

**We Deal With It Ourselves (“Wi Deal Wid it
Wiself”): A Look at Life in the Jamaican Garrison**
by
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B.Sc., University of the West Indies, 2007

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Abstract

Created by the Jamaican political administration to garner support from the marginalized and socially excluded groupings in the inner city, the garrison has morphed into a counter society that subverts all forms of legitimate authority. Protected and led by dons who were originally appointed to carry out the dictates of the politicians, these men now possess full control of the garrison and have an unswerving allegiance from the members of these communities. The provision of opportunities for skills training, jobs, and education for members of these areas could possibly remove the state of dependency and ultimately the power that those possessing an abundance of wealth wield. The study includes semi-structured interviews with ten (10) participants from the community of August Town, Jamaica who provided insight into life in the garrison. Using the theory of social disorganization as a framework, the study uncovers that the Jamaican garrison is an incubator for criminals and criminal activity.

Keywords: garrison communities; dons; political clientelism; drug trafficking; informal justice system; social disorganization

Dedication

In loving and fond memory of Loraine Millicent Walker-Scott, no doubt I am doing what you would have done had you been on this side of the soil long enough. Thanks for those lives you touched during your short time here. I am convinced that the good you did is a part of my blessing today.

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To the people of my country, Jamaica, I will not be quiet until the “voice” of the “voiceless” is heard.

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I must give special thanks for the resources afforded through the Simon Fraser University’s library. When I began this research into the problems facing the people of my home country, I was concerned about the accessibility of information on the subject area. Suffice to say, I benefitted greatly from the resources of the SFU library, as there was not one piece of information that I needed to complete this project that was not available through the library’s multi-faceted servicing centres. This is simply a manifestation of SFU’s mantra –“Engaging the world.”

Special thanks to my family: Randolph Sr., Susan, Randolph Jr., Shernae, and Daneille. Susan (Moms), for your prayers and checking in to make sure I was managing the stresses of school. Your constant prayers made the task less daunting. Thank you

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Glossary

“tek up”	Get involved. It often refers to getting involved in criminal activities.
“wappi back pon dem”	Retaliate
Area-don	Falls between the street-level don and mega-don. He is in charge of an entire community/garrison but is lacking in the financial prowess that the mega-don possesses.
Area-leader	An individual, usually a male, who is in charge of a geographic space or area in the garrison. This designation is often given to the don because he is responsible for a geographic area.
Baldhead	The “baldhead” generally refers to someone non-Rastafarian but in this case it refers to the White Jamaican who was seen as responsible for the continued oppression of the Black Jamaican (McDonald, 2012).
Degarrisonisation	Refers to dismantling garrisons or eliminating their effects on the Jamaican society. This neologism was introduced by Johnson (2010) in her article “Towards degarrisonisation: A place for civil society.”
Don	A “masculine designation” that refers to individuals “who possess wealth, popularity and influence such as entertainers, politicians and drug lords” (Johnson & Soeters, 2008, p. 170). Within the context of the garrison, the don is usually the key political organizer and the person through whom government contracts are distributed (Charles, 2002). Price (2004) adds that the don is not merely the man in charge; instead, he is the “politically connected leader who wields power, status, and prestige derived from multiple sources and activities, legal and illegal” (p. 79).
Garrison	A “political stronghold or a veritable fortress” (Figueroa & Sives, 2003, p. 65) completely controlled by a party, within which individuals attempting to oppose the status quo are dealt with severely. The garrison’s overseer is the don.
Garrison-effect	The “garrison effect” is the manifestation of criminal violence on account of electoral manipulation. All violence that is implicitly or explicitly linked to the political process is defined as such.
Garrison-type voting	An exclusionary form of homogenous voting that is used to secure parliamentary seats.
Homogenous voting	This is the process whereby “one party receives all the votes in a given [ballot] box” or, on the other hand, a candidate has fewer than ten votes in a ballot box (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, p. 93).

Jungle justice	A community norm in the garrison that involves taking justice matters into one's own hands without reference to the formal justice system. It is a form of retaliation that aids an aggrieved individual. The don and his criminal gang maintain this system of justice.
Mega-don	This don controls several different garrison communities. He has the financial wherewithal to provide a system of social welfare for his residents and has international alliances in the drug and gun trades.
Political clientelism	This is "the distribution of selective benefits to individuals or clearly defined groups in exchange for political support" (Hopkin, 2006, p. 2).
Shotta	The Jamaican Creole word for "shooters." This word has several meanings (Charles, 2002); however, its use in this study refers specifically to the henchmen or gunmen in the organized criminal gangs that are controlled by the don.
Street-level don	This don is in control of a section of a community, which is usually an avenue, lane or street in a larger community. He is responsible for protecting the residents of this avenue from members of rival avenues or streets.
Turf politics	The process by which "political parties seek geographic or positional control over given areas as part of their electoral strategy" with the use of "bogus voting or electoral rigging" (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, p. 89).

