies these were largely internal mechanisms.

Table 6: Police Accountability Systems in the Caribbean

<u>Country</u>	<u>Police Service Commissions</u>	<u>Internal Police Investigative Division</u>	<u>Ombudsman</u>	<u>Civilian Oversight Body</u>
<u>Antigua</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
<u>Barbados</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>
<u>Guyana</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>
<u>Jamaica</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>
<u>St Lucia</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Yes</u>
<u>Trinidad and Tobago</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>Yes</u>

Source: Taken from Police Accountability in the Caribbean: reform, what reform? A Paper presented at the Workshop on Police Accountability at the Civicus World Assembly: May 23-27, 2007, Glasgow: Scotland. Carolyn Gomes, Executive Director, Jamaicans for Justice.³

Given these kinds of constraints, it was found that there was little or no transparency in the police sector of the various countries. It was also suggested that the Police Service Commissions focused only on individual cases in personnel matters. The police force was therefore involved predominantly with crime control or law enforcement rather than on the broader goals of security, safety and harm reduction, and prevention. In a similar vein, the Administration of Justice was also confined to the imposition of fines while the Prison services was mainly involved in imprisonment rather than on decriminalization. In all these countries, the states exercised a near-monopoly over the maintenance of what was essentially a law and order orientation and to a large extent the citizenry were excluded from the decision-making process. Citizens of the various countries therefore had little confidence in the ability of these institutions to deliver justice.

One basic feature of the model of policing that was implemented in the developing countries was a repressive authoritarian top-down structure. This was essentially an arrangement that was highly centralized. In fact, the penal traditions of colonial, ex-colonial and slave societies were never tailored to humanize punishment, neither was rehabilitation a mandate. According to a number of writers, the method employed for minimizing the incidents of crime, whether petty crime or more serious crimes, was primarily a policing service/law enforcement system which was essentially authoritarian and oppressive and a court system in which the outcome was incarceration. The primary design of the criminal justice system in nearly all developing countries was to repress criminal activity and little or no emphasis was placed on rehabilitation. In many of the developing countries during the period 1960 – 1980s, law enforcement was confined solely to policing and little or no attempt was made to understand the implications or the correlations between the environment, the society, the economy and their impact on criminal activities.

It has also been suggested that the Court system in all the Caribbean territories are inadequate in addressing the issue of burgeoning crime. The Court System in all the Caribbean territories consists of three

levels: the Magistrates' Court, the High Court and the Court of Appeal. The Supreme Court comprises the Court of Appeal and the High Court. Justices of Appeal preside over the Court of Appeal and deals with appeals from the High Courts and Magistrates' Courts. The Chief Justice is President of the Court of Appeal. The High Courts are presided over by the Judges of the High Court who deal with civil, family and criminal matters. In the Magistrates' Courts, a Magistrate conducts cases without a jury and the formality of the High Court. A Magistrate is also located in each of Barbados' six districts and has jurisdiction over summary cases.

All cases begin in the Magistrates' Court and indictable cases proceed to the High Court. All indictable cases are the responsibility of the Director of Public Prosecutions. The Director of Public Prosecutions is a politically independent post which carries the tenure of a judge, and as a result carries unlimited discretion in deciding charges against the accused. If a case is to be heard indictably rather than summarily then the Magistrate makes pre-trial decisions before the case is referred to the High Court regarding whether the liberty of the accused should be restricted or bail granted before the trial is completed and whether the interests of the accused, such as the right to legal representation, are protected. Cases that are appealed are heard in the Appeal Court.

The countries of the Caribbean have inherited a jury system that held a long tradition in the British common law system, yet questions regarding the appropriateness of this model in the Caribbean context pose concerns. Jury pools in these countries tend to consist of middle income, employed, and educated persons. Thus, one writer suggests, the jury system has implications for the representativeness of the jury panel particularly when the accused comes from marginalized populations within the society. As small societies, a lack of transparency and confidentiality are constant threats as privileged information may be shared outside of the jury room and hinder opportunities for appeal or encourage corruption or jury tampering. In nearly all these countries there are concerns about the flow of cases through the Criminal Justice System tend to focus on accused persons who are remanded into custody and may experience lengthy delays in their cases before they are brought to trial (often due to several adjournments). Further investigations revealed, according to the thematic writer from Barbados, that the delays may be related to the increasing complexity and sophistication of the crimes and related bureaucratic processes. The preparation of case files involves a multi-tiered system of verification by several ranks of police officers which relieve any specific officer of ultimate responsibility over the case. Locating witnesses particularly those that are willing to face possible retribution presents a challenge to investigating officers in addition to their increased workload and multiple demands. The time and cost necessary to invest in the preparation of pre-trial disclosures (copies of the prosecution's witness statements) for defense attorneys by the investigating officers can also delay cases. Another problem, too, has been the absenteeism of lawyers. The end result is the delay to get matters heard. It has been contended that the police, the courts as well as the prisons were institutions that focused primarily on sentencing and incarceration rather than on preventative mechanisms or prevention.

