

CARIBBEAN JOURNAL OF CRIMINOLOGY AND PUBLIC SAFETY

Special Issue – Papers from 2009 Criminology Conference

A Culturometric Analysis of Fear of Crime in Trinidad

- Béatrice Boufof-Bastick -

Offender Abuse History: Findings from Her Majesty's Prison, Barbados

- Corin Bailey and Charlene Coore-Desai -

Firearms and Reported Homicide in Trinidad and Tobago:

A Socio-Demographic Perspective

- Godfrey C. St. Bernard -

Developing Children's Rights in Trinidad and Tobago

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**Rapists' Accounts of Their Motivations, Pre-Meditation and Target Choices:
Some Trinidad and Tobago Data**

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Tourism and Crime in a Small Island Tourist Destination:

The Case of Tobago

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Conceptualising Restorative Justice in the Caribbean

- Dianne A. Williams -

**Shottas and Cubatoneros: Badmanism, Bling and Youth Crime
in Trinidad and Cuba**

- Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar -

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CARIBBEAN JOURNAL OF CRIMINOLOGY AND PUBLIC SAFETY

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This journal seeks to encourage interaction among academics, policy-makers and judicial administrators in the Caribbean and internationally. Papers from within the Caribbean region and other parts of the world are therefore welcome.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS & ORDERS

The *Caribbean Journal of Criminology and Public Safety* (ISSN 2073 5405) is published semi-annually (Jan & July). All correspondence should be directed to Order Department, *Caribbean Journal of Criminology and Public Safety*, The University of Trinidad and Tobago, O'Meara Campus, Arima, Trinidad and Tobago, West Indies. Tel: 868-642-8888 Ext. 21350; Fax: 868-643-2895; Email: criminology@utt.edu.tt

Subscription Rates: (Local and regional) – Libraries and institutions TT\$170; Individuals TT\$130; Students TT\$110. One issue only: Libraries and institutions TT\$90; Individuals TT\$70; Students TT\$60. (Foreign-Europe, Latin America and elsewhere) Libraries and institutions US\$30; Individuals US\$25; Students US\$20. One issue only: Libraries and institutions US\$20; Individuals US\$15; Students US\$10. Subscription will commence after payment is received. Foreign orders must be made in US Dollars via bank draft/cheques drawn from a US/European bank. Cheques should be made payable to The University of Trinidad and Tobago. Use order forms attached and send with payment. Allow 4 weeks for delivery. All prices include postage.

- Exclusive International Distribution Agent -
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CONTRIBUTORS

- Dr. Ramesh Deosaran, Professor Emeritus, The University of Trinidad and Tobago, O'Meara Campus, Arima, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Dr. Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick, Lecturer, Department of Liberal Arts, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Dr. Corin Bailey, Fellow, SALISES, The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus, Barbados.
 - Charlene Coore-Desai, doctoral student, University of London, United Kingdom.
 - Dr. Godfrey St. Bernard, Fellow, SALISES, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Ms. Charisse Clarke, M.A., Senior Lecturer, Department of Criminal Justice, College of Science, Technology and Applied Arts of Trinidad and Tobago, City Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Mr. Simon Alexis, doctoral student, Department of Behavioural Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Mr. Wendell C. Wallace, doctoral student, Department of Behavioural Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Dr. Nathan W. Pino, Associate Professor, Texas State University – San Marcos, Texas, USA and Visiting Fulbright Scholar, Department of Behavioural Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Dr. Dianne A. Williams, Assistant Professor, North Carolina A&T State University; Lecturer, Department of Behavioural Sciences, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago.
 - Dr. Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar, Assistant Professor, Ryerson University, Toronto, Canada.
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SPECIAL INVITATION TO GRADUATE STUDENTS

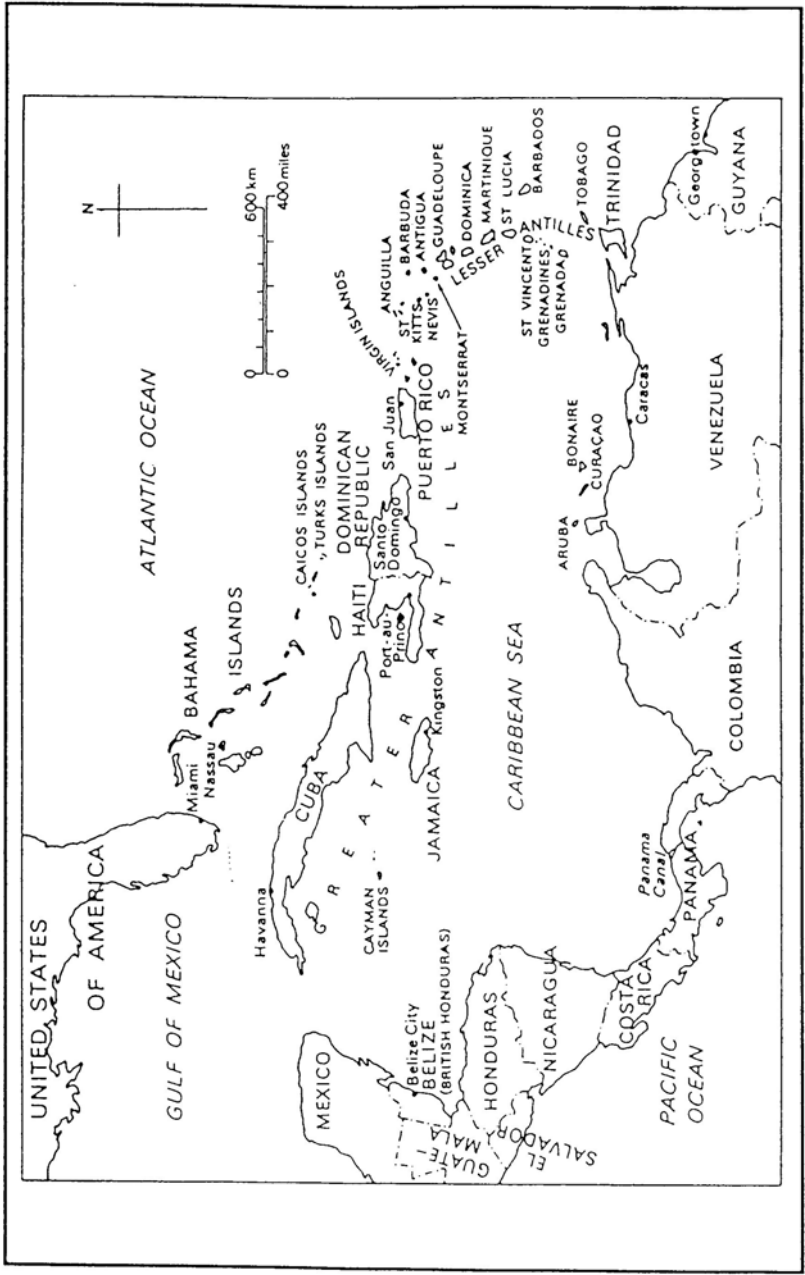
**A CALL FOR BRIEF SUMMARIES
OF THESES, RESEARCH OR
THEORETICAL NOTES
ON ISSUES WITHIN CRIMINOLOGY
OR PUBLIC SAFETY**

The *CJCS* has introduced a regular **Graduate Research Section** in its issues.

This is an invitation to graduate students both within and outside the Caribbean to submit synopses of their theses, commentaries and research/theoretical notes for consideration to be published in this journal.

Guidelines for Contributors (inside back cover) apply. Papers should be sent to:

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EDITORIAL –
THE NEXT GENERATION OF SCHOLARS
Ramesh Deosaran

As this journal, the *Caribbean Journal of Criminology and Public Safety* approaches its 15th year of existence, we wish to keep our doors open to what has been called the “next generation of scholars.” In fact, this was the theme of the Criminology Conference 2009 hosted by the Criminology Unit, The University of the West Indies earlier this year in April at the St. Augustine Campus.

We are pleased to grant appropriate space in this volume to a selection of the papers presented at this Criminology Conference. Of course, these papers were subsequently peer reviewed and we well imagine would have caused some discomfort to some authors who were asked to make significant changes to their respective papers. While we appreciate their cooperation, and further, while we encourage research and publication, Caribbean scholars must recognize that some amount of intellectual rigour must accompany this enterprise.

Of course, realistically speaking and quite often, we leave room for new ideas, creative research and even idiosyncratic pursuits, especially those that create healthy debate within the growth of a Caribbean Criminology.

We wish to congratulate the authors for their effort, both at the Criminology Conference, and in preparing their papers for this Special Issue of the *CJCPs*.

The papers selected for this issue ranged from data-driven to conceptual ones. Systematic research and conceptualization in the areas of criminology and criminal justice are strongly required for the growth of the discipline in this region. Some of the papers suggest the need for further research and theoretical analysis. It is for this reason that while we have a section on substantive Papers, we have opened sections on Research/Theoretical Notes and Policy Notes. We hope that by publishing their papers, this “next generation” of criminologists will be inspired to strengthen their professional commitment, public service and intellectual output.

We are of course naturally pleased that the contents of this journal are now widely used and increasingly so by students, university scholars and policy makers in the Caribbean and across the world. Our official website has also facilitated this online access (www.cjcsp.com).

Since I was given the privilege of delivering the Keynote Address at this Criminology Conference, excerpts of which are published in the next section for wider reading, I will keep my Editorial rather brief on this occasion.

For the production of this volume, I wish to extend my appreciation to our journal staff, Mr. Ian Ramdhanie and Ms. Vidya Lall. To our Editorial Board, a very special thanks for their continued support and critical input, especially for the peer review process.

For the scholarly collaboration between the *CJCPS's* host institution, the Institute for Criminology and Public Safety,

The University of Trinidad and Tobago (UTT) and the Criminology Unit, The University of the West Indies (UWI), St. Augustine Campus (through Professor Onwubiko Agozino and Mr. Keron King), I extend my deep appreciation for such collegiality.

And finally, to the President of the UTT, Professor Emeritus Kenneth Julien, on behalf of the intellectual community and myself, our deepest gratitude for his support and commitment in ensuring the continued publication of the *Caribbean Journal of Criminology and Public Safety*.

Professor Ramesh Deosaran (Emeritus)
Editor, CJCPS

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
CRIMINOLOGY –
CHALLENGES AND PUBLIC POLICY*
Ramesh Deosaran

Research vs. Politics

The development of Criminology has always been faced with a range of dilemmas, and this for two major reasons. One, because it tackles issues in which powerful interest (or ideological) groups have a stake, ranging from the political, religious or economic. Two, crime itself, of whatever kind - murder, rape, robbery - could be viewed from several theoretical perspectives, aggravating the public's anxiety for valid, convincing explanations. Both cases, especially when combined, make policy consensus and implementation difficult.

Furthermore, in the Caribbean, the level and quality of research needed to build theory and to service high quality teaching remain uncomfortably circumscribed by heavy reliance on government funding. The fact that Caribbean governments' anti-crime policies have not succeeded in cutting the rate of serious crimes, especially murder, has helped to shape crime as an element of sharp political debate, putting these governments on the defensive.

Why then would such a government fund a university

**Keynote Address delivered at Formal Opening Ceremony, Criminology Conference 2009 hosted by the Criminology Unit, Department of Behavioural Sciences on Wednesday April 8, 2009, The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad&Tobago.*

research programme on, for example, “the causes of crime” when one of the likely causes would be government policy itself one way or the other?

Of course, these challenges are not insurmountable, nor unusual in other parts of the world. What the latter issue boils down to is that university researchers in particular have to learn to co-exist with the policy-maker and the politician in the research enterprise. The researcher must appreciate the policy-maker’s challenges. At the same time, there is a serious responsibility for the policy-maker, and the politician especially, to learn to face the truth about the need for evidence-based policies, even when the evidence, reliable and valid, may create some political discomfort.

Since its formal beginnings in the 18th Century, criminology has had its ups and downs. Many theorists have been reviled, even persecuted by the political authorities. In criticizing penal or judicial practices in their time, some used pseudonyms for their publications. Others have had to fight against popular opinion - or what is today called “political correctness” - especially on issues such as prison conditions, sentencing and a fair trial.

From Beccaria’s 19th Century fight against arbitrary justice to Edwin Sutherland’s 20th Century probe into white collar crime, criminologists still remain uneasy over defining crime as a strictly legal event. So with the help of Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx, the concept of deviance rather than crime itself became more research-friendly. Deviance covers acts which are not only illegal, but also immoral or

socially disapproved.

In fact, you cannot frame a Caribbean Criminology with only a legal definition of crime, especially with the region's emergence from a colonized plantation system where colour, race and even religion played such a prominent role in power relations and in defining deviance.

Indeed, we have moved very far from Lombroso's 1911 theory that the mind of a criminal could be revealed by the shape of his skull. However, I still support Emile Durkheim's 1897 notion that deviance in any society is eternal: it will be invented if not discovered. Society maintains what is good by having deviance as its reference point.

Today, in spite of its challenges, criminology has taken a proud place among the social sciences, respected for its scientific inquiries and in many countries, serving as a civic conscience, as a watchdog over the legal and judicial system, challenging the *status quo* for mistreating crime victims, the poor or voiceless.

But having toiled in the research arena myself, and as a Member of Parliament (Independent Senator) for almost fifteen years, I had a first hand look at the seemingly uncomfortable relationship between politics and criminological research. University criminologists face a stinging dilemma at two ends of their research mandate - getting research funds and then the use of their research findings.

In fact, at an International Conference on Crime and Justice hosted by the then UWI Centre for Criminology and Criminal Justice in 2006, I put it this way: *“Given the role of the university researcher to describe the world as it is, to what extent should the researcher’s intellectual integrity be adjusted to suit the practical demands of public policy especially when there is political pressure for overnight solutions to crime?”*

Maybe, like the poets and artists of centuries ago, even today’s university researcher needs a patron to support his work. But how then can we develop the critical thinking required for a Caribbean Criminology when such thinking may well make our funders uneasy? If you wish to build a Caribbean Criminology, however, all energies cannot be directed at policy-oriented research or what is now called “actionable programmes.”

Significant room should be left for the kind of theoretical reflection which builds durable knowledge equal to what thinkers like Durkheim, Bentham, Merton, Quinney, Marx, Cloward and Ohlin, Foucault, Taylor and Chambliss have left for us. Without a large measure or space for free-thinking critical thought, we would not be rescued from our culture of intellectual dependency in matters of crime and justice. The critical question must precede the research, and the research should precede the policy.

Now, as I have realised a long time ago, crime and justice are very politically sensitive subjects with controversy just one step away, but since this conference focus is on *“the next generation of crime scholars,”* I feel obliged to present the above questions. After all, there is no better place to

present such views than the university which is looked upon as the key agency for change.

Collapse of Criminal Justice System

Among the many challenges for the next generation of criminology scholars is to examine the extent to which popular theories in crime and justice fit the evidence, the facts. While the general public, for its own comfort, may endure illusions, serious scholars must face up to discomfoting data.

Our criminological scholars in crime and justice need to examine, for example, whether the theory of a fair trial is really working today, or is it working only for the rich and powerful?

Is the theory of the separation of powers really working, or is the Executive, through the purse strings, unwittingly encroaching beyond its legitimate space? Is trial by jury really a trial by a group of your fair-minded, unbiased peers? Or is the jury fatally influenced by the exploitation of their stereotypes and prejudice? To what extent is restorative justice a practical solution to recidivism? To what extent is poverty "the cause of crime?"

Does punishment really serve as a deterrent? Why not? Given the flourish of media headlines and pictures of the handcuffed accused, can the community really believe the theory that all accused persons are innocent until proven guilty? Can the community wait ten years for a verdict? How does political convenience shape or reshape public policy on crime? Does the law really work for justice or

does it often stand in the way of justice? Check out the difference between the theory and the facts.

Just as the new school of behavioural economists is now reviewing the theory of free enterprise, the free market and the trickle down effect, so too the new generation of Caribbean criminologists must do their own examination of the theories which govern their profession. Free from the narrow interests that blind lawyers, criminologists must become passionate about human rights and justice. To put it bluntly again, lecturers should infuse their students with the passion for social justice.

On March 27, 2009, an Appeal Court Judge had to say that the magistracy as a system of justice has collapsed. The case was postponed 29 times. On January 29, 2009 dealing with a 16-year old case, a judge, Justice Herbert Volney, publicly stated that the criminal justice system is on the verge of collapse, especially when so many murder accused walk away free. What does all this say about the theory of justice, especially for the victim? Check it out.

My own research seriously challenges the theory of social justice among our young people. As one example, when 3,000 secondary school students were asked in 2006 which is more important in getting a government job, ability or contact, over 40% said "contact."

In related research, I found a pervasive, disturbing amount of social injustice practised in the classrooms of many secondary schools. Substantial numbers of students complained that they are often punished for things they

did not do and also subjected to unfair treatment at the hands of their teachers. For example, having acted in self-defence, such students would be punished by the teacher but without calling upon the initial bully as a process of fair adjudication. Children need to experience and appreciate social justice as preparation for adulthood.

Criminology for Justice

Given its subject matter, Caribbean criminology should be an activist discipline, striving not only with crime research, but for justice too. Conscientious criminologists can no longer live by the failing, fractured theories of today. How can any theory of justice tolerate a crime victim having to wait ten or more years to have his case finalized in court? Check it out.

Lawyers' fees aside, how can any theory of justice tolerate having a case postponed for over 25 times or more? And when the witness willingly appears in court, he is harassed and battered by a very aggressive, discourteous lawyer without any cooling intervention by the judge.

Too many injustices are committed in the courts, especially to the poor and weak, and it is up to university criminologists, without vested interests, to reveal the evidence for change. The causes of crime is an important subject for criminologists, but an equally important subject for research and policy analysis is the administration of justice itself.

There are some factors which *push* criminal behavior such as family neglect and bad schooling, but there are also

other factors which *pull* crime such as weak and ineffective prosecution, low conviction rates, lawyer absenteeism, poor police response, corrupt police and having the prisons as a criminogenic ghetto. You must check this out.

The challenge for Caribbean Criminology is not only about social structure. The challenge also lies in the failures and fractures of the administration of justice itself and the tragic consequences for the poor and weak among us, quite likely one of the consequences of a misfit between prevailing needs and colonial-type institutions.

Vulgar Prosperity

Economic prosperity is long supposed to reduce crime in a country. That is the theory. Would you believe that in this country as the GDP increased from \$35 billion in 1996 to over \$150 billion in 2008, the rate of homicides also increased quite dramatically, from 107 murders in 1996 to 550 murders in 2008, with a correlation of .90. And as the unemployment rate went from 12% in 2000 to 5% in 2008, homicides went from 118 to 550, an increase of 366% in that same period. No wonder the population is so frightened. This appears as a portrait of vulgar prosperity. As our GDP and employment rate increased significantly, murders also increased significantly.

For a criminologist, the subject of interest is not only the actual number. It is the rate. Fear is multiplied through the rapid rate of increase, and worse yet if the murders are randomly committed.

Again, for the criminologist, he has to get behind the

numbers. So he asks: Is it that these homicides are related to conditions *preceding* such prosperity or to *present* conditions? Are these homicides reflections not so much of macro prosperity, but of specific broken and already lawless communities? Of failed institutions? What proportion emanates from the Unemployment Relief Programme (URP) or drug trafficking wars? We must check out these things, these harsh realities.

Which carries me back to 1833 when the French researcher Guerry concluded that property crime was a result, not so much of poverty, but of opportunity. In separate research at that same time, the Belgian mathematician Adolphe Quetelet not only supported Guerry's finding, but explained that "the great inequality between wealth and poverty in the same place excites passions and provokes temptations of all kinds." Check out the situation in this country.

Culture of Lawlessness

Situationally-driven explanations still carry great merit in criminology. As much as anything else, it is the lack of judicious law enforcement which has driven this country into the ugly culture of lawlessness. For this and more, I refer you to a book published in 1993, *A Society Under Siege: A Study of Political Confusion and Legal Mysticism*. Check it out. This is a story of the 1990 Muslimeen Insurrection.

At this point, and from my own research and teaching experience, I propose that criminology be shaped into a multidisciplinary venture, with significant inputs from

social psychology, sociology, even anthropology and economics. As an example, and based on consistent research with both primary and secondary schools, I have found that the Ministry of Education, teachers, parents and the general public are scared about school violence, not so much because of the actual figures, but moreso because they really do not expect any violence in our schools.

They expect none, so when two or three incidents occur in a school, accompanied by graphic media stories, their broken expectations become the cradle of fear. This is a social psychological analysis. It is the broken expectation, not so much the actual figures. It hurts more when the crime is committed in a certain place or by someone you did not expect to commit such a crime. This is the difference between a murder in “rich” Westmoorings and one in “poor” Laventille. Check it out.

Criminology as an Activist Discipline

Again, I have always said that the most important question in the universe is the question, “Why?” How can you solve a problem without knowing its cause?

In criminology, this is the motive question. Why did he steal? Why did she become a terrorist? Why does he still steal even after having been previously jailed for stealing? Why did the very rich businessman steal the money? Why is white collar crime, business corruption, so prevalent, even among the very rich and powerful? Why do they feel they need for more and more?

This brings us to the concept of relative deprivation in social psychology. Motivation, social motivation, is a central part of social psychology. Social psychology, both with theory and methodology, can provide criminology with some rather strong legs. Check it out.

I propose criminology as an activist discipline because I have seen the difference it can make. As an Independent Senator in Parliament I have successfully moved several motions of direct relevance to criminology. Through these motions, for example, I got the Government to set up the Prescott Commission of Inquiry into the Death Penalty in 1989, then another successful motion to undertake a Social and Demographic Survey of the Common Entrance Examination results, and yet another motion to have Live Television Broadcast of the Proceedings of Parliament. My most recent motion in the Senate sought to Establish a Legislative Framework to Regulate the Financing of Election Campaigns and Political Parties. (The latter has been passed in the Senate, but frozen in the Lower House).

In 1994, as Director of the Ansa McAL Psychological Research Centre at the UWI, I successfully submitted a proposal to the Government to establish Mediation Centres across the country. So you see why I propose Criminology as an applied science, an activist discipline, an instrument for peace, civility and justice. Use it boldly and wisely. Yes, you can.

Of course, I have had my disappointments. For example, in the Senate for over two years, I asked The Hon. Attorney General to supply the Senate with data (1)

concerning the number of times bail was granted by a Magistrate but refused by a High Court Judge and for what offences, and, (2) the number of times an accused was given bail but went out to commit the same or more serious crimes. The Hon. Attorney General explained in the Senate that the Judiciary said it did not have the resources to provide such data, leaving one to wonder well then, on what basis do they give bail, by whim or method? Or do these judges not care to know the consequences of their judicial action? Check it out.

Guns Create Wars

Criminologists must also know about the surge in cross-border crimes such as drug and human trafficking, arms smuggling, cyber crimes and terrorism. Last week, at the NATO meeting in Strasbourg, US President Barack Obama called for an end to war and armed civil conflict.

But where do the guns come from? How can we have an end to war when heavy arms, guns, tanks and fighter planes are manufactured and supplied by the military complex of the US, UK, Germany, China, Russia, Israel, and in some cases, Brazil? As long as the economies of these industrialised countries depend so much on the military complex, to that extent will war and civil conflict continue. Check this out too.

The Way Forward

The birth and rise of criminology have been propelled by the classical school, the positivist school, by a range of ecological, biological, psychological and even radical economic perspectives. But whichever route we choose, we

should be mindful that our society has emerged from a colonized plantation system which may not be able to explain today's crime quite well, but can help explain the nature and purpose of many of our laws. Check it out.

So ride on, you young scholars, the next generation of criminologists, yours is a noble calling, one for peace, civility and always remember, for justice too. History will be watching you.

A CULTUROMETRIC ANALYSIS OF FEAR OF CRIME IN TRINIDAD

Béatrice Boufoy-Bastick

*The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus,
Trinidad and Tobago*

Fear of crime surveys confound general fearfulness with fear of crime. For example, cultural groups who are more generally fearful will tend to score relatively highly on any 'Fear of X' survey regardless whether 'X' represents 'crime' or some other relevant construct. In this research the Culturometric Null-mean method was used with data from N=348 random households in Trinidad to disentangle the fear of crime confound by measuring and subtracting individuals' general fearfulness from their confound fear of crime to give each individual's true fear of crime. Cultural sub-groups, including five compared in published studies using confound measures - groups defined by gender, age, ethnicity, income, education - were here compared on their true fear of crime and results contrasted with traditional confound measures. From a policy perspective, what matters more than fear of crime is an individual's and a sub-population's ability to cope with their fear of crime. A Culturometric null-mean technique, the Respondent Effect Size (RES), was also used to report the Crime-stress caused by fear of crime. For example, although this research concurs with literature reports of females being more fearful of crime, the six Trinidadian multi-category groups suffering the greatest Crime-stress are all male. The most stressed were young high-income Indo-Trinidadian males reporting a colossal Crime-stress (RES=2.6929) due to their fear of criminal injury, suggestive of the 'kidnapping crisis' reported in Trinidad. This paper is significant in that the reported Culturometric methodology throws a correcting light on previous findings and its RES technique considerably expands applications of survey research.

Introduction

This is essentially a paper on methodology. It applies the philosophy and methods of Culturometrics to Fear of Crime (FoC) research in Trinidad. The majority of findings

in FoC research have been derived by survey and these findings have been influential in determining policy and public perception of crime. However, since the inception of FoC research in the 1970s, there have been on-going concerns that the results of these surveys are contaminated by validity issues of method, measurement and definition. In this paper, we use the Culturometric (CM) perspective to identify a major and previously unrecognised validity problem with traditional FoC survey instruments and use the CM Null-mean method to resolve the problem (Boufooy-Bastick, forthcoming, a).

Uniquely, we also apply a CM definition of crime to ensure that we are analysing acts that respondents do consider to be crimes, whereas traditional FoC surveys do not use this important distinction (Boufooy-Bastick, forthcoming, b). We also correct for a previously unrecognised artefact of FoC surveys that exaggerated reported levels of victimisation (Boufooy-Bastick, forthcoming, c). Then we compare Culturometric analysis of FoC survey data with the traditional analysis.

The results help to rectify some fundamental misunderstandings in the FoC research and go some way to resolving what is known as “the central paradox in the fear of crime literature” (Smith & Torstensson, 1997, p. 608). This research also uses Crime-stress, a new effect-size measure of the stress respondents experience in not being able to cope with their true fear of crime. The empirical context for these methodological demonstrations is a FoC survey of 348 random households in Trinidad. The results show differences in Crime-stress and in the true fear of

crime for Trinidadian individuals and sub-groups based on sex, age, educational level, income and ethnicity.

Background

The FoC literature is comparatively large and shows that, although FoC surveys have been influential since their inception in the 1970s, there have been continuing concerns that results have misrepresented true fear of crime and victimisation levels due to the quality of their survey methodology, the quality of their measurement instruments and a lack of definition.

As early as 1982, Clarke and Lewis pointed out that surveys were being used as the major source of public information on the Fear of Crime: "It was concluded from a myriad of national and local opinion polls and surveys, some conducted for the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, that crime had come to be seen as a major problem and public concern was increasing." (p. 49).

The surveys used then, and now, utilised ubiquitous self-rating scales, such as four-point or five-point Likert scales or similar 10-point self-rating scales. The FoC questions often focused on fear of property loss and fear of personal injury due to acts of crime (Chadee & Ditton, 2003; Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992). A recent example is the Salmi, Gronroos and Keskinen (2004) study into the role of police visibility in fear of crime in Finland: "The scale used was again a four-point scale with two extremes at opposite ends: 'not concerned at all' and 'very concerned.' The items included the following crimes: damage to motor

vehicles, bicycle theft, motor vehicle theft, burglary of a storage area, damage or vandalism, rape or attempted rape, assault in someone's home, assault in a public place, robbery in a public place, child molestation, being threatened with violence in a public place, burglary, and theft. In this study, we constructed two dimensions, which were named fear of crimes against persons and fear of crimes against property." (Salmi, Gronroos, & Keskinen, 2004, p. 579).

Despite the continuing widespread implementation of these surveys and the influential applications of their results, there are major on-going concerns about the measurement quality of the FoC instruments and the consequent effects on results.

Over a decade ago, Farrall, Bannister, Ditton and Gilchrist (1997) began their article 'Questioning the Measurement of the "Fear of Crime"' with the statement: "Research upon the fear of crime has grown substantially in recent years. From its very inception, this field has relied almost exclusively upon quantitative surveys, which have suggested that the fear of crime is a prevalent social problem.

However, doubts about the nature of the instruments used to investigate this phenomenon have cumulatively raised the possibility that the fear of crime has been significantly misrepresented." (p. 658). They document the large impact of FoC survey instruments and cite evidence from 1981 to 1993 to effect that: "several commentators that have raised doubts surrounding the validity of the instruments used to generate these findings" (p. 658). They assert, in common

with much other survey research, that for results on Fear of Crime: "the reported incidence of the fear of crime is partly dependent upon the nature of the measurement instrument rather than a true reflection of 'social reality'" (p. 659).

Apart from methodological issues, there are also issues concerning the definitions used. In his influential 1996 review of the literature on 'Fear of Crime', Hale (1996, p. 84) observed: "there is considerable theoretical confusion concerning the meaning and measurement of fear of crime." Rachel Pain (2000) also highlights both definitional and methodological issues in her review of place, social relations and the fear of crime, positioning the date of these recurrent issues as early as the 1970s by noting that: "Since the very beginnings of research on the fear of crime in the early 1970s, authors have emphasized the need for theoretical clarification of the meaning and measurement of the concept." (p. 600).

Recently, more than a decade after Hale (1996), Paul Dolan and Tessa Peasgood summarised the literature on fear of crime surveys up to 2007 and noted: "A general concern with fear of crime surveys is that they pick up a whole host of things, including emotions that are quite distinct from risk and fear, such as anger, and fear and anxieties caused by non-crime activities which people are unhappy about in their environment" (p. 122).

This current paper compares Indo-Trinidadians with Afro-Trinidadians and Chadee (2003) reports that Indo-Trinidadians are more fearful than Afro-Trinidadians. However, consistent with comparisons in fearfulness

between Indo-Fijians and Indigenous Fijians (Boufoy-Bastick, 2003), it is entirely probable that the Indo group is generally more fearful. For example, Boufoy-Bastick (2002) found that Indo-Fijian teachers purchased insurance for their children, even before their children had been born; a cultural construct she referred to as 'Event-Horizon'. Hence, a greater general Indo-Cultural fearfulness is likely to exaggerate their confound 'fear and crime' responses.

Consistent with Dolan and Peasgood (2007), we note that FoC research uses the terms 'fear', 'worry' and 'concern' as synonyms – see, for example, the discussion in Salmi, Gronroos and Keskinen (2004) – and that the confounding of 'generalised fear' and 'fear of criminal acts' is prevalent in nearly all FoC survey instruments.

Examples of Fear of Crime Questions That Confound 'Fear and Crime'

Some typical illustrative examples of surveys that have confounded 'fear and crime' are:

- (i) Pain (1995, p. 588), who confounded 'fear and crime' in her survey asking elderly respondents, "Which crime do you worry about most?", listing: Sexual assault outside by stranger, Physical assault outside by stranger, Sexual assault in home by someone you know, Physical assault in home by someone you know, Car theft, Housebreaking, Physical assault, Theft of personal belongings, etc.
- (ii) Farrall, Bannister, Ditton and Gilchrist (1997) and Ditton, Chadee, Farrall, Gilchrist, and Bannister (2004)

who confounded 'worry and crime' with their questionnaire, "On a scale of 1 to 5 (with 1 representing not being worried at all ever; and 5 meaning worrying a lot all the time), how worried are you that somebody might:

- Break into your house (or try to break in) and steal things, or try To, or damage things?
- Steal your vehicle, or things from it or off it, or do damage to it?
- Vandalize your house or something outside it?
- Rob you or assault you or threaten to do either?

(iii) Semmens, Dillane and Ditton (2002) also used a confound 'worry and crime' questionnaire to assess fear of crime, for example, "Tell me how worried you have been about each of these crimes [burglary, mugging/robbery, vehicle crime, vandalism to your home] in the last three months" (p. 799).

(iv) Ferraro and LaGrange (1992), 'replicated' in Chadee and Ditton (2003) confounded 'fear and crime' with their questionnaires, "Please rate your fear on a scale of 1 to 10 where 1 means you are not afraid at all, and 10 means you are very afraid. First, rate your fear of...":

1. Being approached on the street by a beggar or panhandler.
 2. Please rate your fear of being cheated, conned, or swindled out of your money.
 3. Having someone break into your home while you are away.
 4. Having someone break into your home while you are there."
- (Ferraro & LaGrange, 1992, p. 236)

'Replicated' in Chadee and Ditton (2003) as, "How much would you say you fear...":

- (a) Being approached on the street by a beggar?
- (b) Being cheated, conned, or swindled out of some money?
- (c) Have (*sic*) someone attempt to break into your home while you

are away?

- (d) Have (*sic*) someone break into your home while you are away?

Respondents were offered the following response options: 'very fearful', 'a bit fearful', 'not very fearful' or 'not at all fearful'" (Chadee & Ditton, 2003, p. 421).

In this research, we measure the true fear of crime by using the Culturometric Null-mean method to un-confound the levels of 'generalized fear' and 'the fear of crime' that have been confounded by previous research. We then go further and measure Crime-stress - the stress caused by the true fear of crime.

Crime-Stress: Coping with the True Fear of Crime (FoC)

People have different abilities to cope with adverse reactions, such as their fear of crime. From psychological, sociological and policy perspectives, what is of major importance is not the size of an adverse reaction but the degree to which individuals and groups are stressed and unable to cope with this reaction. Dolan and Peasgood (2007) made a direct connection between fear of crime and the stress and anxiety caused by this experience: "When people feel that they may be about to become a victim of crime, they will experience anxiety and stress. The frequency with which people are in this state and the intensity of the anxiety is one measure of the health loss from anticipated crime" (p. 125).

Stress due to the true fear of crime directly impacts on Quality of Life (QoL). Hence, Crime-stress levels may be

used as indicators for measuring the loss in QoL due to stress of crime. There is a current need for such measures as Paul Dolan and Tessa Peasgood (2007) report: “there currently exists little information that allows the value of quality-of-life changes from anticipated crime to be estimated.”

In this paper, we use the Respondent Effect Size extension of the CM Null-mean method to derive effect-size measures of Crime-stress, for individuals and for population categories and sub-groups that are indicators for quality-of-life changes from anticipated crime in Trinidad.

In particular, at the time of the survey there was ‘kidnapping crisis’ reporting of Trinidad as the ‘number-one kidnap country in the world’ with: “88 kidnappings per million - that is, 22 times greater than Colombia, 47 times higher than Mexico and an astounding 98 times higher than Brazil.” (*Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 2005, November 6). Newspaper reporting of kidnapping in Trinidad could promote a social climate of fear that was expected to impact our measured Crime-stress levels for targeted groups.

A typical example of such fear-raising reporting was a newspaper feature titled “Coping with Crisis” that reported: “After a nationwide search, her dismembered body was found in a shallow grave. Nine people were charged later with her kidnapping and murder. In a social climate charged with fear...” (*Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 2009, March 15). Hence, our data analysis of Crime-stress in Trinidad at the time of the survey was expected to

identify high Crime-stress with high-income Indo-Trinidadians targeted in these kidnapping reports.

Culturometric Theory, Null-mean and Respondent Effect Size Applications to Fear of Crime (FoC) Research

Culturometrics (CM) is a radical constructivist philosophy that concerns itself with the measurement of Cultural Identity. It defines Cultural Identity as the expression of values in context. Its relevance to FoC questionnaires is that a self-rating response to a FoC question is an expression of the respondent's values in the context of the question. Culturometrics has different measurement methods and associated techniques appropriate to measuring cultural identity in different contexts and for various purposes – Cultural Index Regulators, Situated Identity Measures, Q-methods, Value-added Proportions and the Null-mean method.

All these methods have in common 'empowerment of the individual' (Boufooy-Bastick, 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008). Hence, the individual's representation is maintained in all CM quantitative methods and associated measurement techniques. So, for example, individuals' indices are calculated independently from other analyses and then aggregated as necessary by group membership for group comparisons.

An application of Culturometric philosophy to FoC research is to define a 'crime' as: *'A social act that engenders a fear greater than the subjective probability of victimisation'*.

This is operationalised by applying a V>F exclusion filter to fear of crime (F) and expectation of victimisation (V) survey responses (Boufoy-Bastick, forthcoming, b).

The CM Null-mean method is applicable to changes in Cultural Identity and has three main classes of application relevant to (i) current vs. ideal identity comparisons such as measuring identity changes from current to expected situations, (ii) measuring longitudinal single construct changes in cultural identity, and (iii) un-confounding measures of multiple identity constructs (Boufoy-Bastick, 'd', forthcoming book). It is this third application of the CM Null mean that is demonstrated in this paper by un-confounding 'fear and crime' responses on traditional FoC questionnaires. As shown in the literature review, the traditional FoC questions confound 'generalised fear' and 'true fear of crime'. The CM Null-mean method derives the 'true fear of crime' by measuring the 'generalised fear' and subtracting it from the confound measure.

Culturometric Respondent Effect Size – The Crime-Stress Indicator

As some people and groups can cope better with fear of crime than can others, the main social, psychological and policy concern of this FoC research was not only to measure the true fear of crime, but also to measure the stress that this engenders. The CM Respondent Effect Size (RES) is a respondent level technique of the Null-mean method that measures stress on a respondent due to context changes in their cultural identity. RES applied to the true fear of data crime gives a measure of 'Crime-stress', that is the stress due to true fear of crime for

individuals, for population categories and sub-groups indicated by the literature to be of interest to criminologists.

In keeping with the radical constructivist philosophy of Culturometrics, the units of Crime-stress are normed within each individual. They are the standard deviation units based on each respondent's personal response variation. RES is calculated from the confound responses and the null responses by dividing the difference in means by the average of the standard deviations of the two sets of questionnaire responses (CM Respondent Effect Size=(Null mean–Confound mean)/average standard deviation). Table 1 is used to interpret the stress level of the RES.

Table 1
Culturometric Interpretation of Respondent Effect-Sizes

Respondent Effect Size	0.1 up to 0.2	0.2 up to 0.3	0.3 up to 0.8	0.8 up to 1.0	1.0 up to 1.5	1.5 up to 2.0	Over 2.0
Respondent Stress Level	Very small	Small	Medium	Large	Very large	Enormous	Colossal

Source: Adapted from Boufoy-Bastick, (forthcoming,a)

The reported mean values of large groups can mask extreme fear and stress experiences of individuals because of the averaging process over large numbers of respondents. Culturometrics always retains the individual representation in its processes and so can analyse results at the level of population aggregates or identify individuals who are most and least stressed. These respondents may be approached for interventions, and/or ethnographic interviewing, to further elucidate the in-context meanings of their fear and stress. Self-report data can also be

processed culturometrically at different levels of precision between these two extremes as required. To illustrate this flexible methodology, we consider in this paper the personal stress levels of individual respondents due to their True fear of criminal property loss and due to criminal property loss based on their joint membership of commonly considered population sub-groups.

Method

Sample

A random sample of 348 Trinidadian households completed the Fear of Crime questionnaire and the Expectation of Victimization questionnaire, as reported in Chadee and Ditton (2003, p. 421), and the non-crime related fear of injury and fear of property loss questionnaires below. These questionnaires were embedded in a larger test battery which was produced in two formats. One format had the fear questions first and the other format had the victimisation questions first. This design counteracted the traditional order artefact that exaggerates the reporting of victimisation (Boufooy-Bastick, forthcoming, c).

The two formats of the test battery were randomly assigned and administered by telephone survey in November 2007. The households formed a random sample, stratified by population density and ethnicity, from 10 major Trinidadian constituencies across the island. The interviews were conducted by 33 trained interviewers who read the questions, and associated instructions and explanations to respondents. As part of the test battery,

respondents were also asked to report their date of birth, highest educational level, monthly income, and their major cultural/ethnic identity. Sex of respondents was also recorded. The sample comprised 152 males and 196 females, with an average age of 46 years of whom 56% (195) were heads of households. The mean interview duration was 34 minutes.

Instruments

To use the Null-mean method to un-confound 'generalised fear' and 'fear due to crime', we needed two measures; a confound measure and a measure of 'generalised fear'. In this FoC application, the 'Null effect responses' were derived from questions measuring relevant generalised non-crime related fears, and the 'Confound responses' are derived from the traditional confound 'fear and crime' questionnaire.

Norm Questionnaire for Fear of Crime Research

In particular, as noted above, the traditional confound measure was concerned with the two factors of personal injury and property loss. Hence, we measured fear of injury and property loss due to non-criminal causes. This gave a measure of generalised fear that was relevant to the two factors of the confound measure.

The first six questions of the Norm questionnaire, questions 1 to 6, were used to measure general fear of property loss due to non-criminal causes. The second six questions, numbered 7 to 12, were used to measure general

fear of physical and psychology injury due to non-criminal causes. (For example, "On a scale from 0 to 10...How much would you say you *fear* the following circumstances..." - 1. A fire in the home, 2. Losing your keys, 3. Loss of income, 4. Massive currency inflation, 5. Not being able to access savings, 6. Severe storm damage, 7. A debilitating accident, 8. A life-threatening illness – e.g. cancer/heart attack , 9. Being rejected by family/friends, 10. Death of a close one, 11. Major surgery, 12. Total memory loss – e.g., amnesia/concussion).