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Jamaica: The “land of wood and water”

Jamaica is the third largest island of the Greater Antilles island group of the northern West Indies, which comprises Cuba, Cayman Islands, Hispaniola (the Dominican Republic and Haiti), Puerto Rico, and Jamaica. World renowned for its white sandy beaches and crystal clear blue water, the country was originally called *Xaymaca*, an Arawakan word meaning “land of wood and water” (Lyew-Ayee, 2012). *Xaymaca*, so named because of its physical and natural resources, is rich with lush vegetation and filled with pristine, white sand beaches (Lyew-Ayee, 2012). The original inhabitants of Jamaica, the Arawak Indians (Tainos), were exterminated by the Spanish before the British seized the island from them in 1655 (Brown, 1979), and once the country came under British rule, which was from 1655-1962, it was renamed Jamaica. Jamaica has a rich mixture of ethnicities, reflected in its motto – “out of many, one people.” Today, there are no indigenous people in Jamaica; instead, “there is a hybrid population,” most of whom trace ancestry to Africans enslaved by the British to provide labour for the then colony (Brown, 1979, p. 2). Approximately 91 percent of Jamaicans are black with the remaining percentage being mixed ethnicities (7.3%), Caucasian (0.2%), East Indian (1.3%), and Chinese (0.2%).¹

Jamaica is the third largest of the English-speaking Caribbean islands, with a population of approximately 2.7 million at the end of 2012.² The country was a colonial state of the British Empire before its independence in 1962. The island is situated 90 miles south of Cuba, 600 miles south of Florida, USA, and 100 miles southwest of Haiti. Jamaica’s location in the Caribbean makes it viable as a transshipment point for

¹ 2004 vital statistics retrieved from the website of Oxford African American Studies Centre (OAASC) http://www.oxfordaasc.com/public/samples/sample_country.jsp

² Statistics retrieved from Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) website http://statinja.gov.jm/Demo_SocialStats/population.aspx

narcotics. Due to the complicity of the country's various political administrations and the justice system administrators, in the 1980s Jamaica transformed into playing a significant role as an exporter of marijuana and a major transshipment point for South American narcotics to the US and other international markets (Figueira, 2004; Figueroa & Sives, 2002).

Achieving independence was supposed to signal a promising moment in the path towards development for the nation. The optimism with which the country engaged in its independence was soon challenged by economic, political, and social factors that had foundations in the colonial past.³ The legacy of deep social problems such as "gender inequality, high rates of unemployment, high rates of rural and urban poverty, and communities with histories of social exclusion has continued to exert an influence until today."⁴ This legacy of underdevelopment is not unique to Jamaica as these challenges pervade the countries of the region.⁵ Crime and victimization are continuing aspects of these ex-colonial Caribbean states; however, unlike most of its Caribbean neighbours, Jamaica has had difficulty reducing its crime rate.⁶ According to Powell, Lewis, & Seligson (2011), there is a problem with the crime statistics generated for Jamaica and adjacent countries. Caribbean crime statistics are deceptive in that "official crime figures that are gathered and published by governments are based on police data, which in turn are based on cases that the public report to police" (Powell *et al.*, 2011, p. 73). The consensus is that although inherent limitations exist, household victimization data are the best source of information on crime in that respondents who say they have been victimized often do not report the matter to the authorities; however, as of 2010, only one country in the region (Barbados) has adopted the use victimization surveys to aid in generating crime statistics (Powell *et al.*, 2011). Regardless of the difficulty in generating accurate crime figures, one thing is for certain: violent crimes persist as an area of concern for the region, especially Jamaica. Further, despite doubts about the accuracy of crime statistics, murder rates in Jamaica "can hardly be discounted because

³ United Nations Human Development Programme - Caribbean Human Development Report, 2012. Retrieved from: http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/regional/latinamericathecaribbean/Caribbean_HDR2012.pdf.

⁴ Caribbean Human Development Report, 2012, p. 15.

⁵ Caribbean Human Development Report, 2012.

⁶ Caribbean Human Development Report, 2012.

significant levels of underreporting are not likely the norm for this extreme category of crime” (Powell *et al.*, 2011, p. 74).

What is also telling about Jamaica’s crime problem is that a great deal of criminal activity occurs through the workings of the garrison structure. Criminal activity is generally tied to certain ‘hotspots’. (Harriott, Lewis, Nelson & Seligson, 2013). These ‘hotspots’ or garrisons are typically inner city communities historically known for crime and violence that is partly due to the affiliations of some political party members with dons and their criminal gangs. It should be noted that the garrisons are located in the Kingston Metropolitan Region (KMR), which covers the parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew and some sections of St. Catherine, which are broken down into divisions or political constituencies.⁷ Figueroa and Sives (2003) point out that “the growth of garrison communities has been one of the key factors in the development of crime and violence in Jamaica” (p. 63) because these communities represent an important site where the political process has been linked with criminality. Garrison communities are usually located in the heart of urban areas. They were created during the fierce political competition of the 1960s and 1970s between the two major political parties – People’s National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) – and are maintained by the bi-partisan political attitude of the nation. In later years, the garrisons have been a breeding ground for gun and drug crimes and have fostered the escalation of political violence (Figueroa & Sives, 2003). Further, the evolution of gangs in these areas resulted in organized networks that perpetuate increased levels of organized criminal activity (Powell, *et al.*, 2011). Crime is specifically rampant in those urban centres “where poverty is pervasive and offenders and victims are typically undereducated and unskilled young males” (Harriott, 2008, as cited in Powell, *et al.*, 2011, p. 77). The overall environment in these areas creates the propensity for involvement in criminal undertakings that often result in death. Harriott (2001) notes that the neglect and mistreatment from the government and its agents experienced by most in these areas result in a “crisis of public safety” that is not only expressed in the “extraordinarily high murder rate and violent crime, [...] but in the development of alternate institutions for

⁷ A map of Jamaica with a pictorial view of the areas with the highest concentration of violent crime for the period 2007 to 2009 can be accessed at <http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/jamaica/2010-culturapolitica-corrected.pdf> [page 76]

dealing with the acute problem of social violence, including self-policing and informal ‘community courts’ that exercise a wide range of punishment options” (p. 58).