According to Harriot (2000)⁷ the introduction of Structural Adjustment Programmes in the latter half of the 1970s and early 1980s, replaced the previous neoliberal commitment of many of the countries with a minimalist state. The state in many countries was discredited at this time as being inherently inefficient, with a high level of corruption and irrational in the allocation of social goods. During this period the

⁷ Anthony Harriott. 2000. *Police and Crime Control in Jamaica. Problems of Reforming Ex-Colonial Constabularies: The University Press: Jamaica.*

capability of the state to aid the development process and to protect and enable the more vulnerable in the society was considerably reduced. With the deregulation of the economy that accompanied structural adjustment, there was a consequent increase in the marginalization of the poor. By the 1990s new questions emerged with respect to the question of crime and citizen security. In some countries, three policy clusters were singled out as playing a highly influential role in fighting crime namely gun control policies, prison and jail expansion and innovations in policing. Countries were further assisted by a number of international agencies.

Table 7: DFID/ODA Expenditure and Commitments 1991/2-1997/98 (£0000) for policing projects

Country	Actual Expenditure	Total Commitments	Future Commitments
Jamaica	1,674	6,435	4,761
St Lucia	69	270	201
Other Caribbean	252	255	3

Source: Evaluation of ODA/DFID Support to the Police in Developing Countries: A Synthesis Study Volume 11

A number of broad and international trends have been placing pressures on countries to adopt changing approaches towards the content and the delivery of justice. Diversion from the criminal justice processing and conceptions of restorative justice rather than redistributive/ retributive justice are currently in vogue. Increasingly, too, the police have been forced to modify their approach from the traditional method of command and control to seeing themselves as service organizations. The 1980s and 1990s also witnessed a radical rethinking of what public policing was all about and there has been a conscious movement to the adoption of the method of community policing or community based policing. Currently, a number of reforms have been proposed in an attempt to improve citizen security within many of the countries. (See Table 8)

Table 8: Mechanisms to improve Citizens' Security in Seven countries under review

Approaches	Country	Yes	No
Sector specific including reforms to the police service, judiciary, health.	Antigua	Yes	
and environmental design and citizen security	Barbados	Yes	
	Guyana	Yes	
	Jamaica	Yes	
	St Lucia	Yes	
	Suriname	Yes	
	Trinidad and Tobago	Yes	

These policies, however, would be stymied by a number of challenges namely:

- *The lack of political will;
- *Resistance to change
- * The current organizational arrangements;
- * Centralized control by the executive.

- *Lack of confidence by the citizenry with respect to the ability of the state sector to deliver efficient services;
- * The orientation of a citizenry that focused on the punitive aspects or crime.

While a number of proposals have been advanced in the various countries, the experience is that actual reform efforts have been slow and often ad hoc. Little or no attempt has been made to address the problem of the fear of crime from a wider societal perspective but rather emphasis continues to be directed towards legislative introductions. As Section 2, indicates, therefore many of the respondents interviewed felt that emphasis by the governments in the various countries should be directed at societal issues rather than on institutional policies.

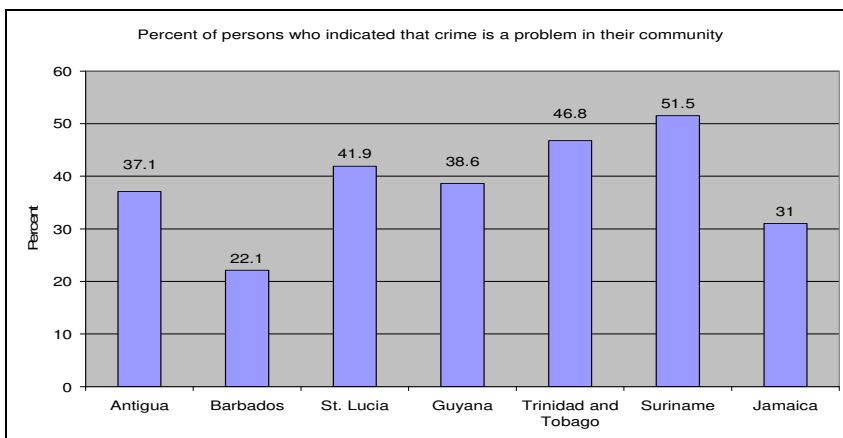
SECTION 2:

It was obvious that despite the role that the Police Service Commissions played in the various countries, these institutions remained virtually immune from public pressure to reduce crime and improve public confidence in the police. To a large extent, therefore, there was a disconnect between the policies that the state introduced and the orientation of the population. Citizens in the seven countries were asked to indicate how serious the crime rate in their country was. In Table 10 below, 51.5% of the respondents in the case of Suriname believed that crime was a major problem; followed by 46.8% in the case of Trinidad and Tobago and 41.9% in the case of St Lucia.

Summary tables for policy orientation of the population

Table 9: Percent of persons who indicated that crime is a problem in their community

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Yes	37.1	22.1	41.9	38.6	46.8	51.5	31.0
No	61.3	76.4	57.8	59.6	52.4	47.8	68.4
Total N	1511	1506	1513	1568	1595	1512	2000



Respondents were accordingly asked their opinion as to the most effective measures to reduce the incidence of crime. Table 10 focused on the question as to whether governments should invest more in the police force/service. See Table 10

Table 10: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in the police force/service”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	29.1	22.3	43.8	39.0	32.9	33.0	33.9
Agree	42.8	44.0	33.2	37.3	39.7	49.0	42.8
Disagree	9.3	11.9	8.3	7.9	10.9	6.0	11.5
Strongly Disagree	3.9	4.0	2.6	2.7	3.9	1.9	2.2
Total N	1511	1506	1514	1569	1595	1512	1998

In all the countries, more than 70% of the respondents were of the view that the governments in the various countries should invest more in the police force/service. However, when respondents were asked their opinion with respect to whether governments should increase in investments in education (Table 11), investments in programmes for young people (Table 12); Investments in job creation (Table 13); investments in the reduction of corruption (Table 14); investments in policies within communities for the urban poor (Table 15) and investments in policy reduction (Table 16); more than 80% of the respondents in the various countries under review suggested that investments in these areas would lead to a reduction in the incidence of crimes. (See Table 11- 16 below).

Table 11: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in education”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	42.8	27.0	55.4	52.4	46.7	44.5	42.8
Agree	40.1	45.7	31.9	36.9	42.4	46.1	27.0
Disagree	4.0	9.4	4.0	2.2	3.8	2.9	1.3
Strongly Disagree	1.1	1.5	1.0	1.5	.5	.6	.4
Total N	1510	1505	1514	1568	1594	1512	2000

Table 12: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in programmes for young people”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	46.8	35.8	63.9	54.5	49.7	44.0	73.6
Agree	41.4	51.7	29.7	36.6	41.3	47.4	24.1
Disagree	2.6	3.3	2.0	2.3	2.9	.9	.6
Strongly Disagree	1.3	.7	.5	.8	.3	1.1	.2
Total N	1511	1505	1515	1568	1595	1512	2000

Table 13: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in job creation”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	51.8	40.3	68.5	59.3	50.9	49.1	78.5
Agree	36.2	48.9	25.3	33.1	41.1	43.1	19.7
Disagree	1.6	3.1	1.7	1.6	2.3	1.5	.3
Strongly Disagree	2.2	.8	.4	.9	.3	.7	.1
Total N	1512	1506	1515	1569	1595	1512	2000

Table 14: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in reducing corruption”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	44.8	27.1	52.6	52.4	51.4	43.2	59.8
Agree	38.8	44.0	33.0	35.1	37.7	46.1	33.9
Disagree	2.8	7.0	2.8	2.2	2.6	2.2	1.2
Strongly Disagree	1.2	1.8	.9	1.3	.6	1.3	.3
Total N	1512	1505	1513	1569	1595	1512	2000

Table 15: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in the communities of the urban poor”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	38.8	35.7	52.2	49.2	46.8	41.1	59.0
Agree	44.0	50.5	34.9	36.4	42.3	47.5	33.8
Disagree	3.0	4.1	2.6	2.2	2.2	2.6	1.0
Strongly Disagree	1.0	.5	1.1	1.1	.5	1.1	.3
Total N	1511	1505	1514	1569	1595	1512	2000

Table 16: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should invest more in reducing poverty”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	42.5	34.2	54.9	54.3	48.3	42.1	69.2
Agree	42.1	48.5	33.1	34.5	42.3	45.8	27.2
Disagree	3.2	5.3	3.4	1.8	2.4	2.6	.8
Strongly Disagree	1.1	2.7	1.2	1.1	.6	.9	.2
Total N	1512	1506	1513	1569	1595	1512	2000

While Tables 11- 16 clearly was indicative that respondents perceived crime to be a social issue, what emerged in Table 17, was that respondents did not believe that building institutions such as prisons would lead to a reduction in the incidence of crime. (See Table 18).