Traditional Confound 'Fear and Crime' Questionnaire for Fear of Crime Research

The confound 'fear and crime' questions used were exactly those reported in Chadee and Ditton (2003, p. 421), and also used self-rating, but on a more discriminating 0 to 10 scale (For example, (a) Being approached on the street by a beggar?, (b) Being cheated, conned, or swindled out of some money?, (c) Have someone attempt to break into your home while you are away?, (d) Have someone break into your home while you are away?, (e) Being raped or sexually assaulted?, (f) Being murdered?, (g) Being attacked by someone with a weapon? (h) Have your car stolen?, (i) Being robbed or mugged on the street?, (j) Property damaged by vandals?").

So that the CM crime definition could be applied to each person's response and to each question before using the Null mean method, both sets of questions were repeated with the following instruction: "On a scale from 0 to 10 say how likely you think it is that these circumstances WILL HAPPEN to you in the next year."

Methods of Analysis

The two main purposes of the analysis were to (i) to compare Culturometric Null-mean analyses with analyses based of the traditional confound 'fear and crime'

responses, and (ii) to demonstrate applications of the Crime-stress indicator.

Data from the two orders of battery presentation were combined to nullify the order artefact that exaggerates fear of victimisation (Boufooy-Bastick, forthcoming, c). For each respondent, his or her True fear of crime was calculated by (i) first applying the CM crime definition to ensure that only acts respondents considered to be criminal were included in the analysis, and (ii) subtracting the respondent's Null-mean from the mean of his or her confound responses. Individuals' responses were then aggregated into population categories for subsequent comparison of means so that True fear of crime results could be compared with results from the traditional confound 'fear and crime' measure.

The confound measure and the measure of generalised non-criminal fear were both on a 0 to 10 scale. Thus, the True fear of crime had a possible range of -10 to +10. Using the same arithmetic as for the overall True fear of crime, True fear of personal injury due to crime was calculated, as was true fear of property loss due to crime.

The five main dependent variables were:

1. C1 – Confound 'fear and crime' which was the traditional measure
2. C2 – Confound 'fear and crime' which was the traditional measure on which the CM crime definition had been applied. This only recorded acts that respondents considered to be crimes

3. N – Norm responses, which were responses to the non-crime generalised fear questions
4. T – True fear of crime, and
5. R – Respondent Effect Size Crime-stress

The five main independent variables were the following population categories and their sub-groups:

1. Sex (male, female)
2. Age (Younger, Older)
3. Education level (Low Ed, High Ed)
4. Income (Low\$, High\$) and
5. Ethnicity (Afro-Trinidadian, Indo-Trinidadian, mixed)

***Sub-Group Comparisons:
Culturometric Analyses vs. Traditional Confounded
'fear and crime' Analyses***

The variables of Age, Education and Income were each split into two sub-groups at the medians. Two sub-groups in each independent variable were compared on their mean scores for the confound variable before applying the CM crime definition (C1) and after applying the crime-definition to demonstrate the effect of the CM crime definition on the traditional confound measure.

Two sub-groups in each independent variable were also compared on their means for each of the other three dependent variables N Norm effect: General fear level, T True fear of crime and Crime-stress. The t-test results for C1 represented the traditional analysis and the t-test results for the True fear of crime (T) represented the Culturometric analysis. These two sets of results were

compared to show how the Culturometric analysis differed from the analysis of the traditional confound 'fear and crime' measure.

Measuring Crime-stress Due to the True Fear of Crime for Individuals and Population Sub-groups

We aggregated the individual Crime-stress for two sub-groups in each of the five independent variables so that we could compare Crime-stress between each pair of sub-groups (for example, who is more stressed by their True fear of crime, males or females), and across all 10 sub-groups as well as interpret the levels of Crime-stress experienced by these sub-groups.

A more detailed analysis of ethnic sub-groups used a one-way ANOVA to compare the four dependent variables C, N and T, and the Crime-stress levels for all three ethnic groups – Afro-Trinidadians, Indo-Trinidadians and Mixed-Trinidadians.

We also classified respondents by their group membership on all five independent variables and ranked them on the Crime-stress they experienced due to their true fear of property crime and separately for the Crime-stress they experience due to their true fear of criminal injury. We then compared the most with the least stressed to exhibit patterns of multi-group membership that were associated with each of these two Crime-stress factors.

To illustrate the flexibility and precision of this Culturometric methodology, we considered personal stress

levels of individual respondents due to their True fear of criminal property loss and due to criminal property loss based on their multi-membership of the following 32 mutually exclusive paired categories under the five variables: Sex (male v female), Age (Younger v Older), Education (Low Ed v High Ed), Income (Low \$ v High \$), Ethnicity (Afro-Trini v Indo-Trini) with the non-exclusive Total membership under each of the five variables.

The mean Respondent Stress Effect-sizes were calculated for all 243 groups represented by this multi-membership and ranked from most to least stress. First order differences in stress levels were used to find the first and last natural cut points for contrasting and comparing joint memberships of the most and least stressed Trinidadians.

Results

Sub-Group Comparisons: Culturometric Analyses vs. Traditional Confounded 'fear and crime' Analyses

This section presents comparative t-test results for the four main dependent variables showing the significance of the differences in means for sub-populations based on sex, age, educational level, income and ethnic self-labelling.

In [Table 2](#), rows for C1 'Traditional Confounded fear and crime (Pre-application of CM crime definition)' show the means that would be obtained if the tradition confounded 'fear and crime' questions had been analysed by Sex, Age, Education Income and Ethnicity sub-groups without application of the CM crime definition and without

application of the CM Null mean method.

These results correspond to the traditional raw confound 'fear and crime' analyses previously presented in the published literature. The results of the traditional methodology are in stark contrast to results for the True fear of crime that were derived from these same responses by applying the CM crime definition and the CM Null mean methods.

The two major differences summarised from Table 2 are that the comparatively large mean ratings for the confound, mean ratings between 5.3713 and 6.8384, have been markedly reduced to the True fear of crime means of between -0.0408 and 0.5391. The negative mean for males indicated that males rate their fears of non-criminal acts of personal injury and property loss higher than their confound ratings of 'fear and crime'.

The second striking result is that all but one of the significant differences in sub-group mean ratings on the confound 'fear and crime' measures dissipated when True fear of crime was measured, and that this was because of the significant differences on Normal fear for all groups. This implies that all the significant differences on the Confound measure were due to significant differences in Normal generalised levels of fear and NOT due to differences in True fear of crime.

When the results for C1, C2, N and T were graphed, as in Figure 1, we can see that applying the CM definition to the C1 confound measure removed more ambivalent lower-

Table 2
Significant Differences Between Results of Culturometric Analyses and Traditional Confounded 'Fear and Crime' Analyses

Independent Variables	Sex	Age	Education	Income	Ethnicity
Two Groups Compared	Male	Younger	Low Ed	Low \$	Afro-Trini
	Female	Older	High Ed	High \$	Indo-Trini
C1 Traditional Confounded fear and crime (Pre- application of CM crime definition)	5.3713 **6.7782	**6.6336 5.8226	6.2640 6.0641	6.3791 5.8071	5.8623 **6.8384
C2 Traditional Confounded fear and crime (Post- application of CM crime definition)	6.0578 **7.4672	**7.4284 6.4302	**6.9193 6.7870	6.9910 6.5604	6.5996 **7.6181
N Norm effect: General fear level (Post-application of CM crime definition)	6.1002 **7.0253	*7.0504 6.3783	**6.7151 6.5320	*7.0211 6.2414	6.3164 *7.0790
T True fear of crime (Post-application of CM crime definition)	-0.0408 0.3675	0.3363 0.0214	0.1846 0.1817	-0.0301 0.2551	0.2249 0.5391
R Respondent effect size: Stress (Post- application of CM crime definition)	-0.0594 **0.2372	0.1782 0.0389	0.1384 0.0583	0.0312 0.1478	0.0935 0.2660

* Difference is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Difference is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

NB The higher group mean is starred if difference is significant

-rated non-criminal acts so that the C2 mean of criminal acts was increased across all sub-groups. Secondly, we can

see that traditional Confound results can be reversed when we consider the True fear of crime.

In particular, when we compare Low\$ and High\$ income groups using the traditional untreated Confound measure the result was that the Low\$ income group had a considerably higher mean. However, the CM analysis, using the measure of True fear measure crime, reversed that result.

It is also noticeable from Figure 1, that although females scored significantly higher than males on the Confound measures, the difference in True fear of crime males and females is much smaller because females, as a population subgroup, are also significantly more fearful of non-criminal property loss and personal injury than are their male counterparts, which goes some way to explaining contradictory expressions found in the literature (Franklin & Franklin, 2009).

However, as mentioned above, what matters is not how much an individual or sub-group is truly fearful of crime. What is of more importance for personal well-being and for policy considerations is how well individuals and subpopulations can cope with their fears of crime. To report this, we turn to the results of the CM calculations for Respondent effect size.

Measuring Crime-stress Due to The True Fear of Crime for Individuals and Population sub-groups

The last two rows of Table 2 list mean Respondent effect sizes due to stress from the True fear of crime for Sex, Age,

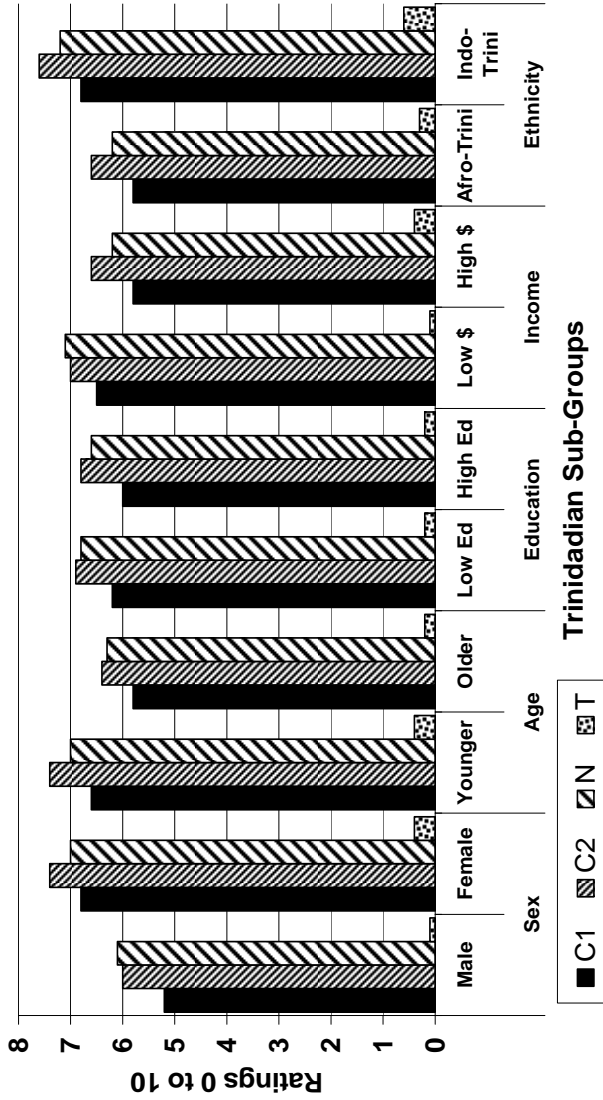
Education, Income and Ethnic sub-groups in Trinidad. These results are graphed in Figure 2. The main results derived from Figure 2 are (i) the actual stress effect-size experienced by each sub-group, (ii) comparisons in Crime-stress for the two sub-groups within each population category and (iii) how Crime-stress compares across all ten sub-groups. The amounts of Crime-stress were interpreted using Table 1.

At the level of sub-group means, the sub-group truly most fearful of crime are the Indo-Trinidadians with a small Respondent stress effect-size of 0.2660 stds. The Crime-stress experienced by other sub-groups all have very small levels of Respondent stress effect-size. The sub-group with second highest mean stress due to True fear of crime is Females at 0.2372 stds.

What is most noticeable from Figure 2 is that the mean male stress due to their True fear of crime is marginally negative (-0.0594). This is significantly different from the mean stress felt by females due to their True fear of crime ($n_m=150$, $n_f=189$, $t =2.832$, $p=0.004930$) and showed that, although males as a subgroup had the lowest mean fear of non-criminal property loss and personal injury of the ten sub-groups investigated (Table 2), their low mean generalised fear was greater than their mean responses for confound 'fear and crime' (Figure 2).

We can also see that younger Trinidadians had higher levels of generalised fear (7.0504, Table 2) and that they

Figure 1
Comparisons of Culturometric Analysis and
Analysis of Traditional Confound 'Fear and Crime'



Trinidadian Sub-Groups

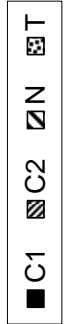
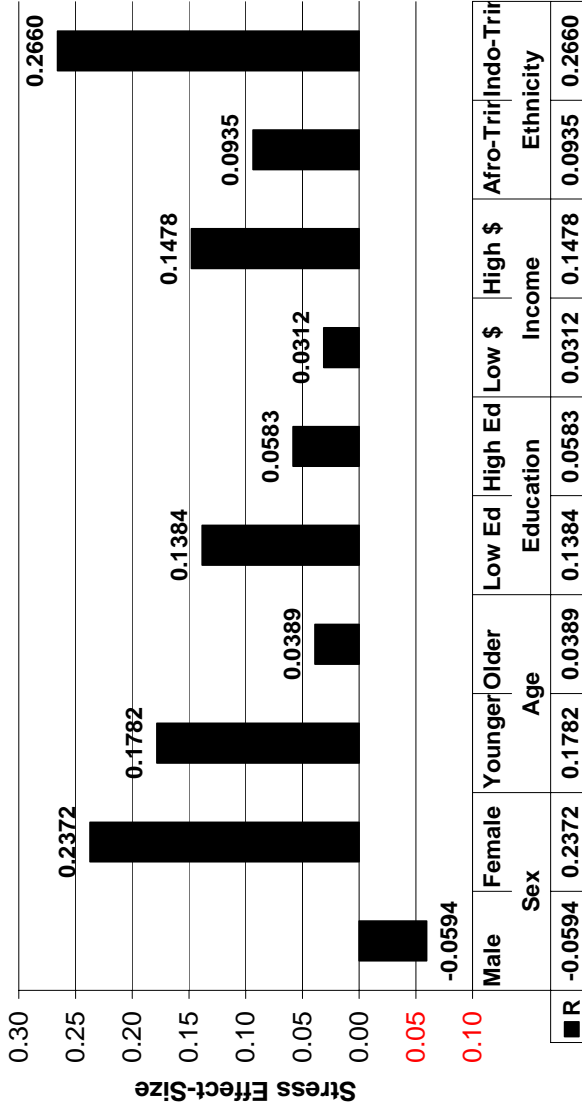


Figure 2
Comparative Crime-stress Effect Sizes
due to True Fear of Crime in Ten Trinidadian Sub-Groups



were the third highest Crime-stressed sub-group ($R=0.178$, [Table 2](#) and [Figure 2](#)). [Figure 2](#) also showed that higher education is associated with lower stress caused by True fear of crime (0.1384 v 0.0583 stds).

Comparative Culturometric Analysis and Traditional Confound Analysis of Trinidad's Three Main Ethnic Groups

There are three main self-labelled ethnic groups in Trinidad: Afro-Trinidadians, Indo-Trinidadians and mixed Afro/Indo Trinidadians. [Table 3](#) shows the mean values, number and spread on the main four dependent variables for acts considered as criminal by respondents in each of the three ethnic groups, that is, CM crime definition had been applied.

The means for the Afro-Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadians were consistent with those reported in [Table 2](#). The major difference between the format of [Table 2](#) and [3](#) is that in [Table 3](#), means for the mixed group have been included as have the number of respondents and standard deviations of the distributions.

The group means for Confound 'fear and crime' (C). Norm fear (N) and True fear of crime (T) for all three groups were plotted for [Figure 3](#).

[Figure 3](#) makes it clear that although the mixed group have a mean Norm fear between the low of the Afro - Trinidadians and the high of the Indo -Trinidadians as might be expected ($6.3164 < 6.5638 < 7.0790$), the mean True

Table 3
Confound and Culturometric Comparisons for Afro-Trinidadian,
Indo-Trinidadian and Mixed-Trinidadian

Means –

Post-Application of CM Crime Definition: Three Ethnic Groups

Ethnicity		C	N	T	R
C1 1		Confound	Norm	True	Respondent
		Effect	Effect	Fear of	Effect Size
				Crime	(stress)
1 Afro- Trinidadian	Mean	6.5996	6.3164	.2249	.0935
	N	74	75	74	72
	Std.	2.74158	2.42217	2.06807	.96042
	Dev.				
2 Indo- Trinidadian	Mean	7.6181	7.0790	.5391	.2660
	N	73	73	73	73
	Std.	1.80084	2.12322	1.60891	.85594
	Dev.				
9 Mixed	Mean	6.6610	6.5638	.0429	.503
	N	198	198	196	194
	Std.	2.59990	2.19930	2.11950	.98751
	Dev.				
Total	Mean	6.8503	6.6189	.1877	.1060
	N	345	346	343	339
	Std.	2.51078	2.24223	2.01443	.95603
	Dev.				

fear of crime for the mixed group is barely existent on the 0 to 10 scale (0.0429). This Culturometric analysis showed this was because their mean Norm fear was almost as great as their mean confound 'fear and crime' responses.

This CM result contradicts the result that the mixed group's mean 'Fear of Crime' was between the means of the other two groups, and contradicts the high magnitude of the result as would be obtained with the traditional interpretation based on the confound 'fear with crime' instrument.

Figure 3
Confound and Culturometric Comparisons for
Afro-Trinidadian, Indo-Trinidadian and Mixed Trinidadian
(Mean Responses)

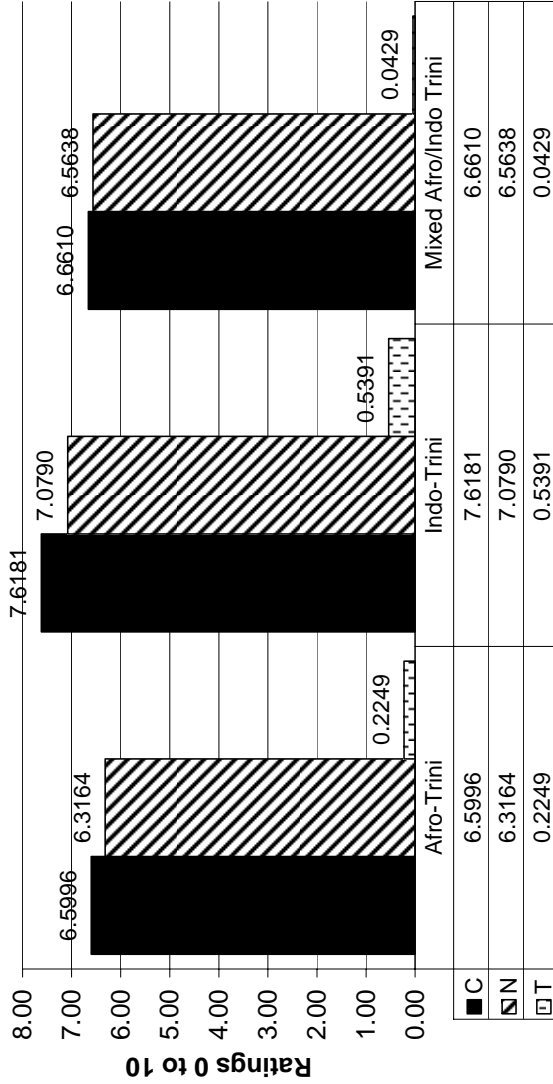
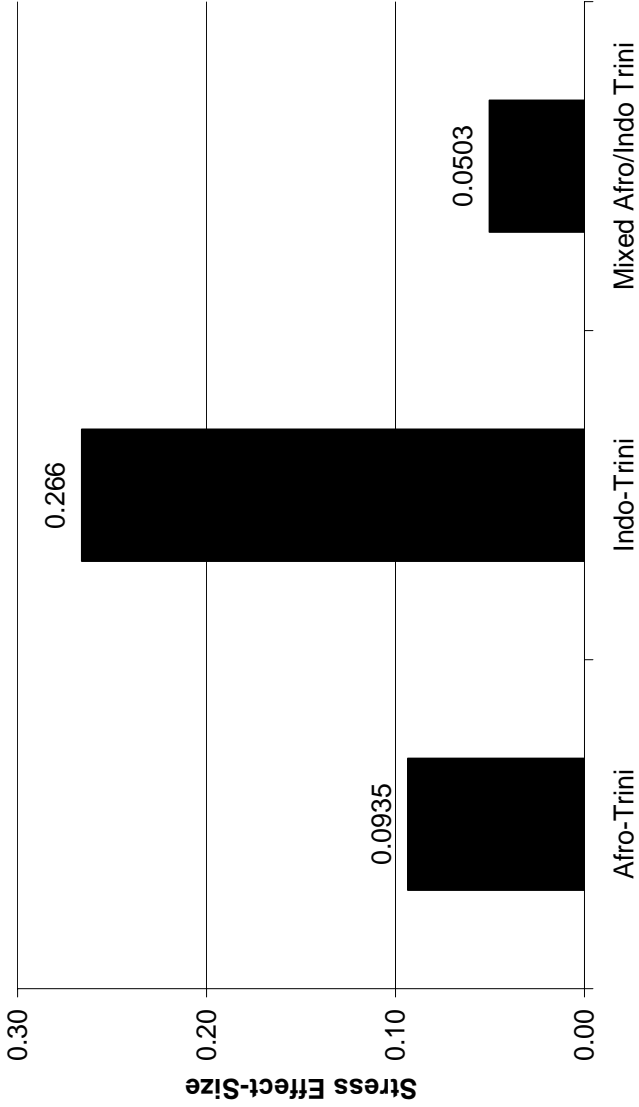


Table 4
ANOVA Ethnic Group Differences

			Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Post-Application of CM Crime Definition: Three Ethnic Groups							
C Confound Effect * Ethnicity	Between Groups	(Combined)	54.782	2	27.391	4.432	0.13
	Within Groups		2113.804	342	6.181		
	Total		2168.586	344			
N Norm Effect * Ethnicity	Between Groups	(Combined)	22.918	2	11.459	2.296	.102
	Within Groups		1711.605	343	4.990		
	Total		1734.523	345			
T True Fear of Crime * Ethnicity	Between Groups	(Combined)	13.227	2	6.614	1.636	.196
	Within Groups		1374.589	340	4.043		
	Total		1387.816	342			
R Respondent Effect Size (stress) * Ethnicity	Between Groups	(Combined)	2.481				
	Within Groups		306.447				
	Total		308.929				

Figure 4
Crime-Stress Effect-Sizes: Afro/Indo/Mixed Trinidadians



Another contradiction between the results of CM analysis and traditional analysis based on the confound 'fear and crime' measure is demonstrated in the ANOVA Table 4. Table 4 shows a significant difference between Ethnic groups as result of the traditional interpretation of the C Confound 'fear and crime' measure. However, the CM analysis using the True fear of crime measure shows there is no significant difference between the ethnic groups.

The mean values of Respondent stress effect-size from the right-hand column of Table 3 were plotted in Figure 4 to show the comparative mean stress suffered by each of the three ethnic groups due to their True fear of crime. The Mixed Afro/Indo Trinidadian group had a very small Crime-stress effect-size and, of the three ethnic groups, the Mixed-Trinidadians suffered the least stress due to their True fear of crime.

Trinidadians Who Experience The Highest and Lowest Crime-Stress: Detailed Comparisons of Multi-Membership Groups

Subjects were grouped by their joint membership on paired subgroups of the five independent variables and ranked by their property crime-stress and their personal injury crime-stress. First order differences indicated seven most stressed groups with mean stress levels from 1.6532 to 2.6929 stds, and six least stressed groups with mean stress levels ranging from -1.3566 to -0.5972 stds. The membership descriptions and mean stress levels of these thirteen groups are presented for comparison in Table 5.

The interesting patterns of stress due to True fear of crime

revealed by Table 5 include: All groups suffering the most stress due to their True fear of crime were Indo-Trinidadian. However, this also included some Afro-Trinidadians ranked 3rd because older poorer males from both ethnic groups suffered enormous stress due to their fear of criminal loss to their property (1.8739 and 1.7827 ranked 2nd and 3rd). In marked contrast, younger low income males of both ethnicities were least concerned about criminal loss to their property. This regard for criminal loss to property was a marked difference in values of criminality between young and old poor males that cut across both ethnic groups.

The most stressed group were young high income Indo-Trinidadian males who reported colossal stress due to their True fear of criminal personal injury (2.6939, ranked 1st), suggesting a 'kidnapping crisis' prominent in Trinidad at the time of the survey. It was interesting that although the mean stress due to True fear of crime for females was significantly higher than the mean for males as a gross group statistic, when we look at this current level of detail we find that the top six groups most stressed by their True fear of crime were all male. There were no females in the six top most crime-stressed multi-membership groups. However, younger high income Indo-Trinidadian females ranked 7th with an enormous mean stress of 1.6532 stds because of their True fear of personal injury due to crime; thus corroborating the expected Crime-stress response to the 'kidnapping crisis' evidenced for young high income Indo-Trinidadian males.

The only group who suffered little stress due to fear of personal injury through crime were the low income,

Table 5
243 Membership Groups Ranked on Property-Crime-Stress and
Injury Crime-Stress

Group #	Ethnicity	Age	Income	Sex	Criminal Loss	Stress Effect Size (STDs)	Rank	1 st Order Difference	Stress Group
34	Indo-Trini	Younger	High \$	Male	Injury	2.6929	1		Most stress
40	Indo-Trini	Older	Low \$	Male	Property	1.8730	2	0.8199	Most stress
67	Total	Older	Low \$	Male	Property	1.7827	3	0.0903	Most stress
46	Indo-Trini	Older	Total	Male	Property	1.7182	4	0.0645	Most stress
52	Indo-Trini	Total	High \$	Male	Injury	1.7071	5	0.0111	Most stress
37	Indo-Trini	Younger	Total	Male	Injury	1.6919	6	0.0152	Most stress
36	Indo-Trini	Younger	High \$	Total	Injury	1.6532	7	0.0387	Most stress
4	Afro-Trini	Younger	Low \$	Male	All	-0.5972	238	0.0994	Least stress
20	Afro-Trini	Older	Total	Female	Property	-0.6513	239	0.0541	Least stress
4	Afro-Trini	Younger	Low \$	Male	Property	-0.6906	240	0.0393	Least stress
17	Afro-Trini	Older	High \$	Female	Property	-0.8426	241	0.1520	Least stress
58	Total	Younger	Low \$	Male	Property	-1.0236	242	0.1810	Least stress
31	Indo-Trini	Younger	Low \$	Male	Property	-1.3566	243	0.3330	Least stress

younger Afro-Trinidadians who are also little stressed by criminal loss to what little property they might have (-0.5972, ranked 238th). An interesting anomaly was that criminal loss of property caused little mean crime-stress to high income female Afro-Trinidadians (ranking 239th and 241st at -0.6513 and -0.8246 stds).

Except for this group of older high income Afro-Trinidadian females, all other groups least stressed by criminal loss to their property were low income Afro-Trinidadian and indo-Trinidadian males, which as was observed above, is in direct age contrast to the enormous stress over criminal property loss suffered by older low income males of both ethnic groups.

The above result of this more discriminating smaller unit CM analysis of multi-membership respondents from younger and older age groups has uncovered details that were masked in the gross result that older respondents reported less mean stress than younger respondents as shown in Figure 2 and reported in Table 2.

Conclusions

Culturometric Analyses vs. Traditional Confounded 'Fear And Crime' Analyses: Sub-Group Comparisons

There were striking differences between results of the Culturometric analysis and analysis of the traditional confound 'fear and crime' measure. Applying the CM Crime definition to include only acts respondents considered to be criminal had the effect of increasing all

mean Confound 'fear and crime' measures. This was because the CM Crime definition tends to exclude the ambivalent smaller responses. Hence, applying the CM definition of crime so that only judgements on criminal acts are analysed can be expected to give results that are different from published results on fear of crime that include judgements on acts that respondents do not consider to be crimes.

Analysis on the traditional confound measure of 'crime and fear' gave very different results from the Culturometric analyses of the True fear of crime. There were highly significant differences ($p < 0.01$) on the Confound measure for Male vs. Female, Younger vs. Older, Low Ed vs. High Ed and Afro-Trinidadian vs. Indo-Trinidadian. These correspond to results that would be traditionally reported in the literature.

However, all these significant differences dissipated when the True fear of crime was used in the same analytical processes. This was because of the significant differences in the Normal generalised fear levels of all the groups, including Low\$ vs. High\$ income groups whose difference on the Confound measure did not reach significance.

The significant differences for Normal generalised fear on all independent variables was responsible for the significant differences in Confound 'fear and crime' means that are traditionally mis-interpreted as true fear of crime means. Hence, significant differences reported in the literature between the means of groups on these Confound measures can now be assumed to be most probably due to group differences in relatively large Normal generalised

fear levels and NOT differences in their much smaller levels of True fear of crime.

It was shown that Culturometric analysis of True fear of crime can completely reverse traditional results based on confound 'fear and crime' questionnaires and can also explain why. For example, the traditional use of the Confound measure showed that the Low income group had higher mean confound 'fear and crime' responses than the High\$ income group which would be traditionally misinterpreted as the Low\$ income group having a higher fear of crime.

However, when True fear of crime was considered the Culturometric analysis reversed that result. Graphs showed that the reason for this reversal was that the Low\$ income group had a very high generalised fear that was almost as high as their confound 'fear and crime' and so there was very little difference and this resulted in a very low True fear of crime, which was not the case for the High\$ income group. So the results using the True fear of crime can be quite different from the results using the traditional confound measure. Further, the availability of the mean generalised fear for each sub-group allows us to understand why this is.

The most marked difference between the tradition analysis using confound 'fear and crime' measures and Culturometric analysis using true fear of crime was in the massive difference in size of fear reported. The traditional confound analyses paralleling those reported in the literature resulted in between 54% and 68% FoC, and the traditional confound corrected by applying the CM crime

definition gave mis-interpretations for fear of crime between low of 61% for males and a high of 76% for Indo-Trinidadians.

However, most of this assumed 'fear of crime' is actually due to generalised non-crime related anxiety. The True fear of crime percentages were orders of magnitude lower resulting in a low of -0.4% for males, indicating that they fear injury and property loss due to acts of crime marginally less than they fear injury and property loss due non-criminal occurrences, to a high of only 5.4% for Indo-Trinidadians. These true fear of crime figures are much closer to actual crime figures and go some way to resolving the 'central paradox of the fear of crime literature', in that reported confound results are mainly very high generalised fear levels and these are not obviously related to the much smaller actual probabilities of personal victimisation due to crime.

Measuring Crime-Stress Due to the True Fear of Crime For Individuals and Population Sub-Groups

The actual stress experienced by the ten Trinidadian sub-groups due to their real fear of crime ranged from -0.06 standard deviations for males to 0.27 standard deviations for Indo-Trinidadians. According to the Culturometric interpretation levels for Respondent Effect-Size measures, all these Crime-stress levels are 'Small' or lower. This means that all ten Trinidadian sub-groups are coping within their normal stress levels with the stress caused by their True fear of crime. However, even at these small

Crime-stress levels, Females were still significantly more stressed by their fear of crime than were Males ($p < 0.01$).

When we compared all three ethnic groups, the true fear of crime levels were also very low, 2% for Afro-Trinidadians (compared to 66% on the confound measure), 5% for Indo-Trinidadians (compared to 76% on the confound measure) and a negligible 0.4% for Mixed-Trinidadians (compared to 67% on the confound measure). These figures compare with much higher and 'strange' comparative fear of crime results previously reported by Chadee (2003), who contrasted ethnic fear of crime in High and Low crime areas. Chadee (2003), reports that Indo-Trinidadians were 52% fearfully of crime and living in a high or low crime made no difference, whereas Mixed-Trinidadians who lived in low crime areas were more fearful of crime (44%) than Mixed-Trinidadians residing in high crime areas (35%) (Chadee, 2003, p. 82). Those figures were derived from the Ferraro (1995) confound 'fear and crime' questionnaire, which used the same questions as the current study with "minor changes in wording" (Chadee & Ditton, 2003, p. 421). The instructions for this previous Trinidadian study were "How much are you afraid of:" followed by ten acts, and the response format was a choice from "very afraid = 4", "afraid = 3", "unafraid = 2" and "very unafraid" = 1" (p. 80).

Our ANOVA showed a significant difference between the means of the three ethnic groups for the Confound 'fear and crime' measure at $p < 0.05$. This matched the results from Chadee (2003, p. 82) which were also reported as being significant at $p < 0.05$. However, these significant ethnic group differences did not exist when they were

compared on the True fear of crime measure ($p=0.2$) and on the Crime-stress their fear of crime causes ($p=0.3$). It seems that at the level of these Trinidadian subgroups the social problem is not stress due to fear of crime, but the high social anxiety levels which people have accepted as a normal quality of life.

However, at the more detailed level of multiple sub-group membership, we identified the Trinidadians who were most stressed and least stressed by their true fear of property crime and separately by their true fear of criminal injury. The results showed that older poorer males from both ethnic groups suffered enormous property crime-stress due to their fear of criminal loss to their property (1.8 stds). This was in marked contrast to younger low income males of both ethnicities who were relatively little concerned about criminal loss to their property (-0.6 stds). The analysis also uncovered a 'kidnapping effect' which was evidenced by the colossal personal injury Crime-stress due to True fear criminal injury reported by the most stressed group who were young high income Indo-Trinidadian males (2.7 stds) and by the seventh most Crime-stressed group, the younger high income Indo-Trinidadian females, who reported an enormous personal injury Crime-stress (1.7 stds) also due to their true fear of criminal injury.

Although the mean Crime-stress due to True fear of crime for females was significantly higher than the mean Crime-stress for males as a gross group statistic, when we looked at this current level of detail we find that the top six groups most stressed by their True fear of crime were all males. There were no females in the six top most crime-

stressed groups. It thus seems that the 'social responding' effect assumed in the literature (Alvi, Schwartz, Dekeseredy & Maume, 2001; Goodey, 1997; Sutton & Farrall, 2005) is not present at this level of detailed Culturometric analysis. An interesting anomaly is that criminal loss of property caused little mean crime-stress to high income female Afro-Trinidadians (ranking 239th and 241st in their Crime-stress at -0.7 and -0.8 stds). Personal information from the survey was confidential, however, contact names and telephone numbers of respondents were noted for respondents who agreed to be part of our further studies. Hence, following the intention of our Culturometric methodologies, now we have identified these special people, we are able to further explore the ethnographic meaning of our Culturometric results.

Use of Culturometric Methods

The literature has identified many methodological problems with Fear of Crime (FoC) research. Culturometrics offers several methods, and their associated techniques, for resolving these problems: CM methods such as Cultural Index Regulators, Situated Identity measures, and Extended Q-methods. In this paper, we used the CM Null-mean method and its associated Respondent Effect Size technique to identify and resolve previously unrecognised validity issues that have contributed to reported misrepresentations of FoC in society.

In this paper, we have applied a Culturometric (CM) perspective to Fear of Crime (FoC) research to identify, demonstrate, resolve and improve FoC survey

instruments, which have been the major methodology in Fear of Crime research since its inception and a significant source in the misrepresentation of true fear of crime. We have identified that the instruments traditionally used confound 'generalised fear' and 'true fear of crime' yet their results are consistently misinterpreted as 'True fear of crime'. We also noted that because these instruments apply no definition of crime, they consistently mis-use acts that respondents may consider to have different levels of criminality and may even consider to not be criminal acts at all. We noted that the traditional order of instruments in FoC surveys also exaggerated expectation of victimisation. When this order artefact was corrected, the CM crime definition was applied and the traditional measures were un-confounded, the results were more consistent with expectations in the literature and helped to resolve the reported 'central paradox' in FoC research.

We have resolved major methodological and definitional problems by applying the CM crime definition and the CM Null-mean method to measure individual's true fear of injury and property loss due to criminal acts. We have improved the methodology using the CM technique of Respond Effect Size (RES) to measure the ability of individuals and sub-population to cope with their true FoC. In particular, we proposed RES, an effect size indicator of Crime-stress, as a major indicator for social-psychological enquiry and policy development in the field of FoC research.

Culturometrics has other methods and techniques that are widely applicable across many fields of research. However, Culturometrics does not tell us why or how.

Culturometrics identifies individuals and groups who have extreme Cultural identities in specific contexts so that specialists in the relevant fields can approach these special people through more in-depth ethnographic methods to enrich our appreciation of why and how we are all so different.

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**OFFENDER ABUSE HISTORY:
FINDINGS FROM HER MAJESTY'S PRISON,
BARBADOS**

Corin Bailey

*The University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus,
Barbados*

Charlene Coore-Desai

University of London, United Kingdom

There is general agreement in the international literature that abuse, particularly in childhood, is a precursor to future offending. Every year, across the Caribbean, large numbers of children and adults suffer abuse at the hands of parents, teachers and intimate partners. Research has demonstrated a persistent overall increase in child abuse - particularly sexual, across the Caribbean in recent years. Similarly, although inadequate data means that it is difficult to get an accurate picture of the full extent of the problem it is widely recognized that intimate partner violence represents a serious social problem in the region. Women in the Caribbean are assumed to suffer from a higher level of abuse than men and as such, their involvement in criminality has often been felt to be the result of these painful life experiences. Despite growing interest internationally however, there remains an absence within the region, of empirical data to support these claims. Absent from the Caribbean literature is data on the level of abuse suffered by those incarcerated for various offences, the characteristics of those who suffer this abuse, and the manner in which their path to criminality has been affected by it, if at all. This paper attempts to explore whether or not a sample of offenders in Barbados, could shed light on an unexplored area within the Caribbean, while at the same time identify areas for further research.

From Victim to Offender

Boswell (1995) examined a sample of juvenile offenders to

assess the level of victimization in their life histories. He found that 28.5% had experienced emotional abuse, 29% sexual abuse, 40% physical abuse and 1.5% organized abuse. Overall, 72% experienced emotional, sexual, physical or organized abuse with 27% subjected to two or more of them. This research has gone a long way to demonstrating the effect that maltreatment may have in the adoption of delinquent activity. The fact, however, that multiple forms of victimization have been identified makes it difficult to isolate the role of specific forms of abuse.

Early research on the link between victimization and involvement in criminal activity focused on the role of 'intergenerational transmission of violence'. Research has pointed to the critical role of the family environment, and the manner in which violence within the family can affect the learned behaviour of children fostering the belief that it is an acceptable means of achieving goals. Self-restraint is affected as inhibitions for carrying out aggressive acts are weakened and this normalizes the use of violence (Shahinfar, Kupersmidt, & Matza, 2001). It is felt that these inhibitions are maintained into adulthood (Olweus, 1979). The intergenerational transmission of violence was also examined by Ehrensaft et al. (2003) who found that abuse in childhood was a strong indicator for offending in the future.

Though much attention has focused on the effect of abuse on violent behaviour, childhood victimization has also

been linked a variety of other forms of delinquency in a number of studies relating to post-traumatic stress and general strain theories (Briere, Woo, McRae, Foltz, & Sitzman, 1997; Malinosky-Rummell & Hansen, 1993; Windle & Mason, 2004). Trauma can create situations in which delinquency is used in order to manage intolerable stress (Clark, Lesnick, & Hegedus, 1997; Steward, 1996). Similarly, general strain theory argues that delinquency is a method of coping with negative experiences such as victimization.

Studies examining the effect of childhood abuse on future offending have for the most part based their conclusions on the testimony of prison inmates. A number of recent studies, however, have performed longitudinal analyses of maltreated children. The majority have concluded that victims of abuse in childhood are significantly more likely than non-abused children to engage in delinquent behaviour (Kakar, 1996; Thornberry, Freeman-Gallant, Lizotte, Krohn, & Smith, 2003; Widom & Maxfield, 2001). Evidence has indicated that not only are victims more likely to offend during childhood, but it is likely that they will become 'persistent offenders', with higher rates of arrest into adulthood (Widom & Maxfield, 2001).

Burgess, Hartman, McCormack and Grant (1988) cited what they referred to as 'trauma learning' as an explanation for the transition from victim to offender. They posit that crime may be used by the victim of abuse, as a means of escaping its traumatizing effects. This is

often manifested in the association with disruptive elements, lowered self esteem or rebellion against the perpetrator (Bowers, 1990; Heide, 1992; Scudder, Blount, Heide, & Silverman, 1993).

Some have asserted that the type of future offending can be predicted based on the abuse that is inflicted. Proponents of this view have argued that physical abuse encourages physical violence in the same way that sexual abuse encourages sexual violence. Dutton and Hart (1992) for example indicated that those who have been victims of physical abuse are more likely to commit violent offences than other types of crimes.

Similarly, Ryan (1989) argued that as many as 80% of adult sexual offenders were sexually abused as children. Rasmussen et al. (1992) also felt that sexual abuse was the result of some form of sexual traumatization as a child, as young male victims in particular tend to go on to sexually abuse others as a means of coming to terms with their victimization. This view has been criticized, however, on the grounds that there are a whole host of reactions to abuse - fear, anxiety, depression, anger, hostility etc. Violence or sexual offences are only possible outcomes (Browne & Finkelhor, 1986).