Table 1-1: Murder Count by Parish Years (2000-2012)

Parish	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Kingston	185	319	210	135	220	331	216	281	189	175	133	110	129
St. Andrew	308	340	301	297	431	498	349	445	452	457	307	218	225
St. Catherine	149	156	202	204	376	365	266	289	296	342	355	299	217
St. James	59	75	83	106	132	139	178	188	214	240	190	158	153
Trelawny	9	7	16	15	16	28	18	21	29	36	26	19	15
Westmoreland	18	40	35	27	43	46	55	41	51	61	83	62	68
Hanover	9	15	9	16	14	24	19	25	33	27	26	15	37
St. Mary	15	26	29	15	15	28	18	31	33	14	36	23	19
St. Ann	31	25	26	30	34	30	41	39	32	36	40	41	48
Portland	8	17	11	3	10	9	9	16	11	20	9	10	9
Manchester	20	27	25	19	32	22	27	31	52	39	49	32	41
Clarendon	39	55	59	65	93	99	93	119	163	162	136	77	84
St. Elizabeth	16	18	19	16	29	36	21	25	22	31	21	31	27
St. Thomas	21	19	20	27	26	19	30	32	42	43	31	37	23
Grand Total	887	1139	1045	975	1471	1674	1340	1583	1619	1683	1442	1132	1095

Table 1.1 is a breakdown of the murder count by parish for the years 2000-2012.⁸ In 2005, Jamaica had the highest murder rate per capita in the world (this was a rate of 58 per 100,000 inhabitants), with the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew contributing to approximately 50 percent of the number of reported murders. Taking into account the parish of St. Catherine, which also has highly politicized inner city communities (garrisons), the three parishes contributed to approximately 71 percent of the murder count in that same year. It is evident that the garrisons are criminogenic spaces that

⁸ Source of Data: Jamaica Constabulary Force, Police Statistics Department

contribute greatly to the issue of violent crime in Jamaica. In light of the foregoing, Figueroa and Sives (2003) suggest that coming to terms with the garrison is essential to an understanding of Jamaica's politics, its crime problem, and the country's role within the international drug trade. The crime problem in Jamaica is multifaceted and the development of garrison communities is central to criminal activities.

1.2. Where it all began – The research and the researcher

My visit home in 2010 was during the sordid extradition saga of Christopher “Dudus” Coke who was the noted don⁹ for the mother of all garrisons – Tivoli Gardens. Coke was requested by the U.S. government to answer to allegations of drug trafficking and gun smuggling. He was the saviour and protector of many citizens in this Western Kingston inner city community. There have been numerous drug and gun smuggling extradition requests before but this request was unique. Unlike past requests where the Jamaican government freely handed these men over to the U.S. authorities after their extradition trial, the then Prime Minister, Hon. Bruce Golding, did not honour the request made in August 2009. On May 17th, 2010 the Prime Minister relented and signed the papers to have “Dudus” extradited. Mr. Coke's supporters took to the streets. Their display of anger and disapproval with the Prime Minister's decision resulted in a complete shut-down of business activities in Kingston and its surrounding areas for four consecutive days. For these four days, the garrison's residents protected Coke, often using themselves as human shields to prevent “Dudus” from being taken into police custody. A state of emergency was issued for the entire island while the stand-off between the Jamaican security forces and these community members ensued and “Dudus” was still at large. This situation piqued my interest and I began my journey of research in this area. I had many questions, such as how did my country get to this state? How is it that this criminal (a man responsible for the deaths of many) was able to incite this much support and allegiance?

⁹ A *de facto* leader of an inner city community that is under the tacit rule of a political party.

1.3. The research site

August Town is in the constituency of Eastern St. Andrew, which is a part of the Kingston Metropolitan Region. The community is divided into four districts: August Town proper, Gold Smith Villa (Angola), Hermitage, and Bedward Gardens (Charles, 2004). It appears that the communities/districts in the August Town area are ever evolving. A Greater August Town Peace Agreement signed in 2008, on account of the constant bloodletting that was taking place in the area, established five communities: African Gardens, Goldsmith Villa (Angola), Hermitage, Jungle 12, and Bedward Gardens (Cunningham, 2011). As a result of warring factions in these communities, informal borders have been created which demarcate the lines of political allegiance and gang groupings, thus creating smaller communities. However, the participants of the current study acknowledge six communities, namely: African Gardens, Goldsmith Villa, Hermitage, Jungle 12, Vietnam, and Bedward Gardens, with the community of Vietnam established since the signing of the peace agreement. For the purpose of this study, I will refer to the five communities that signed the Peace Agreement in 2008; that is, African Gardens, Gold Smith Villa, Jungle 12, Hermitage, and Bedward Gardens.

The incidence of crime in August Town has been a matter of grave concern for members of the community. Community policing and many civic programs have been implemented in the community in a bid to address this concern. This study looks at the crime problem facing Jamaica. Before an adequate solution can be put forward, an in-depth look at the problem and the various sources of the problem is required. Solving the issue of crime and violence is of great importance to a country such as Jamaica because of the high dependence on tourism as an income generator and the need to look attractive to outside investors. The sad reality in many developing countries is that “the capacity of the state to provide for the physical security of its citizens, as well as effectively maintain order and a social environment conducive to development” seems to be a very difficult feat (Harriott, 2000, p. xv). However dismal this situation may seem, Jamaica’s huge expenditure on criminal justice concerns has reaped some positive rewards because the reported murder rates have been falling since 2009, with a reported decrease of 15 percent in 2010 (Wignall, 2011). With this decrease in the crime rate, Jamaica still has the highest level of crime of all the Caribbean islands. Harriott

(2003) argues that this high crime rate may be attributed to an inadequate analysis of the crime problem. A major drawback to crime abatement in Jamaica is the generally held view by some government officials that in-depth research is a waste of money; in addition, there is a strong reliance on external consultants who often have their own ideological baggage associated with the way things operate in their countries, and who bring their preconceived notions about the Jamaican environment and Jamaicans to their work (Harriott, 2003). Although these consultants bring wider experiences, they have no knowledge of the local situation and have no time to learn about it. The solutions put forward rarely provide a proper fix to the problem because they are often band-aid approaches or short-term strategies. The garrison is a dynamic organism that has been through a series of metamorphoses since its creation. The various changes that have taken place have also resulted in a transformation of the communities that are “garrisonised.” Therefore, any solution to ameliorate the problem of crime on account of this phenomenon requires a detailed look at its effect on the Jamaican society.