Table 17: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should build more prisons”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	9.5	3.1	10.5	17.1	12.2	8.0	7.8
Agree	18.9	8.6	15.7	23.8	21.6	16.8	13.9
Disagree	29.0	34.5	32.0	23.8	32.8	37.2	40.3
Strongly Disagree	18.1	38.7	24.2	10.4	13.3	14.7	24.0
Total N	1511	1507	1514	1570	1595	1512	2000

Indeed less than 30% of the respondents believed that building institutions such as prisons would lead to a reduction in the incidence of crime. When respondents were asked whether the government in their country should rely more on the military to solve crime, again in many countries, with the exception of Jamaica less than 50% felt that reliance on the military would not necessarily lead to a reduction in crime. See Table 18.

Table 18: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate the government should rely more on the military”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	12.2	4.4	8.4	14.4	16.4	12.6	21.6
Agree	32.3	21.0	12.4	29.2	36.6	32.2	43.4
Disagree	20.5	30.6	17.3	20.7	17.2	22.4	16.1
Strongly Disagree	8.7	18.2	15.9	5.3	8.7	6.5	3.4
Total N	1510	1506	1513	1569	1595	1512	2000

Respondents were further asked whether, in their opinion, easier access to firearms would lead to a reduction in crime. Less than 25% of the respondents in all the countries under review were of the belief access to firearms would not lead to a reduction in the crime rate.

Table 19: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate people should be allowed easier access to firearms”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	5.6	2.0	3.4	9.3	6.1	7.7	6.6
Agree	14.8	4.5	7.8	14.7	11.1	18.1	12.8
Disagree	32.5	39.5	31.9	31.5	39.1	33.9	35.6
Strongly Disagree	28.7	42.1	45.0	23.6	31.5	18.4	32.9
Total N	1511	1505	1513	1568	1595	1512	2000

Following on this, respondents were asked whether in order to reduce the crime rates, Dons should be used as agent of crime control. As Table 20 below indicates less than 20% of the respondents in the countries under review were of this opinion.

Table 20: Percent who agreed or disagreed that “In order to reduce the crime rate "Dons" should be used as agents of crime control”

	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
Strongly Agree	5.7	1.0	2.9	4.8	2.9	5.7	2.5
Agree	13.8	6.8	10.0	10.7	8.1	17.6	8.6
Disagree	25.4	33.5	30.3	32.6	30.5	30.0	31.4
Strongly Disagree	29.1	44.5	37.2	24.7	45.1	15.5	44.0
Total N	1511	1507	1514	1569	1595	1512	2000

Indeed, as Table 22, summarizes, respondents believed that more investments should be devoted to eradicating poverty and investment in programmes for the youth and the poor.

Summary: Table 22: Percent who agreed or strongly agreed that in order to reduce crime...