Others have argued that although specific forms of abuse will not necessarily lead to the same form of offending, they nevertheless can act as an indicator of offending behaviour. Mouzakis (1981), for example, argued that

some form of aggressive behaviour is the most likely response to physical abuse. Less attention has been given to the relationship between violent offences and sexual abuse but life histories suggest that investigation is necessary.

Studies reveal that aggressive children are more likely to have been sexually abused than non aggressive children (Cosentino, Meyer-Bahlburg, Albert, & Gaines, 1993; Mannarino, Cohen, Smith, & Moore-Motily, 1991). It is possible therefore, that it is merely the experience of abuse that is important and the type of offending may appear totally disconnected from the abuse that was suffered (Benoit & Kennedy, 1992). Jenkins (1968), for example, found that the most likely response to neglect was not future neglect, but property crimes.

Female Abuse and Delinquency

The effect and prevalence of abuse has been said to be greater among female offenders and as such, a great deal of attention has been paid to the female experience (Chesney-Lind & Pasko, 2004; Daly, 1994; Richie, 1996). The feeling pervades that an examination of female offending must take into account the victimization that women experience both as children and as adults. Delinquent women tend to have a background of sexual abuse. Baskin and Sommers (1998) found that among 170 violent female felons, 36% were sexually abused by an immediate family member and 26% by a member of their extended family.

Studies have shown that between 7% and 22% of all adult women have been the victim of domestic abuse and one in every three women have reported being physically attacked by an intimate partner at some point in her life (Wilt & Olson, 1996). Richie and Johnson (1996) examined incarcerated women in a large United States urban jail and found that 40% of the women had experienced domestic violence and 35% reported sexual abuse.

The manner in which abuse leads to an increased likelihood of offending among women has been the subject of much debate. Richie (1996) in her work on female offenders in the United States used the theory of *gender entrapment* to explain what happens to women who are marginalized in the public sphere because of their race/ethnicity, gender and class and battered by their male partners. Gender entrapment explains the manner in which culturally expected gender roles, intimate partner violence and their social position, force many black women into criminal activity.

Richie (1996) concluded that the violence experienced at the hands of intimate partners caused 'chaos' in the women's lives in the form of severe injuries, physical and emotional pain and sexual degradation. This was exacerbated by racism, a common bond shared between them and the African American men that were abusing them. These men were vulnerable to a biased criminal-justice system as well as other forms of discrimination.

This led to a feeling of loyalty among the women, towards those who were battering them. Richie argued that this solidified the gender entrapment of African American battered women. Added to this, poverty increased feelings of shame and stigma, furthering the impact of social marginalization and limiting responses to violence. All these factors conspire to propel these women into crime.

This was also a theme explored by Wesley (2006) who argued that the backgrounds of female offenders include a range of cumulative victimizations - sexual, emotional and physical. Degradation, social exclusion and economic vulnerability form a consistent presence in their lives, all located within larger structures of inequality. There is a cycle of cumulative victimization that is maintained through the same violence, marginalization and disadvantage that got them there in the first place.

'Multiple victimization' is suffered by women who are oppressed by their gender, as well as their race, economic position, violent victimization, family and social supports. Crime becomes a strategy of gender resistance where, at the heart of female motivations, is the refusal to accept further abuse. It is the accumulation of victimization that Wesley considered to be of utmost importance. Violence, neglect, social exclusion together with a lack of resources and services are intertwined with patriarchal power relations, pushing women into crime.

Empirical studies looking at histories of abuse have paid particular attention to the differences between offenders

and non-offenders. When compared with girls who have not suffered childhood abuse and neglect, abused and neglected girls are nearly twice as likely to be arrested as juveniles, twice as likely to be arrested as adults and 2.4 times more likely to be arrested for violent crimes.

Physically and sexually abused girls as well as those who have suffered from neglect, have an increased risk of arrest for violence among women (Widom & Hislop, 2002). Mouzakatis (1981) found that roughly half of female delinquents have suffered from sexual abuse and that women in prison are two or three times more likely than women in the general public to have been sexually victimised.

Similarly Seigel and Williams (2003) examined a sample of women sexually abused in the 1970s to see if sexually abused victims were at risk of arrest when compared to other girls. They found that child sexual abuse was a statistically significant predictor of arrests (when compared to non-abused girls) even when controlling for childhood history of family problems.

Less attention has been paid to the differences in abuse which exist between male and female offenders. Studies on childhood abuse have concluded that boys and girls experience similar levels of physical victimization (Kotch, Muller, & Blakely, 1999; McClellan, Farabee, & Crouch, 1997; Whitcomb, 1999). Differences have, however, emerged where sexual abuse is concerned with evidence

suggesting that girls tend to experience more sexual abuse than boys (Finkelhor & Baron, 1986; Kotch et al., 1999; Romano & De Luca, 2000). Indeed feminists argue that sexual abuse is particularly common among females and directly related to criminal involvement later in life (Browne, Miller, & Maguin, 1999; Chesney-Lind, 1997)

There is no general consensus, however, that there exists a natural progression from victim to offender. Many researchers have concluded that the majority of maltreated children do not become delinquent (Koski, 1987; Scudder et al., 1993; Widom, 1991). Widom (1989) argued that there is no direct relationship between abuse and delinquency and that an abusive history is not enough to predict a progression into criminal activity.

Some victims do not exhibit the negative effects of abuse. These include those who have not been abused by both parents/guardians, those who have experienced less severe and shorter periods of abuse, those who have an emotionally supportive relationship with a family member during childhood, or good social supports or a supportive spouse during adulthood (Egeland, Jacobvitz, & Sroufe, 1988; Herrenkohl, Herrenkohl, & Toedter, 1983; Hunter & Kilstrom, 1979).

Despite the lack of universal agreement as to the role of abuse in criminal behaviour, it is generally accepted that an offender's journey towards crime is often littered with multiple episodes of abuse. It is asserted that women

suffer from a disproportionate level of abuse, when compared to their male counterparts. Arguing that crime is a symptom of the painful life experiences of women, some have justified the favourable treatment of women when they come before the courts (Katz, 2000; Radosh, 2002). Indeed there is a growing school of thought that differential sentencing is the correct response to the forces that have led women to run afoul of the law in the first place.

Katz (2000) and Widom (2000) argued that both the adult and childhood victimization experiences of women play a major role in their offending and an understanding of these mechanisms is the first step in preventing this high-risk group from ending up in prison. Some research suggests such “special” condition regarding women be considered in judicial sentencing. Empirical evidence, however, is sparse and in the case of the Caribbean, non-existent.

Specifically, the paper seeks to answer the following questions:

1. *Are there any gender differences in the rates of self-reported physical abuse in childhood?*
2. *Are there any differences in the rates of self-reported molestation in childhood?*
3. *Are there any gender differences in the rates of self-reported rape in childhood?*
4. *Which demographic factors influence childhood abuse?*

5. *Are there any gender differences in the rates of self-reported intimate partner violence in adulthood?*
6. *Are there any gender differences in specific forms of intimate partner violence?*
7. *Are there and gender differences in the rates of self-reported sexual abuse in adulthood?*
8. *Is childhood abuse correlated with abuse in adulthood?*

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of male and female inmates at Her Majesty's Prison in Barbados. This is the main facility for the incarceration of offenders on the island. A list of inmates revealed a total prison population of 1,024.

Table 1 shows the number of male and female inmates incarcerated for major offenses up to July 2008. The largest single number of inmates was incarcerated for drug crimes with almost the entire female prison population falling into this category. As a result, in order to make fair comparisons between the sexes, this form of criminal activity became the focus of the study with only males and females incarcerated for this offence being included.

Due to the relatively small number of female inmates, all women incarcerated for drug crimes were included in the survey while a 50 percent random sample of male prisoners was employed.

Table 1
Incarcerations For Major Offences Up To July, 2008

Offence	Male	Female	Total
Aggravated Burglary	18	0	18
Assault	27	0	27
Attempted Murder	1	0	1
Burglary	107	1	108
Drugs	183	22	205
Manslaughter	78	1	79
Murder	97	2	99
Rape	41	0	41
Robbery	54	0	54
Shooting with Intent	2	0	2
Theft	128	3	131
Wounding	22	0	22

Instrument

A questionnaire was designed specifically for this study. There were six main sections in the questionnaire: demographics, childhood physical abuse, childhood sexual abuse, intimate partner violence in adulthood, sexual abuse in adulthood and incarceration history.

The demographic section asked questions related to age, gender, education, childhood socio-economic status (SES) and annual income prior to incarceration. Childhood, in this study, referred to experiences that took place before the age of 17.

All sections related to abuse (physical and sexual) in both childhood and adulthood asked the participants to respond to questions about the nature, frequency, severity and perpetrators of the abuse. The final section of the

questionnaire explored the length and reasons for present and past imprisonment.

Procedure

Permission was obtained from the Superintendent of Prisons through the Ministry of National Security. Confidentiality and the voluntary nature of participation in the survey were stressed, and all the selected respondents agreed to take part. Face-to-face interviews were conducted over a period of three weeks in 2008. Each cell block consisted of a 'sitting area' surrounded by cells.

During the interview periods all inmates were placed in their cells and selected respondents summoned to the sitting area for the duration of the interview. In this way, prison guards could observe from their block tower, while at the same time remaining far enough to ensure the confidentiality of the process.

Each questionnaire took an average of 20 minutes for completion. Two trained interviewers (one male and one female) collected and entered the data on the entire sample.

Results and Discussion

Sample

There were 85 participants in the study (26% female). The participants were between 15 and 60 years of age. The

majority of participants fell into the 21-30 age group (41.2%). The lowest number of participants fell into the youngest and oldest age groups. Twenty-five percent and 24% of the sample were in the 31-40 and the 41-50 age groups respectively (See [Table 2](#)).

Table 2
Age Groups

Age Groups	Number of Male Participants (%)	Number of Female Participants (%)	Number of Participants Total (%)
15-20	1 (1.2)	3 (3.5)	4 (4.7)
21-30	25 (29.4)	10 (11.8)	35 (41.2)
31-40	18 (21.2)	3 (3.5)	21 (24.7)
41-50	15 (17.6)	5 (5.9)	20 (23.5)
51-60	4 (4.7)	1 (1.2)	5 (5.9)

[Table 3](#) shows the nationalities of the participants. A minority of the sample comprised Barbadian nationals while a significant number came from Jamaica and Guyana.

These are the two Caribbean countries which have been experiencing persistent economic problems over the last three decades (Bennet, 2006). Drug trafficking has been seen as a means of overcoming the difficulties at home (Jones, 2003; Molano, 2004). This avenue has been particularly important to men and women with little education and skills.

The largest group (46%) comprised those who had been raised in single parent homes, mostly maternal family

settings and an additional 9% grew up in the absence of biological parents.

Most individuals in the sample had children (72.9%) and had completed primary school (48.2%). Thirty-four percent and 7.1% had completed secondary school and some form of tertiary education respectively. Nine participants reported having no primary education.

Table 3
Nationalities of Participants

Nationality	Frequency (%)
Jamaican	30 (35.3)
Barbados	10 (11.8)
Trinidad and Tobago	3 (3.5)
Guyana	19 (22.4)
Antigua	1(1.2)
St. Lucia	3 (3.5)
Europe	5 (5.9)
United States	1 (1.2)
St. Vincent	9 (10.6)
Cuba	1 (1.2)
Suriname	2 (2.4)
South America	1(1.2)

Forty-eight participants were sentenced to between two and four years in prison. This represented the majority of the sample.

Twenty percent were sentenced for 12-18 months. Six individuals were serving 4-10 years for their crimes and another 13 individuals were serving more than 10 years for their crimes. Information for one participant was not available. Only 9.4% of the sample had been incarcerated

in the past.

Abuse in Childhood and Adulthood

Childhood Physical Abuse

Forty-seven percent of the sample (40 participants) reported being hurt physically by a member of their household before age 17. Of those who were hurt as children, 67.5% were males. These incidents occurred a few times a year for the majority of the group (30%). Only 10% said that this happened everyday (See Table 4).

Table 4
Occurrence of Childhood Physical Abuse

Occurrence of Physical Abuse	Frequency Males (%)	Frequency Females (%)	Total Frequency (%)
Everyday	2 (5.0)	2 (5.0)	4 (10)
Once or twice a week	6 (15.0)	0 (0)	6 (15)
A few times a month	5 (12.5)	4 (10)	9 (22.5)
A few times a year	8 (20)	4 (10)	12 (30)
Once or twice	5 (12.5)	3 (7.5)	8 (20)
No response	1 (2.5)	0 (0)	1 (2.5)

Severity was measured in two ways. First, participants were asked to indicate on a scale of 1-10 the level of severity of the incidents of physical abuse. This scale was then recoded into three categories: mild (1-3), moderate (4-6) and acute (7-10). Sixty-five percent believed that these incidents were mild while 27.5% and 7.5% reported the severity of the incidents as moderate and acute respectively.

Secondly, they were asked to indicate whether any of the incidents ever resulted in a visit to a doctor. Fifteen percent (six individuals) reported seeing a doctor as a result of one of these incidents. An equal number of males and females fell into this category.

A Pearson's chi-square test was used to analyze the relationship between gender and physical abuse in childhood. No relationship was found ($\chi^2 (1) = 1.72, p = 0.22$). This is in keeping with work done on childhood physical abuse (Kotch et al., 1990; McClellan et al. 1997; Whitcomb, 1999) and is not surprising when taking into consideration the historical and contemporary culture of child socialization in the Caribbean (Barrow, 2003).

Despite international condemnation of the physical punishment of children, there remains a normalcy and acceptance of this form of discipline in the region as both boys and girls are subjected to 'beatings' for a variety of 'offences' – lying, stealing, impoliteness, neglecting chores (Evans, 1989). Alternative methods of discipline are rarely practiced as parents believe that it is their right to treat their children as they see fit. There are few gender differences although girls have been found to be generally less severely punished than boys (Barrow, 2003).

Child Sexual Abuse – Molestation

There were eight (9.4%) participants who reported sexual molestation during childhood. Molestation included being kissed or touched in a sexual way or being asked to touch

someone's sexual parts against their will. Of these eight participants five (65.5%) were females. For five participants (four females and one male) the perpetrators were family members and for the remaining three participants (two males and one female) the incident(s) took place with a friend. In addition, five participants (four female and one male) reported that physical force was used in one or more of the incidents.

For the majority of this group (65.5%) these incidents happened once or twice before age 17. However, two participants (both female) reported that these incidents took place once or twice a month. Early adolescence (ages 11-14) was the most common time for the onset of these incidents (50%). For two participants these incidents began before age 10 and for another two participants they began after age 14.

A Pearson's chi-square test was used to analyze the relationship between gender and sexual molestation in childhood. However, the chi-square statistic could not be reported because one cell (males reporting sexual molestation in childhood) had an expected count of less than five.

Consequently, the Fisher's Exact Test (2-sided) was used instead. Female participants were more likely to report sexual molestation in childhood than male participants (65.2% versus 37.5% respectively, $p < 0.05$, Fisher's exact test).

Sexual Abuse – Intercourse

Three participants reported having non-consensual oral, anal or vaginal sex or penetration with a finger or object before age 17. All three were female participants. In addition, the perpetrators in all three cases were family members. In two of the three cases the participants reported the use of physical force. For one participant this occurred once or twice a month whereas for the other two participants this occurred once or twice before age 17. In terms of the age of onset, one participant each, fell into the three age categories (under age 10; 10-14 years; over age 14).

The prevalence of child sexual abuse among the female respondents is in keeping with research conducted in the Caribbean where victims are almost exclusively female. In the period 1994-96 for example, Barrow (2003) found that 94% of all victims studied were female, the majority of which were between 12 and 16 years.

We were interested in determining what demographic factors were associated with childhood abuse. A childhood abuse score was derived from summing the responses to the variables of child physical abuse, sexual molestation and rape. Scores on the childhood abuse scale ranged from 3 – 6 (Mean = 3.6; SD = 0.72). Higher scores indicated more reported abuse in childhood. A multiple regression was performed to see which demographic variables had the strongest impact of childhood abuse, using gender, childhood family status and childhood family economic

situation. Childhood family status was determined by asking participants to list all the members of the household in which they spent the majority of time growing up. Dummy variables were created from the categories that emerged in the sample.

Table 5
Summary of Regression Analysis For Variables Predicting
Childhood Abuse (N = 85)

Predictor variables	B	SE B	β
Gender	.372	.183	.225*
Nuclear Family vs. Single Parent - Father	-.076	.261	-.032
Nuclear Family vs. Single Parent -Mother	.042	.176	.028
Nuclear Family vs. Neither Parent	.072	.270	.029
Poor vs. Working class	.307	.186	.200
Poor vs. Middle class	-.368	.222	-.183
Poor vs. Upper middle class	.263	.420	.067
Poor vs. Upper class	.571	.702	.085

$R^2 = .18$; * $p < 0.05$

The nuclear family situation served as the reference category. Childhood family economic situation was determined by the participants' reports of the socio-economic status of their households growing up. Dummy variables were also created from the categories used in the questionnaire (for example, working class, middle class

etc.). The category of “Poor” served as the reference category. Using the enter method, a significant model emerged ($F_{8,76} = 2.21, p < 0.05$). Adjusted $R^2 = .104$. Only gender emerged as a significant variable (See Table 5).

Table 6
Frequency of Intimate Partner Violence

Violent Act	Never			Rarely			Some-times			Often			Very Often		
	M*	F*	T*	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Name calling/ criticism	33	11	44	3	3	6	10	3	13	6	0	6	11	5	16
Pushed/ grabbed/ shoved	42	10	52	7	4	11	7	5	12	2	1	3	5	2	7
Slap/ hit/ punched	40	9	49	10	7	17	8	2	10	1	1	2	4	3	7
Kicked	58	17	75	2	1	3	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	3
Threw around	58	18	76	2	1	3	0	1	1	2	1	3	1	1	2
Choked/ strangled	61	16	77	1	3	4	0	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	1
Used a weapon against	52	15	67	8	5	13	3	1	4	-	-	-	0	1	1

* M = Male; F = Female; T = Total

Intimate Partner Violence in Adulthood

The questionnaire also explored intimate partner violence in adulthood. Participants were asked to indicate how often (from never to very often) they had been the victim of seven forms of violence with their partners as the perpetrators. The frequency of endorsements for these seven forms of violence is presented in [Table 6](#).

Verbal abuse had the highest level of endorsement, followed by slapping and hitting. A composite score for intimate partner violence was computed by summing the responses on each item for every participant. Scores for overall intimate partner violence ranged from 7 to 32 (mean = 11.05, SD = 5.40). Higher scores indicted higher levels of intimate partner violence.

An independent sample t-test was performed to examine gender differences in self-reported intimate partner violence. The results indicated that there was no significant difference between males and females in terms of their reports of these incidents ($t = -1.39$, $df = 28.57$, $p = 0.17$).

Although it is commonly asserted that intimate partner violence is primarily perpetrated by males, responses from the prison sample suggested that among this group, both sexes suffered from similar levels of abuse. Though this remains a highly controversial topic, there is support for this in the literature as within the last few decades, a

number of studies have indicated that men and women commit violence at similar rates (Steinmetz, 1977).

The Family Research Laboratory conducted a national study confirming not only that the use of violence between the sexes was similar, but that women used violence with greater frequency than their male counterparts (Straus, 1993).

Others contend that to say that males and females suffer from similar levels of abuse is to grossly oversimplify the issue. It is argued that when the injuries sustained as a result of physical violence are taken into consideration, roughly 90 percent of those considered to be 'battered' are female (Gelles, 1993).

Adult Sexual Abuse

Four participants (4.7%) reported having sexual intercourse with someone because they threatened the use of physical force. In addition, four participants (4.7%) reported having sexual intercourse because someone actually used physical force. Six participants (7.1%) considered themselves to have been raped after the age of 17. An adulthood sexual abuse score was derived from summing the responses to the variables of sexual intercourse by threat, sexual abuse by force and rape. Scores on the scale ranged from 3-6 (Mean = 3.1; SD = 0.65). Higher scores indicated more reported sexual abuse in adulthood.

An independent sample t-test was performed to examine gender differences in self-reported sexual abuse in adulthood. The results indicated that there was a significant difference between males and females in terms of their reports of sexual abuse in adulthood ($t = -2.53$, $df = 28.57$, $p = 0.019$). Females had experienced more sexual abuse in adulthood than males.

Finally we wanted to determine whether or not childhood abuse was correlated with abuse in adulthood. There was a significant positive correlation between overall childhood abuse and overall adulthood abuse ($r = .377$, $n = 85$, $p < 0.01$). Fourteen point two percent of the variability in adulthood abuse can be accounted for by abusive experiences in childhood in this sample.

Conclusion

This exploratory study is based on inmates sentenced to prison in the island of Barbados and can in no way be interpreted to be representative of all criminals on the island or indeed the Caribbean. This is a special population and together with the small number of women incarcerated on the island, may have had an effect on the outcome of the statistical tests employed.

Another limitation of the study is the fact that the overall lack of female inmates imprisoned for other offences meant that there was an exclusive focus on those incarcerated for drug offences. It would have been

interesting to see whether or not specific types of abuse correlated with specific offences. The analyses, however, allowed us to shed light on an under-researched area within the West Indian context.

We found that inmates incarcerated for drug crimes in Barbados were more likely to have been between 21 and 30 years of age. They were more likely to have completed only primary school and have spent most of their lives in a single parent setting.

The differences in levels of abuse experienced by inmates varied depending on the type of abuse considered. Women incarcerated for drug crimes in Barbados were more likely to have been sexually molested as a child than their male counterparts. The same was true of childhood sexual abuse.

Sexual abuse in adulthood was also significantly skewed towards the female inmates as they demonstrated a greater likelihood to have more extensive self-reported histories of this form of abuse. The greater likelihood for the experience of sexual abuse among the females was not surprising. That there were no significant differences in physical abuse experienced either in childhood or adulthood, was, however, unexpected.

This preliminary study shows therefore that despite abused females forming only a small percentage of total female inmates in Barbados, they are in fact more likely to

have histories of sexual abuse within their life histories than males incarcerated for the same crime (drug offences). The next step is to determine the nature of these incidents, and the manner in which these forces impact upon decision making, and the path that the Caribbean female takes to criminality as opposed to males.

Historical and cultural norms within the Caribbean mean that both boys and girls are physically abused in the home. At the same time, similar levels of intimate partner violence are experienced by both sexes in the sample.

The question arises therefore as to what is the role of both the childhood and adult physical abuse of men in future offending. Only when these questions are answered, can we begin to address the use of abuse against women, as justification for any perceived differential treatment received by women who come before the court.

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**FIREARMS AND REPORTED
CRIMINAL HOMICIDE
IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO:
A SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE**

Godfrey C. St. Bernard

*The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus,
Trinidad and Tobago*

Violence and crime have increasingly become emergent social ills in a number of Commonwealth Caribbean societies during the early years of the new millennium. This has been especially evident in the cases of Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. In Jamaica, and more recently Trinidad and Tobago, episodes of violence and crime have been associated with sustained and increasing rates of criminal homicide, and the use of firearms in such homicide episodes. Despite the small size of these two countries, their rates of homicide have attained such high levels permitting them to be ranked among the top ten countries on an international scale. Thus, in 2008, with rates in excess of 20 homicides per 100,000 population, prospects of realizing sustainable development could be stymied as economic structures, social institutions, individual psychological well being and cross-generational engagement with the social and physical environment are likely to be threatened within domestic spheres. This paper highlights some of the research findings and policy implications.

Introduction

Concomitant with observed increases in the rates of homicide in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, are increases in the rate at which firearms are used in such homicide episodes. The predominance of firearms as a means employed in committing such crimes has often been associated with the narcotics trade and the drugs culture

that have penetrated the core of several Commonwealth Caribbean societies and spawned the emergence of gangs that engage in warfare over turf.

An alarming factor appears to be the incessant capacity of “high risk” sub-populations, largely consisting of young males, to embrace the culture of violence.

A primary concern is the nature of antecedent circumstances characterizing the personalities and experiences of perpetrators and victims on one hand, and interpersonal interactions between them as individuals or group members on the other hand. Such circumstances are shaped by period-specific primary and secondary socialization.

Another principal concern relates specifically to perpetrators’ conceptions of meanings associated with carrying and using firearms, particularly in circumstances when firearm use has lethal consequences. A third concern hinges upon the manifestation of violent outcomes and whether they would have been different had firearms not been available, limited in supply, or inaccessible.

In the final analysis, such concerns impact the character of violence and in particular, violence which results in homicide. Socio-demographic characteristics of victims and perpetrators are critical in this regard though much more difficult to discern in the case of the latter due to the inconclusiveness of detection outcomes.

**Firearms and Criminal Activity:
International Perspectives**

With respect to the use of firearms in the context of criminal activities or otherwise, much of the literature relates to experiences in North America and Europe. According to Kleck (2001), criminals use firearms for a number of reasons including to kill, injure and instill fear in victims of crime, while other persons generally use such weapons as a means of defense from attack or for recreational purposes such as hunting or as a sporting discipline.

Kleck (2001) also notes that in the case of the United States, suicide accounted for just over a half of the deaths (51%) caused by firearms in 1995, homicides accounted for 43% while smaller proportions of approximately 3% each were either due to fatal gun accidents or police intervention. He also notes that other nations have lower rates of firearm deaths and that suicides usually account for larger proportions of gun-related deaths in such countries.

By the end of 1997, there were approximately 250 million guns accessible to private individuals (Kleck, 2001). In accordance with national surveys conducted since 1959, Kleck (1997:96-100) alluded to the notion that about a half of the households in the United States claimed gun ownership. In contrast, Killias (1993) alluded to substantially lower rates of gun ownership in European households, in the vicinity of 2% to 5% in England and the Netherlands. Notwithstanding, the prevalence of gun ownership in North American and European settings, the

general pattern is that such ownership is largely for recreational purposes or for protection and to a much lesser extent to engage in criminal activity (Kleck, 2001).

Wright and Rossi (1986) and Sheley and Wright (1996) claim the guns used in the pursuit of criminal activities have been obtained through friends and non-dealer sources. In addressing the meaning of gun ownership, Kleck (2001) states: "The possession of deadly weapons confers power on the possessor, whether that person's intentions are offensive or defensive, lawful or unlawful. The power can be used instrumentally to achieve goals by inducing compliance with the user's demands. The goal sought by an aggressor is sometimes the victim's death, but more often it is the acquisition of money, sexual gratification, respect, attention, or the terrorizing, humiliation, or domination of the victim. Power can be and usually is, wielded so as to obtain these things without inflicting physical injury" (Kleck, 2001:231).

In the event that gun ownership is a precursor to criminal activity spawned to some extent by the meanings associated with such ownership, the use of guns is deemed to be common when perpetrators attack physically stronger adversaries or wish to avoid physical contact with their victims by executing attack from a distance (Cook, 1983; Kleck, 2001).

In the context of the United States, the use of firearms has been historically examined using econometric techniques and thus shown to account for a substantial portion of the increase in homicide among non – white males (Farley,

1980). In addition, Fox (1996) stated that from a demographic standpoint, there appear to be substantial increases in the rate of violent crime involving juvenile offenders.

For the period between 1990 and 1994, Fox (1996) indicated that young male offenders 18-24 years and to a larger extent those 14-17 years, were increasingly implicated as perpetrators of homicide episodes. Guns were identified as the principal reason for the upsurge in such homicide episodes, this being borne out by observations revealing that the number of killings by juveniles using guns had quadrupled, while the number of killings by juveniles using all other weapons had remained constant between the mid-1980s and early 1990s.

Blumenstein *et al* (2000) and Blumenstein and Rosenfeld (1998) have examined temporal trends in homicides in the United States. They allude to a dramatic rise during the late 1980s that peaked during the 1990s and declined thereafter. Blumstein *et al* (2000) attribute such trends to period demographic characteristics that coincided with temporal events such as the emergence of crack cocaine in the mid-1980s and its positive impact upon the "arms race" which resulted in a proliferation of illegal guns used by young males as a means of protection and in so doing, exacerbating the prevalence of violent episodes (Blumstein, 1995).

With respect to the 1990s, however, Fagan *et al* (1998) and Blumstein *et al* (2000) have attributed observed declines in violent crime, including homicide, to changes in drug

markets, police response to guns possession among young men, increases in the size of the prison population, and a reduction in access to guns.

In the quest to treat with gun ownership and violent crime, scholars have to grapple with the causal order that informs the pattern of association between these two variables. Yet others may argue that violent crime is not a function of gun ownership and may even bear no relationship with gun ownership.

Duggan (2001) estimates that there is a significant positive relationship between the ownership of guns and homicide rates though the relationship is largely due to the strong relationship between gun ownership and gun-related homicide rates, in particular those that have occurred due to the use of firearms. In contrast, Lott (1998) argues that increased ownership of guns, primarily among law-abiding citizens, could have a negative impact on crime.

Another interesting notion is borne out in Stolzenberg and D'Alessio (2000). They estimate a strong positive relationship between illegal gun availability and outcomes that are manifest in the form of violent crime, gun crime and juvenile gun crime. However, they do not appear to find any relationship between legitimate gun availability and violent crime. As such, Stolzenberg and D'Alessio (2000) have been instrumental in emphasizing the impact that legitimacy in the context of gun availability, has on the onset of violent crime.

Kleck (1979) identifies a significant reciprocal relationship

between gun ownership and the rate of homicide. While such a relationship is premised on the fact that violent crime stimulates gun ownership for the purpose of protection, such gun ownership contributes to increasing levels of homicide. Kleck (1979) makes reference to a hypothesis of strain on the justice system, a phenomenon that can be gleaned in terms of lower prospects of arrest and conviction for offenders. Accordingly, he claims that such strain may explain the negative association between the rate of homicide and the certainty of punishment.

This implies that as the rate of homicide increases, additional pressure is brought to bear upon the justice system and as further increases the rate of homicide becomes evident, additional increases in gun ownership are likely to be manifest. In cases where the evidence supports a positive relationship between gun ownership and the rate of homicide, the likelihood of a spurious relationship emerges insofar as they are both functions of the efficacy of the justice system, a critical control variable. Kleck (1979) also draws attention to the impact of imprisonment as having a deterrent effect on one hand, and an incapacitative effect on the other. This suggests that an effective justice system would be characterized by higher rates of arrests, prosecution and conviction that could have a deterrent effect on potential offenders.

Violent Crime in the Caribbean: A Brief Overview

Harriott (2002) notes that in the last two decades, the rate of violent crime has increased in ten Caribbean countries for which data were available. Except for Jamaica that had

been experiencing very high rates of homicide in excess of 20 per 100,000 in the early 1980s, Harriott (2002) cites the Bahamas, St. Kitts and Guyana as Commonwealth Caribbean countries that have experienced similarly high homicide rates at some point in the last fifteen years of the twentieth century.

In the case of Jamaica, Harriott (2002) has alluded to increasing rates with regard to the use of firearms in committing violent crimes such as homicide and robberies during the 1990s and noted the increasing prevalence with regard to the use of firearms in such crimes in Trinidad and Tobago based on observations in 2000. The availability of firearms, according to Harriott (2002), has been fuelled by the increased demand for firearms and their correspondingly increased supply which has been associated with drug-trafficking and hence, drug-related crime.

In Trinidad and Tobago, crime statistics published by the Central Statistical Office reveal that by 1994, there were 137 murders. In subsequent years, a consistent pattern of declining numbers was evident until 2000 when an increase was observed over the number reported for 1999. In 1995, for example, 121 murders were reported with declines to 107 in 1996 and 101 in 1997. In 1998 and 1999, less than 100 murders were reported amounting to 97 and 92 respectively. With the onset of the 21st century, there have been consistent increases in the number of reported cases of homicide ranging from 119 in 2000 to 370 in 2006 representing a three-fold increase across the seven-year period. In November 2008, a record high, exceeding 500

cases was enumerated.

Central American countries such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Belize have among the highest rates of homicide in the world with magnitudes in the vicinity of 55, 45, 43 and 31 per 100,000 persons in early 2007. For the same period, homicide rates of 49, 42 and 39 were reported for Jamaica, Venezuela and Colombia respectively (See [Table 1](#)). With a population of 1.3 million and a homicide toll exceeding 500 in 2008, Trinidad and Tobago has joined the ranks of those countries deemed to be the world's "murder capitals."

In Trinidad and Tobago, a cursory examination of the evidence contained in [Table 2](#) confirms a consistent pattern of increase in the number of homicide cases due to the use of firearms between 2000 and 2006. More interesting, is the annual increase in the proportion of all homicide cases that were due to the use of firearms across the same period, from 51.3% in 2000 to 72.7% in 2006, that is from just about one half of all cases to almost three-quarters in a seven-year period.

With the passage of time since January 1st 2000, the cumulative episodes of homicide cases and in particular, those due to the use of firearms point towards increases in the probability of a homicide case being due to the use of firearms with the passage of time. The probability is characterized by a linear model across time. Thus, between January 1st 2000 and December 31st 2006, 66.6% of all homicide cases had been due to the use of firearms compared to 51.3 % between January 1st 2000 and December 31st 2000.

Table 1
Homicide Rates (per 100,000 persons) by Selected Country
2000-2006

Country	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Most Recent
Albania	...	76.6	75.7	...	...	...	...	87.7
El Salvador	37.3	34.6	31.1	32.7	41.0	54.9	55.3	55.3
Jamaica	34.0	44.0	40.0	36.0	54.0	58.0	49.0	49.0
Guatemala	25.8	25.2	30.7	35.0	36.3	42.0	45.2	45.2
Honduras	49.9	53.7	55.9	33.6	31.9	35.1	42.9	42.9
Venezuela	37.0	40.0	49.0	59.0	45.0	42.0	...	42.0
South Africa	49.6	47.5	47.8	42.7	40.3	39.5	...	39.5
Colombia	62.7	64.6	65.8	51.8	44.6	39.3	...	39.3
Belize	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	30.8
Trinidad and Tobago	10.0	12.6	14.3	20.7	20.1	29.7	28.5	30.4
Brazil	26.7	27.8	28.4	28.9	27.0	...	...	27.0

Table 2
Number and Percent of Homicides by Year
2000-2006

Year	No. of Homicides	Homicides due to Firearms	Percentage of All Homicides Due to Firearms
2000	119	61	51.3
2001	149	83	55.7
2002	172	104	60.5
2003	229	146	63.8
2004	260	182	70.0
2005	389	272	69.9
2006	370	269	72.7

Research Questions

The purpose of this paper is to describe the characteristic features of homicide which involve the use of firearms. In the context of Trinidad and Tobago, evidence is drawn from the situation that has characterized the first six years of the 21st century and reflects a drastic change when compared with the situation that persisted during the last years of the previous century. The paper strives to provide answers to the following research questions:

Question #1:

What are some of demographic, circumstantial and spatial patterns associated with homicides that are predicated on the use of firearms, particularly in the context of variability between 2000 and 2006 and for the period as a whole?

Question #2:

What is the pattern of variability associated with homicides predicated upon the use of firearms relative to all homicides between 2000 and 2006?

Question #3:

How are selected demographic, circumstantial and spatial factors associated with variations in the likelihood of firearms being used in the committal of homicide episodes between 2000 and 2006?

Question #4:

What are the implications of answers to the above questions in the context of reducing the homicide in Trinidad and Tobago?

Methodology

The paper is informed by quantitative data obtained from primary data collected by the Police Service of Trinidad and Tobago and refined in the form of a SPSS data file which contains 1,688 cases pertaining to homicide victims in Trinidad and Tobago during January 2000 and December 2006.

Of such cases, 1,117 or 66.2 % have occurred as a result of the use of firearms. The homicide cases have not only been disaggregated temporally but also by detection status, sex of the victim and ethnicity of the victim. Additionally, patterns are also examined according to functional age groups (under 15 years, 15-24 years, 25-44 years, 45-64 years and 65 years and over) to discern age-related differentials. Because of the high rate of non-detection with regard to homicide cases across the period under review, subsequent analyses do not examine patterns that emerge in the context of the characteristics of persons accused as perpetrators.

For analytical purposes, social attributes are gauged on the

basis of available demographic data pertaining to victims' sex, ethnic origin and age group. Despite the multi-ethnic character of the population of Trinidad and Tobago, this paper focuses on analyses that target the two main groups, persons of African origin and persons of East Indian origin. Thus, the remaining groups classified on the basis of ethnicity including those persons who were of Mixed origin, have been classified as "Other".

Circumstantial attributes are assessed in the context of the detection status of cases and reflect characteristic features deemed to be indicative of processes akin to the investigation of homicide cases, the availability of witnesses and their willingness to give evidence and the criminal profile of perpetrators who are invariably elusive.

Spatial attributes are gauged from the standpoint of the different police divisions and their environmental characteristics that predispose them to greater risks of homicide precipitated by the use of firearms. Though there are urban domains in every police division, Port of Spain, North Eastern, Northern and Western are the most highly urbanized police divisions which are all located in the East West Corridor in Trinidad.

Circumstantial, Social and Spatial Patterns

Table 3 shows distributions for all homicide episodes as well as those due to the use of firearms according to victims' sex, ethnic origin, age group, detection status of the case and geographic location.

Whether in the context of all homicide cases or those due to the use of firearms, Table 3 confirms that there has been an overwhelming predominance of cases involving male victims, victims of African descent, and young adult victims aged 15-24 years and 25-44 years. Additionally, the vast majority of cases exhibited unfavorable detection status and were principally confined to urban domains along the East-West Corridor, encompassing police divisions such as Port-of-Spain, Northern, North Eastern and Western.

Whether in the context of victims' sex, the ethnic group of victims, victims' age group or the detection status of the cases, Table 4 shows that the distribution of homicide cases resulting from the use of firearms has exhibited a similar pattern every year between 2000 and 2006. Such an outcome points to the persistence of a set of latent underlying factors that are systematically connected and sufficiently consistent to produce such consistent social and circumstantial patterns on an annual basis.

Table 4 also reveals that the urban police division of Port-of-Spain and to a somewhat lesser extent those to the immediate east, Northern and North Eastern, have generally exhibited greater shares of homicide cases resulting from the use of firearms when compared to the other police divisions across the years. Between 2003 and 2006, urban domains to the West of Port-of-Spain comprising the Western division have exhibited shares similar to those of the urban domains to the east of Port-of-Spain.

Table 3
Selected Characteristics - All Homicide Cases and Cases due to the Use of Firearms 2000 – 2006

Demographic Attributes	All Homicide Cases		Cases Due to Firearms	
	Count	Percentage	Count	Percentage
All Homicide Victims	1,688	100.0	1,117	100.0
Sex				
Male	1,458	86.4	1,056	94.6
Female	229	13.6	60	5.4
Unknown	1	-	1	-
Ethnic Origin				
African	1,220	72.3	920	82.4
East Indian	318	18.8	120	10.7
Other	149	8.8	77	6.9
Unknown	1	0.1	-	-
Age (years)				
15 + Under	53	3.3	11	1.0
15-24	464	27.5	346	31.3
25-44	830	49.2	604	54.6
45-64	260	15.4	139	12.6
65 +	60	3.6	6	0.5
Unknown	12	1.2	11	1.0
Detection Status				
Detected	501	29.7	187	16.7
Not Detected	1,187	70.3	930	83.3
Police Division				
Port-of-Spain	469	27.8	390	34.9
Northern	299	17.1	187	16.7
N. Eastern	252	14.9	207	18.5
Western	207	12.3	160	14.3
Eastern	76	4.5	29	2.6
Central	128	7.6	65	5.8
Southern	136	8.1	51	4.6
S. Western	85	5.0	23	2.1
Tobago	36	2.1	5	0.4

Table 4
Percentage Distribution of Firearms-Use Homicide by Selected
Attributes, 2000-2006

	2000- 2006	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
<i>Victim's Sex</i>								
Male	94.6	88.5	90.4	93.3	95.9	95.6	96.0	95.2
Female	5.4	11.5	9.6	6.7	4.1	4.4	4.0	4.8
<i>Victim's Ethnic Origin</i>								
African	82.4	78.7	72.3	81.7	81.5	88.5	84.6	80.7
East Indian	10.7	16.4	19.3	11.5	10.3	5.5	11.4	9.7
Other	6.9	4.9	8.4	6.8	8.2	6.0	4.0	9.6
<i>Victim's Age Group</i>								
Under 15	1.0	1.6	1.2	0.0	2.1	1.1	0.7	0.8
15-24	31.3	21.3	21.7	26.0	29.7	33.9	37.3	31.7
25-44	54.6	65.6	62.7	60.6	55.9	53.9	50.4	51.3
45-64	12.6	11.5	14.5	12.5	11.7	10.6	11.6	15.1
65+	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.7	0.6	0.0	1.1
<i>Detection Status</i>								
Detected	16.7	42.6	19.3	24.0	26.0	13.7	11.8	9.3
Not Detected	83.3	57.4	80.7	76.0	74.0	86.3	88.2	90.7
<i>Police Division</i>								
Port-of-Spain	34.9	24.6	31.3	36.5	41.8	36.3	36.0	32.0
Northern North	16.7	18.0	18.1	22.1	20.5	13.7	13.6	17.1
Eastern	18.5	31.1	21.7	18.3	11.6	18.7	15.4	21.6
Western	14.3	4.9	6.0	3.8	12.3	16.5	22.6	14.5
Eastern	2.6	8.2	1.2	3.8	2.1	1.6	2.9	1.9
Central	5.8	1.6	12.0	5.8	4.8	6.6	3.7	7.1
Southern	4.6	8.2	7.2	8.7	6.2	3.3	3.3	2.6
South	2.1	0.0	1.2	1.0	0.7	2.2	2.6	3.3
Western								
Tobago	0.4	3.3	1.2	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0

Among the remaining divisions, the highest shares of homicide cases resulting from the use of firearms have been observed in the Central and Southern divisions which are among the most urbanized of the remaining divisions.