In this exploratory thesis, members of a garrison community are interviewed to get insight into their experiences in the community. Members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) who are or were attached to the August Town police station are also interviewed. This study is geared towards providing a new perspective on old themes. The garrison has been around since the 1960s and there has been a lot written about the crime generated from these areas but there is little empirical research on the topic (Harriott, 2003). Bringing a criminological perspective on the matter has yielded the results that have been provided in political, economic, and sociological realms of study. Several issues are investigated:

- Views on the operations of the garrison and the individuals who maintain its existence (dons and gang members)
- Relationship with the police
- Perceptions of the administration of justice in Jamaica

My work analyzes the current relationship that exists between the community members and state (members of parliament and the police) and non-state actors (dons and gang members), especially since the incarceration of Christopher Coke who was the *de facto* leader of the “mother of all garrisons” – Tivoli Gardens. This research gives a

voice to persons living in garrison communities and provides insight into the criminogenic nature of the garrison. As such, the following research questions were posed:

- How have the “middlemen” become the “top-men?”
What has caused the perceived switch in allegiance?
How have the dons been able to gain this much power in these communities?
Is the allegiance to these dons purely for economic survival?
- How do the dons maintain allegiance of members of these communities?
- What are, if any, limitations to the don’s power?

This thesis has six chapters:

- Chapter 2 is an introductory chapter that incorporates a selected literature review where the history of the garrison and its evolution is discussed.
- Chapter 3 is a preliminary conceptualization of my theoretical framework that aided in analyzing the findings.
- Chapter 4 is a detailed description of the study’s research methods. This includes information about the research participants and how they were recruited.
- Chapter 5 focuses on the analysis of the data collected. There was no established theoretical framework at the beginning of the study. However, as the themes emerged from the data, the deductive themes from the theory of social disorganization were used to refine the results.
- Chapter 6, the concluding chapter, synthesizes findings from the research with the available literature on the garrison construct. This chapter includes strengths and limitations of the study, recommendations for future research, and a reflection on the research process.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

*Them crazy, them crazy
We gonna chase those crazy
baldheads out of town
Chase those crazy baldheads
Out of our town
I and I build a cabin
I and I plant the corn
Didn't my people before me
Slave for this country
Now you look me with that scorn
Then you eat up all my corn
We gonna chase those crazy baldheads
Chase them crazy
Chase those crazy baldheads out of town!*

Bob Marley and the Wailers, 'Crazy
Baldheads'¹⁰

After witnessing the events surrounding Christopher Coke's extradition in 2010 (see Chapter 1, *Introduction*), getting an understanding of the garrison and the experiences of its residents became a primary focus of this thesis. Garrison is a Jamaican parlance used to describe an inner city community that is rife with poverty and highly dependent on political patronage (Charles, 2002; 2004; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Harriott, 2003; Stone, 1980; 1986). These inner city areas are so called because they are impenetrable. The residents have an unswerving allegiance to a particular political

¹⁰ The "baldhead" generally refers to someone non-Rastafarian but in this case it refers to the White Jamaican who was seen as responsible for the continued oppression of the Black Jamaican (McDonald, 2012).

party, which is manifested by homogenous bloc voting; in addition, measures are put in place to ensure that this is maintained. The concept of the garrison is discussed later in this chapter. The usual violent loss of lives that takes place in the garrison often becomes a topic for discussion when it is brought to our attention by the media. For those few minutes, there are discussions surrounding the state of affairs in the country as it relates to crime and violence and the change that needs to take place. Quite often, that is all it is – talk. We resume our daily routines because the people living in a garrison are in a different space, one that localizes the occurrence of violent crimes. For most Jamaicans, the issue of increasing rates of violent crime is not of concern until it significantly disrupts their daily lives, for example, losing a loved one at the hands of a gunman. The events surrounding Coke's extradition, however, had international eyes focused on the country and it became painfully obvious that the impact of the garrison could no longer be ignored. During the security forces' various attempts to seize Coke, many of his supporters made declarations such as: "Jesus died for us, we will die for Dudus" and "After Jesus comes Dudus," suggesting that he was a Messiah. This is very telling because unlike the Messiah in Christian theology (Jesus) who gave his life for his people, the people of Coke's garrison were willing to give their lives for him (Williams, 2010). These expressions were not mere words as the residents of Tivoli Gardens used themselves as human shields against Coke's seizure in flagrant opposition to state authority. The four-day standoff between the state's security forces and the residents of Tivoli Gardens resulted in the death of over 70 citizens. Concerned about the state of crime in Jamaica, this study is an exploratory look at the Jamaican garrison and what it represents by tracing its history and evolution. In order for adequate solutions geared towards ameliorating the level of crime that the workings of the garrison produce, there has to be a clear understanding of this concept and its culture.