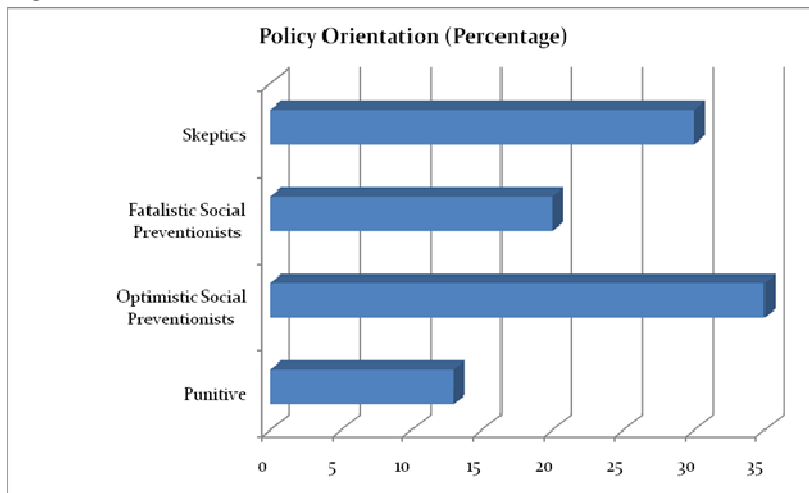
	Antigua	Barbados	St. Lucia	Guyana	Trinidad and Tobago	Suriname	Jamaica
The government should invest more in the police force/service	71.9	66.3	77	76.3	72.6	82	76.7
The government should invest more in education	82.9	72.7	87.3	89.3	89.1	90.6	69.8
The government should invest more in programmes for young people	88.2	87.5	93.6	91.1	91	91.4	97.7
The government should invest more in job creation	88	89.2	93.8	92.4	92	92.2	98.2
The government should invest more in reducing corruption	83.6	71.1	85.6	87.5	89.1	89.3	93.7
The government should invest more in the communities of the urban poor	82.8	86.2	87.1	85.6	89.1	88.6	92.8
The government should invest more in reducing poverty	84.6	82.7	88	88.8	90.6	87.9	96.4
The government should build more prisons	28.4	11.7	26.2	40.9	33.8	24.8	21.7
The government should rely more on the military	44.5	25.4	20.8	43.6	53	44.8	65
People should be allowed easier access to firearms	20.4	6.5	11.2	24	17.2	25.8	19.4
"Dons" should be used as agents of crime control	19.5	7.8	12.9	15.5	11	23.3	11.1

Citizens were of the opinion that in order to reduce crime and improve citizen security, the governments in the different countries under review needed to invest in the following priority areas:

- (1) Invest in programmes for young persons;
- (2) Invest in job creations;
- (3) Invest more in reducing corruption;
- (4) Invest in education;
- (5) Invest in poverty eradication and the urban poor.

This kind of orientation is accordingly captured in Figure 3 in which a large proportion of the respondents in the various countries under review were in agreement that prevention was one major route to achieve citizen security.

Figure 2



However, over time, what has emerged and will be evident was that many governments tended to place emphasis on legislative mechanisms by way of solutions to address the rising incidence of crime.

Conclusion

The contemporary mechanisms of control in the case of the countries in the Caribbean were heavily influenced by the experiences of the countries as British and Dutch colonies in the 19th century. Writers suggested that the police were often paramilitary organizations headed by military officers who envisioned their organizations' major responsibility to ensure law and order.⁸ Control of the rank and file of the police force was accomplished via draconian methods. Similarly, in the prison service, emphasis was placed on incarceration rather than on rehabilitation. The policy orientation of the state during the period 1960 – to the latter half of the 1980s was to invest in draconian methods of policing and justice rather than placing emphasis on prevention. Mainly the governments in nearly all seven countries relied on regulations in order to deliver security to society. But this type of regulatory mechanism consisted of a processes or activities in which the governments required or proscribed certain activities or behavior on the part of individuals and institutions. Many of the regulations particularly those dealing with criminal behavior as Section three demonstrated, were primarily laws which involved the police and judicial systems in their enforcement. Thus, these regulations took the forms of laws which included rules, standards, prohibitions and executive orders.

Increasingly, though, it has been recognized that policy preferences and capacities are understood in the context of the society in which the state is embedded. In keeping with this emphasis on the relational character of institutions, it has been found that the attempt to introduce some aspect of community policing and intelligence-led policing is fast becoming a vogue in many countries. Hand in hand, it has been obvious too that many countries are investing in youth programs, poverty alleviation and education. However, to a large extent these policies are either not carefully crafted, not attracting the targeted audience, and so have not realized the policy objectives. What also clearly needs to be developed, though, are channels by which the citizenry of the country can have an informed input in the decision making processes. It can be argued that while there is the view that the impact of policy opinion on policy processes as simple direct and linear,

⁸ Stephen D Mastrofski and Cynthia Lum. 2008. "Meeting the Challenges of Police Governance in Trinidad and Tobago. *Policing* Volume 2, Number 4: 481-496

it is evident that in so-called democratic societies, there is little or no direct linkage between public opinion and policy outcomes. The relationship, to say the least, is a tenuous and complex one. Most studies have found that understandings of the nature of public problems and the acceptable or feasible solutions to them are remarkably durable and once in place difficult to change. Essentially, the policy situation in the countries under review was one in which the set of idea was dominant and unchallenged resulting in a monopolistic, hegemonic community. The reforms that are currently being introduced are now taking place in an environment where there is no single idea of dominant position and hence it is to be expected that a more chaotic community will exist. The challenge for the executive in these countries will be to manage this new environment in order to ensure citizen security is achieved.

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