The persistence of these patterns across the years links characteristic features of predominantly urban domains to the proliferation of the use of firearms in homicides. Thus, the demographics of urban domains which are characterized by overwhelmingly larger young populations when compared to rural domains, and the greater proliferation of gang-related activities in urban as opposed to rural areas, collectively constitute underlying factors that have been found to be associated with a greater proportion of firearm use characterizing homicide cases in urban domains. Moreover, individuals and business enterprise in urban domains have been associated with a greater accumulation of wealth and as such, are predisposed to greater risks of exposure to robberies with violence.

**The Extent of Firearms Use:
Temporal Trends and Variations in Patterns**

Table 5 shows the extent to which firearms were used in executing homicide episodes according to victims' sex, ethnic origin and age group on one hand, and the detection status of cases and geographic location of the event on the other. In particular, it describes temporal changes in the extent to which firearms have been used in executing homicide episodes on an annual basis between 2000 and 2006.

Irrespective of victims' sex, and ethnic origin, firearms have been increasingly responsible for the fatal demise of victims across the seven-year period.

Moreover, relatively greater numbers among male homicide victims than among female homicide victims had been killed as a result of the use of firearms. For the period under review, a relatively greater number among homicide victims of African origin than among victims from any of the other two groups had been killed as a result of the use of firearms, this being evident on an annual basis.

In contrast, a relatively smaller number among homicide victims of East Indian origin than among victims from any of the other two groups had been killed as a result of the use of firearms. This, however, did not persist on an annual basis as the extent to which firearms had been used in victimizing East Indians and persons from the "Other" ethnic groups appears to be more random than in the case of victims of African origin.

Table 5 also describes temporal changes in the extent to which firearms have been used in homicide cases that targeted victims in different age groups. Accordingly, relatively greater numbers were observed among victims who were aged 15-24 years and 25-44 years than among victims in other age groups.

With respect to victims in every age group, relatively greater numbers were observed annually between 2003 and 2006 than in the period between 2000 and 2002. It is worth noting that among homicide victims 45-64 years, annual increases in the relative numbers killed by firearms were consistent during the seven-year period between 2000 and 2006.

Table 5
Percentage Distribution of Firearms-Use Homicide by Selected
Attributes, 2000-2006

	2000- 2006	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
<i>Victim's Sex</i>								
Male	72.4	60.0	62.5	64.2	72.9	74.9	74.6	79.0
Female	26.2	24.1	27.6	33.3	16.2	28.6	28.2	28.3
<i>Victim's Ethnic Origin</i>								
African	75.4	60.0	62.5	72.0	74.4	80.1	77.4	81.0
East Indian	37.7	34.5	44.4	35.3	34.1	23.3	46.3	40.0
Other	51.7	30.0	41.2	35.0	48.0	68.8	45.8	70.3
<i>Victim's Age Group</i>								
Under 15	20.8	11.1	14.3	0.0	37.5	40.0	16.7	25.0
15-24	74.6	65.0	69.2	57.4	76.8	76.3	76.3	80.8
25-44	72.8	59.7	66.7	78.8	66.9	80.2	74.6	74.7
45-64	53.5	38.9	42.9	44.8	48.6	47.5	62.0	66.7
65+	10.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	20.0	10.0	0.0	27.3
<i>Detection Status</i>								
Detected	37.3	40.0	25.4	36.2	41.8	41.0	41.0	33.8
Not Detected	78.3	64.8	77.9	76.7	78.3	78.8	77.2	82.4
<i>Police Division</i>								
Port-of- Spain	83.2	57.7	66.7	84.4	91.0	84.6	84.5	87.8
Northern North	62.5	50.0	51.7	65.7	69.8	58.1	58.7	71.9
Eastern	82.1	76.0	81.8	79.2	65.4	85.0	87.5	86.6
Western	77.3	60.0	71.4	30.8	62.1	78.9	85.9	88.6
Eastern	38.2	41.7	20.0	36.4	27.3	37.5	47.1	41.7
Central	50.8	14.3	58.8	54.5	38.9	60.0	52.6	52.8
Southern	37.5	45.5	35.3	45.0	47.4	35.3	36.0	25.9
South	27.1	0.0	11.1	11.1	7.7	33.3	35.0	56.3
Western Tobago	13.9	40.0	25.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	0.0

Spatially, Table 5 shows that the impact of firearms on all homicide cases has been greater in predominantly urban police divisions of the East-West Corridor than in the other the police divisions across the seven-year period. In the

case of the former, the impact has been greatest in the Port-of-Spain Division, the North Eastern Division or the Western Division for different annual periods during the seven years under review. Despite the persistence of such spatial differences, temporal variations in the impact of firearms on all homicide cases appear to be random in every police division. Between 2004 and 2006, however, the impact has been characterized by modest to noteworthy increases in the Port-of-Spain Division, North Eastern Division, Western Division and South Western Division.

The Likelihood of Firearms Use in Homicide Episodes

For the period between 2000 and 2006, Table 6 shows that homicide victims were a little more than twice as likely to be killed by a firearm than by any other means. In the context of selected demographic attributes of the victims, similar patterns, all of which being more pronounced, were especially evident among males, persons of African origin, persons aged 15-24 years and persons aged 25-44 years.

For victims aged 45-64 years, the likelihood of being killed by firearms is marginally greater than that associated with being killed by other means. In contrast, victims who were female, children under 15 years and elderly persons 65 years or older, were observed to have a higher likelihood of being killed by other means rather than by firearms. It is also worth noting that victims of East Indian origin were observed to have a higher likelihood of being killed by other means rather than by firearms.

Table 6
Percentage of Homicide Cases for the Period 2000-2006 by Use of
Firearms and Selected Demographic Attributes

Selected Attributes	All Homicide Cases	Other Means	Firearms
All Homicide Cases	100.0	32.9	67.1
African	100.0	23.8	76.2
East Indian	100.0	61.0	39.0
Male	100.0	26.7	73.3
Female	100.0	73.0	27.0
Under 15	100.0	79.8	21.2
15-24	100.0	24.9	75.1
25-44	100.0	26.5	73.5
45-64	100.0	45.1	54.9
65+	100.0	89.5	10.5

Table 7 examines the likelihood of being killed by a firearm as opposed to any other means in accordance with selected circumstantial characteristics of the cases under review. Thus, cases that had not been detected were almost four times as likely to be associated with the use of a firearm than to any other means. In contrast, cases that had been detected were more likely to have been associated with other means rather than to the use of firearms.

Such an outcome is indicative of noteworthy association characterized by the ineffectiveness of detection initiatives surrounding cases that involved the use of firearms to execute homicide acts. With respect to motives, cases that resulted from gang-related activities and drug-related activities were almost entirely associated with the use of a firearm.

Table 7
Percentage of Homicide Cases for the Period 2000-2006 by Use of
Firearms and Selected Circumstantial Attributes

Selected Attributes	All Homicide Cases	Other Means	Firearms
All Homicide Cases	100.0	32.9	67.1
Detected	100.0	20.5	79.5
Not Detected	100.0	62.1	37.9
Domestic Upheaval	100.0	82.0	18.0
Altercation	100.0	66.2	33.8
Gang Related	100.0	3.4	96.6
Revenge	100.0	20.7	79.3
Robbery	100.0	36.6	63.4
Drug Related	100.0	4.5	95.5
Other	100.0	56.2	43.8
Not Known	100.0	26.5	73.5

Cases that were characterized by revenge were almost four times as likely to have resulted in the use of a firearm than any other means to effect homicide. Cases characterized by unknown causes were almost three times as likely to have resulted in the use of a firearm than any other means while those characterized by robberies were a little less than twice as likely to have resulted in the use of a firearm than any other means.

In contrast, cases characterized by domestic upheavals and altercations were more likely to have resulted in other means rather than a firearm in effecting homicide, more than four times as likely in for cases characterized by domestic upheavals and just about twice as likely in cases characterized by altercations. Spatial variation in the use of firearms in committing homicide is presented in Table 8.

More specifically, cases in the Port-of-Spain Division and the Northern Division were more than five times as likely to result in the use of firearms than any other means while cases in the Western Division were more than three times as likely. In contrast, cases in the Central Division, the Southern Division, the South Western Division and Tobago were more likely to result in the use of other means rather than firearms. This pattern was especially pronounced among homicide cases in Tobago and in the Central Division.

Table 8
Percentage of Homicide Cases for the Period 2000-2006
by Use of Firearms and Spatial Attributes

Selected Attributes	All Homicide Cases	Other Means	Firearms
All Homicide Cases	100.0	32.9	67.1
Port-of-Spain	100.0	16.7	83.3
Northern	100.0	16.5	83.5
North Eastern	100.0	37.0	63.0
Western	100.0	21.6	78.4
Eastern	100.0	48.0	52.0
Central	100.0	72.0	28.0
Southern	100.0	61.7	38.3
South Western	100.0	58.6	41.4
Tobago	100.0	86.1	13.9

Discussion of Results

In Trinidad and Tobago, preliminary statistical analyses focusing on demographic attributes point towards a preponderance of male victims of African descent. The available evidence also reveals that there is a heavy concentration of homicide victimization in urban communities. With regard to the committal of homicide,

the choice of weapon is likely to be associated with perpetrators' interpretations of feeling sufficiently powerful to execute their fatal intentions.

Such sentiments constitute a critical dimension that may explain the use or non-use of firearms dependent upon specific demographic characteristics of victims. To this end, a gendered interpretation is essential bearing in mind roles, attitudes and behaviour that might be associated with sex characteristics of perpetrators on one hand and victims on the other hand. In particular, the evidence from the available data suggests that victims' age and their sex are associated with the use or non-use of firearms in the committal of homicide.

Insofar as perpetrators are invariably male, it should not be surprising that they have relied upon the use of available firearms to leverage their position in relation to prospective male victims. However, in cases where their victims have been female, motivational factors and their perceived physical advantage may render them more likely to resort to alternative means rather than firearms.

Such an association reveals that compared to other lethal means, firearms are more likely to be used in the committal of homicide that targeted male victims. However, compared to firearms, other means are more likely to be used in the committal of homicide that targeted female victims.

In summary, cases involving male victims are characterized by a greater likelihood that firearms would

be used to leverage lethal outcomes. In contrast, males' perceived physical power in relation to female victims suggests that perpetrators, who are invariably male, are likely to achieve lethal outcomes among such victims without having to rely upon the use of firearms.

Firearms reinforce power and control in violent encounters especially in cases where the perpetrators perceive some risk associated with their prospective survival chances. The risks posed by such encounters are likely to be a function of demographic characteristics associated with targeted victims' sex and age.

Having examined the impact of victims' sex, a similar examination of the impact of victims' age is warranted. Children under 15 years and elderly persons 65 years or older are less likely to threaten the survival chances of perpetrators in the event of violent encounters, especially given the fact that perpetrators have invariably been males aged 15-64 years though heavily concentrated in younger age groups.

Thus, it is not surprising that the available evidence suggests that compared to firearms, other means are more likely to be used in the committal of homicide that targeted children under 15 years and elderly persons 65 years or older. Compared to other lethal means, firearms are more likely to be used in the committal of homicide that targeted victims aged 15-64 years.

The available evidence was also consistent with a statistical relationship between the detection status and the use of firearms in homicide cases. Compared to other

lethal means, firearms are more likely to have been used in homicide cases that had unfavourable detection outcomes. In contrast, when compared to firearms, other means are more likely to have been used in homicide cases that had favourable outcomes resulting in at least one person being accused.

In Trinidad and Tobago, annual accounts reveal that there have been continuous increases in the proportion of homicides that have been due to firearms between 2000 and 2006. During the same period, more than four out of every five homicide cases had unfavourable detection outcomes, the proportion increasing in magnitude between 2003 and 2006. This latter observation is consistent with the increase in the proportion of homicides that have been due to firearms and is indicative of a stimulus with underlying currents, all of which could be responsible for the proliferation of firearms-related offences and homicide that remain unsolved in countries such as Trinidad and Tobago.

The characteristic features of gangs as a unit of analysis are significant and ought to be investigated in order to appreciate their mission and vision in much the same way that such attributes are investigated within the confines of more formal entities.

A cursory examination of the results suggests that there is an association between unsatisfactory detection status of homicide cases and the large number of such cases for which there has been no knowledge of motives. St. Bernard (2009) has noted that low detection status is mostly characteristic of homicide cases linked to gang –

related activities, robberies, drug-related activities and unknown causes; motives that have been found to be principally associated with the use of firearms.

One may hypothesize that low detection status bestows advantages to prospective perpetrators permitting them to execute their homicide intentions with favourable levels of success that grants them almost complete immunity to prosecution and conviction. Since the use of firearms constitutes a common denominator associated with the factors precipitating the low detection status of homicide cases, there should be systematic research targeting the connection between power relations in the context of the possession and use of firearms on one hand, and public sentiments regarding witnessing violent crime, reporting such episodes and the factors that determine the prospect of reporting or not reporting such events, on the other hand.

In addition to investing in more widespread training in areas such as forensic science and crime scene investigation, there ought to be improved standards in the professional execution of duty to the society in these arenas. Such considerations in conjunction with proposed systematic research initiatives may positively impact outcomes akin to prosecution and conviction. Moreover, conviction ought to carry much more stringent sanctions that compensate for the lethargy that characterizes any thrust towards reinforcing capital punishment. Thus, the attainment of more favourable rates of detection, prosecution and conviction ought to be a principal goal of security and legal entities; a goal that has appeared to be elusive.

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Research Note

DEVELOPING CHILDREN'S RIGHTS IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO: THE MOVE FROM RHETORIC TO SOCIAL REALITY

Charisse Clarke

College of Science, Technology and Applied Arts, Trinidad and Tobago

There is much speculation as to whether the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child can be effectively applied in developing nations. In that context, this qualitative study explores the perspectives of children's rights held by parents, teachers, child-care providers and children in Trinidad, a developing country and signatory to the document.

Interviews with 17 participants and 1 focus group revealed not only limited awareness of children's rights in Trinidad, but also reservations as to whether they could be implemented in this country. In particular, teachers and child-care providers revealed their dissatisfaction with government initiatives related to making rights a social reality. Simultaneously, participants acknowledged the importance and urgency for empowering children with rights, raising issues within the education system, social

development system, and legislation as areas for concern.

Some emerging themes were linked to parental challenges, low awareness of rights and socio-economic factors. Recommendations include speedy passage of children's legislation, enhancement of government initiatives and continued improvements to the education system. Finally, there is a need for public education that is designed to place children's rights in a more positive context; thereby, empowering both parents and children, leading to a healthy society.

The discourse of rights entitlement has led to struggles for the establishment of several international treaties, documents and even international courts. However, since there is often no incentive for compliance with international treaties, an inherent danger lies in the possibility that these documents may take on a purely symbolic role.

In effect for almost two decades, one might question the impact of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (GA Res. 44/25)¹, particularly in developing countries.² Although a number of countries contributed to the drafting of the *CRC*, speculation remains as to whether its principles can be successfully applied in developing nations.

Many countries in the Caribbean are faced with numerous challenges such as high debt loads and poverty, which may in turn influence the realisation of rights. As Brown (2001:29) points out, little time has been spent examining

the implications of the *CRC* in the Caribbean setting.

In this context, an exploratory study was undertaken to examine Trinidadian perceptions of children's rights and to determine what changes, if any, have taken place regarding children's rights since Trinidad and Tobago signed the document in 1990. Participants have identified a number of structurally based challenges to this process. This paper first takes a brief critical look at the *CRC* from a Caribbean perspective. It then provides results from the exploratory study.

UN Convention on Rights of the Child

Executive Director of UNICEF, Carol Bellamy says of the *CRC*: "A century that began with children having virtually no rights is ending with children having the most powerful legal instrument that not only recognizes but protects their rights" (The Freechild Project, retrieved 12/02/05).

Unfortunately, the power of the *CRC* is questionable. Since its inception, many limitations have been exposed. Acknowledging the need for a document recognising child autonomy and empowerment, Freeman (2000) at the same time concedes that the "plight of children world-wide has not got better but worse" (278).

While the production of the *CRC* is a great achievement, it is reasonable that we should now find room for improvement. Freeman (2000) calls for "revisions, reform

and innovation" (282). Authors such as White (2002) have not only drawn attention to flaws in the *CRC*, but also warned against lulling children into a false expectation that they will enjoy the same rights when they are adults. In other words, much more work must be done to secure human rights so that children's rights can translate into adult rights.

The disadvantage to the rights discourse is that issues of children in developing countries are ascribed to the absence of rights outside of their socio-economic context (White, 2002: 726). Solutions to these problems are based on raising awareness of rights, as White puts it, "the problems of disadvantaged children are thus not attributed to their exploitation as poor, but to their non-recognition of children" (2002: 726).

In the same vein, many countries do not have the resources to fulfil their *CRC* obligations. Thus, realistically the resources to implement changes in domestic legislation are not always available (Onyango & Lynch, 2006: 693). Kenya provides a prime example of this problem where there are many challenges to making children's rights a reality. These include an AIDS pandemic, high poverty rates due to a poor economy, one million children not in school despite free education, and over one million working and orphaned children (Onyango & Lynch, 2006: 694).

Similar problems are noted in the Caribbean where increasingly high crime rates, unemployment and the

presence of natural disasters take precedence over children's rights. Therefore, as McDowell (2000) puts it, "there is a risk that optimism might easily turn into frustration" (232).

The Committee on the Rights of the Child, established to deal with state reports, required every five years after the initial two-year report, is overwhelmed. The Committee is not full time and the amount of work generated by these CRC reports is difficult to handle (Freeman, 2000: 290). It is fortunate for the Committee that states themselves are behind in the preparation and submission of their reports in the first place.³ At any rate, when submitted, these reports are often lacking in social and economic issues.

Fottrell (2000: 7) and Freeman (2000: 290) call for enforcement to go beyond reliance on self-reports and suggest the allowance of inter-state and individual complaints to be heard within an international court or state jurisdictions. The fact that this option was initially rejected during the drafting of the Convention suggests "states continue to have conceptual and operational difficulties with the rights of the child" (Fottrell, 2000: 7).

Another critique of the CRC is the assumption of a common experience of childhood, interests, responsibilities and sense of entitlements (White, 2002: 726). An international document such as the CRC should be more balanced rather than based on the Western notion of childhood (726). Standards established in the CRC may be at cross-purposes with cultural identities, and impose

standards more indicative of class and hegemonic ideologies than of fundamental rights.

White's study (2002) found little evidence to support a universally shared concept of rights and interests amongst children in Bangladesh. White (2002) asserts that differences in class "structured thought, action and observation" (733). Additionally, she found evidence of a disturbing "narrative of class difference" (730) amongst agency staff working with children; where instructions on grooming and hygiene took on a symbolic dimension, "situated in the context of a broader discursive opposition in which 'these people' (dirty, uneducated, self-interested) are 'not like us' (the clean and enlightened)" (White, 2002: 731).

In the Caribbean, cultural issues are equally relevant as Brown (2001) alleges that there is a "strong cultural discomfort" with viewing some of the rights in the *CRC* as those that children are entitled to unconditionally (2001: 29). She explains that Caribbean parents often view their children as an economic investment that is expected to pay off (30). In addition, parents living in poverty express that they feel increasingly out of control of their children as they grow older.

It is in this context, that the "right to association" is not fully accepted by parents who worry about the high rate of sex amongst teenage girls and the general materialism of the society which generates pressure from peers. Thus, parents are concerned about their children "hanging out"

with a "bad crowd" (Brown, 2001: 30).

As has been pointed out, the *CRC* says nothing of the right of parents to discipline and control their children (McDowell, 2000: 242). Additionally, McDowell (2002: 243) suggests that the *CRC* contains a cultural bias, ignoring cultural values inherent to African and Indian cultures, predominant in the Caribbean where children have responsibilities and duties to their parents.⁴

Brown's research (2001) showed that parents living poverty often do not have a sense of entitlement of their own human rights. She explains: "...if those who are the primary socializers of children do not feel entitled to rights of free expression and free association, or the right to protection from harm, how can they convey these rights to their children, or even conceive that their children should have entitlements that they do not?" (Brown, 2001: 33).

These sentiments were also revealed in White's study (2002) in Bangladesh, as one of the parents noted: "Never mind child rights, human rights is a question in Bangladesh!" (730). It is in a sense unfair to ask parents, whose human rights are also documented in numerous human rights instruments (most of which are not yet realised in developing countries) to ensure that children's rights are adhered to. In addition, the gap between children's rights and those of adults could lead to frustration amongst young adults.

Method, Data Collection and Analysis

The objective of this research project was to examine perspectives of children's rights in Trinidad and to

determine how these fit with the declarations in the *CRC*. The perceptions of parents, children, teachers, and child-care providers employed at group homes for socially displaced children⁵ were used to inform the research questions. Regarding children in socially displaced homes, the aim was to determine how the Trinidadian government was meeting their *CRC* obligations to this group. These types of research questions were best answered using a qualitative approach, whereby a comprehensive understanding of perspectives on children's rights could be achieved.

The interview schedules were based on an exploratory or contextual approach, offering "the opportunity to 'unpack issues,' to see what they are about or what lies inside and to explore how they are understood by those connected with them" (Ritchie, 2003: 27). Subsequently, a quantitative approach would be appropriate for examining the prevalence of these attitudes within a representative sample of the population.

The study utilized a non-probability sample applying a combination of snowball and convenience sampling. These sampling strategies were used to gather parents with children of varying ages, teachers, children from ages

12-17, and child-care providers. Convenience sampling was used to locate the first participants; and consequently, a snowball chain initiated, using several points of departure. Ritchie, Lewis and Elam (2003: 94) suggest that there is a danger in using snowball sampling because the sample may be too similar if all the participants are obtained from a single starting point. Therefore, instead of asking one person to provide a reference and following the chain from that initial point, several participants were identified and then asked for references.

The final sample included 17 participants and one focus group consisting of 14 young boys. This sample broke down into three teachers, four child-care providers, seven children and three parents. Some participants had overlapping roles, specifically with respect to parenthood. For example, some teachers and child-care providers were also parents and responded to questions by applying their experiences from both roles.

Interviews consisted of two parts. The first section contained questions directly linked to articles from the *CRC*. At the end of the first section, participants' knowledge of children's rights was examined. Those who had never heard of children's rights were given a definition to read before proceeding to the next section where *CRC* statements were read to participants and they were asked to comment. There were slight variations in the interview schedules, for example, teachers were asked questions specific to education rights and child-care providers asked questions pertaining expressly to the

children's homes. A different interview schedule was used also for children, where the questions were worded using simple language.

"Procedural ethics," as described by Guillemín and Gillam (2004), which include approval by an ethics board and issues of confidentiality and anonymity, were adhered to early in the project. Research ethics approval for the study was received by Simon Fraser University Research Ethics Board in August 2007 prior to the start of interviews. Participants were provided with the details of the study and asked to sign an informed consent form. In the case of the children, informed consent was obtained from parents, but the children were also told that their participation was voluntary and were asked to provide their own consent as well.

Participants were also assured of confidentiality through secure storage of the data and the promise of anonymity. All identifiers were removed from transcripts through the careful changing of names,⁶ places and events that might allow an individual to be identified (Berg, 2007: 79; Israel, 2004: 719).

Specific permission was sought to record the interviews and all participants consented. The interviews were transcribed verbatim and resulted in 396 transcript pages, representing 21.48 hours of recorded interviews.

Open coding was used to identify themes and categories in the data, instead of using preset categories as in

quantitative research. Four interviews were selected to begin this process. Recurring themes and issues examined in the interview guide formed the basis of this framework, and then a thematic chart (as described by Ritchie, Spencer & O'Connor, 2003: 228) was constructed using spreadsheets.

As data reduction progressed, care was taken to retain key terms and phrases, keeping interpretation and analysis at a minimum. This approach was suggested by Ritchie et al. (2003) "so that there is always an opportunity to revisit the original 'expression' as the more refined levels of analysis occurs" (229). Also suggested by Strauss and Corbin (1998: 120) was the continual checking of sentences, paragraphs, and finally the whole transcript, for emerging themes.

In the final stages of analysis, axial coding was used to place related themes into categories. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) note the goal of axial coding is to "systematically develop and relate categories" thereby adding "depth and structure" to each category (142). When data saturation was reached, that is, when "new" information no longer added to the existing, data analysis was stopped. This paper will focus only on the structural challenges that emerged, identified as hindering the implementation of children's rights in Trinidad.

Social Development Issues

Child-care providers felt that the government provided their children's homes with insufficient resources and

found the low-level of government attention unacceptable. They identified government interaction as a way to facilitate better relationships between the agencies and as a way for the needs of the children to be met.

A) Government falls short of CRC obligations

Child-care providers felt that they were engaging in a job that was mainly the government's responsibility. Nevertheless, the government appeared to show little interest, if any, in the maintenance of the homes. Although the government provided subsidies to the homes, inspections from the Ministry were rare and the child-care providers expressed concern over the running of other similar institutions:

Bernadette: ... I think the government should pay a little more attention to what is going on in a lot of these homes ... right? ... Because a lot of them are not run properly ... the children are not even safe [...] there is legislation to [...] pass for the homes ... because a lot of the homes are not even legal ...

According to Martin, while on the one hand, constant checks by the government would cause minor inconveniences, he conceded that it would be in the best interest of the children. In their home, Martin stated the last inspection from the Ministry of Social Development was six years prior to our interview. Previous inspections occurred at three-year intervals:

Martin: ... from six years to now, nobody ain't come and visit, not a health inspector ... nothing. If these people and them was to come to these institutions, it have a lot of institutions I'm sure have to buck up on things ... because your kitchens have to be clean, their surroundings

have to be clean and I mean it's good, [...] and so, the thing about it is, we don't need to see nobody once every six years ... we need to see somebody once every three months or something like that ... I mean to say, nobody does like anybody to be on their heels ... so I might be saying that and I might say, "Oh God, them again?" but the fact is that you know somebody is checking because they care about the program you running, that it is efficient and effective for the children [...] it is important ...

Bernadette also lamented the absence of government authorities, claiming that social workers sometimes brought children to the home and never followed up on them:

This is it ... you are not out there, you are not protecting them because you have a right to be sending people, social workers or the authorities, social services because there is a lot of money in the Ministry of Social Services [...] and you're not sending anybody to look, you know, you would probably have a social worker send [...] a child here and say ok I will follow up with it and ...[he or she] never ... never shows up ...

According to Martin, rising food and clothing costs meant it was difficult to fund a home for growing boys and he suggested that if the government officials were to come to the homes, they would see, firsthand, the kinds of expenses that were being incurred. These observations would allow the government to see that claims of insufficient funding were indeed justified. Martin felt optimistic that official visits would ultimately lead to increased funding. He and Bernadette (from separate children's homes), both agreed that since they were providing assistance to the government, officials had a responsibility to ensure that the homes were well funded.

They invited the government to develop a working relationship with their institutions as a means to fulfilling CRC obligations.

The providers at the homes also expressed concern regarding the lack of resources for dealing with the children's many psychological problems. Children often arrived at the homes with trauma from physical or sexual abuse, or both. Martin detailed a situation where a young man, who was sexually abused on the streets, began to make inappropriate advances towards other children in the home. He went to counselling,⁷ but it did not work:

Martin: ... if it is that the problem umm ... isn't changing, we have to send them back home by their parents where it have no ... where it had no younger children to take advantage [of], because some of them got advantaged on the streets and thing about it is that we try to work on the problem but [...] even though that we try to work on the problem we cannot put another person's child at risk ...

Similarly, Bernadette stated that it is plausible that children in the group home will be at a disadvantage because the homes do not always have the funding to provide the level of care that is needed for rehabilitation. Again, she calls on the government to assist the homes by providing some of these services:

You see, because the amount of money it takes for us to have a social worker on board, or to see a psychologist, some of them might even need to see a psychiatrist and have medication, need to be assessed and all of this takes money, and this is where the government could come in ... cause if we could manage to get the children, you know, [to] reach this far ... at least help us, help the children, so that at least whatever situation they would [be able to] get out of ...

B) Insufficient homes for abused children

In a related point, participants discussed the shortage of homes for abused and socially displaced children. In fact, both children's homes were filled to capacity and participants expressed the urgent need for more homes in Trinidad.

At Golden House, the administrator stated that the police continually asked the home to take children and they had to turn them away several times a week, having the capacity for only 12 boys. The same was true of House of Hope where they normally invited street children to the home to stay, but were unable to do so since were also full. Instead, Martin said he was only able to offer them a bath and a meal. Amelia, a parent who bore no relation to the homes, speculated on whether there were enough foster homes for children who have to be removed from the home. Linda's statement concerning the needs of abused children confirms Amelia's suspicions of a shortage:

Linda: We need decanting centres where children who have to be taken out of situations of abuse, incest, physical abuse—children who have to be taken out of untenable situations, we need to have centres where these children [...] can be placed and while they are there they can be assessed mentally, psychologically, physically, [...] and from there now, you would know the best home environment or institution to put them in. We don't have that, so Amy⁸ had to die and Sean Luke⁹ had to die because these children couldn't be taken out of their situation to be put anywhere...I mean they were babies...St Dominic's not taking them and St Mary's not taking them and those are the two orphanages we have in Trinidad. So, we need centres like this where children could be taken out of these situations and cared for, processed so to speak, processed and then placed in foster care or whatever, I mean we need to put those kinda things in place.

Referring to Amy's situation, Linda said:

I mean you would not believe the abuse that that child suffered, social workers knew, the hospital knew, you understand? And people in the street knew, I mean and [...] you have to give the police the power [...] and other social agents the power to go into a situation and [...] take out a child, but in order to take a child out of a situation, you must have the facilities in place but many times the police can't do anything because the police are not willing to take the child ...

Linda's statements were confirmed in newspaper reports which stated that Amy Annamunthodo was treated at the hospital for severe beatings on more than one occasion prior to her death. After referring the case to medical social workers, she was temporarily placed in a safe house but later returned to the dangerous home situation. Furthermore, social workers never notified the National Family Services Unit of the Ministry of Social Development about Amy's case ("Counselling for baby Emily's Family," 2006). Again, the recurring issue of a lack of resources for abused children is raised. The absence of institutions to care for these children may be connected to reduced contact between officials and police reluctance to remove children from unsafe home. There is a need for the government to address these shortcomings in the social development system if children's rights obligations are to be upheld.

C) Recognizing children's rights in the group homes

Participants at both group homes were aware of children's rights and attempted to ensure that most, if not all, of these rights were realised. For example, in House of Hope the

supervisors stressed the importance of including the boys in the decision making process, because as Linda accurately stated:

It is disrespectful not to involve them and [...] it is saying to them that they don't have an opinion and your opinion don't matter and you don't matter ... because [...] I am here, people are making all these decisions for me without any consultation. So I think it is disrespectful [...] not to involve them, and not that they will see it as disrespect, or they don't understand it as disrespect, but [...] they've been ignored and treated badly for most of their lives.

House of Hope also gave the boys the opportunity to express themselves at house meetings where they could raise issues that they wanted to discuss. Subsequently, the boys were given the chance to suggest solutions and to state what changes they would like to see enforced. The supervisors take notes and make the necessary changes if possible. Linda explains:

... [the] issues that affect them that's what we talk about in house meeting. We now take a note of it to follow up where it is possible, but we are careful to let them know that some of the demands they have are not always possible (laughs) or realistic, you know? But those that we can do something about we try to do it.

Similarly, Bernadette explained that in Golden House they tried to find opportunities to allow the boys to feel as though they were able to exercise some autonomy over their personal decisions:

Bernadette: You see we try to run here as a sort of a more family kind of thing ... we don't want them to feel that they are in an institution and they have no control over anything in their lives so they have no rights ... so [...] ok you need to go get a haircut, here's a twenty dollars, you

know ... we could just bring somebody in to cut everybody's hair, but no, they go and they get it cut however they want it, as long as it's not outrageous or ridiculous ...

Additionally, both homes allow the children to express themselves through art and media. At House of Hope, the art was used as a form of therapy allowing the children to discuss the meanings of the art. According to Martin, the art could reveal important information that a child may be unwilling to discuss regarding their thoughts.

For example, Martin explained that if children continually drew their family or parents as very large figures and themselves as smaller, it could show something about parent-child relations in the home. These depictions provided insights to the child's mind, allowing them to express their feelings through pictures, thereby assisting child-care providers. Children were also allowed to take part in media events when comfortable and in drama and theatre when the opportunity arose.

The child-care providers at both homes saw value in respecting the religious beliefs of the children. In both homes, the children who were practising their religion were allowed to go to their place of worship if accompanied by an adult:

*Martin: ... if, you come to us, because the boys and them go to church at **** and before we used to go to ***** church right there. If, if you come to us and say you are a Muslim or a Seven Day Adventist, Pentecostal something like [that] ... [...] ... we respect that [...] if you have a family member who can come and take you to church ...*

Bernadette: We teach spirituality and they are allowed to umm ... practice whatever religion or to remain in whatever religion, we don't force them... [...] well because we have a volunteer who comes to take them to the Catholic Church, they tend to go to the Catholic Church right? But uh we wouldn't force them to leave their religion and join ...

Both homes face a challenge in this regard, as there are few volunteers or family members to take children to their respective places of worship and a small staff size does not permit them to escort the boys. However, accompaniment by a guardian is necessary, as Martin explained that one boy was allowed to attend Mosque alone and was subsequently found playing video games downtown.

Similarly, Bernadette explained that volunteers only come from the Catholic Church, so non-Catholic children have difficulty in attending their own place of worship. While the situation is not idealistic, members of the homes do what they can to respect children's rights given their limited resources.

A) "The child can just slip through the cracks-fall out of the system"

Participants pointed out some ways that children are lost both *from* and *within* the education system. First, one of the teachers notes her perception that education is only compulsory until age 12:¹⁰

They don't have to come to school because it's not compulsory ... education is only compulsory to age 12 ... so you're breaking no laws to tell the kid, "Get lost don't come back to school" (she says laughingly) ... "I don't want you in my classroom" and [...] there's no law that can say ... that make that teacher, as far as I know, be in

trouble for telling a child don't come back to my class [...] and because education isn't compulsory the child can just slip through the cracks—fall out of the system and nobody would miss him ... and then you might see him/her in the newspaper killing somebody or something like that ... so the issue of rights of the child are not being addressed in the sense that ... education should be compulsory as long as a child is a child.

This perception seemed to be supported by Martin's discussion of a Form One student, expelled from school for fighting, who began to sell newspapers on the street. There was no follow-up by any officials. The boy, living with his mother who was addicted to drugs, was then left to fend for himself on the streets. He would have been unable to return to school had he not been taken in by House of Hope.

Similarly, Maria talked about a student who was forced to leave school to work at a chicken depot to support his elderly parents and younger sister. Again, there was no follow-up by officials.

Martin also explained that if children have no birth paper or their parents refuse to provide one, then they might also be deprived of their right to an education. Martin recounted a situation where a young boy who was on and off the streets was unable to write his exam because his mother would not provide his birth certificate:

... some of them parents was slack too, some of them never even get to set Common Entrance cause they never even had their birth paper [...] when it was time for Common Entrance, Bill came across by us and begged us for her to go and sign up [...] for him to do Common Entrance because you need to go with birth paper and fill out all the

forms for the choices of schools ... she never went—she never went, so he never got to set Common Entrance. Well that like it throw him back so far he just start [...] to give trouble, until he started snatching people's chains, started stealing, started going with gangs and thing, now he dead, he got shot and killed ...

This event is even more tragic because two months before this young man was killed, he asked Martin to find a place for him at Servol;¹¹ but they were unable to admit him because he was too young. Clearly, this scenario identifies a shortcoming in the system.

The Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006: 16) has also identified the non-registration of births as an ongoing problem, a situation which they indicate also infringes on the child's right to nationality. Children need to have some type of alternative if their parent(s) refuse to provide a birth certificate as this should not constitute the loss of their educational rights.

Participants also identified the issue of children not being able to read properly as a way through which they can be lost *in* the system. The public places a high level of emphasis on student performance on the Secondary Entrance Assessment (SEA) exam, which Sarah explains, sometimes causes schools to focus on achieving the highest number of "passes" to the detriment of other students:

Sarah: When you have schools where you are looking at the SEA exam in primary schools, [...] they push towards that ... and the [...] low-key ones stay behind all the time ... they are forgotten ... that is why there are so many children who fail the exam and some of them believe it or not, leave without being able to read or write properly ...

Martin says this issue is compounded in high school when teachers sometimes embarrass the boys who are unable to read by asking them to read aloud. He stated that when given assignments, other boys in class often have to assist these students by reading the work for them. In a related issue, Linda emphasized the inappropriateness of existing vocational programs, which cater to those who are low academic achievers:

Linda: ... you have the same children who you say you are catering for, these same children who cannot read. These same children who are going to the MuST¹² program, and who you say the MuST program is catering for, are these same children who drop out of Junior Sec because they couldn't read.

Linda was the only participant who identified the Junior Secondary School system as an area where children could slip through the cracks. Although none of the other participants touched on this specific issue, Linda presented a strong argument in relation to its effect on working class youth:

I mean a dis-service was done to our youths in this country ... a serious dis-service was done to our young people in this country and I'll tell you why—with the advent of the Junior Secondary School, anybody doing sociology would be able to trace where the breakdown and [...] where the youth in this country went off on a different tangent. They'll be able to trace it because what the Junior Secondary Schools did, was take children from the same socio-economic bracket and lump all of them together ... in a school. Now you tell me, if we have the same value system and we suffering and experiencing the same poverty, who is going to aspire?

Linda continued to explain that children in the same socio-

economic bracket often suffered from similar debilitating home environments. Referring to the Jamaican context, Evans and Davies (1997) assert, "children who come to school at a disadvantage are now even more at a disadvantage, and increasingly young people from the lower socioeconomic groups are failing or dropping out of school" (12). As discussed later, this school situation is cause for restructuring.

Emerging from the issue of children falling out of the school system was the presence of street children. Participants made the point that often children are seen on the roadside selling goods or offering to wash car windscreens for money. As Ann Marie said, we continue to buy from them in frustration not knowing what to do. Amelia explained that citizens do not know who to report their presence to:

...it's something very serious because you are seeing it more and more. More and more you'll stop by a light and it's young children looking to wash your, wash your umm window and you say to yourself, but these children should be in school, why they are not in school? But then, who do you report it to? Do we have a social welfare, a social worker system then, where if you call in and report [it] a social worker will go to the corner and say, "Listen where are your parents, how do I contact them?" And investigate the matter further I don't think we have something like that, I honestly don't and if we have a system it will probably fall on deaf ears, there's nobody to follow up then who really care for these children and will take it further and investigate [sic] the matter you know, and if need be if they have to take away the children, take [them] away, but then if you have to take away the children and put them in a home do we have sufficient homes to care for these children and people to care for them? I don't think we do either ... they only have one place I know of and that place recently burned down and I'm not too sure where they are being housed now.

Amelia and Ann Marie draw attention to the absence of these children from school. Indeed when interviewed, two street children indicated that the main way their lives could be improved was by enabling them to continue their education in some way. As one street child said:

Miss, ah woulda like to learn a trade...so I could betta up my life

Unfortunately, this is a common wish amongst street children as they often miss long periods of school when they are out on the street. The same child in the quote above also explained that he also missed school when he was in remand, arrested for loitering, as there is no schooling in that facility. Marshall (2003) convincingly argues that street children are “being denied the opportunity considered to be the right of every child” since they do not always have the opportunity to attend school (14). Some Latin American countries have schools which specifically facilitate street children. This avenue may be an option in Trinidad so that these children are not at a disadvantage later in their lives.

B) “Teachers lack work ethic: don’t care, don’t supervise, don’t teach”

The participants were disturbed by some of the qualities exhibited by teachers. Martin expressed strong sentiment, and said that “teachers don’t care,” “don’t supervise” and “don’t teach.” When Martin talked about the boys who were embarrassed by teachers because they could not read, he speculated about the behaviour of the teachers, accusing them of deliberately engaging in the practice.

He suggested that it would be more productive if the teachers tried to approach the problem differently, in a way that would truly improve children's reading skills. Martin felt that teachers were not interested in what students did in the classroom and did not try to motivate them:

...but if teachers really and truly say 'If allyuh¹³ ain't want to learn, you don't want to learn. You could sit down at the back of the class and talk.' Well that's not showing interest in their development ...

Discussing the education system in Trinidad, Worrell (2006) argues that declining academic performance over their five years at school indicates that "these students are not being educated in their schools" (164). Whatever the problem, he argues, the fact remains: "no learning is taking place" (Worrell, 2006: 164). Sarah's observations of the younger teachers' attitudes towards their job support these accusations:

... because umm ... the teachers are not showing that interest and everybody I meet ... all my old friends will tell you the same thing ... the young people [young teachers] are not giving their hundred percent at all ... they not even giving forty-five [percent] ...