Previous research on the garrison indicates that these are the impoverished inner city communities of Kingston, which often consists of socially excluded groups that are exploited by members of political parties in their quest for power (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2003; Levy, 2009; Sives, 2002). Similar to the shantytowns or *favelas* of Brazil, these are the most deprived areas of Kingston "where cardboard and zinc dwellings cover the land and people eke out a living mainly in the informal economy" (Sives, 2002, p. 74). The socially excluded inner city garrison is outside of the country's economic and

social life and the residents are often deprived of certain opportunities, for example, access to employment and other social privileges. The lyrics of Bob Marley's song – "Crazy Baldheads" – were a testament to this reality (see start of this chapter). Although Jamaica achieved full independence from Britain in 1962, at the time Bob Marley¹¹ wrote this song (1976), Jamaica was still dealing with the social effects and political ramifications of its previous British rule. Marley's music spoke against the various civil injustices of the day and the lyrics of his songs still resonate in the hearts and minds of many. As Marley's music gained a worldwide audience, he relocated from his community of Trench Town (one of Kingston's inner city garrisons that is a stronghold for PNP) to one of Jamaica's affluent neighbourhoods located on Old Hope Road, St. Andrew, northeast of Kingston – the country's capital. The unspoken reality of his new neighbourhood was that the darker-skinned Jamaican was not accepted in that part of town. The song titled 'Crazy Baldheads' was a testimony of what was going wrong, socially, within Jamaica at the time (McDonald, 2012). The song built on a theme of revolt against the institutions that continued to oppress 'blacks' (those of African descent and of a darker hue) in Jamaica (Cooper, 1995). The general perception was that the darker-hued Jamaicans were forced to low-status neighbourhoods in the inner cities, whether wittingly or unwittingly, and denied the requisite economic justice, despite the contribution of their forefathers (McDonald, 2012).

According to Jaffe (2012b), the legacy of slavery and colonization has resulted in a "socio-spatial divide that is inflected by race and/or skin color" in Jamaican society (pp. 186-87). As a result, downtown Kingston remains associated with low-income, darker-skinned 'black' Jamaicans, "in comparison to uptown Kingston or 'upper St. Andrew,' which is seen as the domain of the wealthier classes and lighter-skinned, 'brown' Jamaicans of mixed descent" (Jaffe, 2012b, p. 187). The agreements entered into by the then ruling political administration (PNP) with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in 1977 – arrangements that began in 1977 and were reconfigured and completed in 1983 – resulted in decreased spending on development programs for the poor (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2003; Clarke, 2006a). In the past, Jamaica benefitted from

¹¹ Robert Nesta Marley, OM (February 6, 1945 – May 11, 1981) is a Jamaican singer-songwriter whose distinctive song writing and vocal style resonates with audiences worldwide.

preferential treatment from Britain and later from the European Union in the international marketplace, especially in agricultural exports (Clarke, 2006). With the advent of globalisation, the neo-liberal marketplace and its many free trade stipulations, namely North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), eroded this protection and Jamaica has had to compete with the cheaper agricultural products of Central America, which has resulted in further indebtedness (Rohter, 1997). The debt to these international money-lending agencies is constantly growing and the devastating effect is increased unemployment and reduced funding for healthcare, education, and agricultural programs that benefit the poor. As a consequence, the gap between the poor and the elite further widened. The reduction in funding resulted in many Jamaicans, especially those in inner city communities, seeking alternative means to secure a livelihood. Since then, to alleviate the impact of this crisis, most Jamaicans' means of securing a reasonable economic existence is done in two ways: first, "the transnationalization of the household with the remittances sent home by Jamaican migrant workers ([mostly] females) paying for education, health, housing, and food"; and second, gang welfare in which investment in "the basic elements of social reproduction is narrowed down to the scale of the don-led community" – the garrison (Mullings, 2009 cited in Jaffe, 2012b, p. 187). Mullings (2009) notes that disorder and violence are part of the "social repercussions of the increasing number of children being left behind without adequate supervision and care, and the replacement of state welfare with the gang-based ones" (cited in Jaffe, 2012b, p. 187). Thus, the garrison, under the leadership of the don, maintains the existence of most of the urban poor in Jamaica's inner city communities.

In 2011, Jamaica's murder rate was 42.1 murders per 100,000 Jamaicans.¹² This is a marked drop from the rate of 58 murders per 100,000 Jamaicans in 2005, a statistic that led to the country being dubbed the murder capital of the world. Even so, crime and violence seem to be a never-ending problem for Jamaican society, especially crimes linked with garrison communities (Harriott, 2003). Since the workings of the garrison contribute greatly to the crime problem, adequate time has to be spent understanding its historical roots, evolution, and its sustaining forces.

¹² Information retrieved from JamStats Secretariat <http://www.jamstats.gov.jm>.

2.1. The garrison defined: “A veritable fortress”

What is the garrison? In the Jamaican context, it can be seen as a process or the name ascribed to a community based on its operations. The term “garrison” was adapted by the late Professor Carl Stone¹³ in his critical examination of homogenous voting in political constituencies and its linkage to crime and politics in Jamaica (Charles & Beckford, 2012; Figueroa & Sives, 2002). According to Stone (1986), the garrison is a stronghold “based on political tradition, cultural beliefs, myths, and socialization” (cited in Henry-Lee, 2005, p. 88). Figueroa & Sives (2003) add that a garrison is a “political stronghold or a veritable fortress” (p. 65) completely controlled by a party, within which individuals attempting to oppose the status quo are dealt with severely. In their analysis of garrisons, Figueroa & Sives (2002) further define a garrison community as “one in which any individual/group that seeks to oppose, raise opposition to or organize against the locally dominant party would be in physical danger [;thus,] making continued residence in the area extremely difficult, if not impossible” (pp. 85-6). In these communities, facing death threats, residents are forced to vote in a particular way. They may also face the less severe punishment of forced relocation. Once the community becomes the political party’s stronghold, it must do what it can to ensure that this fortress is maintained. Therefore, it is understood that any significant social, political, economic or cultural developments in the garrison can only take place with the approval of the leadership (whether national or local) of the dominant party (Figueroa & Sives, 2003).