Teachers were also accused of not providing effective supervision of students. Martin explained that children got into trouble in school during "free periods" when there was no supervision:

The time that they have, because it have periods in school, [...] many times when you find children up to mischief is when they have free periods and when you have free periods what do other teachers or deans do? They just allow them to stay in the class by themselves? So

then they have no supervision again ...

Similarly, Sarah observed the same type of disinterested attitude in a group of young teachers escorting children on a field trip:

I can't understand the way young people are teaching these days [...] last term I saw two schools going up the main road, young people with them ... and all the young teachers are talking at the back and the hundreds of children are walking up the main road ... it is a Common Entrance child, two, three of them in the front, who stopped them at the roads for them to cross ...

Sarah felt that younger teachers did not seem to take their job seriously and lacked commitment to their students. Teaching, in the true sense of the word, did not seem to be their objective. Sarah explained that when teachers were motivated they would go the extra mile in the interest of students, but younger teachers seemed to be more interested in the benefits of the job:

So even though I was young at the time, because of my upbringing and everything, you were able to see certain things, do certain things, but now from what I see ... these young people [young teachers], they don't have it. If they have it, they not interested in giving out ... they more interested in the holidays, the salaries and that is it. Like when we had books to correct, [do] you think we stay after school? You bring it home ... up to the other day [when] I was talking to a young girl, she say, 'Carry home what? You mad? I will take a little half an hour and I will correct the books' and that is wrong ... that is the time for you to see what mistakes they made and you do it over the next day ...

Sarah and Martin both suggest a lack of passion by the teachers at school. This lack of interest in teaching can negatively affect children's rights since teachers may have

no desire to uphold rights. For example, when Sarah read Article 29.1e (CRC) about directing education towards respect for the natural environment, she replied:

Sarah: You see Charrise, with the young people you have teaching now ... you are not going to get some of these things you know
Charrise: Why do you say that?
Sarah: Look at a simple thing....last year or year before, I went into my school, and they had the lines of children in front of you and they had five young teachers there. And so I am talking behind to one of the teachers, they are going to sing the National Anthem, one is eating corn curls, one is combing her hair, and they start the National Anthem and the next one is turning around to talk ... and they not even interested to teach them [students] the right thing, so when you singing the National Anthem you have to have respect for it ... so there was nothing like that ...

Sarah later revealed her perception that younger teachers did not even teach the children to keep their classroom clean; and therefore, she felt it was unlikely they would teach students respect for the natural environment. At a workshop, the same principle was explained to teachers, “you cannot insist that your students are punctual if you are not in class to greet them when they arrive” (Worrell, 2006: 170). Unfortunately, a study of teachers in Junior Secondary schools showed “many teachers are unpunctual and totally uninterested in their charges” (Harris-Martin, 1997: 172). It follows that these teachers will have no interest in the rights of their students.

It was clear that these perceptions of teachers did not hold true for all teachers as Maria, Sarah, and Ann Marie, the teachers interviewed for this study, showed a great deal of passion for teaching. They talked with enthusiasm about

learning and displayed concern for serious issues like child abuse and bullying. Maria talked about the importance of giving children a voice in the classroom. Likewise, in a moving response, Ann Marie shared her love for teaching and when asked what she liked most about teaching, she replied,

Learning from the kids (laughs a little) ... that's interesting learning from them ... sharing with them ... sharing their view of the world and their hopes and dreams and being a part of ... being a part of them ...

Asked the same question, Maria responded in a similar manner:

...that you are able to show some love and compassion to children because most times they ... sometimes they have never experienced it before at home especially ...

Sarah recalled a situation where she went out of her way to talk to a parent about a problem she noticed in school with his son. At the time, she was a young teacher and the parent did not want to come in to see her:

I remember I was teaching his son and I noticed something was wrong ... and I was a young teacher then eh, and I sent to call John Michaels and he wouldn't come and one day we were walking up by Pat Maraj [restaurant] there and he passed and he stopped and I said, 'Mr. Michaels, so long I sent to call you to tell you I find something wrong with the child eyes and he need to be taken to[the eye doctor]' [And he said,] 'Miss, look, you too young yes, you don't know anything about [that]' But two weeks later, the child was wearing glasses, something was wrong with his eyes.

These do not sound like teachers who do not care,

supervise or teach. There are still teachers out there who care about students, showing the potential both for teachers in Trinidad to excel and for improvements to the current situation. It is obvious that not all teachers hold these views; however, training and constant emphasis on these areas may yield positive results.

C) Teachers lack resources

While teachers were criticized for some of their qualities, the fact remains that teachers face a number of challenges at school, not the least of which is overcrowding. When given some of the rights to read in the CRC, Maria said:

This sounds very good in writing but when you have 24 children with about 13 subjects to teach it's, it's very difficult ... when you say child's personality, talents, that would mean that you have to take them individually to teach them ... it's impossible. It sounds good as I say but in reality it can't work. Maybe if we had assistant teachers and smaller numbers we'd be able to maximize each child to their fullest potential but as it is now we are not equipped to do that.

While Martin engaged in a critique of teachers, he simultaneously acknowledged that curriculum demands make it very difficult for teachers to work through students' personal problems without assistance. Similarly, Linda reiterated the difficulty experienced by teachers when their students are experiencing problems at home such as hunger, abuse and other factors associated with coming from more socially deprived and depressed areas:

... because the teachers are so burdened with the social problems of the children, it very difficult to teach and to motivate and to encourage in that environment so the teachers most of the time do what they have

to do ... they teach, but then hardly any learning takes place ...

In addition to the overcrowding described by some of the teachers, Ann Marie noted the possible shortage of guidance counsellors in schools:

Well they're just beginning to get guidance counsellors on any scale because before you would have one guidance counsellor serving a whole community and things like that, and I think that's some schools, I don't think every school has a guidance counsellor or anything like that ... [italics added]

Teachers are also at a disadvantage in disciplining students because parents do not want to come in when called. One can recall Sarah's earlier account of an accidental meeting on the street with a parent whom she called to talk about issues regarding his son's health. Maria echoes similar experiences, "Quite often even if you call parents in, they don't come." This is a serious challenge to teachers especially since corporal punishment has been removed from schools without replacement and teachers may not have access to guidance counsellors at the school to help them. When the absence of guidance counsellors is linked to overcrowding and curriculum demands, one may see how teachers can become easily overwhelmed in the classroom.

Government Initiatives

Participants pointed out that where the government could take certain initiatives to develop children's rights, they were slow to do so.

A) "Rights are on a shelf somewhere"

The participants found government action in relation to children's rights, at best, apathetic. In particular, Martin was very critical of the government, complaining about the length of time it was taking to implement children's rights. Describing the situation of children's rights in Trinidad, he stated:

I find [children's rights] lackadaisical [...] I find our program plans and our government is very lackadai- ... and not only government [...] within the home situation [...] and those are the things that we lacking ... they don't implement nothing here! Rights of the child? They have that on a shelf! When I went to a meeting about a year or two years ... they were still waiting for certain things to implement, for the ministers and them in parliament to [...] sign it off and say ok, this piece of legislation is now validated and start working on that. It's difficult ... they spend too many hours, too many years in fact trying to ponder, all right leh we¹⁴ see if this working, and in the meantime, society go so (points downwards with his thumb) ... down the drain so once we start implementing it we'll see things taking place ...

When asked about discussion of the CRC amongst other service providers in the field, providers in both homes affirmed that there was dialogue between the different organizations. However, they all lamented the length of time it was taking to see results. In general, they felt ignored. For example, Bernadette replied:

Yes, Yes. As a matter of fact there is some...even with the homes and so on, there is legislation to, you know, to pass for the homes.....because a lot of the homes are not even legal...we are helping....we are more or less doing the government's job but umm....there is still a lot of legislation to pass on a lot of the homes and the rights of the child that is just pending there now for years.....you know so...a lot of the homes, we discuss it and we are also part of the umm.... Trinidad and

Tobago Rights of the Child organization that I was in and you know we put things in the paper you know about certain things that might be happening to children and you know they are not being treated.....you know situations not being treated the way they should and so on....but you know, nobody takes you on.

The lack of confidence in the government's ability to act on children's rights was shown when excerpts from Article 18.2 of the CRC¹⁵ were read to adult participants and were greeted by laughter. Amelia said:

Well that's lovely, I've never heard that in my life, but ok if you say the government is supposed to do that, [then] the government is supposed to do that, but I've never heard that, never, never, never ...

Similarly, when Linda read the statement she snorted a bit of a laugh and asked sarcastically, "How?" Maria also laughed when she heard the statements:

Maria: This actually happens? (Laughs)

Charrise: Well that's what I was going to ask you [...] Are you aware of?...

Maria: This I never heard before ... so this states that [...] there are programs in place that teach child-rearing responsibilities?

Charrise: Well, the government is supposed to ensure that there are ...

Maria: Well to my knowledge, no.

Charrise: No? Do you know of any parenting classes or ...?

Maria: No ... nothing that I've heard ...

Bernadette and Elsa shared similar views about the state of children's rights in the country:

Bernadette: You know and where children have a right to an education and children have a right to religion and you know, proper healthcare and all this sort of thing ... a lot of those things are not ... you know

are not [...] we are not following all those...

*Elsa: They are not implemented anywhere ...
Bernadette: No they are not ... not at all, because when you read the book about all that children are entitled to and how they should be treated, it's not happening in Trinidad ... it's not happening in Trinidad.*

It is clear that the participants are sceptical about government efforts to provide programs and assistance to parents. Since a number of requirements in the CRC necessitate changes to the legislation, as well as to existing ministries and programs, it is unfortunate that these amendments take so long. Changes to children's rights will not forge ahead until the government can get these processes running smoothly.

B) Parents: "There is a powerlessness, a hopelessness...and parents just can't cope"

Adult participants held a dim view of parents in Trinidad. They believed that parents were in need of varied support from the government and were in agreement that parenting programs might provide disenfranchised parents with some encouragement. Participants also suggested some parents might need advice on child-rearing techniques. Although participants initially laughed at the CRC statements regarding assistance, they showed excitement about the possibility and were able to point out a number of advantages to this type of government support. Linda replied with certainty that parents would voluntarily attend these programs suggesting that it would empower parents who felt despair in negative environments:

Of course they would, of course they would, especially in the economic times that we livin' in ... the socio-economic times that we are living in, parents are powerless and they feel powerless, th-there is a hopeless, powerlessness in the community. [...] There is a powerlessness, a hopelessness that things would get better and they just can't cope you know, so it's there.

Parenting programs were seen as a way to motivate parents and as an opportunity to learn and discuss other parenting styles. Maria and Amelia stressed that parenting is not necessarily an innate skill and saw some value in providing instruction in these areas to break the cycle of inappropriate and ineffective parenting:

Maria: ... this is what I've been saying all along that they need to be taught how to do it and to do it properly. It just doesn't come automatically and if we get this right, it will shape where we are heading and change things...

Amelia: Of course, any assistance like this will help, [...] there are people who come from broken homes and stuff like that who want to make a difference in their children's lives so this would be an avenue you know, to help them cause they may not have everything down pat, everything is a learning experience as well. I mean I can't tell you I have all the right answers in terms of rearing children, but from my past experiences, from socializing with people who have children, and speaking with them you learn things as well ... so this would be a forum as well, not only government providing, but if you have this sort of forum there is a sharing of information, whereas sometimes people really don't know and they going about it blindly, so it is a good idea, very positive.

Participants were also concerned about the lack of parental supervision that children received, but recognized that this was sometimes due to financial pressures.

Sarah stated that when both parents need to work, they have less time to supervise their children. In addition, this absence led to reduced parental guidance because she explained that there would be a reduction in communication between parents and child. According to Sarah, this results in children getting involved in illegitimate activities.

Similarly, Ann Marie and Maria complained that their students were unable to set goals for themselves and placed little importance on the value of their education. The teachers blamed parents for not having and/or taking the time to share this information with their children. Ann Marie suggested that the channel "BET" (Black Entertainment Television) babysat most children.

This channel and others like it, she explained, exposed children to some of their only role models, who placed emphasis on a lifestyle of material goods and sex. She explained that often parents either do not have the time or do not recognize the importance of discussing goals and future-plans with their children; and as a result, they are highly influenced by the culture seen on television. This is an area that can be also be improved by raising awareness through parenting classes.

Participants also expressed concern for single parents and young parents. For example, Martin compared his perceptions of single parents in Trinidad with those in developed countries. He suggested that single parents abroad were able to receive government assistance so that

they were at least able to have sufficient food in the household, whereas in Trinidad, “you see single parents, real struggling ... sometime you see single parents really, really struggling.” Martin also complained about the bureaucratic red tape that entangles single parents in Trinidad when they attempt to get government assistance:

I think the government could do more, despite it have some assistance here for single parents [...] when you have little disability grants and so on ... but it's too much a things you have to go through before you get these things, by the time that happen a child could dead! You know, so I think the government could do more to take care of single parents to umm ... raise their hope you know, so a mother who have to go out to work and she ain't have no food for the child and she can't buy shoes, she can't buy books, she can't buy this, she can't buy that, she can't send him with a proper sandwich in his lunch kit and some snacks ... it's a mess and so ... we could disagree with that for a little bit. We need some assistance.

Like Martin, some participants felt that single mothers, particularly, needed government assistance. Linda and Maria referred to single mothers who had several children and who were overwhelmed with their situations. During a home visit, Linda attended the former residence of a child who was living on the streets:

... the home environment we went to was conducive to a good living, you know, a good upbringing, and the mother, her own value system [...] was appropriate. What we found is that she was very much overwhelmed by her situation, as a single parent of six children having to work and provide everything.

Maria also talked about an unemployed single mother with ten children to care for on her own. She complained about the absence of paternal support and its results:

... she is just trying to etch out a living from however and the children are left unattended and unsupervised; and, as a result of that you end up with delinquency of course.

Similarly, Linda highlighted the importance of a support system for single mothers to assist them in supervising and supporting their children:

... maybe I'm [from] a single parent home and when my mother come home she tired and so she can't supervise homework [...] and then single parent household didn't help much because it's very difficult if I have four children and I'm the sole bread-winner and I have to go to work, when I come home I am tired and I cannot supervise homework and I cannot make my children understand how important homework is unless I have a very strong support system in place, so that their aunt lives nearby so that when they come from school in the evening they can go by their aunt and do homework and eat so that by the time I come from work in the evening it's just for them to come over and bathe and go to sleep ... but I have a support system in place...

Brown (2001:31) explains that while family support systems are common in the Caribbean, they are not always available and single mothers may find it difficult to pay for child-care services. It would be useful to see provision of some of these services to aid these single parents.

C) "Children's rights? ... In terms of T & T, no I've never heard that here..."

With the exception of child-care providers and teachers, there was a low-level of awareness regarding children's rights. Participants' responses to questions about children's rights, particularly parents', showed a limited understanding of the topic. The term was unfamiliar to Julia:

*Charrise: Have you heard of children's rights?
 Julia: No. I've never come across it really. It's never been an issue before, like nothing televised or anything like that ...*

On the other hand, the term was familiar to Amelia; yet, she could not apply it to the Trinidadian context:

Charrise: [...] Have you heard of children's rights?

Amelia: Yes

*Charrise: Could you tell me what you know about them?
 Amelia: Umm ... basically from the ... basically from America in the sense that people abroad talk about it in that ... umm ... they not supposed to be hit and you know they could, they could, you know, when I say do things in terms of like file ... I don't know if injunctions is the right word but things against their parents if they feel like they being unlawfully treated etc but in terms of Trinidad and Tobago, no, I've never heard that here.*

This concept of “rights as American” was raised by ten participants. Some of these references mentioned parental leniency, absence of corporal punishment, injunctions against parents and rights as being excessive (in America). Interestingly, the United States is one of the countries who have not signed the CRC and where parent’s rights have been described as “the most protected and cherished of all constitutional rights” (Guggenheim, 2005: 23). Amelia’s and other participants’ explanations are largely inaccurate and look to extreme cases.

While not generalizable to the whole population, these responses suggest that not enough is being done to spread awareness of children’s rights in Trinidad. Amelia and

Julia both read the newspapers daily and specifically noted that they had never read anything about it. Similarly, Stan explained that he was familiar with the term, but did not necessarily understand what it meant. When asked what he knew about it, he said:

Umm ... not a lot ... in fact nothing specific ... I think I maybe heard the term children's rights but in terms of actually understanding what children's rights mean ... and from a legal perspective what that involves or from any other perspective what that involves then not particularly no ...

The children discussed rights in social studies in Standard Five and were more aware than parents. Yet, most children were still vague about what children's rights entailed. For example:

Charrise: ... have you heard of children's rights?

Jeanine¹⁶: Yes

Charrise: What do you know about them?

Jeanine: I know that in Trinidad children have rights to the things that they need, like a right to shelter, clothing and food and the basic necessities, they have a right to fun, to care and love and protection, umm ... and yeah that's all I remember from primary school ...

Charrise: So do you think children are aware of their rights?

Jeanine: Not really ... I think they just view it as something that they have to learn for social studies ... umm ... I don't think they know that they have rights, I don't think they even know what is rights ...

Charrise: ... have you heard of children's rights?

Jacqueline: ... I think so ...

Charrise: Could you tell me what you know about them?

Jacqueline: ... I think I just heard of the name ... I never really heard of... anything about it, I just ... like ... you know like when you watching TV, at the end of it, they's put like children's rights? That's pretty much it....I don't really know much about it ...

Also unable to explain children's rights, Anna had finished Standard Five only a few months prior to the interview:

Charrise: Have you ever heard of children's rights?

Anna: Yeah

Charrise: Could you tell me what you know about them?

Anna: Well I heard of them ... but I don't really remember anything about that ...

When asked if she thought children were aware of their rights in Trinidad, Linda was adamant that they were not:

*Linda (shakes her head no): Nmm-mm, who tellin' them? (Makes a comic face, we both laugh). American children are aware of their rights, children outside are aware of their rights, I mean like North American countries and England, they are aware of their rights and the more developed countries, but in Trinidad? *Steups* [sucks her teeth] ...please.*

Charrise: Why do you think that is though?

Linda: Cause nobody's telling them ... I mean think about it—the government doesn't even have policies in place for children's rights, you understand? The government doesn't have policies in place I mean acknowledging the rights of children and implementing agencies that will, you know, stand up for the rights of children and that kinda thing, so how the children, how the child will know that?

Linda is correct in her assumptions that children do not know about children's rights; however, her reasoning is flawed. As the children's interviews indicate, they have been told about rights in school; yet, they can hardly articulate them. These rights hold no meaning to children and therefore they are unable to recall them; their rights are not a lived experience.

The following section highlights the steps towards ameliorating children's rights in Trinidad as some of the issues emerging from the themes are discussed and related to existing literature.

Forging Children's Rights in Reality

The government has a responsibility to ensure that these homes are providing children with a healthy environment and should be more aware of the challenges faced by these children's homes. Government inspections would signify a crucial step towards meeting state obligations to children's rights. Additionally, consultation with community members could identify problems in specific areas, whose alleviation might stem the flow of children who need to be removed from homes.

The shortage of resources with respect to care of children's mental health in children's homes is also not unique. According to Worrell (2006), the overall state of mental health care in Trinidad is lacking; furthermore, he states, "Trinidad and Tobago has no assessment procedures or legal mandates to identify basic mental health problems (e.g.) depression in children and youth" (159). Therefore, many children in the island are not able to access proper care for their mental health, particularly children in low-income homes who have little or no access to these resources.

Again, one sees the government falling short of the child's rights to be assured "the enjoyment of the highest

attainable standard of health and to facilities for the treatment of illness and rehabilitation of health" (Article 24, CRC). It should be obvious that a child whose situation is so dire that they must be removed from their home environment, or who has spent considerable time living on the streets, will be in need of rehabilitative treatment.

Likewise, the education system is clearly facing many challenges. The Committee on the Rights of the child (2006) has also expressed concern over "the unsatisfactory length of compulsory schooling" (12) in Trinidad and Tobago and the issue requires urgent attention. If the government were to make school compulsory until age 15 or 16, then it could help to alleviate a situation of illegal child labour and reduce the occurrence of street children. However, in order for that to happen, there must be official follow-up when children are absent from school. Attempts must also be made to alleviate conditions that force children out of school and into money earning enterprises for the sake of their survival.

Where the Junior Secondary School System has been "likened to 'academic colonialism'" (Harris-Martin, 1997: 176), the revised situation has done little to reduce these qualities. Although, the names of and the length of attendance at these high schools has changed, the overwhelming number of low-income students has not. As previously discussed, the poorer students are still more likely to be placed in these schools based on lower academic performance. While the Ministry can be praised for effecting changes, the whole education system must be

restructured if secondary education is to be dispersed equitably.

The scarcity of qualified teachers and guidance counsellors within schools is also a continuing challenge. Problems associated with low income students can be compounded by the absence of these supports. In addition, where there are guidance counsellors their expertise is drawn from a wide range of disciplines, "consequently their knowledge in areas like diagnosis, assessment, and intervention is limited" (Worrell, 2006: 173). Worrell (2006: 174) claims that his suggestions to the government for provision of scholarships for people to qualify in this field have gone unheeded. The ongoing problem of the shortage of qualified teachers within secondary schools could also be alleviated by similar steps.

However, Worrell (2006: 162) has suggested that the problem runs deeper than a simple shortage of qualified teachers. He suggests that the school system is such that the schools, which have the highest academic achievers, also have the greatest resources including the most qualified teachers. Therefore, "the students who have the lowest academic skills receive teachers with the poorest knowledge base in the various subject areas" and continue to be at a disadvantage (Worrell, 2006: 163). Therefore, reforms to the education system must also address the imbalance of resources between schools.

Moreover, Harris-Martin's study (1997) found that the relevance and importance of students' social backgrounds

was not understood by teachers. Teachers saw their role as a limited one, as “instructors and not [...] facilitators of social and character training of the students” (Harris-Martin, 1997: 171-2).

Teacher expectation can also influence student performance. For example, studies in Jamaica show that teachers do not expect students from lower socio-economic backgrounds to be able to cope with the demands of the curriculum (Evans & Davies, 1997: 18). They go on to explain that the “home environment, the children’s perceived low intelligence, and lack of interest in learning are used to justify these views” and this type of thinking may well impact the teacher’s own motivation to achieve learning in the classroom (Evans & Davies, 1997: 18).

Thus, if teachers perceive that students are unable to succeed due to these factors, they may not strive to motivate students. This may lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy: “[the] teacher gets less because she expects less” (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1997: 443). The importance of these concepts must be imparted to teachers at the beginning of their service and reinforced throughout. As previously discussed by teachers in the interviews, improved resources such as teaching assistants, reduced numbers of students and access to guidance counsellors would allow them more time to concentrate on their student’s needs.

The absence of a substitute teacher system in the country also means that students suffer when teachers are away. To exacerbate this problem, Worrell (2006) asserts that

“many teachers insist on taking *their* 28 [sick] days” (164) (emphasis in original). In light of Sarah’s observations of the lack of motivation of young teachers, there is need for some sort of incentives to encourage teachers to attend school regularly. In addition, the development of a substitute teachers system would benefit students and teachers by allowing them to keep up with curriculum demands. It would also create more jobs within the public sector.

Additionally, teachers need to understand that they are role models and are not limited to simply imparting academic knowledge. Therefore, they must lead by example. Worrell (2006) points out that “absenteeism and tardiness are chronic in the public sector, including the health system, the police force, the teaching service, and the public service” (170). All of these services are integral to the protection of children’s rights and therefore training needs to take place in the public sector to raise awareness about their potential impact on children’s rights.

End Notes

- 1 Referred to in the remainder of the paper as the *CRC*; Convention on the Rights of the Child.
- 2 This type of research is rare in any country, so it is difficult to assess where Trinidad and Tobago may lie in relation to other countries regarding compliance with the treaty. The CRC represents an ideal which no country has fully achieved to date and developing countries are not alone in facing challenges.
- 3 In 2004, 224 State reports were overdue and as the Committee itself is behind in report reviews, implementation progress is hard to assess (Gerschutz & Karns, 2005: 36).
- 4 See also Panter-Brick, 2002 for a further discussion on this issue.
- 5 The term “socially displaced children” was used to describe children who were homeless or had been removed from an untenable home environment and placed in a children’s institution by officials or at the family’s request.
- 6 All participants either chose or were assigned pseudonyms. The names of the children’s homes were also changed to Golden House and House of Hope.
- 7 He was sent to a program at another private institution. Martin did not disclose the length of the program.
- 8 Amy Annamunthodo was four years old when she was beaten to death on May 15th 2006. Autopsy reports later revealed that Amy was raped and sodomized (Gumbs-Sandiford, 2007a). Her stepfather was charged with murder and her mother was charged with six counts of child neglect (her mother’s charges were later dismissed) (Gumbs-Sandiford, 2007b).
- 9 Sean-Luke Lumfai was a six-year-old boy whose body was found in a Couva canefield on March 2006. He was brutally sodomized and drowned (Boodan, 2006).
- 10 Interestingly, the Children (Amendment) Act 2000 (No. 68 of 2000 located in the Children Act, C-46, Appendix), notes in Part D, the child’s responsibility to attend school until age 12.
- 11 A life centre in Trinidad, which runs a number of child development programs as well as adolescent skill and vocational training. See also <http://www.un.org/Pubs/chronicle/2004/issue1/0104p42.asp>

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- 12 Linda explained what the MuST program is: "It is Multi-skill Sector Training so you have all different skills, so they training you in different skills, but you must be able to read." In order to enter the program you must also be between the ages of 18 and 50 (Government of the Republic of Trinidad & Tobago, www.gov.tt/default.aspx.)
- 13 Allyuh = all of you
- 14 Leh we = let's
- 15 States parties shall render appropriate assistance to parents and legal guardians in the performance of their child-rearing responsibilities and shall ensure the development of institutions, facilities, and services for the care of children.
- 16 Children's names were underlined and italicized to emphasize their voices.

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RAPISTS' ACCOUNTS OF THEIR MOTIVATIONS, PREMEDITATION AND TARGET CHOICES: SOME TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO DATA

Simon Alexis

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago

There has been a 71.1 percent increase in the rate of rape in Trinidad and Tobago from 2000 to 2006. However, local studies of this crime category are few. In an effort to provide local data about particular cases of rape, and to test the applicability of typologies that have been supported in other jurisdictions, this study examined 25 incarcerated male rapists' accounts of their motivations, levels of premeditation and target choices.

In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted, and resulting qualitative data reduced into dominant themes. Polaschek and Gannon's (1994) ideas of rapists feeling '*entitlement*' and women being perceived as '*dangerous*' by these rapists were clearly evident in the current data.

The dominant form of rape was consistent with Knight, Prentky and Cerce's (1994) '*opportunistic rape*', and a number of McCabe and Wauchope's (2005) '*behavioural*

characteristics of rapists' were identified in the current study. Other links to international trends and typologies are identified, and information about rapists' characteristics, target choices, motivations, levels of premeditation, prior offences and justice system contacts is presented. Findings from this study are likely to inform local efforts to reduce the incidence of rape, as well as rapists' recidivism.

Many citizens are unaware of the increase in the reports of rape made in Trinidad and Tobago, (Trinidad and Tobago Police Service, 2007). While the focus has been on violent crimes, and fear of such crimes has engaged the country and law enforcement agencies' attention, the crime of rape has been perpetrated nationwide (Trinidad and Tobago Police Service, 2007).

A clearer appreciation of rapists' behaviours would be examined within the context of the types of rapists and their association with general offending to ascertain how they target their victims. Who or what should be blamed for rapes: substance abuse, the victim, or the rapist?

Based on clinical experiences and impressions developed by Groth and Birnbaum (1979), one of three categories of rapists is the *power rapists*. They are seen as exerting dominance, mastery, violence, authority and control over their victims displaying only the necessary violence or force to satisfy their uncontrollable sexual fantasies for sexual potency. Polaschek and Gannon (2004:300)

indicated that when rapists talk about their offending, they often reveal fascinating aspects of their world view.

Violence and fear of *power rapists* are demonstrated by one participant: "She sat down on the couch and I came to the couch, sat with her and took off her panties and jeans and started playing with her, ... she said nothing, and ... went into the adjoining bedroom and sat on the bed, I pushed her down on the bed, put my hands on her chest, unzip my pants took my penis and try to put it in her vagina. She then said she felt a sharp pain." (Offender #19).

Theorists Knight and Prentky (1990) and Knight, Prentky and Cerce (1994), proffered a typology, which was revised by Knight (1999). One of their four primary rapist types typology is the *opportunistic type rapists*, who commit spontaneous sexual assaults by stalking their victims and focusing on sudden enjoyment whilst using violence to control their victims.

Another typology, according to Polaschek and Gannon's (2004), is *Entitlement implicit theory*, where rapists either forced their right to have sex whether the victim consented or not, or displayed that they accepted their dominance over and right to control women's behaviour. Polaschek and Gannon (2004) also proffered *Women are dangerous implicit theory*, where rapists express mistrust of women.

Can it be that rapists consume alcohol or use drugs specifically to commit their rape acts? Abbey (1991) and Pernanen (1991) have noted that alcohol is involved in one-

third to two-thirds of rapes. Langevin and Long (1990) contended that there might be something about alcohol abuse that is related to sexual offending. In addition, Langström, Sjöstedt and Grann (2004) explained that alcohol abuse more than doubled the risk of recidivism amongst sex offenders.

Abracen et al. (2006) contended that sexual offenders do abuse alcohol, and suggested that: "alcohol abuse is related to sexual offending in important ways." One participant of the current study narrated: "Well, that was a Friday or something. I was intoxicated as I say. I pass and pick her up in a bar, because I know she and thing, and we went and I carry she down by my side and ask she to have sexual intercourse, and she refused and I still went on with the procedure, and that was it dey." (Offender #21).

McCabe and Wauchope's (2005) contend that about 25% of rapists were acquaintances, and the rape occurred frequently at the victim's residence. Some rapists choose their targets based on the targets' suitability to their type of targeting. For Stangeland (2005) rapists' target choices were young and attractive, married women with all victims raped on their matrimonial bed.

The definition of rape, most times, is based on legal interpretations (Tobach & Sunday, 1985). Varying interpretations of rape tend to pose problems for analysis (Finkelhor & Vilo, 1982). There have been instances in the United States where women committed rapes, and males were victims of rape (Russell, 1984; Struckman-Johnson

1986).

Rape, for the purposes of this research, will be defined as physical, forceful, sexual intercourse with a female person by a male person, who inserts his penis into the female's vagina without her consent. The slightest penetration of the vagina, even void of emission will suffice (*Sexual Offences Act: 308*). The definition also includes use of force by the perpetrator, where consent is given by the victim based on the victim's fear of bodily harm to self or another person. All attempts to commit such acts are also deemed rape (*Sexual Offences Act: 300-301*).

The aim of this research is to try to determine rapists' accounts of their motivations, levels of premeditation and target choices with a view to understanding how rapists formulate their acts in Trinidad and Tobago. Their modes of operations, prior interaction, and relationships with victims were examined. It is expected to unearth evidence that may guide policy makers in producing interventions for reducing the incidence of rape.

Methodology

Design of Study

This research took the form of a qualitative analysis of adult incarcerated rapists' responses to a semi-structured questionnaire, together with the review of these rapists' institutional files. They were interviewed, focusing on questions relating to basic demographic data, prior and

index offences, planning, context, location and target choice.

The collection process occurred over a period of six weeks in 2008. The structured interviews were recorded by the researcher who was assisted by a stenographer using a Computer Aided Transcription (CAT) system. This system facilitated an audio-synchronised, verbatim record of the sessions. The stenographer tape-recorded the sessions, which aided in obtaining an accurate reproduction of the interviews. Document reviews were conducted before and after rapists' interviews, in order to substantiate demographic and offending data. The pre interview review enabled the researcher to be familiar with some aspects of the rapists' history during the interview.

Research Participants

Twenty-five incarcerated adult males, convicted of rape offences, took part in the study. They were drawn from the Maximum Security Prison and the Carrera Convict Prison in Trinidad and Tobago State Prison. The convicted rapists' population of seventy-one rapists were supplied and participants who were most recently admitted to the prison system were first recruited to the sample followed by those who were admitted longer, in that order, until the sample of 25 was realized.

All the rapists in the study were charged for the index offence of rape. In all instances, High Court trials were conducted and participants had been found guilty and

sentenced to incarceration.

However, 10 or 40% had been previously incarcerated for violent and other serious crimes. None was undergoing psychological treatment at the time of the study.

Procedure

Adult males who were convicted, incarcerated rapists were recruited as participants after their Trinidad and Tobago Prison Service institutional files were reviewed.

The *exclusion criteria* for the study were: (1) those who committed rape offences against children and blood relatives; (2) those who committed sexual offences that did not involve penetration of the vagina with the penis. None of these criteria is considered 'rape' according to the *Sexual Offences Act*. (3) those whose rape charges were pending before the judicial system. The *inclusion criteria* were: (1) male adult incarcerated rapists whose act involved the use of their penis to penetrate the victim's vagina. (2) All attempts to commit the act, and (3) in terms of gender, all victims had to be females.

The focus of the interviews was to have participants explain the whole rape act and to recount all the actions, feelings and behaviours they displayed during that period. There were five main categories of questions. These were: prior offences; circumstances; planning and premeditation; victim factors, and motivation.

Results

Prior Offences

Ten members of the sample had been previously incarcerated for offences ranging from simple larceny to serious offences such as robbery. The length of prior incarceration ranged from 1 to 5 years (see [Table 1](#)) with 50% of those previously incarcerated having served 2 to 4 different sentences. This gives support to *power rapists* use of violence, with 12% of the sample stating they committed over 100 undetected offences and another claimed to have committed between 200 to 300 offences undetected.

Table 1
Participants' Previous Official Offending

Offender #	Years served	Frequency Incarcerated
2	2 ½	1
11	5	2
13	2	1
15	1/4	3
16	1 ½	3
17	5	2
18	1	1
22	2	4
25	2	1

Circumstances

Participants' responses to questions about the circumstances of the index offence and when it was committed placed participants into three categories: deniers, admitters and refusers.

Denial of committing offences is not a new occurrence in rape research, and can vary. For example, Langevin et al's (2004) sample of 320 sex offenders, 90.5% admitted to committing the marked offences. Polaschek and Gannon (2004:309) with a sample of 37 rapists said that: "A key feature of rapists' account of their offenses is whether or not they admit they committed a rape. Often, men who deny committing rape may not be considered suitable for treatment."

A significant part of the present sample (76%) denied guilt for their proven index offences (see [Table 2](#)). This fits into Polaschek and Gannon's (2004:306) *implicit theory of women are dangerous*. They proffered that: "The high prevalence of this particular theory was particularly noticeable among deniers, who mostly portrayed their victims as accusing them of rape to get back at them for trivial misdemeanour, or because otherwise the victim would be in trouble with her boyfriend for having sex with another man."

This has emerged in the current research as one participant's explanation for being charged with the index offence stated: "Well it is a little friend I used to deal. That night I end up dropping she home late on that occasion. But she boyfriend was home and he get angry because ah drop she home late and he and she brother beat me up, take meh car keys.... I decide to go and report it in the station. They tell she to get even with me, if ah going to lock them up - gee them case. She hah to say, well ah commit this offence. That is what transpired." (Offender# 7).

Another indication of *implicit theory - women are dangerous* as shown by Offender #9, who claimed to be fooled by a young victim, is as follows: "The person I get myself involved with, the first thing, they lied to me about their age. The person tell me they was 23 years old. Well, we start seeing each other and we end up having sex. Someone saw us when we was coming from where we were, and they went and talk to their mother. Then when I was charged with that incident is the only time I knew she was 16 years."

According to Polaschek and Gannon's (2004) *implicit theory*, rapists usually provide insight into their beliefs and perceptions whether or not they admit that their sexual behaviour was of a criminal nature. Offender #9 denied having committed the index offence, based on his belief that consent was given by the victim whose age was under that required for statutory sexual consent.

Table 2
Participants' Response to Index Offence Committal

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Deniers	19	76
Admitters	5	20
Refuser	1	4

Twenty percent of participants who admitted committing the index offence showed evidence of *women are dangerous implicit theory*. Offender #10 stated that: "Okay, I get lock up for rape, but I would like to say this also, this was consent, but the fact remains that the youth was a teenager at the time. It wasn't anything like force or anything like that."

Planning and Premeditation

Lussier, Proulx and LeBlanc (2005) indicated that sexual aggression can occur during a burglary in which theft was the initial motive. A significant finding is that 23 of the participants or 92% stated they did not plan to rape their victims whilst 84% did not choose the time of the day they raped - this is the behaviour of the *opportunist rapist* according to Knight, Prentky and Cerce (1994). Some participants narrated: "How you mean choose the time of the day? It happen. We accustom" (Offender #7); "No, it just happened. We didn't choose no particular time" (Offender #12); "This girl was a girl who used to be around on the block and under a low she would come out certain times in the night" (Offender #20).

It was found that victims' home emerged as the most frequently used place (see [Table 3](#)). This supports the findings of McCabe and Wauchope (2005) behavioural characteristics of rapists that a large number of rapes take place at victims' home.

Table 3
Place Where the Index Rape Occurred

Victim's home	Rapist's home	Vehicle	Lonely place	Hospital	Other
7	6	2	3	1	6
28%	24%	8%	12%	4%	24%

In addition, Stangeland's (2005:456) study of a serial rapist of 29 admitted rapes, stated that: "The victims were always married, young and attractive, and all assaults took place

in their own home.”

The current research found that 7 participants or 28% committed the rapes at the victims' home. For example, this participant indicated that: “Well, it happen in the woman house. It wasn't nowhere out the road to say it happen in the road.” (Offender #24).

Some participants gave various replies about committing the index offence supporting *implicit theory*, 'Entitlement'. According to Polaschek and Gannon (2004), it refers to the idea that one's needs, inclusive of sexual needs, should be met as requested. A few selected lonely places to commit the index offence. One stated: “Wherever I reach them up, once is a lonely place, I will just take them” (Offender #23).

Another of the sample who chose a lonely place narrates: “Coincidentally you try to get her in a secluded place; you always having her in places, but this trip it's in a secluded place and you really want; you don't want to turn back.” (Offender #25).

Rapists' activities in Trinidad and Tobago showed that the majority of their targeting is centred on victims known to them. This can assist enforcement officials and would-be victims to be alerted to their acquaintances' behaviours and activities. Eighteen or 72% of the participants reported to have raped their acquaintances. For example: “Yes. We met in the church” (Offender #18); and, “They always around” (Offender #2).

For 19 or 76%, location features were not important to them suggesting that the majority of the sample operated spontaneously as opportunities arose - a prime feature of the *opportunistic rapists*. Some responses are: "It took place right home by me" (Offender #8); "It wasn't a place that was selected, it was a place I normally does be" (Offender #9); "I really didn't select any place. It is just at the point of the time where we were and when the incident happened I participate" (Offender #12).

It is clear that *opportunistic rapists* disregard planning for locations and strike at their prey with despatch.

A vast number of rapists (23 or 92%) behavioural characteristics showed they did not intend to rape on the onset. One of the respondents appeared to have been overwhelmed by the appearance of the victim and stated that: "Like I said, my plan was not to rape. Just at the point at the time when everything happened, the way she looked and whatnot, it turned me on" (Offender #12).

Another participant tells his piece: "I didn't intend to rape, but commit other offences, shoot the men them, chop them up, burn down the house, rob them" (Offender #17).

Almost all the respondents did not plan to rape initially, which suggests that they would have acted based on the opportunity as it arose. Knight, Prentky and Cerce (1994) noted that the *opportunistic type* rapist commits impulsive, predatory sexual assaults, and violence is used to constrain the victim.

Offender #23 displays such behaviour, indicating that: "In the night now, I will go prowling. Sometimes I meet up no one, when I reach up another woman. Ah throw her over a cliff, skate her knee and had sexual intercourse with her. In my heart is to take her life, but after ah discharge ah take her and bring she back up the road. The urge is not to destroy her, just to have meh desire quench."

This revelation is also consistent with Knight et al's (1999) notion of *power rapists* - those who exert strength, authority and control over their victims. Participants gave different reasons for choosing victims they raped. One participant displaying *power rapists'* behaviour, stated briefly and fearlessly: "I just going hunting" (Offender #23).

Victim Factors

Responses to dress, complexion and desire had an impact on one rapist's choice to rape. Question 23: *Were there aspects of how the victim dressed that ruled her out as a possibility?* Reply: "Well you can't stop that. Once they dress...sometimes dressing have a lot to really ketch the imagination. You can't stop that."

Exposure of the body seems to be an enticement for some rapists, whilst others felt short pants contributed to the rape. Rapists' comments: "She had on a short pants and a short top. She like sexy thing; a nice thing; a best thing. I does only go around best thing. You know wha ah mean nah. They mightn't be best in attitude and thing. You

know what I talking about" (Offender #7); "She had a little short pants and no underwear, and that what cause it" (Offender #3); "Yes. For instance a J'Ouvert morning wear.[*Laughing*] Short fitting pants, piece a top, exposed, yuh seeing flesh" (Offender #15).

Rapists - 12 or 48% - stated that features do matter and various reasons were given. Women's shape, breast, buttocks and hip were appealing to some of them: "I like to see a woman hip. I like to see she hip. [*Laughing*] Ah like to see hip with small chest". [*Laughing*] (Offender #14); "Little piece ah tail; shapeted; must be looking good. Piece ah ass" (Offender #15); "Shape, hips part, chest part, a lil face and thing. Beauty in them" (Offender #17).

The three above participants have supported Whatley's (2005) finding that the way women dress can affect rapists' desires: "Victim is deserving of some blame...victim dressed in a seductive manner deserved more responsibility for the incident than the victim dressed in a sober manner" (Whatley 2005:197). Thus, women's physique seems to play an important part in choices rapists make when they rape.

Substance abuse was highlighted by Abracen et al (2006). They contend that a history of drug abuse is common to rapists and violent offenders. In one case the participant claimed, body exposure, alcohol and smoking contributed, whilst another claimed to have used both alcohol and marijuana: "Yes, the flesh was exposed. At that point in

time we were drinking alcohol and smoking. It turns you on" (Offender #12); "Up in Caura extension....And I later have a relationship with the woman under the influence of marijuana, well, no, well I went up together by the river, and we was smoking weed. We was smoking weed and we was drinking homemade wine" (Offender #1).

In the case of another participant, he indicated that: "Ah realize smoking cocaine was getting the better half of me, ah say boy, ah cyah leh meh friends, meh people and them see meh doing this" (Offender # 20).

In the present research, substance abuse by rapists supports the findings of Langevin and Lang (1990) who stated that sexual offenders experience great problems with substance abuse. Abracen et al. (2006) also suggested that: "alcohol abuse is related to sexual offending in important ways." This participant said: "I was really intoxicated at the time when this incident take place...intoxicated with alcohol. Well, that was a Friday or something. I was intoxicated as I say. I pass and pick her up in a bar, because I know she and thing, and we went and I carry she down by my side and ask she to have sexual intercourse, and she refused and I still went on with the procedure, and that was it dey. Ah didn't get hold the same day, but three days after" (Offender # 21).

Motivation

In choosing a target, one participant's choice was made by the need to rape, and sought his victim based on his sexual

desire. His behaviour, although having *power rapists'* characteristics, supports the findings of Knight, Prentky, and Cerce's (1994) opportunistic type rapist: "Ah come down and ah gone down on the beach, and when I walking on the beach ah see a young girl name (*victim named*). After ah walking on the beach, ah reach (*victim named*), someone ah know quite well, but the urge in me to have sexual intercourse and so on, ah run up to her and ah lock her neck, and ah told her, ah know you ain't know who is this. She say (participant named), you is a man with a intellect, you does speak so fine, you could get any woman you want. Ah say, girl all I want to do is for you to have sexual intercourse with me" (Offender # 23).

A large number, 18 or 72% of the sample, did not expect to be caught, whilst 100% did not weigh the potential of punishment before raping. This suggests that a high number of rapists, raped mostly when the opportunity arose, giving a fit to Knight, Prentky and Cerce's (1994) *opportunist rapist*. For example: "I wasn't thinking of being caught at that time" (Offender #12); "I didn't think about any punishment because I never had any mind coming to prison" (Offender #4); "Me ain't looking out for no punishment, because the person affiliated to me" (Offender #25)

Also unearthed are *power rapists'* feelings displayed towards their rape victims: "I didn't have no mercy. I really ain't feel good, but I was vex. Yes, it was revenge....Not really. [*response to jealousy*] As I say, is hurt I really went to hurt them" (Offender #16); Yes, I had, but I just couldn't

bring it out. You know when I rape she, better ah take she life, but as ah done discharge, that passion would go and ah would assist them up” (Offender #23).

Offender #23 felt he was entitled to have sex even against the victim’s desires and gives support to ‘*entitlement*’ *implicit theory* that proffers, offenders insist on their right to have sex regardless of the victim’s consent or not (Polaschek and Gannon 2004). An unusual rapist’s behaviour emerged as a result of a contract given to rape one victim. He narrated: “ As ah tell yuh before, it was a pay work, and the person identify the person; they pass in the car, they identify the person and tell me this is the person they want me mash up and dat is how it drag out. Whether a rape or murder or whatever it could be, once the person want the work finish, and they pay they money, half ah the money and you do the work, they carry you and they show yuh which part the person living, and within two to three weeks the work complete you go and collect yuh rest a money” (Offender #24).

In terms of controlling sexual desires, 23 (or 92%) stated they could control such desires but one respondent reported he couldn’t control the desire. He stated: “It was just at the point of time I was there and the way she was exposed, it just came into my mind and I felt that I had to have her. Knowing that I had the power knowing we had her as hostage, I committed the act” (Offender #12).

Evidence of Knight, Prentky and Cerce’s (1994) *opportunistic*

rapists emerged numerous times, with Implicit theories emerging to a lesser extent. In addition, Abracen et al. (2006) findings that: "alcohol abuse is related to sexual offending in important ways" support the findings of *substance abuse* in this research. There was some evidence of McCabe and Wauchope's (2005) typology that indicated rapes occurred regularly in the victims' homes. *Power rapists* were also noticeable in the current study.

Rapists in the research reported that they had also committed general offences and a significant number raped their acquaintances, as supported by Stangeland's (2005). Another finding was that rapists are attracted to women who wear short pants as posited by Whatley (2005).

Limitations

Participants recruited were not rape recidivists, thus generalizations may not be reliable. Lengthy waiting periods for participants' trials might have had an impact on participants' memory. Surprisingly, however, participants who were incarcerated longest gave richer narrations of their encounters.

Many respondents have been incarcerated for longer than three years, which may have affected the accuracy of their responses. Also, a few repeat rape offenders were unavailable. They might have been a more interesting group for such a research. Although recording of the interviews may have inhibited responses, the accuracy of

quotes is guaranteed. This research is the first of its kind in the region and all possible respondents were sourced. Qualitative approach facilitated collection of full narratives and aided theory building.

Future Research

Future research should be conducted using recent offenders, chronic offenders, and various types of offenders.

Respondents' accounts of the index offence should be compared with that of victims. Victims' narrations of the sample index offence should be analysed.

Research should be conducted into the high incidences of acquaintance-victims' rapes, also into geographic location and community factors of the sample.

Implications

It is hoped that this research would sensitize would-be victims about different types of rapists and their preferences, such as young women, scantily dressed women, and women who abuse substances.

Law enforcement investigators should not rule out general offenders and abusers of alcohol and drugs, as rape suspects.

Citizens should be alerted to but not alarmed at the areas

in which rapes are prevalent, and should be careful of acquaintances and strangers in their homes.

Knowledge of the aforementioned types of rapists can assist investigators in their understanding of rapists' behaviours.

Rape prevention initiatives can be developed through education and policy formulation driven by the results of the research.

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TOURISM AND CRIME IN A SMALL ISLAND TOURIST DESTINATION: THE CASE OF TOBAGO

Wendell C. Wallace

The University of the West Indies, St. Augustine Campus, Trinidad and Tobago

The present study has one main objective, that is, to examine the relationship between tourism and crime in a tourist island destination, Tobago. It also attempts to provide supporting evidence for or against studies advocating that tourism leads to increases in crime and criminal activities in host communities. Data was obtained from the Central Statistical Office, the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service and Ministry of Tourism.

In this paper, a numerical record of tourist arrivals to the island along with the crime rates will be presented to predict an upsurge in criminal activities on the island. Crime was tracked over two separate periods and tourist arrivals were charted, using visitors as a proxy for the study, to test whether there is a relationship between the high crime rates currently being experienced in Tobago and tourist arrivals on the island.

The methodology utilised was trend analysis and is based on the premise that as tourist arrivals to the island

increases there will be a corresponding increase in the crime rate. This research paper, therefore, presents an examination of the impact that tourism has on the crime rate in Tobago. A high correlation was found between tourist arrivals to the island and the upward, negative movement in criminal activities on the island. As a result it now seems correct to infer that the continued influx of tourists to a destination will lead to increases in crime.

Introduction

For many developing nations, tourism is viewed as an easy way of generating much needed income, particularly foreign exchange. In some instances, little capital expenditure is required by the host society as external investment is usually available. The economic spin-offs and benefits of tourism are viewed as the most important aspects of tourism. As the economic impacts of tourism are more readily and easily measurable, other types of impacts tend to remain more hidden, particularly the negative social impacts. However, the insidious social impacts of tourism may and in some cases do incur more significant costs than economic benefits in the long term. One such social impact is that of an increased incidence of crime, which is the focus of this paper.

Over the past eight to ten years, crimes committed by locals and visitors to Tobago have constantly been on the increase. Figures from the Modus Operandi Branch, a statistical department of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service shows that between 1996 and 2004, the incidence of

criminal activities in Tobago has constantly been on the increase.

Various reasons have been attributed as the major cause of this increased criminality, and they range from increased tourist arrivals to the island to the influence of foreign cultures via cable television and the effects of modernisation. These apparent causes have spurred several interesting debates in the search for answers to this seemingly endemic problem.

In most evaluations of tourist destinations and their attractiveness, mainstream criminologists have focused almost exclusively on the impact that crime and criminal activities have on tourist arrivals to these destinations. In the case of the island of Tobago, there has been a paradigm shift in the pace and quality of life towards a more fast paced and frenetic lifestyle. This has been attributed to tourism development on the island. However, it is noted that as tourism develops there seems to be a consequential increase in the levels of criminal activities on the island. It is against this background that this paper seeks to examine the relationship between tourist arrivals to the island of Tobago and the increasing incidence of crime.

A Look at Tobago

Tobago is part of the archipelagic State of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, a twin island state with an estimated (combined) population of 1.3 million. Tobago, the smaller of the two islands, is often referred to as the "sister isle",

and is situated at latitude 11° 8' to 11° 21' north and longitude 60° 30' to 60° 51' west. The island is approximately 41 km long and 12 km wide (at its widest point) and is oriented WSW-ESE. Its landmass is 300 square km or 116 sq. miles (30,100 hectares) (*A Comprehensive Economic Development Plan for Tobago, 2006 – 2010:3*).

Tobago has an estimated population of 55,000 (C.S.O, Trinidad and Tobago Population and Housing Census, 2000) with the majority of the population (70.6%) living in the west, and 29.4% living in the east. Tobago lies 32 km to the North-East of Trinidad.

The island was once considered the food basket of both islands. However, Tobago's dependence on agricultural commodities waned as globalisation of agricultural produce made it uncompetitive and as the energy sector in Trinidad gained worldwide momentum. The island's economy is now a Government-led one that relies primarily on transfers from the Consolidated Fund to provide goods and services for its residents and on eco-tourism.

Outside the government sector, which employs about 52% of the labour force, tourism-related activities are the major source of private sector employment in Tobago. Figures for 1999 show that approximately 20% of the labour force was employed directly in tourism-related activities (PRDI 2000). Although figures on indirect employment in the sector are not available at this time, these are expected to be quite substantial. Therefore, the importance of tourism

to the livelihood and survival of the sub-regional economy of Tobago cannot be overstated. According to the (PRDI, 2001) there was an estimated annual direct expenditure by visitors of TT\$116 million for that year (2001).

However, despite the financial gains, the literature on mass tourism seems to suggest a proliferation of social ills, notably an increase in criminal activities, inversely related to tourist arrivals and Tobago appears not to have escaped this phenomenon (Fuji and Mak, 1980; Goeldner, 2000; Mak, 2004; Prideaux, 1994; Richards and Thompson, 2006).

Tobago: The Natural Environment

Tourism in Tobago developed on the notion of it being the last Eden of the Caribbean destinations, with its natural attractions as the main pull factor for tourists. The island is best known for its blue balmy waters, lush rain forests and beautiful beaches. Located off the South-West coast of Tobago is the Buccoo Reef where fascinating and exotic corals and fishes reside.

Additionally, there is an amazingly shallow area far out into the ocean called the Nylon Pool, located off the South-West coast, where tourists swim, snorkel and view a variety of fish and coral. Tobago's underwater world is now a main attraction for international scuba divers and snorkelers as its waters are the home to three hundred species of South Atlantic coral and a variety of spectacular multi-coloured fish.

In addition, the Travel Channel voted Englishman's Bay in Tobago as the sixth best beach in the Caribbean. However,

the author is concerned with the physical safety on the island, as the literature on tourism-crime relationships seems to suggest that though the attractiveness of a tourist destination is beneficial in numerous ways, tourism brings with it several disadvantages such as the decay in moral values and increased crime.

Literature Review

*"Tourism can be both a blight
and a blessing to host communities."*

Frances Brown (1992:9)

Despite all the publicity given to crime by and against tourists in tourist destinations, there has been little theoretical attempt to understand the relationship between tourism and crime (Tarlow and Muehsam, 1996). Can crime simply be seen as another negative externality of tourism or are there other explanations for this relationship? Whereas the environmental and economic impacts of tourism lend themselves to easy and objective measurements, the negative social impacts are highly qualitative, subjective in nature and generally difficult to measure and quantify. Though some impacts are obvious and measurable, such as the outbreak of diseases, changes in conduct (criminal) are harder to identify and measure.

It is well known that tourism impact in an economic context can be measured using a worldwide denominator - money, environmental impact using accepted parameters such as vegetation loss, but social impacts, with some exceptions, for example, crime in the literature have been

rarely measured. Gartner (1996:174) posits that "one of the few quantifiable and measurable social impacts is the type and magnitude associated with tourism development. Crime statistics as well as tourist arrivals are routinely maintained, allowing for an analysis of change over time.

Presently there is an absence of any deep and internationally accepted theoretical explanation to the understanding of the relationship between crime and tourism. And the central question is whether crime is simply another negative externality of tourism or do other explanations for this observed relationship remain.

Studies of the relationship between tourism and crime are of a relatively recent origin. The pioneering work started with Jud (1975) and Pizam (1982). Jud in investigating the link in thirty-two (32) Mexican states found property crimes to be more strongly related to tourism, while violent offenses had a weak or marginal association with it. On the other hand, Pizam (1982) in a nationwide study of the United States found very little linkage between tourism and crime. However, in a later cross-cultural study (Pizam and Telisman-Kosuta 1989) it was revealed that tourism was seen to lead to an increase in organized crime.

According to Mathieson and Wall (1982:177): "there are also those impacts that may be identifiable, such as increased crime rates, drug abuse and prostitution, however, they are difficult to attribute to tourism rather than other factors of influence such as media intrusion and modernization." Gartner (1996:173) postulates that: "as

local populations increase, the potential for criminality increases. In this case, tourism should not be viewed as the cause of crime any more than an increase in any other industrial activity which contributes to population growth and crime."

Shaw and Williams (1994:361) state: "the forces of change are many and varied, tourism being just one factor." Additionally they posit: "it is difficult to make accurate assessments of the extent of negative changes due to tourism development. Other factors which must be acknowledged include the role of advertising and the media, the effect of multinational corporations, the aspirations of government, education and immigrants."

Shaw and Williams concluded that given the complexity of influencing factors it is hard to extrapolate tourism as the lonesome, single example of causing the crime rates in developing tourist destinations to increase. The literature on the tourism-crime relationship offers many factors which might cause the crime rates in tourist destinations to increase and does not offer any one factor or a singular theory that explains the possible relationship.

There is no doubt that tourism is beneficial to host communities (Balintulo, 1991 and Abdullah et al, 1974). However, negative costs do accrue (Mak, 1980; 2004, Richards and Thompson, 2006) and there seems to be a multiplicity of variables that can cause the crime rates in tourist destinations to increase. It is instructive to note that most currently accepted theoretical explanations on the possible relationship between tourism and crime have

been borrowed from the sociological literature on crime. Scheibler et al (1996) and Crotts (1996) have identified two theories drawn from human ecology that helps us better understand this relationship, routine activities theory and hot spot theory.

Routine activities theory sees criminal acts as a routine activity for those persons pursuing a criminal lifestyle. This kind of predatory crime requires three basic elements: a suitable victim or target, a motivated offender, usually someone who has adopted a criminal lifestyle, and a relative absence of capable guardians-law enforcement officers, security guards, etc., to police tourist areas. In highly tourist penetrated tourist destinations the three basic elements are often present and it is posited that this is what causes the upward spiral in the crime rates.

The hot spot theory on the other hand looks at locations which 'provide convergent opportunities in which predatory crimes can occur' (Crotts 1996:4). Hot spots are what Ryan and Kinder (1996) describe as 'criminogenic' locations where there are lots of bars, nightclubs and strip joints catering to tourists and providing ancillary services such as prostitution and drugs. Tourists frequenting these areas, whether looking for these activities or not, are much more likely to be victimised by crime. Some of the crime these areas generate is of course victimless crime since tourists themselves often engage in deviant behavior (drugs, prostitution) that has criminal consequences.

Ryan and Kinder (1993) recognise that there are many tourists capable of criminal behavior (drug trafficking,

pedophilia), but suggest that by and large the tourist as perpetrator of crime is insignificant in the relationship between tourism and crime. Ryan (1993:173) offers a useful tourism-crime typology that identifies five types of scenarios, one of which sees tourists as an imported demand for deviant activities which they perpetuate. Visitors escape for two weeks and indulge in anti-social and self-destructive behavior that could lead to crime binges and rowdyism (lager louts), drug taking and soliciting prostitutes.

This position is consistent with the view of Gartner (1996: 174) who submitted that: "because travel outside one's home country provides physical and psychological escape, drug use is viewed as contributing to the enhancement of psychological escape. Thus the use of marijuana in Jamaica and hashish in India, though illegal, is commonly made available to tourists on their request." This inevitably contributes to the incidence of increased drug use and possible arrests which would impact on the local crime rates, and Tobago has not escaped this phenomena.

Further, Gartner examined prostitution which is illegal in many countries. In doing so, Gartner (1996:174) explained that the tourist culture, based on non-ordinary life and the pursuit of pleasure, supports the types of activities not normally pursued in one's home environment and that prostitution may be one of those activities. Gartner (1996: 174) forcefully concluded: "tourism is therefore conducive in perpetuating and supporting activities outside the bounds of ordinary life."

This sub-culture of violence thesis (De Albuquerque (1984) and Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) also offers some very useful insight into the escalation of predatory crime by and against both tourists and residents in tourist destinations like Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Antigua, St. Kitts, St. Maarten/St. Martin, St. Lucia, Puerto Rico, and the USVI. Here the emergence of criminal sub-cultures (posses, gangs) is rooted in high levels of unemployment, low levels of educational attainment, coupled with few opportunities for meaningful employment.

Poon (1993:287) wrote: "Tourism is a double edged sword - it can be a potential blessing and it can be a blight. Many tourism destinations benefit from the flows of tourists and the hard currencies they bring." However, Poon contends that: "they have not completely avoided some of tourism's negative consequences-prostitution, crime, deviance, commercialisation of culture and changing social norms and values."

With reference to the Caribbean, de Albuquerque (1981) found a strong relationship between increases in tourist arrivals in the U.S. Virgin Islands (USVI) and property crimes. He concluded that it was the larger modernisation effects, of which tourism was a major one, that were responsible for the increases in property crime rates. De Albuquerque and McElroy, (1999) in an article entitled 'Tourism and Crime in the Caribbean,' (968-984), using figures from Barbados for the period 1990-1993, found no such relationship. The results of the study indicated that contrary to the hypothesis, crime rates were not related to the flow of tourist arriving into the island.

Mak (2004:3) writing on the pervasive problem of tourism stated that: "It can lead to the loss of cultural identity...and increase antisocial activities, such as crime and prostitution." Mak is not singular in this regard as recent research by Haley et al, also draws the same conclusion. Haley et al, (2005) conducted a study in Bath, United Kingdom to test the tourism-crime relationship. They drew samples from residents and factor and regression analyses were conducted. The mean scores for Tourism Impact Statements (positive) were 3.19, whilst the negative value was 3.35. The mean for all items was 3.35 and the negative component of the Tourist Impact Statement included increases in criminal activities.

Interestingly, there is a perception among the ordinary man on the street that tourism 'is not all good' and this point seems to have been validated by several researchers including Frances Brown (1992) and most poignantly summed up by Mak (2004: ix) when he stated that: "people have become aware that tourism can be a blight as well as a blessing and are demanding a more careful evaluation of its benefits and costs."

There are also other studies, which though supportive of tourism, candidly expose the negative social impact of tourism on host destinations. Fotsch (2004:780) in a tourism impact study of Cannery Row, California, U.S.A stated that tourism can be understood in its growing importance for urban economies; however, he submits that "tourism has consequences beyond its economic cost."

Fostch listed several impacts of tourism, positive and

negative, but was supportive of the negative relationship ascribed to the tourism-crime relationship without being unduly critical. Perez and Nadal (2005) also attempted an analysis of the worrisome relationship between tourism and crime and in their conclusion noted that Turner and Ash (1975) support the view: "that tourism is all good and that it contributes towards the development of the third world." On the other hand, Britton and Clarke (1997) point out that "mass tourism may have collaborated in hindering the permanency of local cultures and in spreading processes like prostitution and delinquency".

Many researchers seem petrified by the unsubstantiated association between tourism and crime. So pervasive is the problem that Young (1973), very early in the study of tourism-crime, in considering the relationship between both variables, titled his work 'Tourism: Blessing or Blight' and established empirical evidence supportive of a negative relationship between tourism and crime.

Cooper et al, (1998) noted that sex and crime are two of the negative impacts of tourism on crime. They posited that early European tourists were to some extent motivated by the liberal attitude towards sex in some of the third world countries they visited. Cooper et al, (1998:177) contends empirically that: "the fact that tourist will travel abroad to enjoy uninhibited casual sexual encounters is not a new phenomenon."

Sex tourism, they submit, affects the crime rate in most tourist destinations even when reports of prostitution are unsubstantiated. The literature on the tourism - crime

relationship shows explicitly that sex tourism, which is legislatively illegal, is quite popular in some South Asian countries such as Thailand and the Philippines. Internationally, concerns are mounting over tourism as it relates to sexual encounters between locals and tourists as children are increasingly being used in the sex trade, thus escalating the crime rates in host communities.

Uriely and Belhassen (2006) attempted an evaluation of drug use by tourists and the findings are quite interesting. In that study the researchers conducted a qualitative analysis between 2000-2002 on the issue of drug use during vacation in terms of tourists' voluntary risk taking which they would normally deny themselves in everyday life. The findings revealed that most tourists perceive their holidays as a "license for thrill" Wickens (1997). Therefore, they will bring their covert deviant behaviour and unleash it upon the host community. The findings indicate empirically that tourist participation in drug use/risky behaviour is related to their situational status of being a tourist and this adds to the drug/crime problem in the host community.

Methodology

Research Design

Using trend analysis the research attempted to investigate the relationship between the following variables - tourist arrivals and the incidence of crime. Since the aim of the research is to identify and track any relationship between tourism and crime, people activity-visitor arrivals will be

used as the proxy variable. The quantitative research method was used. The quantitative approach entailed collecting data on crime and tourist arrivals to Tobago over two periods and plotting them together using trend analysis to show a possible correlation.

As previously stated, trend analysis operates as a complementary, not a stand alone system. In an effort to strengthen the picture that emerged from the tables and graphs relative to the tourism-crime relationship in Tobago which showed an upward movement together over time, the researcher conducted a measurement of the tourism-crime relationship for the period 2000-2005 using tourist arrivals and crime data for the said period.

Data Collection Procedure

Statistics in the tourism industry are presently compiled by two organisations, namely the Ministry of Tourism and the Central Statistical Office using a stratified approach to arrivals in which returning residents are distinguished from visitors. Data on tourist arrivals to Tobago for the period mentioned were obtained from the Tobago House of Assembly Tourism Division and the Central Statistical Office.

Data on crime is collected from various police stations by the Modus Operandi Branch, a statistical department of the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service and collated according to typology. Data on reported crime in Tobago for the periods 1996-2002 and 2000-2005 were obtained from the Modus Operandi Branch, a statistical department

within the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service.

The data was separated into the following categories:

- a. Visitor arrivals and reported serious crime,*
- b. Geographical distribution of crime by Police districts,*
- c. Drugs (cocaine) seized from visitors and visitor population,*
- d. Numbers of visitors charged and their country of residence,*
- e. Reported crime in Tobago,*
- f. The serious crime-visitor relationship, and*
- g. Crime against visitors and crime against visitors and visitor arrivals.*

Analysis

The tourist population was measured using the following method as enunciated by Fuji and Mak (1980), “tourist population=stay over visitors x length of stay + cruise passengers/365” and the crime rate measured using the number of reported crimes.

The analysis attempted to analyse the results in terms of visitor arrivals and reported serious crime, visitor arrivals and drug trafficking, reported crime by geographical Police districts, crime in Tobago, serious reported crime, crime against visitors, visitor arrivals and crime against visitors and crime committed by visitors.

In most instances figures for two periods, 1996-2002 and 2000-2005 were used using trend analysis. Tourist arrival crime figures for 2000-2005 were analysed and the coefficient measured for Tobago’s crime situation.

Interestingly, when a mirroring of reported serious against visitor arrivals is done, as depicted in Figure 1, it reveals a very tight association. This observation is in keeping with the most consistent relationship identified in the research literature: the link between tourist arrivals and tourist-related crime and crime in general. (Mak, 1980; 1984, Prideaux, 1994, Coon, 1999, Fotch, 2004 and Uriely and Belhassen, 2006). However, since it cannot point to causality, what can be stated is that serious crimes in Tobago and visitor arrivals move together overtime. This seems to suggest that Tobago's serious crime situation has some significant link to tourism development.

In contrast, the data revealed that arrivals to Barbados over the same period have recorded a significant decline, slipping from a recorded 544,696 in 2000 to 402,014 in 2005 (see Figure 2). Interestingly, in the case of Barbados, the data revealed that reported crimes have demonstrated a declining trend over the said period, 2000-2005. An analysis of the Barbados situation shows that the number of reported crimes in Barbados declined from 10,908 in 2000 to 8,769 in 2005, a reduction of 19.6% (Barbados Tourism Authority, 2006).

The data thus confirms the research knowledge that reported crime in a destination and visitor population move together overtime. Actually, the data for Barbados as shown in Figure 2 below indicates that as visitor population (arrivals) declined reported crimes also declined.

Figure 1
Visitor Arrivals and Reported Serious Crimes for Tobago, 1997-2003

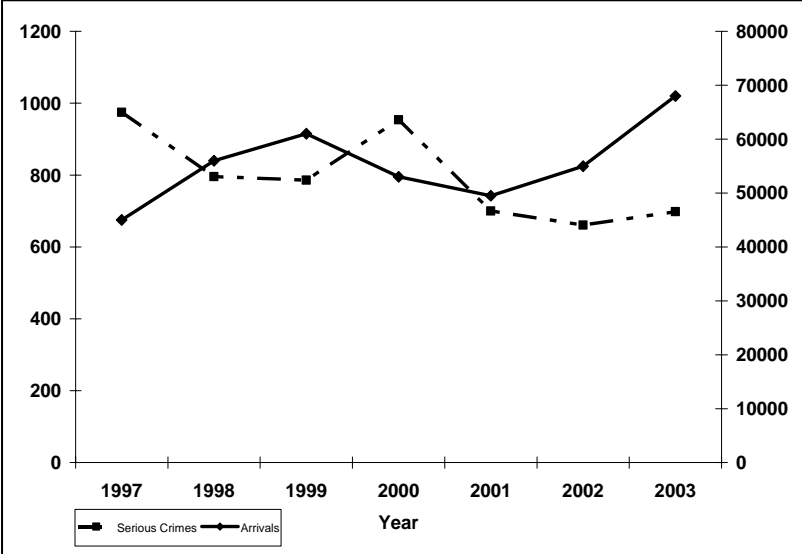
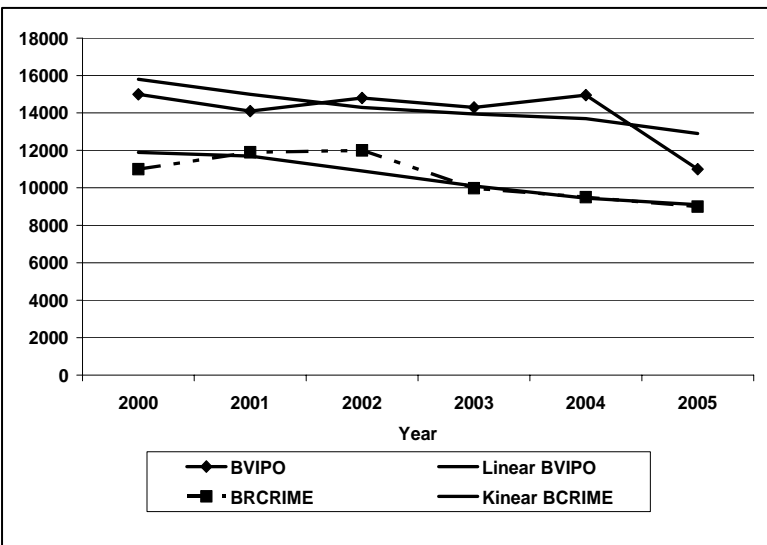


Figure 2
Reported Crimes in Barbados and Visitor Population, 2000-2005



Geographical Distribution of Crime

Tobago is divided geographically into Police districts for easy management and measurement of crime and the data. Table 1 shows the distribution of reported serious crimes for the period 2001-2005 by Police Station Districts.

The districts are Scarborough, Old Grange, and Crown Point, (located in the urban tourist areas) Moriah, Roxborough and Charlotteville (located in the rural areas). An analysis of these figures over the period in question is important as they measure criminal activities in Tobago relative to the more tourist penetrated areas of the island.

Table 1
Serious Crime by Police District, Tobago, 2000-2005

District	Years						Total (%)
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	
Scarborough	403	289	273	278	298	401	1942 (41)
Old Grange	294	194	174	196	306	349	1513 (32)
Crown Point	156	17	121	77	97	163	631 (13)
Moriah	32	53	17	24	34	41	201 (4)
Roxborough	47	138	53	76	53	68	435 (8)
Charlotteville	32	9	16	15	18	14	104 (2)
TOTAL	964	700	654	666	806	1036	4826 (100)

Source: Trinidad and Tobago Police Crime Database, 2006

The results by way of data as presented in Table 1 present a geographical analysis of the incidence of serious crime on the island. Interestingly, the study revealed that for this period, approximately 86% of the reported cases were committed in the police districts of Scarborough (41%), Crown Point (13%) and Old Grange (32%), which are located on the southwestern end of the island.

These districts are considered to be the 'emerging *urban areas*' and they are the centres for most of the tourism activity on the island. The other 14% of the reported crimes were committed in the "*rural police districts*" of Charlotteville, Roxborough and Moriah. Emanating from the studies is seemingly a consistent pattern of crime associated with the highly penetrated tourist areas.

International Drug Trafficking

In an attempt to strengthen the tourism-crime relationship an examination of international drug trafficking activities on the island was measured for 1996-2005. A probe into the incidence of the narcotics offences revealed a marked increase in international drug trafficking activities on the island. The data in Table 2 shows significant increases in the quantity of cocaine seized at the island's airport between 1996 and 2002. Actually, the data reveal that cocaine seized moved from 75 grams in 1996 to 24.5 kilograms in 2002.

This is further evident from the quantities of cocaine seized at the Crown Point International Airport, during the period 2000 - 2005, which was destined for Europe and

North America. Further, law enforcement operatives at the island's airport working in collaboration with their European counterparts allowed over 48 Kilograms of cocaine to pass for their European partners to make the seizures and arrests in Europe. (Tobago Sub-Unit of the Organised Crime and Narcotics Unit provided data and information). These statistics certainly point to an escalation of the problem of international drug trafficking on the island and as Mak (2004) submits, "this is but one of the problems associated with tourism."

Table 2
Cocaine Seizures at Crown Point Airport, Tobago, 1996-2005

Year	Cocaine Seized (kg)
1996	.075
1997	1
1998	18.5
1999	17.25
2000	23.14
2001	4.82
2002	24.5
2003	34.0
2004	8.5
2005	30.0

Source:

Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Crime Database. 2003, 2006

Crime Against Visitors

Another way of measuring the impact of tourism on crime in a host community is to analyse crimes committed against visitors. The period under review has been marred by an increase in crimes against tourists (See Table 3).

The statistics show that there were 113 reported cases in

1996. This number fell steeply by 25% to 85 reported incidences in 1997, increased significantly by 73% to 147 cases in 1998 and then rose marginally by 2.7% to 151 and 153 cases in 1999 and 2000 respectively. This gives an average annual increase of 8.5% between 1996 and 2002. But 2001 recorded a drastic 62.1% decline in reported cases from 153 in 2000 to 58 in 2001. Comparatively, in 2002 the reported number of crimes against visitors increased by 13.8 %, from 58 in 2001 to 66 in 2002.

Table 3
Crimes Against Tourists/Foreigners, 1996-2002

Year	Number of Crimes
1996	113
1997	85
1998	147
1999	151
2000	153
2001	58
2002	66

Source:
Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Crime Database, 2003

Findings and Results

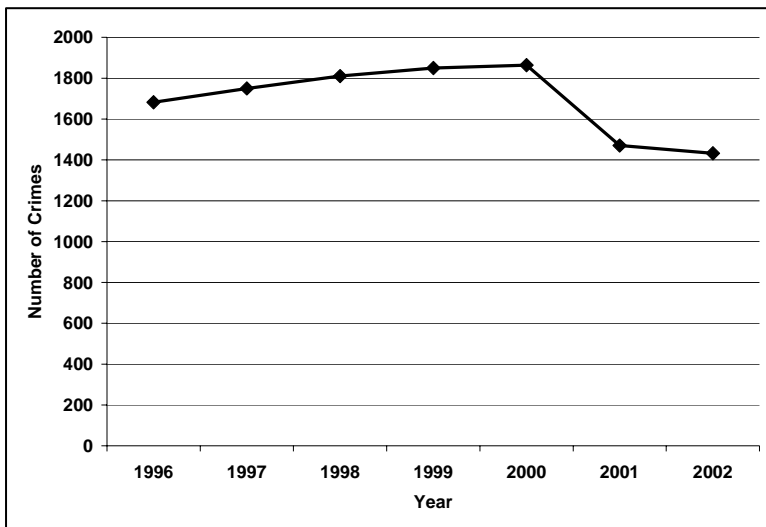
Within recent times, Tobago has been plagued with a number of social and economic problems, including a rising incidence of crime committed against locals and visitors, by locals and visitors alike, inclusive of sex tourism among others. This section of the paper seeks in part to investigate the incidence of crimes committed against members of the Tobagonian community and

visitors and crimes committed by visitors.

An analysis of the crime situation in Tobago over the last seven (7) years (1996-2002) revealed that the population endured five (5) consecutive years of increased criminal activities (see [Figure 3](#)).

Indeed, the official statistics show that crime increased from 1,682 reported cases in 1996 to 1,864 or (11%); reported cases in 2000 and thereafter decreased by 23.3% to 1,470 reported cases in 2001 and by a further 6.6% to 1,432 in 2002. (See [Figure 3](#)).

Figure 3
Crime in Tobago, 1996-2002



Source:
Trinidad and Tobago Police Service Crime Database, 2003

An evaluation of the geographical distribution of serious

crime in Tobago using Table 1 reveals that 86% of the reported cases were committed in the police districts of Scarborough (41.1%), Crown Point (13%) and Old Grange (31.9%), in the urban end of the island and where there is a greater concentration of tourists and tourism related activities. The other 14% of the reported crimes were committed in the "*rural police districts*" of Charlotteville, Roxborough and Moriah.

Given the characteristics of Tobago's development processes, which are service-driven and tourism-led, these findings point to some positive relationship between commercialisation/development via tourism and crime which is very consistent with what Kelly (1993) noted in the Australian situation, that the location quotient calculated for the most popular tourist destinations in Australia showed an over representation of criminal activities there.

Conclusion

For a tourism driven economy as small as Tobago to have as many as one thousand, eight hundred and eighty-six (1886) reported crimes inclusive of one hundred and five (105) crimes against visitors per year is intolerable. It is clearly part of the negative social impact and cost of the development of the tourism sector, but it is also ruinous to the traditional reputation of Tobago as a safe haven for visitors, especially given the paranoia that has gripped the world in the wake of 9/11.

The intolerable levels of criminality on the island have been engaging the attention of both the current

administration of the THA and the Central Government and several meetings and consultations have been held with stakeholders, including the Police, special interest groups, and the wider community in an effort to stymie the increasing incidence of crime on the island.

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Policy Note

DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC POLICING IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE CASE OF TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

Nathan W. Pino

Texas State University, USA

This paper presents the theoretical concept of democratic policing and how this concept might be applied in practice to Trinidad and Tobago. The paper includes an assessment of the current state of policing and police reform efforts in Trinidad and Tobago. Based on this assessment, ideas on what policies might be needed in order for democratic policing to be sustainably implemented will be offered.

Police reform efforts in Trinidad and Tobago and the rest of the Caribbean must be tailored to the economic, political, and social realities of that region, instead of a one-size-fits-all approach often promoted by core Western states. In addition, a partnership between civil society, government officials, and police services should lead reform effort development and implementation, rather

than having reforms dictated solely by the government and/or the police.

The ideas presented in this paper will be informed in part by a preliminary analysis of qualitative data obtained from interviews with members of local Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service.

Introduction

There are numerous ways to go about developing a Caribbean criminology (see, for example, Birkbeck 1999). But if a regionalized criminology of the Caribbean is to be realized, it must take into account what is distinctive about the region (and the distinctiveness of each country within the Caribbean) while at the same time pointing out the similarities between Caribbean nations and other post-colonial states around the world in terms of their former and current political and economic relations with their former colonizers.

Bennett and Lynch (1996) argue that the Caribbean is unique in terms of its different development trajectory from core states, its processes of urbanization, the importance of tourism in promoting a particular form of social stratification, the role of the Caribbean as a drug transshipment hub, and the recent post-colonial status of Caribbean countries.

At the national and community levels, criminal justice reforms can be influenced by the strength of a country's democratic institutions; levels of corruption; levels of human, social, financial and cultural capital; the amount of political stability and institutional legitimacy present in the country; and levels of social disorganization, civic participation, patriarchy, and ethnic conflict, among others at various levels of analysis (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006a: 12). These factors should also be considered when developing a Caribbean criminology so that criminological research is couched within a subject's historical, social, political, and economic contexts.

While there have been recent surveys of the citizenry and the police in Trinidad, there has been little if any published work surveying or interviewing Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) on their views of the police, crime and related social problems, or their willingness to work with the police and others to work on crime prevention efforts (see, for example, Cain, 2000; Deosaran, 2002). Furthermore, given the recent police reform efforts in the country, more research is needed on the effects of these efforts on officer behaviors and attitudes toward these reforms and working with the public.

Snowball sampling was utilized to recruit participants for the study. They were told prior to the beginning of data collection that their answers would remain confidential, that there was no penalty for refusing to answer certain

questions, and that all collected data would be destroyed after the completion of the research study.

Snowball sampling was deemed to be the best way to recruit participants for two reasons: 1) the author's initial lack of familiarity with Trinidad and Tobago's NGOs and police community; and 2) this sampling method could reveal linkages between different NGOs and CBOs to help determine the strength of networking and trust (social capital) among NGOs and between NGOs and the police in the country.

In all but one case interviews were conducted with one person at a time, and notes were handwritten by the author rather than tape-recorded, assuming that participants would feel uncomfortable speaking while a tape-recorder was operating.

In one case a focus group was conducted because five individuals who worked in the same area and knew each other for a long time were present. This research is ongoing, but the analysis for this paper is based on eight interviews and one focus group that contained five individuals.¹

¹ The local individual that helped the author locate participants, to make initial contacts, and to accompany the author to data collection locations was Keron King, the official research assistant for the Criminology Unit at the University of West Indies in St. Augustine. His assistance was essential to the success of this research project.

Literature Review***Crime in Trinidad and Tobago***

The Criminology Unit of The University of the West Indies has compiled police statistics on a number of offenses known to the police from 1962 until 2007. Of the offenses listed, murder would be the most accurate. Since Independence in 1962 there has been a general increase in murders. From 1962 until around 1980 there were approximately 50-60 murders per year. Starting in the 1980s the number gradually went up to and stayed around 100 per year until the year 2000. Since the year 2000, however, violence, and gun violence in particular, have skyrocketed (Wells and Katz 2008).

Murder rates in 2001 and 2002 averaged 160 murders per year, while 2003-2004 averaged 245, and 2005-2007 averaged 385. In 2008 Trinidad and Tobago had 550 murders, which translates into 42.3 murders per 100,000 people. In 2001 about half of all murders involved guns, but in 2007, 75% of murders involved guns (Wells and Katz 2008).

According to one of the study participants, based on results from a victimization survey that has not been officially released, about 25% of residents in Trinidad have been the victim of a robbery, physical assault (with or without a weapon), or sexual assault over a one year period, and the most crime ridden areas have victimization rates as high as 36%.

While violent crime rates have been increasing dramatically in Trinidad and Tobago, property crime rates show different patterns, at least according to police statistics. Overall property crimes and burglaries peaked between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s (around the time of the country's IMF crisis), and since then these rates have declined somewhat. The homicide clearance rate is only 7-8% (Wells and Katz 2008), partially because citizens feel their lives are in danger if they go to the police (Parks and Mastrofski 2008). Study participants report that people are indeed fearful of crime, but at the same time are afraid to go to the police due to a lack of trust and fear of retaliation by criminals.