Apart from the power to oust residents who refuse to vote for the dominant party, one can identify a garrison by focusing on the electoral process since “the dominant party controls the voting process” (Figueroa & Sives, p. 85). This control is exercised by completely excluding voting for the opposition. This exclusionary voting is called homogenous voting, which in the Jamaican context is usually termed “garrison-type” voting (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, p. 89). This mechanism is used to secure parliamentary seats and to create a garrison community or constituency (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). Homogenous voting, as defined by Figueroa and Sives (2002), is the process whereby, for example, “one party receives all the votes in a given box” or, on the other hand, a

¹³ The late Professor Carl Stone, OM (June 3 1940 – February 26 1992) was a political sociologist who studied and wrote extensively on Jamaican voting behaviour.

candidate has fewer than ten votes in a ballot box (p. 93). This is far less than would be expected of normal voting results. This type of voting may signal that the constituency is a political stronghold and there may be violations of the democratic process, a process which should include little or no pressure on the individual voter's ballot. This is not to say that all forms of homogenous voting indicate a garrison constituency, as there are communities that vote in this particular way and they are not "garrisonised" (Figueroa and Sives, 2002, p. 91). This type of voting only became a matter of grave concern because electoral manipulation has been associated with the growing trend towards urban homogeneous voting from 1962 to 1993 in Jamaica (Figueroa & Sives, 2003). Figueroa and Sives (2002) note that a garrison is identified by looking at the electoral results along with observing for the execution of turf politics, which is defined as the process by which "political parties seek geographic or positional control over given areas as part of their electoral strategy" with the use of "bogus voting or electoral rigging" (p. 89).

The garrison is a dynamic phenomenon because it does not have set characteristics and there are variations and degrees of "garrisonisation" (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). It is not static in either space or time, but rather should be viewed as a dynamic process. The garrison phenomenon manifests itself in different ways. Arguably, the garrison is not only a geographic place but also a culture. In its extreme form, the garrison is a totalitarian space "in which the options of its residents are largely controlled" as they have to abide by the established political allegiance (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, p. 85). These extreme forms of garrisons have well-known area-dons who control these communities and carry out the wishes of their political representatives (Charles, 2002; Figueroa & Sives, 2002; Harriott, 2011). These garrisons provide a nurturing context for organized crime. At the other end are communities wherein the residents are not privy to their neighbours' particular political choices. There are some communities, however, that live in the shadow of the extreme form of garrisonisation. They are located on the border or just within the periphery of the garrison influence. These communities experience the "garrison effect"¹⁴ periodically, notably during times of hotly contested elections when the

¹⁴ The "garrison effect" is the manifestation of criminal violence on account of electoral manipulation. All violence that is implicitly or explicitly linked to the political process is defined as such.

established garrison seeks to extend its control to guarantee a win for their political party (Figueroa & Sives, 2002).

2.2. Creation of the “monster” and its evolution

Etched into the landscape of Jamaica’s Kingston inner city, garrison communities were established by the two main political parties, the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People’s National Party (PNP), in their fierce competition for political power. Sives (2003) & Morgensen (2005) explain that political campaigning during post-emancipation was often a hostile process. In the Kingston area, especially, community members often chose not to cohabit in certain areas with rival supporters during the late 1940s and early 1950s, which led to party supporters living together. It then became commonplace for those individuals who chose to vote for the opposition in these areas to be chased out of their places of residence or they would voluntarily relocate (Charles, 2002; Sives, 2003). On account of this, Sives (2003) concludes that prior to the creation of a permanent bloc of supporters, certain sections of Kingston exhibited “strong political identity without having received any political spoils” (p. 59). Therefore, Sives (2003) argues that political party loyalty should not be seen as founded solely on the division of political spoils.

The first garrison was established by the JLP in Western Kingston between 1963 and 1965 as a part of a “slum clearance project” (Folk, 2002; Rao & Ibanez, 2003). Roper (personal interview) highlights that the JLP (under the leadership of Edward Seaga) bulldozed the community of Back-O-Wall, a squatter settlement in Western Kingston, and replaced it with modern housing which was renamed Tivoli Gardens for its party supporters.¹⁵ Gunst (2003) notes that providing housing for these residents established a community of loyal supporters, which was a safe seat for the JLP. This community of loyal JLP supporters was in great contrast to past events for as Boyne (2010) notes, the PNP maintained its dominance in the communities of Kingston and St.

¹⁵ Reverend Dr. Garnett Roper is a Minister of Religion and pastored in a garrison community in Central Kingston. During his pastorate, he assisted in implementing community policing initiatives and was the Chairman of the board of Jamaica’s General Penitentiary. Dr. Roper currently serves as the president of the Jamaica Theological Seminary and he is a regular columnist for the *Jamaica Gleaner* and the *Jamaica Observer* where he writes extensively about the garrison phenomenon. This interview was conducted on May 29th, 2013.

Andrew. Prior to Coke's extradition, Tivoli Gardens became a force to reckon with as the dons usurped the power of politicians. Over time, the Jamaican state had no actual authority there. Later, between 1972 and 1974, the PNP established a garrison constituency in Arnett Gardens (another Kingston inner city) to counter the influence of the JLP's Tivoli Gardens garrison (Rao & Ibanez, 2003). As a socially excluded group that did not understand or see the value of voting, inner city members were provided with essential social amenities such as housing, water, and electricity in exchange for their vote (Sives, 2002). To maintain their allegiance and ensure that the process of voting was properly managed to suit their best interests, middlemen called "dons," "area-leaders," or "enforcers" backed by shottas,¹⁶ who are also members of criminal gangs, were appointed by the MPs for these communities (Charles, 2002). With the use of violence and often the threat of bodily harm by the don and his henchmen, the members are kept in line by putting measures in place to ensure that they vote for the dominant party; any objection results in serious consequences (Charles & Beckford, 2012; Figueroa & Sives, 2003).

Garrison communities are mostly found in the inner cities of the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA). Of the 61 electoral constituencies in Jamaica, 12 have been deemed garrisons, which gives the PNP or the JLP exclusive dominance over the rival party (Charles & Beckford, 2012). Morgensen (2005) notes that the growth of these divided garrison communities in Kingston has been a key factor in the development of organized violence in Jamaica and has "fostered the escalation of political violence and nurtured the growth of gun and drug crime[s]" (p. 1). It is difficult to determine which political party is responsible for introducing violence and tribalism to the electoral process. Roper (personal interview) argues that the response varies based on the political affiliation of the individual providing this answer. Regardless of which party encouraged or ushered in violence as a part of the electoral process, one thing is for certain: the JLP was the first party to establish a housing scheme for its party

¹⁶ Shotta is the Jamaican Creole word for shooters. This word has several meanings (Charles, 2002); however, its use in this study refers specifically to the henchmen or gunmen in the organized criminal gangs that are controlled by the don.

supporters. While there have been some strides made in dismantling political garrisons (Bailey, 2013), the political crimes that take place in these communities have served to encourage other criminal activities.

According to Chevannes (1992), the garrison phenomenon has “become somewhat more complex over the years” (cited in Figueroa & Sives, 2003, p. 63). In its genesis, garrisons were rooted in the struggle for political turf. Many politicians and dons were mutually dependent on one another. The dons ensured party loyalty in these areas and politicians depended on the dons to deliver the votes. The dons in return depended on the politicians for patronage such as jobs via public works programmes and public housing (Charles, 2002). The garrisons later took on more complex forms, as they became associated with the illegal gun and drug trades (Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Harriott, 2000; Harriott, 2003; Harriott, 2011; Sives, 2002). The economic challenges of the 1980s brought on by neo-liberal trade policies saw the Jamaican state running into financial difficulty and contracting under the structural adjustment policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank. This significantly decreased political patronage (Stone, 1986; Charles, 2002; Sives, 2002; Charles & Beckford, 2012). The downsizing of the Jamaican state continued during the 1990s with full economic liberalization. During this time, the dons gained huge wealth from the international drug trade, the trafficking of guns, extortion and other illegal activities (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2003). Dons became rather wealthy and were less dependent on politicians. Some community residents are now more loyal to the don than to the MP or the party they represent because they access more benefits from the former. The tight organizational and community support along with paramilitary tactics that were once used by the don to maintain the stronghold for their political party is now being used to buttress their criminal activities and thwart the activities of the police (Charles, 2004; Sives, 2002). Garrison communities are now “urban communities living beyond the state and law” (Harriott, 2000, p. 16). The garrisons are spaces where there is a tight integration between political parties and criminal gang organizations that guarantees political protection from police action (Harriott, 2000).

The Jamaican garrison was established as a political stronghold that is under the tacit rule of a dominant political party (Figueroa & Sives, 2003). The dons benefitted greatly when their party was in power and they heavily relied on the state’s largesse to

support themselves and the members of their communities. Having experienced times when their party loses or not being able to get an adequate share of the largesse, the dons needed to explore other means of income generation – means such as, drug trafficking, extortion, or gun smuggling. In the 1980s the drug and gun businesses were in full swing in North America and it became a viable means of income generation for criminal actors, namely dons. Today, in addition to the electoral manipulation that seems to be a part of the electoral process in these communities, the garrison has become an established site for the intersection of crime and politics and a place where illegal activities are given protection (Harriott, 2003; Sives, 2002). The dons, who through the illegal gun and drug trades, are now providers of welfare to the garrisons and have overshadowed the power and influence of politicians. In short, the garrison is a system where illegal activity is given oversight by the political powers as long as they maintain control - in terms of votes - in these areas. The fight for turf that used to be politically motivated has little to do with political warfare; it is more so violence associated with gang battles.

2.2.1. The don and his “band of merry men”

One of the most prominent citizens in these political fortresses is the “area leader” or “don” who controls these communities with the aid of his gang or posse. According to Blake (2013), there are three types of dons and the designation is based on the level of their operations (these designations are further explained in Chapter 6, *Conclusion*) :

- Street-level don
- Area don
- Mega-don

Like the fictional characters Robin Hood and his merry men in English literature who were deemed social bandits because they robbed the rich to feed the poor, the don and his henchmen are similar, “heroic” characters. According to Hobsbawm (2000), social bandits are peasant outlaws whom the lord and state regard as criminals. Hobsbawm (2000) further notes that social bandits “transcend the label of ‘criminals’ because they are robbers and outlaws elevated to the status of avengers and champions of social

justice by the members of their communities” (n.p.). They remain within their communities, “and are considered by their people as heroes, as champions, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported” (Hobsbawn, 2000, p. 20). Much like the Robin Hood characters, the actions of the dons and gang members are publicly denounced by state officials and viewed as criminal; however, an unspoken relationship exists, as these men are appointed by MPs to ensure voter allegiance. Further, the members of the community are aware of the connection that exists between the MP and the don, which legitimizes the don’s role as leader. Consequently, the don and his merry men have used this legitimacy to their advantage and made themselves admired by residents of the garrison. They do so by flaunting authority and championing the interests of the people in the community. In exchange, the residents often admire, protect and aid them in their illicit undertakings.