While residents in high crime areas have a lot of knowledge about crime and criminals in their neighborhoods, they keep it to themselves and do not go to the police. It is a common perception in disadvantaged communities that the police associate with criminals (or come from the same households) and that the police will tip off criminals if a citizen reports an offense.

Distrust of the police also comes from a general distrust of state institutions and feelings of abandonment by the government. One participant said, "People in the community could tell you where everything is but why should they tell you if you are part of the oppressive system?" One respondent mentioned that women are more likely to look to the police for protection than men, because while they are abused by the police, they are also abused or raped by men, and in some cases even their sons.

Social and sexual violence have increased in part due to increases in the drug trade (Deere et al 1990). The Caribbean is a major drug trafficking area for drugs from South America on their way to the US. International criminal networks are also involved in gambling, prostitution, and human trafficking (Deere et al 1990). Cocaine trafficking is conducted by freelancers from small organizations who pick up cocaine in Columbia and take it to Trinidad (Klein 2004). The process is disorganized, with many people being killed for their drug supplies as they attempt to ship them.

Drugs are often used as a scapegoat for all of the crime-related problems Trinidad faces, but the petty users and dealers reportedly do not play as large a role in the crime problem as unemployment and other major social issues (Klein 2004). Nonetheless, the larger drug lords are seemingly above the law with traffickers infiltrating the highest levels of society and government; and the illegal drug trade is related to crimes of violence, sex crimes, domestic violence, child abuse, and corruption in law enforcement (Griffith 2000; Nanton 2004).

Economic, Political, and Social Context

Trinidad and Tobago is a prime example of a developing country whose workers produced raw material exports for core countries, creating underdevelopment (Istister 2003). Slaves were used by the British during colonization to export sugar and molasses to England or the North

American colonies. The plantation system did not have any local economic benefits, as plantation agriculture limited industrial growth and stunted modernization (Mandle 1996).

In the current period of neo-liberal globalization, core-periphery relations remain highly relevant to understanding the Caribbean (Klak 1998). The core still largely benefits in terms of power, authority and the accumulation of wealth. US hegemony is bringing Trinidad and Tobago into the US geopolitical sphere, and the IMF is part of this incorporation (Conway 1998a). The push for foreign investment in oil and gas is part of the enthusiasm for export market niches advocated by neoliberalism (Klak 1998). Unfortunately, niches are narrow and highly competitive.

Trinidad and Tobago was one of the many nations that fell into a debt crisis in the late 1980s and early 1990s in part due to its dependence on energy exports without maintaining the agricultural or manufacturing sectors (Mandle 1996; Payne and Sutton 2001). The government played a large role in the economy, but during the oil bust the government could not offset the negative impact (Mandle 1996).

The government was then no longer seen as the solution for development, and the country engaged in IMF-style structural adjustment policies (Mandle 1996; Payne and Sutton 2001). The State played a much smaller role in the

economy by reducing subsidies and devaluing the Trinidad and Tobago dollar in the hope of diversifying the economy. As a result, cost of living went up while wages froze, oil prices dropped, unemployment rose, banks loaned less money, and GDP was lowered by almost half (Mandle 1996; Payne and Sutton 2001).

IMF agreements mandated that Trinidad and Tobago reduce social spending on welfare, public housing, education and training, and health services, end consumption subsidies, and relax labor standards for employers (Deere, Antrobus, Bolles, Melendez, Phillips, Rivera, and Safa 1990). There was public resistance led by the Summit of the People's Organization on the left, but on the right business groups thought government did not do enough to cut the public sector, so business confidence remained low (Deere et al 1990; Mandle 1996; Payne and Sutton 2001). The legacies of slavery in terms of limited education meant that there were not enough local individuals with scientific or engineering education, leading to technological dependence on the US and other core countries (Mandle 1996). In the early 1990s crime was a major concern and the informal sector grew (Deere et al 1990; Payne and Sutton 2001).

The ethnic tensions between Africans and Indians in Trinidad started when Indians were brought in as cheap agricultural laborers by the British after the abolition of slavery in 1834. The current two major political parties are divided largely on ethnic lines (both parties are trying to

correct the perceptions that one is the African party and the other is the Indian party) (Deere et al 1990). Social stratification in Trinidad and Tobago is class based, but with ethnic polarization and social monopolies characterizing the social and political experiences of the country (Conway 1998b; Deere et al 1990). Bilateral investment treaties were conducted with the US, Britain, France, and Canada, mostly in the areas of energy (oil, gas, ammonia, and methanol), iron, and steel. This investment did allow the government to reduce its foreign debt and to start some social programs to improve public services and infrastructure, increase state pensions, and to put in a minimum wage (Payne and Sutton 2001). Unemployment fell to 13.4% in 1998, but due to a lack of diversification, the country is still dependent on the prices of oil, gas and methanol (Payne and Sutton 2001).

One interesting finding from all of this is that despite different parties taking power since independence, the same policies were put in place, and political stability remained fairly intact. Since its Independence in 1962, Trinidad and Tobago has had free and fair elections held on a regular basis despite its economic, social, and crime-related problems, and the fact that on three different occasions since Independence there have been extra-legal attempts, largely due to economic and social concerns, to dismantle the government (Griffin 1995; Mandle 1996).

During the 1970 Black Power Revolt, there was an army mutiny, and a few years later there was an unsuccessful

coup attempt by The National Union of Freedom Fighters, an urban guerilla movement (Griffin 1995). A Muslim group called the Jamaat-al-Muslimeen tried another failed coup attempt in 1990.

Since the mid-1990s the Trinidad and Tobago economy has done well in terms of economic growth, but most people have not improved their quality of life, due in part to levels of unemployment and inequality, and the very high crime rates that plague the country (Levitt 2005). There is a high percentage of female-headed households or households with female primary providers in Trinidad and Tobago because of male out-migration and low levels of legal marriage as part of the colonial and slavery legacies (Deere et al 1990).

Numerous participants of the present study mentioned that one of the biggest problems Trinidad and Tobago faces is the perceptions of inequity in the areas of economics, education, and access to services. According to one respondent, the government used to subsidize farmers, buy the farmer's produce, and then sell that produce on the market at reduced prices. After structural adjustment those programs ended and they have not been restarted.

A related issue discussed by a few respondents involves work programs that are controlled by gangsters. Gang leaders force government employees to provide them with work contracts to do work that is never completed. CBOs

and others interested in economic development therefore do not gain access to most contracts used to promote work, micro-credit schemes, and the like.

There are other social problems mentioned by respondents as being major impediments to change, and the most frequently cited problems are increasing murder rates and gang activity, a reduction in social capital in neighborhoods, a general lack of leadership and vision at various levels, and a lack of respect, recognition, or resources from the government for CBOs, particularly those in the most disadvantaged areas of the country.

Members of CBOs interviewed for this study were angry and upset about the lack of legitimacy received from the government even though a number of research participants had been active in their communities for two decades. Gang activity was a particular issue, as they would disrupt activities set up by the CBOs or would get work contracts from the government while the CBOs didn't. These CBOs are arguably less sophisticated and have less-educated staff than the more organized NGOs in the country, but the CBOs do have more familiarity with the communities they operate in than many of the more organized organizations.

The reductions in social capital (the author's term, not those of the respondents) include factors such as decreased trust and networking among members of various neighborhoods. A number of respondents said that at the same time people "got along" but this was not

characterized in such a way that one could call it evidence of social capital.

A number of research participants argued that increases in gang activity and violent crime are at least partly to blame. Fear of crime, distrust of neighbors who may be criminals, and the hardening of gang turf lines reduce social interaction in neighborhoods. In some of the most disadvantaged parts of the country, gang turf is such that if non-gang members live in a particular gang's turf area they cannot walk in rival gang areas because they are at risk as much as the gang members.

A sizeable number of respondents complained of weak leadership in the government. A common complaint from almost all respondents, though at times coming from different angles, was that the country's leadership did not listen to the people, acted in its own self-interest, required complete servitude from their supporters, relied too much on Western ideology or experts, and failed to make use of indigenous approaches to problems.

A Brief History of Policing in Trinidad and Tobago

Policing in the formal sense began under Spanish occupation starting in 1592, where in Port-of-Spain six officers served under the management of the mayor, and a ward-watch system of sorts existed on other parts of the island in country districts (de Verteuil 1986; Ottley 1964).

This arrangement lasted for two more centuries until the expansion of sugar, coffee, and cocoa plantations increased the island's population (Ottley 1964). When the British took over control of the island, Governor Picton mandated compulsory enlistment of "colored men" to serve in the police force, leading most people to believe that service in the police force was more punishment than reward (de Verteuil 1986: 29; Ottley 1964). In much of the Nineteenth century few wanted to join the police, so men from Ireland came to fill the void (de Verteuil 1986).

A comprehensive set of rules to govern the police was issued in 1835, and by 1844, trial by jury and English law was instituted (Ottley 1964). Justice reform, including strengthening and increasing the pay of the police, only happened when things were considered to be out of control (Ottley 1964). In 1874, five members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) were appointed to reorganize and strengthen a plain clothes inspector branch that was started in 1862, and by 1884 the police force in Trinidad numbered 435 men (de Verteuil 1986; Ottley 1964).

The largely Irish police in Trinidad were busy in the late 1800s squelching riots (the Carnival riots of 1881, and the Hosay Riots of 1884), but in Arouca in 1891 a riotous crown beat up policemen, and from then on the policemen were provided with firearms (de Verteuil 1986; Ottley 1964). The water riots of 1903 led to more protests of police brutality, but only one officer was put on trial and he was acquitted (Ottley 1964). Changes in 1905 to the police

service provided the basis for how the police would function well into the second half of the 20th century.

The Constabulary Ordinance of 1905 changed the police into an armed constabulary charged with paramilitary duties (Ottley 1964). In addition to the detection of crime, the police force was charged with repressing internal disturbances and defending the colony “against external aggression” (p. 115). The police continued to be used to squelch riots, contain feuds between religious groups, and to control steel band activity in the first half of the 20th century, including in 1942 when the Governor ordered no Carnival celebrations, all-night police car patrols began, and 15 men were formed into a local commando unit (Ottley 1964).

In the 1950s the police started the 999 emergency call system, a police association was authorized, female officers were hired, new systems for recording crime were instituted, police dogs were starting to be used, and officer strength exceeded 2,000 officers (Ottley 1964).

The legacies of colonial policing did not go away after Independence. The Committee on the Restructuring of the Police Service (CRPS) (1984) reported that relations within the police service were poor and that morale was low. Leadership was seen as extremely weak due to managerial inefficiencies, a lack of communication among senior officers, ineffective disciplinary procedures, high turnover among supervisors, uneven and unclear workloads among

officers, and lack of respect for senior officers among junior officers (CRPS 1984). According to the same report, the police were seen by the public as “a repressive force ready to harass people at every opportunity” (CRPS 1984: 138). Urgent calls for assistance were ignored on the account that there are no vehicles or insufficient men at the police station.

Police were seen as indifferent, unresponsive, and unsympathetic; overly harsh in their treatment of suspects; engaging in arbitrary search and arrest; ignoring serious crimes while attending to minor offenses; destroying the homes of squatters; not conducting internal investigations of police misconduct; and failing to engage in foot patrols (CRPS 1984). O’Dowd (1991) wrote a separate report for the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) and found similar problems seven years later, including weak leadership, lack of internal investigations of misconduct, widespread accusations of corruption, lack of response by the police after receiving calls for service, and so on.

The most damning report of the TTPS was conducted by Seaby (1993), who conducted a thorough investigation into accusations of police corruption, and found that corruption was endemic and existed at all ranks. Citizens had to pay officers for service, and officers would blackmail people as a means to not arrest them or to hide evidence of a crime (Seaby 1993). Police officers would also steal from each other and from the canteen; and there were accusations of police shootings and rapes (Seaby 1993). Senior ranking

members would live beyond their own means by embezzling police service monies, but most money made from corruption came from protecting drug dealers, drug routes, and drug supplies (Seaby 1993). Some officers were even found to actively engage in transporting cocaine, growing marijuana, and selling drugs. Groups of officers from higher to lower ranks would help each other in corrupt activities, and they would promote individuals within their own group.

Seaby (1993) reported the same weak leadership, management, discipline, and accountability issues previous reports had found, concluding that the colonial style of policing was still present, and that local commanders had too much control over their own areas. There was no use of scientific investigation techniques or technologies, and police were unskilled at taking statements from victims or witnesses (Seaby 1993).

Furthermore, as other reports had found, there was no sense of community service among members of the TTPS. In addition, problems in other areas of the criminal justice system, such as long court delays, allowed for more corruption and unlawful activities such as the destruction of records and evidence, and police only showing up at court if they felt like it (Seaby 1993). Drugs and other evidence must be exhibited during a trial, and this outdated practice makes evidence tampering and destroying too easy due to the long windows between an arrest and the trial. In order to keep their jobs, officers

developed a fatalistic attitude and allowed the status quo to continue, finding a cozy niche in an office rather than engaging in patrols, and using knowledge of other officers' corruption as a way to keep their jobs (Seaby 1993).

The criminal justice system in general in Trinidad and Tobago is also fraught with problems that must be considered in concert with police reforms if these reforms are to be sustainable. The country has one of the highest rates of prisoners awaiting trial in the Caribbean (Singh 2004). The judiciary is ill informed about the prison system, and while the police receive some resources, the prison system gets far less (Klein 2004). Prisons lack drug treatment programs even though approximately 30% of Trinidad and Tobago's prison population consists of drug offenders, mostly for petty dealing and possession of marijuana (Klein 2004:42). Trinidad and Tobago spends roughly 30% of its health budget on drug rehabilitation programs (Griffith 2000:129).

The colonial legacy of policing and criminal justice in general continues in the 21st Century, with officer training centering on riot suppression, and citizens having to solicit police services (Parks and Mastrofski 2008). Police stations are dirty and decrepit, and the TTPS suffers from poor pay and inadequate staffing and equipment, such as few usable vehicles (Parks and Mastrofski 2008).

In addition, problems of corruption still persist, and there is frequent turnover and weak management and supervision, as police leaders want to avoid controversy

(Mastrofski and Lum 2008; Miller and Hendrix 2007; Parks and Mastrofski 2008). The police service has also been accused of favoritism, bias, and nepotism in recruitment (Police Service Commission 2004).

Issues of legitimacy plague the police service, and this makes sustainable reform more difficult. In Trinidad the lack of legitimacy and support stems partly from charges of drug corruption and favoritism, the convictions of police officials, and the perception that the police are indifferent and incompetent (Bennett and Moribito 2006).

There have been numerous instances of police use of excessive force that are criticized by the public and the media (Deosaran 2002). Internal investigations rarely if ever occurred on time, and according to a 1999 report 18 officers who had been convicted of serious crimes were allowed to continue working in the Police Service (Deosaran 2002). The police do not engage in proactive crime prevention activities, and the public must solicit most police activities (Johnson 2006). To make matters worse, surveys reveal that around 60% of residents in Trinidad have a high fear of crime (Deosaran 2002).

As Bennett and Moribito state (2006): "...this has evolved in Trinidad into a culture of alienation from the public. The police are demoralized, socially isolated, and antagonistic toward the public, and they provide little in the way of unsolicited police services" (p. 243). The Police Complaints Authority (PCA) was created in 1993 by an act of Parliament in order to ensure that an independent body

was hearing and compiling citizen complaints (Deosaran 2002). The 2003 report is the most recently available online at the Complaint Authority's website. Based on the report, the number of formal and informal complaints had been increasing dramatically (PCA 2003). Complaints included accusations concerning the following: battery, criminal damage, failure to perform duty, harassment, impolite behavior, wrongful arrest, extortion, malicious prosecution, and miscellaneous civil complaints. There is variation in the number of complaints from year to year, but the disturbing trend was that the number of complaints was not being reduced despite the presence of the PCA. The author asked one respondent why the most recent report online was from 2003, and the respondent replied that "The PCA is largely defunct."

Police constables in Trinidad also feel that there is little community support for their activities and that they lack legitimacy in the eyes of the public. This perception is more negative when comparing Trinidad to Jamaica and Barbados (Bennett and Moribito 2006). Organizational factors including the effectiveness of supervision of the officers and the adequacy of training affect attitudes. The more effective the supervision and the more adequate the training of the officers, the more positive constables are about their perceived support and legitimacy from citizens (Bennett and Moribito 2006).

Research participants for this study also noted various problems regarding policing, including corruption,

brutalization of citizens, incompetence, collusion with criminals, lack of concern for crime victims, and a lack of faith in the police to protect people from victimization.

The author was told by a number of respondents that when citizens go to a police station or call the station to report an incident, the police tell them to go to the next station, or tell them that they do not have any cars, and basically do not respond. While the police will say they actually do not have cars and other resources, citizens feel that the police are avoiding work. People appear to want more police presence, but then when accusations or observations of police brutality occur, people will not go to the police for help.

Another frequently cited problem by respondents was the harsh treatment of citizens who report crimes. Those who report crimes feel like they are being accused of the crime during questioning, and numerous respondents also claimed that the police lack basic skills in questioning crime victims and suspects.

The lack of legitimacy of and trust in the police does not necessarily mean that the population is against working with the police, however. In 1999, a random sample of 451 households was surveyed on the willingness of respondents to work with the police in COP programs and their knowledge of COP activities (Deosaran 2002). Respondent's answers to the survey revealed that while 71% were willing to work with the police in COP activities, 70% thought the police were helpful when interacting with

citizens, and 63% were satisfied or very satisfied with police handling of crimes, only 51% thought their district was patrolled adequately, 36% knew that there was a COP unit was in their district, 25% new much or very much about what COP is, and 9% were involved in some sort of COP activity in the year prior to the survey being administered (Deosaran 2002). Program awareness, therefore, appeared to be one of the major problems.

Recent Police Reforms

The Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police decided to implement community oriented policing (COP) in 1993, but by 2000 the organization noted that not all of the participating nations had been fully committed (Deosaran 2002). Deosaran (2002) noted at the time his article was written that Trinidad and Tobago appeared to be the most committed in the region to COP. The police leadership was behind the concept of COP, but there remained concerns surrounding police capacity and conduct as well as citizen support.

One member of the police service who used to act as a COP officer was interviewed for this research. This individual noted that COP was spurred by foreign assistance. Senior officers went to the US and England to see how COP was implemented there. These senior officers then returned to Trinidad and Tobago in order to train officers (including the person interviewed) in transactional analysis and conflict resolution. The COP

officers would speak with people in different communities each day of the week, and over time relations and trust improved, even with teenagers, according to the respondent.

As time progressed youth groups were formed that engaged in sports and academic activities, where officers would tutor children in math and other subjects. Neighborhood watches were also started. The respondent said that COP “fizzled out” by 2002 because people were hired to be COP officers that were “not cut out for it.” The respondent claimed that poor recruitment policies were to blame, and it appears that a lack of supervision of the officers was a problem as well.

Deosaran (2002) argued that before successful COP implementation could occur, human resource development of the police force, and the democratization of the command structure away from the old colonial and paramilitary style, was necessary. In an earlier report, Deosaran (2000) also made recommendations for improving community policing, such as instituting oversight and evaluation, building awareness, training all officers for community policing, and other oft-seen recommendations for success.

Currently, the government is attempting to reform the police services by consolidating more administrative authority into the hands of the police commissioner, giving the government more opportunities to help direct policy,

and by trying to improve civilian oversight (Mastrofski and Lum 2008).

As Mastrofski and Lum (2008) point out, however, the entire government and its agencies must improve governance in order for this not to just be symbolic. The two major parties currently cannot come to a consensus on many issues, and there are concerns regarding legitimacy, accountability and transparency, control over important functions, and internal governance of the police (Mastrofski and Lum 2008).

Current reforms are modeled on the recent reforms seen in Northern Ireland (Mastrofski and Lum 2008). First, there is external and independent oversight of the police through the Police Complaints Authority, but policy direction is directed by the Ministry of National Security in order to provide political weight and to make the politicians stakeholders. The police commissioner will have more power to direct hiring, discipline, promotion, and training. Police pay and educational requirements are planned to increase in order to recruit more qualified people who may be less corrupt.

Mastrofski and Lum (2008) argue that bad managers should be removed and that better work should be demanded from officers. Officer review procedures are supposedly being updated, and there are also attempts to make the police more service oriented (Mastrofski and Lum 2008).

As part of these reforms, in 2007, Parks and Mastrofski (2008) led a team to create a model station program for the police service based on Mastrofski's "service oriented" community policing model called "Policing for People." Five model stations were created in high crime, racially varied and geographically diverse areas: Arouca, Chaguanas, Morvant, San Fernando, and the West End. These stations were provided extra resources, such as vehicles, and officers were trained or coached on-site by field advisors coming from police forces in the US (Parks and Mastrofski 2008). Officers at these model stations were expected to show up to work, engage in patrol, and to spend time with community residents.

What were the results of this model station program? Based on a pre-test, post-test survey of residents in the model station areas carried out by a hired local firm, officers were engaging in more foot and car patrols, and police visibility increased in four of the five stations (Parks and Mastrofski 2008). Police activity increased, citizens largely thought that their areas were safer, and citizens who reported crimes were happier with the services they received.

However, citizens were less likely to think that they police would solve their problems, and thought that the police had less respect for citizens, leading to a lack of improvement in overall satisfaction after the implementation of the new program (Parks and Mastrofski 2008).

There are numerous reasons for the failures cited above according to the research by the author. First of all, none of the NGOs or CBOs interviewed for this research, except for one, played any kind of role in the recent foreign assistance. CBO and NGO member participants were largely unaware of the recent foreign assistance and the outcomes of the assistance, and they said that citizens were largely “in the dark” about the reforms as well. Most had heard of Professor Mastrofski from news paper reports, but really had nothing to say about the foreign assistance due to a lack of knowledge.

Some research participants spoke of past dealings with the police; including the above mentioned sports programs for youth and general methodological assistance, but recent reforms for the most part did not involve civil society groups. One NGO participated as part of a panel in the hiring process for the new police commissioner, but the government rejected the candidate forwarded by that panel and a different police commissioner was selected. This same NGO did help with one of the model stations in the area of domestic violence.

Interview participants involved in some way with recent reforms argued that reforms had few positive effects, and that paying foreign assistors was a waste of money. While respondents thought that foreign consultants were professional and tried to do some good things (increasing officer education and pay, restructuring of the police service, creating model stations, a new customer service

orientation to police work, and more proactive strategies), they thought that some of the police leadership was forward thinking, local officers did not want to listen to the foreign consultants, and (as Mastrofski and Lum (2008) argued) respondents argued that further systemic changes were needed before training and other forms of assistance can work.

Respondents also disliked the fact that the foreigners were playing the lead role in initiating changes. Participants did not perceive changes in officer behavior and felt that the systemic changes were inadequate. One respondent said, "Why are we paying all of these dollars to have Mastrofski come in here telling us shit we already know?"

Another problem mentioned by one respondent was that the process for hiring a foreign consultant was flawed. Teams had to bid on a series of projects spaced out over time; making the entire process more difficult. Currently, police service members in charge of carrying out reforms have to work within a plan that was put together in a piecemeal fashion by design, and according to the respondent, the budget for the transformation is underfunded (because, according to the respondent, a lot of money went to foreign consultants).

Current Reform Effort Lessons

History often repeats itself in terms of police reform (as in virtually everything else). The policing model used in

Ireland was exported abroad by the British during its colonial empire (Ellison and O'Reilly 2008a). Trinidad was no exception, but recent reforms in Trinidad are now based on the currently popular and relatively recent reforms in Northern Ireland.

These reforms have been hailed as a resounding success, and many have promoted the idea that these reforms ought to be modeled by other countries seeking to reform their policing systems (Ellison and O'Reilly 2008b). The Northern Ireland experience has been branded and marketed for global diffusion in the areas of general police reform, counter terrorism activity and other forms of security policing, even though this branding and marketing has been done without careful consideration of the political, economic, and cultural contexts that have hindered long-term success in Northern Ireland and can thwart successful diffusion of this model to other countries (Ellison 2007; Ellison and O'Reilly 2008b).

It is apparent that the Trinidad and Tobago experience with police reform has suffered from this same lack of critical thinking. While Mastrofski and Lum (2008) noted the problems of capacity, corruption, and the like hindering the prospects for successful reform, it appears that the foreign trainers and advisors, Mastrofski included, did not or could not create a reform program that took into account the complex political, social and economic difficulties that Trinidad and Tobago uniquely face. The reform program adopted was still based largely on the

functionalist notions of community policing and the problem-solving model that assume healthy institutions and an empowered citizenry (Brogden 1999; Miller and Hendrix 2007). In particular, civil society groups and NGOs were not truly involved in the reform process from the beginning, even though legitimacy, accountability, and adherence to civil authority are necessary components of democratic policing.

As with economic policy, the US has used its hegemony to influence criminal justice and law enforcement policies under the justification of the war on drugs and the war on terrorism. Transnational crime discourse is used to deepen the coerciveness of the state in terms of capacity and power (McCulloch 2007). It is well known that drug war countermeasures are costly and counterproductive, but McCulloch (2007) argues that notions of transnational crime and terrorism have successfully extended social, political, and economic hierarchies between and within states.

For example, Trinidad and Tobago signed “ship rider agreements” that allow US law enforcement to engage in hot pursuit and board ships suspected of shipping drugs in Trinidad and Tobago’s territorial waters (Trinidad and Tobago law enforcement cannot do the same in US territorial waters) (Griffith 2000). Trinidad and Tobago also signed extradition and mutual legal assistance treaties, and the EU and US have funded demand reduction programs (Griffith 2000).

Distinctions between military and police functions become blurred in these situations, and transnational and anti-terror crime arguments are used by states to justify extra-judicial actions that deny civil liberties such as punishing individuals before there is evidence that a crime has been committed (McCulloch 2007).

In addition to attempting to reform the police in general, Trinidad and Tobago created a paramilitary unit in 2004 based on the American CIA and trained by the British called the Special Anti-Crime Unit of Trinidad and Tobago (SAUTT). SAUTT includes officers who were previously in the police service or members of the armed forces, including the coast guard. The organization was recently tasked to address the increase in gang-related homicides (Browne 2008). SAUTT has had legitimacy concerns since its inception, with many questioning its legality, but the legal dilemma has been recently solved by placing SAUTT within the police service and under the direction of the police commissioner (Browne 2008).

As with socio-economic policies, these transnational crime and anti-terror initiatives are part of a neoliberal agenda that allows the US to internationalize pro-market, deregulatory policies. Because neoliberal policies erode public enterprises, subsidies, and welfare programs, national security replaces social security as the primary focus of state activity and political legitimacy, combining neoliberalism and militarism in order to reshape relations between states (McCulloch 2007). Security issues and the

fear associated with them also allow the state to harshly deal with internal resisters and political enemies while avoiding international rebuke (McCulloch 2007).

The problems of orientalism and occidentalism have also helped prevent successful criminal justice reform in Trinidad and Tobago, and it has also perhaps prevented an independent Caribbean Criminology from developing (see Cain 2000). Orientalism involves the Western romanticization of another little known country or culture, and the colonial idea that this romanticized place requires aid from the West in order for it to become a part of the larger world as designed and controlled by the West (Said 1978).

The lack of knowledge, misdiagnosed problems, and faulty policies based on orientalism are exacerbated by occidentalism, which refers to the presumed similarity "...of key cultural categories, practices and institutions" (Cain 2000:239). One area where this becomes apparent is the concept of "community" or that of "neighborhood," both of which can be defined quite differently than in the United States or the United Kingdom (Cain 2000).

Another area includes the patterns of crime. Cain (2000) argues that the relationships between poverty, age, and crime differ somewhat in Trinidad from what is observed in the US, even though it is often universally accepted by academics that these relationships are constant throughout the world. Finally, the functionalist notions of the police

reforms noted above are related to orientalism and occidentalism.

Democratic Policing in Trinidad and Tobago?

Democratic policing is the latest in a line of policing models or theories that have been advocated by academics and practitioners. This newest theory attempts to move beyond the shortcomings of the professional and community policing models. The professional model of policing, which noble in intent, has numerous flaws. New officers are often told by seasoned veterans to ignore everything they learned during their training; the reactive nature of the professional model and the use of paramilitary tactics lead to a lack of effectiveness and increases the chances of police abuses; and hiding the profession behind a veil of secrecy runs counter to democratic values, avoids accountability, and promotes corruption (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006b).

The community policing model, which encourages proactive and co-productive activities between community residents and the police to prevent crime and disorder, attempted to improve on the professional model. However, the organizational structure of the police has not changed in most all of the places where it has been tried, the rhetoric of COP has been used to mask traditional approaches (such as paramilitary tactics) that are overly aggressive and threaten civil liberties, and there have been inequitable outcomes and unequal participation based on

race, social class, and home ownership status (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006b).

The democratic model of policing rejects overly simplistic functionalist arguments and explicitly reorients police organizations so that these organizations conform to democratic values and promote human rights through their actions in order to complement other democratic institutions as well as human, social, and economic development (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006c).

The police help strengthen democratic institutions and the social capital that sustains them by forming trust and networks with community residents. NGOs and CBOs can play a crucial role in this process as well, acting as liaisons between community residents and the police. The strengthening of social capital in communities can enhance informal social control mechanisms that reduce crime and fear of crime without increasing coercive police activities.

Crucial in all of this is civilian participation from the beginning of the reform process. Otherwise, the police and/or particular government officials might dictate changes themselves without public input, which makes it more likely that repressive measures will be introduced in the name of the people and without adequate civilian oversight. At the same time, one cannot allow a “mob rule” mentality that could pit powerful groups against less powerful ones, so adherence to universal human rights is also paramount.

There are a number of principles of democratic policing outlined by Pino and Wiatrowski (2006c). These principles include: 1) *The Rule of Law*: the police should uphold and be bound by the law rather than upholding a particular regime; 2) *Legitimacy*: police actions are based on the consent of the governed, and the police are seen as legitimate by all social groups in a society; 3) *Transparency*: internal actions of the police should be open and visible to the citizenry; 4) *Accountability*: police plans and actions are accountable to the citizenry, the government and media, and in the case of lower ranking officers the police leadership. Governmental, civilian, and media oversight is crucial in maintaining transparency and legitimacy; 5) *Subordination to Civil Authority*: police plans and behaviors are dictated by the people and their elected representatives.

While the police should not be tools of a particular political party or regime, this does not mean that the police can be completely removed from all politics in a democratic society (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006c). If the police adhere to these principles, the citizens and their government must also do everything to provide proper education, training, and support.

In addition to reorienting police organizations and their oversight based on democratic values, the sustainability of democratic policing depends on other agendas that strengthen civil society and democratic institutions, including democratic reform of other governmental

institutions including the other elements of the criminal justice system, pursuing state autonomy to achieve its own objectives in its own interest, including independent socio-economic development policies, the building of social and human capital, and equity in democratic participation, including the equal participation of women (Pino and Wiatrowski 2006c).

Based on the research conducted for this paper as well as other scholarly work in the country, there is potential for the success of democratic policing and other crime reduction activities in Trinidad and Tobago in part because of the existence of a strong civil society (Cain 2000; Klak and Conway 1998). There is evidence of communal collective action at local and regional levels, as well as innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship (Klak and Conway 1998).

Alternative paths to sustainable development must take into account gender divisions and relations, the strengths and weaknesses of local informal economies, the need to manage tourism policies, the need for innovation and diversification of the economy, the unrealized potential of the country's diasporas, empowerment of local communal agencies, and the need to keep environmental concerns in mind (Klak and Conway 1998: 268-269).

Klak and Conway (1998) call for the equal involvement of women, and the normalization of non-criminal informal economic activities. The use of formal and informal

networks with family and friends who are part of the Caribbean Diaspora can also be used to spur development by enhancing regional integration (Klak and Conway 1998; Mandle 1996).

Deere et al (1990) call for unions and workers in general to benefit more from foreign investment including democratizing workplaces, and they want policies that diversify the economy, including agriculture, cancel debt, enhance regional integration through organizations such as CARICOM, push for new local and indigenous employment intensive industries, have the state play a larger role in the economy along with NGOs with experience in the informal sector, and more community participation in decision making in general. Deere et al (1990) also call for gender equity in the household, more aid for single-headed families, and to give women more access to land and credit.

Neighborhood groups that organize to fight crime can build social capital and empower themselves to engage in other activities to improve quality of life. In Trinidad, Cain (2000) found that groups set up to do neighborhood watches with the police in the 1990s became interested in doing other activities such as the preservation of communal facilities, improvements in trash service, and environmental concerns. When neighborhood groups are allowed to set their own agendas crime reduction may become imbedded within a larger set of issues related to quality of life in a neighborhood, and improvements in

quality of life may on their own reduce crime, disorder, and fear of crime in an area.

NGOs and CBOs may be a good intermediary between the public and the police to build social capital between all parties. NGO bridging and activist activities may also be able to increase the percentage of residents willing to work with the police. In a recent UN report on crime in Africa and the Caribbean, it was suggested that there be meetings with NGOs in order to gauge the level of civil society support for crime prevention and criminal justice reforms (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime 2008), and Miller and Hendrix (2007) advocated involving civil society groups in reforms, but it doesn't appear this was done in Trinidad and Tobago adequately.

Solutions to various problems must be comprehensive in the sense that they attempt to account for all of the risk factors inherent in that problem. Programs that have this kind of potential include the drop in centers in Trinidad. On Saturday nights one drop in center would sell fruit juice and show videos (Klein 2004). Proceeds are used for issuing micro-credit at 25% interest, which reduces the need for begging and petty crimes, and puts loan sharks charging 200-500% interest out of business (Klein 2004).

Research participants echoed many of these same arguments in their interviews with the author. NGOs and CBOs want active involvement of citizens with the police from the beginning in designing programs for reducing

crime as well as the evaluation and oversight of those programs.

One cooperative activity multiple respondents mentioned was to create centers in neighborhoods where citizens could receive information about services they might qualify for, but this center would also be a place where people could anonymously report crimes. Because the center would be a multi-purpose operation, respondents thought that it might be safer from violent retaliation by gangsters and other criminals.

Respondents (police service interviewees included) argued that larger social and economic problems had to be addressed in order for crime to be reduced. Ideas for addressing these problems included micro credit schemes, improving access to education, and reforming job creation programs.

Respondents (police service members included) for the most part wanted foreign assistance to continue, but in a much more limited way. One area where people thought foreign training would be useful is in technical assistance involving police investigation, DNA testing, and the like. Another area mentioned was in the investigation of corruption. The idea was that foreigners with no ties to local government and police could impartially investigate corruption. Participants also thought that local actors should have the lead in reform planning and

implementation, with foreign consultants simply facilitating the reforms by providing ideas and research.

Discussion

In 1987, the Development Group for Alternative Policies submitted a report to the US House of Representatives criticizing the Caribbean Basin Initiative, which was a pre-NAFTA trade agreement. Their criticism was based on six principles that have relevance not only for development but also for criminal justice reform and police reform in particular.

These six principles include: 1) *Self-determination* to shape Caribbean development policies within rather than from outside the region; 2) *Participation* of the Caribbean people in definition and implementation of policies; 3) *Self-reliance* to build local structures and capacities that reduce dependence; 4) *Regionalism* for strengthening cooperation rather than competition between countries in the region and to strengthen regional organizations; 5) *Equity* in the distribution of opportunities, resources, burdens and benefits of development; and 6) *Sustainability* for the long term preservation of a secure and healthy resource base, economic relations, and local human capacity (Development Group for Alternative Policies 1987: 6).

These six principles are similar in numerous ways to Pino and Wiatrowski's (2006c) principles of democratic policing. Policing policies should be dictated by the

country affected and its people rather than outside forces that might not have the interests of the reforming country in mind; the people need to be equitably involved in policy making; local structures and capacities ought to be strengthened by enhancing social and human capital; and the goal of sustainability must always be present, keeping long term goals in mind.

These ideas are not just from the author or other individuals or groups from outside of Trinidad and Tobago. Based on the results of the research conducted for this paper, participants articulated these same principles and aspirations for their country, and there is clearly a collective will among members of civil society groups and in the police service to engage in sustainable, locally driven reform.

This does not mean that foreign donors, educators, trainers, and funders cannot help facilitate reform efforts, but it needs to be in the interests of the local society rather than that of the donor, civil society should be involved; and local interests rather than outside interests should lead efforts with the aid of outside assistors. But if plans are created they must be focused and based on consensus. Not everyone's individual ideas can be implemented, and people have to focus on the larger goals that have been laid out.

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CONCEPTUALIZING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IN THE CARIBBEAN: THE PHILOSOPHY, THE POLICY AND THE PRACTICE

Dianne A. Williams

North Carolina Agricultural and Technical State University, USA

Criminal justice systems typically fight crime by focusing on building more prisons, hiring more police, or writing tougher penalties into the law. Based on current recidivism rates, there is no argument that these measures have proven ineffective, particularly in the Caribbean.

The Caribbean needs to adopt another approach – an approach that focuses on rehabilitation instead of retribution and incapacitation. Restorative justice does just that. It is a radical paradigm whose application goes beyond prisons, police and penalties and focuses on repairing the harm done to the victim of the crime, repairing the harm done to the community as a whole and, in the process, restoring the offender, even while the offender is being held accountable for the criminal behavior.

The concept of restorative justice promulgates principles such as victim-offender mediation, family group

conferences, circle sentencing and community reparative boards. Unlike the traditional Kantian and Utilitarian Efficiency theories of justice, restorative justice focuses on the private rather than the public effects of crime. It considers crime as a violation of human relationships rather than a violation of laws. This paper will address the concept of restorative justice, its philosophy and how its application can have a greater and more positive impact on Caribbean Criminology in general, but specifically on rates of recidivism. Potential pitfalls and challenges to the application of this approach will also be addressed.

Restorative justice is an umbrella term used to describe a group of programs that seek to move the focus of the Criminal justice system away from retribution and punishment and toward restoration and reconciliation.¹ Collectively, these programs provide opportunities for those most directly affected by the commission of a crime – the victim, the offender, the families of both the victim and the offender, and the communities to which either or both parties belong - to be actively involved in the process of addressing the harm, the needs and the obligations of all involved. In essence, effective restorative justice programs use varying forms of mediation and dialogue to foster victim healing and community safety, while demanding an acceptable degree of offender accountability.

Ultimately, the aim of restorative justice programs is to shift the basic ideology of justice back toward social reintegration, and away from perpetrator incapacitation. This concept has been compared to Braswell and Gold's

"peacemaking" ethics which also focuses on:

- *restoring victims, offenders, and communities who have been injured by crime*
- *giving victims, offenders, and communities the opportunity to be fully active in the justice process, and*
- *acknowledging that although the government bears the responsibility for restoring order, the community should bear the responsible for restoring peace.*²

The roots of restorative justice can be traced as far back as Roman and Greek law.³ Plato shifts the archaic language of punishment as revenge and dishonor to more substantive language which focuses on the healing of the soul of the offender.⁴ Both are grounded in the concept of reparation to the victim. Aristotle's idea of 'rectificatory justice,'⁵ for example, was concerned with ill gotten gains but only as it related to contract and business relationships. His argument was that any crime that resulted in injury should be rectified by giving attention and aid to the victim in such a manner as to make the victim 'whole' again. Restorative justice is also not too far removed from the 'community justice' approach of the 1970s which attempted to create community justice boards or local justice committees as part of a more localized criminal justice system.⁶

Ironically, however, the restorative justice model actually comes from earlier examples of tribal justice such as the Maori trial council in New Zealand where the norm of punishment rituals involves members of the families of both victims and offenders.⁷ The Maori model is based on

the concept of *reintegrative shaming*⁸ where responsibility for the crime is borne not only by the offender, but by the offender's entire family. It is noteworthy that the Maori have summarily rejected the adversarial system of justice in favor of a more conciliatory and participatory approach, which seeks to solve the underlying problem rather than simply assess punishment.⁹

In the final analysis, the concept of restorative justice seeks to encourage restoration of the community disrupted by the offense, and reconciliation between victim and offender, as a means of violence reduction, public safety, and community building. Violence begets violence, so we must not underestimate the degree to which cruel and shaming punishments can rebound in cycles of violence across the historical landscape of the community.

Restorative Justice: The Philosophy

Fundamental Principles

Laws are important. They provide a context for and a guide to social control, not to mention a minimal code of prescriptions and prohibitions without which a community cannot function. However, laws are only the minimal code. They cannot possibly regulate all of the ways that one person might violate another person. They cannot possibly regulate all the ways that people *humanly* interact. When society places the emphasis on the violation of laws instead of the violation of the human relationship, it is easy to overlook the real problem – the human consequences for the social actors, the broad

impact of the violation on the human community. In other words, laws direct citizen attention to the act of violating a law, eclipsing the greater problem of how human beings ought to behave toward each other.

Western models of justice are notorious for placing compliance- and rights-based model of legal prescription over human ethics. In the same vein, contemporary criminal justice models focus heavily on retribution and on the punishment of offenders. Yet, these compliance and rights-based, retributive and punitive policies appear to have no impact on levels of crime.

In fact, despite the use of punitive measure to deter crime, Western society in general and a growing number of Caribbean islands in particular, have alarmingly large recidivism rates. Obviously, these punitive policies are not effective deterrents of crime. As such, shifts have been occurring in this dominant criminal justice ideology pushing for more restorative models of justice, which involve the active participation of the offender, the victim, and the community in restoring justice to all parties.

It is important to note that an integral part of this restorative process is the acceptance of responsibility by the offender. For example, one of the relevant models is Victim-offender mediation (VOM) which is a process that provides interested victims, primarily victims of property crimes and minor assaults, the opportunity to meet their offenders in a safe and structured setting. The goal is to hold offenders directly accountable for their behavior while providing important support and assistance to

victims. Indeed, a survey conducted by the Center for Restorative justice and Peacemaking indicates there more than 300 VOM programs currently exist throughout the United States and more than 700 exist in Europe.¹⁰

In contrast to traditional Western Criminal justice policies, the concept of restorative justice is based on 3 underlying principles:

1. *Justice requires that we work to restore those who have been injured.*
2. *Those most directly involved and affected by crime should have the opportunity to participate fully in the response if they wish.*
3. *Government's role is to preserve a just public order, and the community's is to build and maintain a just peace.*

For example, in the case of a pickpocket - the offender may be caught and be found guilty and punished. Under traditional criminal justice methods, the offender will probably never appreciate or take responsibility for the fact that the victim had to get a new license, had to cancel and replace credit cards, perhaps had to change locks on the house out of fear that the offender knew the address, and the list goes on and on. This significant human violation will probably never be acknowledged much less addressed. And the needs of the victim created by the offense will most likely be completely ignored. In reality, the real crime should be the violation of the human relationship. Indeed, when society focuses primarily on the violation of the law, and not on the violation of a

human relationship, we inadvertently encourage denial of responsibility.

Howard Zehr puts it this way: "Even if he is guilty, his attorney will likely tell him to plead 'not guilty' at some stage".¹¹ Encouraging an offender to plead 'not guilty' to a crime he or she actually committed only serves to obscure the experiential and moral reality of guilt or innocence.

For the most part, criminal justice systems in the Caribbean operate like most other countries in the world. They are characterized by punitive and retributive frameworks of justice. Not only do correctional facilities end up housing a large and growing prison populations, but the core of the system becomes a revolving door i.e. parolees and probationers are released un- or under-prepared for reintegration. They are released into the same communities from which they were plucked by the jaws of incarceration and since they are no better off, they feel they have no choice but to resort to criminal activity - hence the rising rates of recidivism.

In contrast, restorative justice programs focus on reintegration. Crimes are viewed from the perspective of the harm done to individuals, to people, and to relationships and there is a focus on repair and reconciliation between individuals and within communities. In a more philosophical sense, in an effort to apply extended restorative justice ideas and principles broadly to our everyday lives and not just to the sphere of criminal justice, Sullivan and Tifft focus on such topics as

*needs-based justice and equal well-being.*¹² Thus the basic philosophy of restorative justice is that of moral trust. When a crime is committed, that moral trust is broken or breached. Restorative justice programs aim to repair the breach in moral trust and reestablish peace, as opposed to fostering feelings of animosity, hurt, regret, or conflict.

Arguably, punishment has the effect of preserving public order and ensuring public safety, particularly if incarceration is the result. However, unless incapacitation is permanent, for example, life without parole, then upon release, an offender who has not been properly rehabilitated or is unable to properly reintegrate into his or her community will reoffend. Indeed, there is a growing acceptance of the fact that punishment as the primary method of redress has proven ineffective.¹³

Restorative justice programs serve to foster a unique connection between the offender and the victim such that in the process of accepting responsibility for the commission of the crime the offender is also afforded an opportunity to develop a sense of belonging to the community. In that vein, restorative justice programs are fundamentally different from programs that simply require the offender to face the victim and provide compensation. Instead, restorative justice programs place the victim at the forefront of the process of deciding what to do with the offender.

The development of restorative justice practices has even inspired creative new thinking about the philosophy of punishment and principles of justice. There is even a

move toward reevaluating the relationship between restorative and retributive justice and the values and processes which should guide our social structure. Naturally, this is still the subject of intense debate.

The Retributive-Restorative Dichotomy

At the core of any restorative justice program is an ongoing if misleading Retributive-Restorative debate. The difference between conventional and restorative justice can best be articulated in terms of *paradigms of empowerment and disempowerment*¹⁴ of the primary stakeholders, that is, the victim, the offender and their immediate communities.

To properly evaluate this dichotomy two important processes must occur:

- (1) antagonists of the restorative justice concept must be willing to acknowledge that, based on current recidivism rates, incapacitation and punishment do not work and conventional responses to crime have little chance of doing any better than they have already done up to this point, and
- (2) Protagonists of the restorative justice concept must be willing to acknowledge that sufficiently harsh incapacitation and punishment can and do force short-term change in the behavior of the offender (if only for as long as the force continues to be applied).

Regardless of one's individual proclivity, there can be no argument that current recidivism rates paint a gloomy

picture - either society is unable to consistently apply force because of overcrowding, or offenders are becoming resistant to the effects of incapacitation and punishment and are only going through the motions.

Incapacitation of the offender also does not address three concerns: (1) the injuries/damages experienced by the victim; (2) the negative relationship between the victim and offender; and (3) the antisocial behavior of the offender. Therefore, unless all parties are sufficiently vested, stakeholders (primary and secondary victims/primary and secondary offenders, their communities), the welfare and the needs of all parties will not be considered. This causes less stakeholder satisfaction. Only these stakeholders, and not the criminal justice professionals who currently make the decisions, have the requisite knowledge of the needs and circumstances of those involved to ensure constructive responses.

Additionally, at an even higher level, the bureaucrats focus on procedure to the exclusion of the needs of the primary and secondary stakeholders. As a result, the outcomes and resolutions imposed may meet legal criteria but prove unhelpful, and even counterproductive, for the people who are already in considerable distress, and who have the most to lose or gain from the final dispensation.

Moreover, current criminal justice processes only serve to disempower all parties to the conflict. This creates a further sense of isolation and unnecessary alienation between offender and victim and even goes so far as to

alienate the victim/offender unit, from their communities. This exacerbates already existing feelings of helplessness, anger, hatred and fear, which in turn worsen the plight of everyone involved on both sides.

Finally, our current criminal justice system is antiquated. Traditional processes fail to acknowledge that criminal acts are primarily violations against specific, identifiable people - the victims of the crime – and not “The State”, or “The Law,” or “The Crown,” or “The Queen,” or “The Commonwealth” or “The People.” It is the victim, the identifiable individual, who should have the primary and most legitimate claim against the offender in a criminal justice response.

Although the results of restorative justice programs cannot be guaranteed, giving offenders an opportunity to voluntarily and cooperatively change as opposed to alienating them from society (both physically and emotionally), would be much more efficient and effective than our current process.

Restorative Justice: The Policy

Trinidadians & Tobagonians are becoming extremely concerned with the levels of crime, especially violent crime, in their communities, as well as with the fact that the current system of punitive sentencing does not seem to be effective in preventing crime and preserving social order. There is an increasing sense of dissatisfaction and frustration with the current offender-focused criminal justice system that openly excludes the victim and the

community.

Conversely, the essence of *restorative justice* is that “we must move to create personal relationships, and receptive communities that promote patterns of interaction that are non-hierarchical, and non-power-based.”¹⁵ The central notion is that justice done restoratively requires participants to be receptive to each other’s concerns, ideas, needs, feelings, desires, pain and suffering, so that each can see the other as a person engaged in the same struggle for survival (albeit sometimes at different levels of survival), and not simply someone to be used as a resource to be exploited. When opposing parties are able to see each other in this way, indeed, when the parties are no longer opposing but collaborating, we have the beginnings of a restorative community.

Granted this may be a bit naïve, (expecting ordinary individuals to coexist in an extraordinary world), but perhaps we must expect more of ourselves as members of the human world- the social revolution must begin within. It is important to note that this concept is not simply one of creating the model community but rather one that attempts to level the social playing field by challenging the hierarchy and structural violence that permeate modern society.

Regardless of potential problems and pitfalls, over the last 30 years or so, restorative justice has become increasingly accepted as the best approach to criminal law around the world. The concept itself is necessarily multidimensional and embraces an acceptance of the individual as a locus of

cultural, social and economic, relationships.¹⁶ At the 2000 United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders, for example a resolution was passed unanimously encouraging all nations to promote restorative justice.¹⁷ This move suggests that the concept is receiving a positive response in societies across the world.

Another one of the underlying goals of restorative justice is reconciling the needs of victims and offenders with the needs of the community. Unlike retributive justice which is primarily concerned with punishing the offender for the commission of the crime, restorative justice focuses on repairing the injury that crime causes. For example, programs such as *restorative conferencing*¹⁸ brings together the victim, the offender, and other members of the community to hold offenders accountable not only for their crimes but for the harm they cause the victims.

In fact, in a pilot program, the combined quantitative and participant results showed that the program was effective in achieving program goals. The *Citizens, Victims, and Offenders Restoring Justice Program* was a prison-based program conducted at the Washington State Reformatory from 1997 to 1998. The purpose of the study was to explore ways in which the restorative justice model may be practically applied in a correctional setting.

The program consisted of development, implementation, and evaluation of three trials of a seminar on restorative justice involving victims, offenders, and citizens as participants. An evaluation of the program revealed that

all four of program goals were met, as follow, the program (1) provided a safe environment for inmates to begin making amends for their crimes and for victims to heal, (2) facilitated constructive communication between polarized groups, and (3) encouraged development of creative ways of thinking about justice and strategies for dealing with crime.¹⁹

Notwithstanding the success of programs such as the *Citizens, Victims, and Offenders Restoring Justice Program*, there is also growing concern about the success rates of the many other restorative justice programs which exist.²⁰

Unfortunately, the task of evaluating these programs is a daunting one because the programs themselves are so diverse and each pursues unique objectives. Nonetheless, since restorative justice is guided by values that emphasize the healing and social well-being of those affected by crime the values themselves must, by necessity guide program policy and evaluations.

Restorative Justice: The Practice

Restorative justice programs are characterized by four key values:

1. *Encounter*: Create opportunities for victims, offenders and community members who want to do so to meet to discuss the crime and its aftermath
2. *Amends*: Expect offenders to take steps to repair the harm they have caused
3. *Reintegration*: Seek to restore victims and offenders to

whole, contributing members of society

4. *Inclusion*: Provide opportunities for parties with a stake in a specific crime to participate in its resolution²¹

Generally, there are two ways to assess the effectiveness of any criminal justice program. One is to measure the outcomes, such as changes in recidivism rates, and the other is to evaluate the processes.²² Traditional programs emphasize outcomes, while restorative justice programs place more focus on processes.²³ The proponents of restorative justice believe that it is the process itself that fosters the healing for both victims and offenders and this healing ultimately brings peace to all parties.²⁴ They believe that the actual process of restorative justice has such a life changing impact on offenders that they make a conscious decision to desist from criminal activity.²⁵ This ultimately leads to lower recidivism rates.

The process evaluation model is comprised of three important elements: (1) dialogue, (2) relationship building, and (3) communication of moral values.²⁶ Sherman et al. used this model for their *Reintegrative Shaming Experiments* (RISE) in Australia, 1995-1999. Data collected indicates that the offenders who participated in this program were more likely to speak freely, re-establish relationships with the ones affected by the offense, and generate a feeling of remorse and empathy than offenders who did not participate.²⁷

Another example would be the *Need-based justice model*. In this model the justice process would allow each

participant to state his or her needs and these needs would be acknowledged and equally valued by all parties.²⁸ The task of the restorative process under these circumstances would be to "reconcile" the needs of all parties. But if we are not careful, reconciliation under these circumstances could be nothing more than a shift of power?

Multiple, and sometimes opposing needs, can only fit together if we implement the right process, that is, a process in which individuals become willing to compromise or reconsider their needs in the face of the power or force of the restorative situation. In this situation, the presence of family members, the degree of forgiveness granted by the victim, the remorse of the abuser, the explicit and implicit approval or disapproval of the facilitator, and the reactions of community members all act as sources of power that operate to convince disputants to understand their needs in non-conflictive terms. Symbolically speaking, this can be understood as a form of violence since the participant's "true" feelings, if such things actually exist **MUST** be re-shaped by the restorative context in which he or she is inserted or the restorative process fails.

Dennis Sullivan and Larry Tifft also offer a restorative justice manifesto in which they call for a "transformative" politics of justice.²⁹ This is a concept of justice that is contrary to the subtle and not-so-subtle violence that is ever-present in our thinking on human relations. In our current attempts to live together and to deal with the conflicts that interrupt our social structure, we tend to

impose forms of "counterharm" or "counterviolence" as our initial response to harmful or violent act. According to Sullivan and Tifft our society should seek a justice system that focuses on ending harm and stemming violence that otherwise threatens to repeat itself over and over in a none-ending cycle of suffering.³⁰

Unlike Sullivan and Tifft, other proponents of restorative justice, focus on the micro-relational properties of conflicts and seek ways to heal relationships at the basic level. Sullivan and Tifft argue, however, that the concept of restorative justice must open its analysis to the structural and political-economic roots of conflict in our society. They feel that the "foundations" of the harm and suffering experienced in our everyday lives lie in the oppressive social structures of modern society.³¹

Communities should be places of healing, but how can an offender be reintegrated into a community that lacks social integration? Communities should be understood as more than simply the context of restorative justice; indeed, communities should be treated as the object of transformative energies. Community leaders and members must also recognize collective responsibility for the suffering caused in the specific instances of harm (criminal or otherwise). In the final analysis one must ask: Are there any benefits to reintegrating an offender into a community that is plagued by social problems such as violence and drug-use? This would be a blue print for recidivism.

In reality, victims need to hear that what happened to

them was wrong and undeserved. They need confirmation that it is wrong for someone to break into their house and steal their possessions. Unfortunately, the legal process is not always sympathetic and questions typically replace sympathy with victim blaming. – questions such as, Did you have proper locks on your doors? Do you have an alarm system?

While it is a good idea to protect one's home, whether or not the victims locked doors or had an alarm system is immaterial. Even open doors and no alarm system gives no one the right to violate someone else's property and privacy.

The first step in the restoration and healing process for both victim and offender is to recognize and acknowledge this. Restorative justice recognizes that crimes are more than just violations of law. Crimes impact persons and relationships. They impact entire communities. Both the victim(s) and the offender(s) feel alienated, psychologically as well as physically damaged, disrespected and disempowered. Communities feel less safe and may unconsciously begin to separate themselves from mainstream society.

Restorative justice programs will acknowledge the injustice, restore the equity (both restitution and grace), and work on clarifying the future such that those directly and indirectly involved feel safer, more respected, and more empowered. Recognizing and publicly acknowledging the wrong done as well as the impact, is an important starting point in the healing and restoration

process for both the victim and offender, not to mention the community.

Having said all that, restorative justice advocates do not in any way deny that there are some offenders who are unable or unwilling to control their impulses to hurt people, and that these types of individuals would probably be best incapacitated. However, advocates acknowledge that if there is no constructive intervention to encourage the voluntary change after the first, second, and third offenses then the offender becomes a career criminal and the likelihood is higher that these repeat offenders will become unwilling or unable to control their impulses to hurt people. The obvious solution would be to design a system that provides early interventions to address the needs of the victim while encouraging the offender to change voluntarily.

Restorative justice also advocates responding to the crime immediately and with the maximum amount of voluntary cooperation and minimum coercion. This is for the sole purpose of healing the relationships impacted and focusing on learning new cooperative processes. The goal is to handle crimes and criminals using a cooperative structure which will include those most impacted by the offense i.e. primary and secondary victims and family (or substitutes if they choose not to participate), the offender and family, community representatives, government representatives, faith based community representatives, school representatives, etc.³²

Notwithstanding the good intentions, it would be foolish

to assume that there will be 100% cooperation. Although the restorative justice process prefers to use the cooperative response, it would be naïve to believe that all offenders, or even all victims will cooperate. If the victim chooses not to participate that choice is respected and the process of supportive response continues. If, on the other hand, the offender chooses not to cooperate then there perhaps needs to be a form of coercive/supportive backup.³³

The coercive/supportive response is designed to (1) make sure the offender acknowledges that the offense was wrong and unacceptable to society and (2) to encourage, educate, and invite (not simply coerce) the offender to cooperate. This is a critical part of the process since program goals cannot be achieved without voluntary cooperation.³⁴

In the event the offender still refuses to participate, there must be some independent authority charged with making decisions for the offenders who do not cooperate. Offenders who choose not to cooperate will be placed in settings where the emphasis is on safety, values, ethics, responsibility, accountability, and civility. They will be exposed to the impact of crime on victims, invited to learn empathy for victims, and offered learning opportunities to become better equipped with the skills necessary to be a productive member of society. These offenders will be invited and not coerced or mandated to participate and will be given the opportunity to demonstrate the new attitudes and skills in appropriate settings. If all else fails then restorative justice

protagonists must defer to the current criminal justice system.

Finally, the actions of the restorative justice authorities and the punishment imposed must be evaluated to determine whether or not they are reasonable, restorative, and respectful to the victim(s), the offender, and the community. This will require that measures of accountability be put in place. A process of evaluation will be necessary to ensure that agreements are honored especially since keeping agreements is the key to building a trust within the community.

Naturally all protocol is expected to be reasonable, respectful and ultimately restorative. This is especially important because there is a thin line between abusive coercion and supportive coercion especially as it relates to uncooperative offenders. Therefore, it is important that the outcomes be constantly evaluated to ensure that it is, indeed, restorative.

With respect to accountability, this is critical for the offender. If the offenders cannot or does not accept responsibility for his or her actions then it defeats the purpose. As such, cooperative agreements must be clearly understood, expectations must be clear. Additionally, follow-up accountability must be encouraged to ensure that all parties to keep their agreements – for example, in the event of minor infractions (which no doubt will occur), it becomes necessary to renegotiate the cooperative agreement and to build in additional support and/or consequences for further infractions. If agreements are

made in this cooperative process simply to pay lipservice and yet are not kept then trust will deteriorate even further. Moreover, if the offender does not keep the agreement or is unwilling to cooperate then they must be returned to the coercive/supportive response.

Conclusion

While it is important to recognize and acknowledge criminal and social wrong, it is even more important to conduct the process of recognition and acknowledgement in a delicate and precise manner. The restorative justice process must not stigmatize or isolate the offender such that the offender becomes less cooperative. This would be counterproductive.

In New Zealand, for example, the language being used is '*reintegrative shame*'.³⁵ If conducted properly, the process should lead to new learning and foster changing behavior for the future. The process should also address any physical needs created by the offense such as safety and repair, as well as relationships and physical damage resulting from the offense. But more importantly, the process should address any social needs related to the cause of the offense (addictions, lack of social or employment skills or resources, lack of the understanding or the will to make moral or ethical decisions, etc.).

This is a very important consideration because Restorative justice cannot succeed in isolation. The underlying reason for the crime must be addressed. For example, if the offender has an addiction which is not addressed, then no

long term restoration can occur.

Finally, for those of you who are not convinced that programs of this sort support our social structure more than existing punitive programs, ask yourselves 5 very important questions:

- (1) *Punishment demonstrates society's disapproval of social wrongs, but is pain the only way of doing so?*
- (2) *Punishment is supposed to strengthen social cohesion but does it mainly serve class interests?*
- (3) *Punishment allegedly restores the balance disturbed by the crime; but do two wrongs make a right?*
- (4) *Punishment is often carried out in the name of offender education, and 'sending a deterrence message' what impact does it really have on development of self-discipline in social offenders?*
- (5) *If the ultimate goal of social control is to transform violent or predatory relationships into safe and secure social interactions, which approach does that better, the punitive approach or the restorative approach?*

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SHOTTAS AND CUBATONEROS: BADMANISM, BLING AND YOUTH CRIME IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO AND CUBA

Camille Hernandez-Ramdwar

Ryerson University, Canada

The inspiration for this paper is based on two separate but interrelated incidents. The first is a very interesting conversation I had with a well-known Trinidadian musician in the summer of 2008. This artist is something of an icon in the music scene in that he has been around for decades and, as well, has risen from a very humble and destitute background to achieve international fame.

The musician was reminiscing on the many changes that he has seen in Caribbean popular culture over his seventy-odd years, but one thing stuck out for him: the moment in which the Jamaican movie *Shottas* arrived in Trinidad, and the ensuing and immediate change he saw in the behaviour of youth.

For him, *Shottas* had triggered a new aggressiveness and increase in gun-related crimes in many Trinidadian communities, coinciding with the mass pirating and popularity of the DVD. His strong, negative reaction to

Shottas caused me to reflect on my own feelings about the film and the glorification of gun violence and *gangsta* life in the Caribbean, as well as my own recent conversations with students who have asked me to use *Shottas* as a teaching tool in my Caribbean Studies classes in Canada.

I wondered if one film, one DVD, one set of images, could really have such an impact. Was it possible that *Shottas* really did encourage Trinidadian “youthmen” towards gangsterism? Or did this particular video arrive in Trinidad at a crucial moment when Jamaican-style gangster violence was already on the rise?

The second incident that influenced this paper occurred in Havana, Cuba, also in the summer of 2008. I was having a conversation with a sixteen-year-old Cuban male whom I have known for the last four years.

Like many adolescents, he is fascinated by American culture even though, as a Cuban, his access to things American is severely limited (but not entirely denied). This young man has been an avid fan of *reggaeton*, or the particular Cuban-version *cubatón*, for as long as I have known him. He was recounting to me the increase in the number of gun-related crimes in his neighbourhood, including a recent robbery which occurred in broad daylight at the *cadeca* or *cambio* (cash exchange kiosk) in his neighbourhood. He seemed fascinated by the use of the gun itself in this daylight robbery, and immediately pulled out a piece of paper to sketch the image of the gun and his representation of the entire incident for me.

I began to wonder if his constant consumption of *cubatón*, with its emphasis on “badmanism” and overt sexuality (including the repeated, *de rigueur* sound of the gun being cocked) played a role in his seeming fascination with guns. I began to wonder if the gunman of this particular incident, and other young newly-minted badmen in Havana, were also embracing guns more openly now, partly due to the influence and overwhelming popularity of *cubatón* among youth in Cuba today. And why *has cubatón* (as opposed to other Cuban musical forms) become so ragingly popular with Cuban youth anyway?

Music and Deviance

These musings raise the fundamental chicken-or-egg question regarding popular culture and deviance/criminal behaviour. To what extent are youth, particularly in this case young Caribbean males, affected by the images and messages they consume through, for example, videos and music? Or do these cultural texts simply reflect what is already occurring? Is it that both are occurring at the same time, that the constant reproduction of images, messages, and texts reinforce deviant behavior as young people especially look to these texts for affirmation, role modeling, and inspiration?

Certainly numerous studies over the years have shown the impact of exposure to violent and/or misogynist lyrics and/or images in music and music videos on children and youth (Johnson, Jackson and Gatto, 1995; Smith and Boyson, 2002; Stephens and Few, 2007). This paper compares the recent dissemination of specific kinds of texts in Trinidad (where access to foreign popular culture

is open and unrestricted, and where foreign media and texts often predominate over locally-produced ones), and Cuba (in which foreign content is highly controlled and difficult to access, although this is rapidly changing).

Furthermore, Cuba has, despite its economic difficulties, managed to maintain very strong state-funded cultural productivity, including film, video and music, while at the same time, banning or restricting certain foreign elements of cultural expression. Cuba, unlike Trinidad, has come to heavily rely on a tourist economy since the Special Period (early 1990s), and the over two million tourists who flock to Cuba each year have certainly contributed to significant changes in local culture, values and behaviours. The state's response to *cubatón* is contradictory, both banning that which it considers "subversive", while at the same time utilizing certain elements of *cubatón* for its own economic benefits once it recognizes foreign investment interest in said culture.

Badjohns of the New Millenium and the "Jamaicanisation" of Trinidad

Generally speaking, Trinidadian youth have ready access to satellite and cable television, they are avid movie-goers, and many also surf the internet. Furthermore, there is a cheap and easy proliferation of foreign bootleg DVDs available in Trinidad, from Hollywood, Bollywood and Nigerian movies, to "blues" (pornography) to the latest "passa passa"ⁱ DVDs from Kingston, all of which are readily consumed and distributed legally and illegally. Although Trinidad does produce music (most of which is directly related to Carnival season), it has been less

successful in the production of local images, which leaves a relative void in the film, video and DVD market (McFarlane-Alvarez, 2007).

This is perhaps why a movie such as *Shottas* could garner such an immediate influence. Released in 2002, the message in *Shottas*, which seems to resonate with young Caribbean men especially, like many of the popular dancehall and gangsta rap songs emanating from Jamaica and the U.S. respectively, is a live fast, die young nihilism which embraces the consumption of bling, expensive cars, big houses, sexy women, and other expendable commodities, as necessary accoutrements of the gangsta lifestyle (Kubrin, 2006). The lure of this lifestyle is most prevalent in communities where life chances are limited: one dreams of escaping harsh reality by “making it big” no matter how.

Furthermore, guns and drugs are easy to procure in marginalized neighbourhoods; in fact, it is generally known that the state plays a role in this reality, as a way of eliminating/controlling heavily populated, low-income areas (through the financing of gang warfare and the promotion of drug dealing and consumption, which results in a gradual extermination of the have-nots). As David Rudder sang in 1996 “Somebody lettin the cocaine pass”ⁱⁱ.

Meanwhile, politicians and social elites especially love to blame youth culture, especially that of poor youth, for the degradation of morals in society and the rise in crime. This

has been a custom since the days of colonialism: the banning of Canboulay, Carnival and traditional “mas” in Trinidad have led up to the present day in which dancehall and gangsta rap are being blamed for the rise in violence in Trinidad.

However, placing the blame solely on popular culture ignores the real issues in marginalized communities: poverty, social exclusion, unemployment, lack of educational opportunities, jailing (rather than caring) for destitute youth (Mahabir, 2006), a prevalence of drugs and guns, domestic and child abuse, lack of support for single-mother households, etc. Having said this, it is also known that marginalized youth are often lacking in stable and positive role models, hence the pattern of turning to the peer-group for support (Plummer, McLean, Simpson, 2008). The adolescent peer group, however, is strongly influenced by popular culture; in fact, role models in popular culture, such as singers, actors and other performers, serve as role models who are larger than life and ostensibly models of success. When these role models encourage, support, advocate or boast of their own exploits of violence and misogyny, it sends a powerful message to young males, particularly young males who lack male role models other than those found in their peer group, or within their communities (such as the local drug lord or “don”).

The link between musical artists and violence among youth became especially poignant in Trinidad in 2005 at the funeral of 13-year-old Kaleem “Billy” Danglede, in which several soca artists made an appearance, including

Bunji Garlin, who vowed publicly to stop singing violent lyrics in his songs: “We, as artistes, sometimes in our music have a tendency to use rude boy, bad man and gangster songs as an artistic expression but from today I am going to stop” (Ali, 2005).

Garlin also related how, to him, this posturing is foreign-based: “Let us stop trying to be Americans and stop trying to be Jamaicans...we are Trinis” (Seuraj, 2005). Clearly an artist such as Garlin, among others present, felt he had a responsibility *as a role model* to set a good example to youth, and to speak out about his own succumbing to the lure of foreign badman and gangsta posturing.

It was an admission of his own, and others’, sphere of influence as entertainers, even though an editorial in the Trinidad Express laid the blame on American gangsta rapper 50 Cent rather than local artists for possible negative role-modeling (Smith, 2005). Why? Isn’t it possible that an artist from one’s own country, nay, perhaps from one’s own community, could be as, if not more, influential than a foreign artist from abroad? Furthermore it is important to note Garlin’s statement that “we are Trinis”. What does this signify?

It evokes a consciousness that Trinidadians are not known for excessive violence – in fact this has, until recently, been a point of pride for Trinidadians (that is, “we not like Jamaica nor Guyana”). Stewart (2002) in his study of dancehall culture, argues that it is not dancehall music / culture that is to blame for the increase in violence in Jamaica, but rather that “violence in Jamaica stems from

strong cultural imperatives that constitute a Jamaican culture model, or worldview" (18).

This is one in which the most marginalized people in society are rendered invisible, into a state of "nothingness". Stewart goes on to suggest that "...if we really want to counter the problem of violence in Jamaica effectively, we should not only identify and apprehend the perpetrators, but Jamaicans need to also address culturally learned exclusionary and discriminatory problems in themselves" (27).

If we are to follow this trajectory to the increased influence of Jamaican dancehall culture in Trinidad, it would therefore be a reflection of the desire for the have-nots to be seen and heard in Trinidad, by whatever means necessary. The marginalized in Trinidad have historically utilized Carnival as a space of resistance against both oppression and invisibility – now, however, the vast majority of "visible" people on the road at Carnival-time are neither dispossessed nor marginalized – they are the \$500US-plus paying all-inclusive big band-playing masquerader, often living in North America, who have come home to "play themselves" behind a massive security cordon, which, ironically, is largely made up of the now-"invisiblized" who can not afford such luxuries.

The ever-growing gap between haves and have-nots in Trinidad has been escalating, along with the levels of crime, and the increase of Jamaican cultural influence in this country. Selwyn Ryan noted in a 2007 article entitled "The Jamaicanisation of Trinidad" that: "... the process of

social change in Trinidad is on fast forward. Nowhere is this more evident than in the field of crime. We are beginning to see the emergence of dons and “shottas”, an increase in the unofficial allocation of public goods, as well as a growing reliance on extra judicial systems which have long been a feature of inner city enclaves in Kingston where the official state is being shunted aside by “officials” of informal shanty areas” (Ryan, 2007).

Certainly we cannot assume that the distribution of *Shottas* led to this, but Ryan’s use of the word “Jamaicanisation” is quite interesting. For some time, various voices of popular protest in Trinidad have complained about the “Jamaicanisation” of local culture, starting with the arrival of dub music (1980s), then dancehall (1990s), then the hybridization of soca into ragga soca, and so on. *Shottas* is yet another step in this direction which some would argue is a form of Jamaican cultural imperialism.

Trinidad, though, has a long history of being beholden to the images of others (note the intense fascination with and interest in Hollywood gangster movies of the 1930s and 1940s during the American wartime occupation of Trinidad). One of the characteristics of Trinidadians is that we are, to coin V.S. Naipaul’s phrase, “mimic men” (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2006), quick to “play a mas” in imitating someone else’s style and mannerisms. Despite the dangers of losing oneself in the foreign image, the greater danger is adopting images, postures and behaviours that are potentially deadly and self-destructive.

Susan McFarlane - Alvarez noted that in 2003: “The

government of Trinidad and Tobago iterated a desire to foster...(a) Caribbean “indigenous cultural ethos” through focus on moving media image. It was in this year that the Tourism and Industrial Development Corporation of Trinidad and Tobago (TIDCO) launched the *Master Plan for the Strategic Development of Film and Video in Trinidad and Tobago*...Because TIDCO’s focus was trade and investment, the focus of the Master Plan was the setting up of infrastructure to encourage international productions to choose Trinidad and Tobago as a location (42, 2007).

In other words, the state’s interest in the cultural production of indigenously-derived local images was superseded by its desire to attract foreign investment (and hence foreign images). Such a (myopic) vision may be to the nation’s own peril – what Trinbagonians need to see – especially children and youth - at this crucial time are *positive* and *self-affirming* indigenous images, in order to counteract the overabundance of negative badman and gangsta images infiltrating from the north (both Jamaica and the United States).

Utilizing the talents of artists such as Bunji Garlin, among many others, who clearly see the link between the imposition of foreign models of gangsterism, and their own responsibility as artists, could certainly be a step in the right direction. Television stations such as *Gayelle* have also made a firm commitment to resisting foreign content, even to go so far as to link the necessity of local television content in the nation with a reduction of crime. A recent advertisement on the station points out that if advertisers

invest in *Gayelle*, their money stays in the country, potentially going into the hands of youths who patronize their businesses.

If, however, advertisers instead choose to invest their advertising dollar into television stations that promote foreign content, their advertising dollars go abroad, and they therefore do not know *what* youths will have in their hands when they come into their places of business!

The inference, of course, is that failure to invest locally results in unemployment which results in poverty which results in crime. Clever, strong and to-the-point, this ad could not be more astute on linking the promotion of local culture with reduction of crime.

Balseros and Bling: Cubatón and the Fall of Fidel

Today in the capital of Cuba, Havana, one can see youths sporting baseball caps, bandanas and T-shirts emblazoned with the American flag, while also displaying their designer clothes and cell phones. For at least a decade, anything foreign and especially “Yuma” (American) is considered to be “cool” (Gomez, 2005; “Old Glory”, 1997).

The pursuit of conspicuous consumption has always been considered anti-revolutionary and anti-Castro; it therefore has become a form of rebellion for youth who feel increasingly frustrated and marginalized by a Cuba in which the promise of the Revolution has, for many, gone unfulfilled. This is especially true for Afro-Cuban youth who continue to experience racism and marginalization in the society, despite the promise of a “race-free” society.

It was during the Special Period, (the early 1990s), after the collapse of the Soviet Union, that musical and cultural styles in Cuba began to change towards a more consumerist and consumptionist bent. Fernandes writes "...it is particularly in contexts of crisis such as special period Cuba that racial inequalities, stereotypes, and prejudices reemerge in ways that promote racial conflict and restrict the options open to blacks for work and advancement" (579, 2003).

The mid-1990s also saw the rise of both Cuban hip hop and *timba* music. Hip hop "... (became) increasingly relevant to Cuba's youth, who did not live through the early period of revolutionary triumph and are hardest hit by the failure of the institutions established under the revolution to provide racial equality..." (Fernandes, 580, 2003). *Timba*, meanwhile, refers to: "...a stylistic phenomena with distinct musical and choreographic codes...(and) attitudes that contrast markedly with officially sanctioned Revolutionary discourses and values." In the mid-1990s, while ordinary Cubans struggled with the crisis, *timba* stars enjoyed flamboyant lifestyles and drove around Havana in their newly bought cars (Perna, 2002).

Timba was repressed by the government, and pre-Revolutionary musical styles were revived and promoted instead (as seen in the huge international popularity of the *Buena Vista Social Club* CD and film). These nostalgic musical offerings catered largely to foreigners and the tourist trade, but the heartbeat of Havana was *timba*. In that harsh reality of Special Period Cuba, *timba* was the

backdrop for the pick-up places where *jineteras* (informal prostitutes) and tourists would meet.

Both *timba* and Cuban hip hop (which emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s) addressed issues of racism, *jineterismo*ⁱⁱⁱ, frustration with the state, and the harsh realities of day-to-day life in Cuba. Fernandes states: "The adoption of aggressive postures (in hip hop) serves as a form of self-defense, particularly when young black Cubans are being constantly harassed by police, and when they are viewed by broader Cuban society as criminals and drug dealers" (587, 2003).

In the new millenium, both *timba* and hip hop are being replaced by *reggaeton* (*cubatón*) as the preferred music of disenfranchised youth. Emerging out of Santiago de Cuba, the second largest city in Cuba and many more times economically and materially worse off than Havana, *cubatón* reflects an even greater preoccupation with diversion/distraction, aggressive posturing, and material/sexual gratification than either *timba* or hip hop ever did.

The lyrical emphasis is heavily on sex, crime, violence, commentaries on *jineterismo*, and the everyday *lucha* (struggle) of life in Cuba, which for many Cuban youth, includes various forms of hustling, which "has become particularly popular among unemployed black youth, who have the time to devote to the task and are also pushed into such activities by economic need" (Fernandes, 589, 2003).

Certainly economic conditions in Cuba are bad and worsening: according to noted Cuban scholar Carlos Moore, seventy-six percent of Cubans are black, yet sixty-six percent of blacks in Cuba are unemployed (Muller, 2009). Perhaps even moreso than *timba*, *cubatón* also provides a perfect backdrop for prostitution and *jineterismo*, especially in the provocative dancing which accompanies it known as *perrea*.

The linking of *jineterismo* and popular music is important because, on the one hand, “on a social level the lifestyles and values of consumerism and sexual licentiousness represented by the *jineteros* are an affront to the high moralism espoused by the revolutionary leadership” (Fernandes, 592, 2003), yet at the same time, “in the global marketing of Cuba to attract tourism, the Cuban state relies on stereotypes of ‘tropical’ sexuality and female promiscuity...even though these may contradict revolutionary morality” (Fernandes, 599, 2003).

In his way, *cubatón* is both rejected and embraced by the state: *cubatoneros* are criticized, ostracized, criminalized, and silenced, yet paradoxically utilized and celebrated by the Cuban state.

Hip hop, *timba*, and *cubatón* have all appealed to Cuban youth because, like sports, it promises a way out of Cuba: “...the multinational labels with their promises of videos, discs, and large contracts are tempting to Cuban(s)...whose resources are scarce. At times signing a deal may mean leaving the country...” (Fernandes, 582, 2003).

Perhaps the hopelessness, desolation, frustration and desire for things “Yuma” expressed in *cubatón* is best exemplified in the story of 19-year-old Elvis Manuel, one of the rising stars of *cubatón*. In 2007 he and his mother tried to flee Cuba by boat; the boat capsized, and his body has never been found - he is presumed dead (Telemundo, 2008).

Manuel was on his way to Miami in hopes of breaking big in the music business, but the rumours surrounding his death suggest that his boat passage (ostensibly arranged by foreign producers who had an interest in him), was not paid in full. In the end, this young star of *cubatón* was considered expendable by his transporters (raising the spectre of both Trinidadian Boysie Singh’s notorious Venezuelan excursions in the 1940s, as well as the inestimable expendability of enslaved Africans tossed overboard into the Middle Passage, a common practice among slavetraders during the mid-Atlantic slave trade). That Elvis Manuel was greatly admired among his Cuban fans despite the fact that he was fleeing illegally as a *balseero* or rafter (thereby making him anti-revolutionary in the eyes of the state), speaks volumes about the increasing frustration, desolation, apathy and anger of many Cuban youth.

The Cuban government does not release crime statistics, and crimes are not generally reported in any media, therefore one needs to speak to Cubans themselves, or listen to the “reporters of the people”, the local musicians, to realize that crimes – robberies, shootings, petty theft, murder – are on the rise. Arguably the highest level of

crime in Cuba - corruption - is being enacted by the state itself which has a hand in both the tourist and the drug trades (STRATFOR, 2008).

With the stepping down of Fidel Castro in February of 2008, and a potential loosening of restrictions on Cubans enacted by Fidel's brother Raúl, it is possible that some of the frustrations which have dogged Cubans since the Special Period may be eased. However, there is also the potential, as some have argued, that Cuba is returning once again to a society in which class and race determine one's social and economic position, recalling pre-Revolutionary days (de la Fuente, 2001).

As tensions mount between the haves (those with access to foreign currency) and the have-nots (those who don't), an increase in violence and crime among Cubans has been more noticeable, though still unreported by official sources. It is only through the word-on-the-street (in this case, the new stars of *cubatón*) that the harsh realities are being revealed. Of course, state censorship prevents much of *cubatón* from reaching the airwaves (Gomez, 2005), but public performances, and the interest of foreign promoters and entrepreneurs, many of whom operate through the internet, ensure that *cubatón* reaches beyond the shores of Cuba. The Cuban state has also paradoxically attempted to take a hand in the lucrativity of *cubatón*, by allowing it to be played in tourist areas and by tacitly supporting foreign investment in *cubatón* artists.

Conclusion

In this paper I wanted to call attention to the ongoing links between Caribbean youth, popular culture, and crime. I feel it is important that adults – particularly those who are in immediate contact and possible positions of influence with youth - are cognizant and aware of what images and texts youth are consuming, and to engage critically with it.

To dismiss, censor, ban, or blame these texts for apparently increasingly levels of crime and deviance among youth is too simplistic and potentially dangerous an approach. We need to encourage youth to think about the deeper meanings of these texts, but also to listen to what they have to say about their own desire for and consumption of such images and texts. Further, we need to recognize that continual and sustained consumption of specific images and texts over time does have an impact on one's moods, behaviour, actions, thoughts, lifestyle, life choices, etc.

Studies on the impact of music videos and song lyrics, as well as the consumption of violent video games and pornography and deviant behaviour have repeatedly borne this out. These images and texts are not neutral and benign; neither should we assume them to be so. Finally, artists who are popular with youth *are* role models.

Trinbagonian Bunji Garlin has taken a conscious decision to change his lyrical content and image. Elvis Manuel tried to leave his country in pursuit of the American dream and perished trying.

What are the impacts of choices such as these on these musicians' young fans? Furthermore, what role does the state have in supporting more positive role modeling and cultural production for Caribbean youth, in whatever nation they may reside in? How can Caribbean societies and governments promote youth culture to stem the more negative imported images that youth may be attracted to?

Perhaps more importantly, *why* are youth, whether in Trinidad, Cuba, the Caribbean as a whole, or even in North America, *so* attracted to and are major consumers of violent, misogynistic and materialistic images and texts? Where are their alternatives? These are questions that require further research, and deeper examination.

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ENDNOTES

- i "Passa passa" is a weekly street festival and dancehall event taking place in downtown Kingston, Jamaica. It has gained international attention, and passa passa events are now taking place in numerous Caribbean countries. Dvds and videos of these weekly events are circulated internationally as well, including by internet
- ii David Rudder, " Tales From a Strange Land: Crossing the Bridge (The Madman's Rant)". *Tales From a Strange Land* , CD, 1996.
- iii According to Fernandes, *jineterismo* refers to the practice by where Cubans "earn an income and acquire consumer goods through their contact with foreigners, either befriending them or engaging in a romantic or sexual relationship with them" (589-590).

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