The garrison is not the only entity that has gone through an evolutionary process. The change in the garrison environment has affected the role of key players, namely the dons and his henchmen and the MP or political candidate. This complexity has also affected the role of the don and his relationship with his political candidate. Critical to the don’s role is his control over a geographic space (the garrison), which has resulted in dons being assigned the title of “area-leader” as well (Johnson & Soeters, 2008, p. 171). However, although the roles often become blurred, not all area leaders are dons, as the latter typically provides social welfare and informal justice services (Charles 2002; Charles & Beckford, 2012; Johnson & Soeters, 2008). Further, from the current study, it is established that an area leader can be male or female while only males are ascribed the title of a don. For Johnson & Soeters (2008), the don is a “masculine designation” that refers to individuals “who possess wealth, popularity and influence such as entertainers, politicians and drug lords” (p. 170). Within the context of the garrison, the don is usually the key political organizer and the person through whom government contracts are distributed (Charles, 2002). Price (2004) adds that the don is not merely the man in charge; instead, he is the “politically connected leader who wields power, status, and prestige derived from multiple sources and activities, legal and illegal” (p. 79). As with the don of the mafia, the title of don in the Jamaican context “also... denotes rank and authority” (Price, 2004, p. 79).

The MP maintains community support through the activities of the don or area leader who, in turn, receives legitimacy, prestige, status, wealth, and protection from the police (Charles & Beckford, 2012). In the past dons were community or area leaders who reported to the politician and were at their beck and call. Stewart (2002) explains that the dons analyzed what politicians did to get control (cited in Morgensen, 2005). The dons devised a system of welfare in these communities that is no longer solely dependent on state patronage. They now control a system in which they initially operated only as middlemen. The student has now become the master.

A part of this evolutionary process is the accelerated skill and organization that exists within these don-led criminal enterprises of the garrisons (Harriott, 2000). In the past, the dons in support of the rival political party were seen as archenemies. Today there is an established network among these men because the maintenance of their criminal activities takes precedence. Consequently, violence during an election or otherwise is less about politics as such and more about a fight to maintain control of a criminal territory (Charles, 2004). The political territory of the MP has now become the criminal territory of the don (although it could be argued that both the MP and don are criminal actors in this regard). Therefore, for the don, maintaining the political territory by ensuring a party win serves the sole purpose of ensuring their criminal undertakings are immune from judicial scrutiny.

The criminal gangs or “shottas” that bolster the activities of the don are hard-core political supporters who are usually unemployed and depend on the political party for their economic survival (Charles, 2004). These groups of young men who are generally found on the street corners of the garrison usually use violence as a way of expressing their manhood and have no problem with killing persons at the behest of the don. Often, the absence of a stable family structure acts as a pull towards criminal activity for most young men in the garrison. The dons, who are quite charismatic, are always in pursuit of new recruits to do their bidding. They exploit the dysfunctional family structures and the poor living conditions that exist in the community by providing an avenue for these young men to survive the harsh inner city environment. The don’s access to wealth and protection serves as an incentive for many come on board. For those who are determined to acquire wealth by any means necessary, the don serves as a role model.

As a consequence, the garrison is often plagued with young men who are criminally socialized at an early age (Harriott, 2000).

2.3. The Jamaican political landscape

The hallmark of the political relationship in Jamaica is patron-clientelism. Stone (1980) uses the concept of clientelism as a framework to capture the peculiarities of the Jamaican political system (Figueroa & Sives, 2002). Clientelism is a term used to describe the exchange of goods and services for political support. This clientelist relationship has been studied in various cultures with different historical experiences and in general, it has been deemed “a relationship between actors of a set of actors” (Sives, 2002, p. 67). The relationship allows both clients and patrons to gain an advantage from each other’s support. In the Jamaican context, Stone (1980) defines clientelism as a “mechanism by which to institutionalize a power structure” (quoted in Sives, 2002, p. 67); and unlike class-based politics in a liberal democracy, it is a refined form of class control (Sives, 2002). A clientelist political system is often contrasted with a class-based political system because the patron-client connection that exists in a clientelist system is a vertical tie “based on individual and/or community advantage [;] it promotes competition on an intra-class basis and short-term political goals” (Sives, 2002, p. 67). Class-based politics, on the other hand, are based on horizontal ties in that there is a “common position in the economic and political system” (Sives, 2002, p. 67), promoting class solidarity and long-term political goals. Sives (2002) emphasises that clientelism in Jamaica operates as a refined form of class control because the relationship consists of vertical ties. The relationship arises out of the “need for the patron to maintain his or her political, economic, social position,” which inadvertently provides a sense of belonging to the marginalized group (the clients) by providing the goods that they may need (Sives, 2002, pp. 67-8). Coupled with that, violence is often used to maintain the position of the patron (politician). From this relationship, the patrons earn the loyalty of the clients. The provisions made to satisfy the needs are usually short-term, thus the clients are kept in a state of dependency (Sives, 2002). Government housing schemes set up in the 1960s provided an opportunity for politicians to garner political support, and it also benefitted their supporters. The ability to live in government housing and pay little to no rent or

mortgage in exchange for political support is evidence that the garrison process is linked to clientelism.

During periods of political campaigning the rich and poor join forces to secure a win for their political party. Harriott (2003) argues that electoral fraud, such as the “stuffing” of ballot boxes, is “a distinctive case of elite-mass criminality” (p. xii), which brings together the powerful and the relatively powerless people. These groups of people are from different locations in the social hierarchy but band together with similar motivations to establish organized criminality on a large scale. This collaboration of efforts benefits both groupings as the elite (politicians in this case) maintain their power and the mass benefit from the goods and services that they receive. This exploitative relationship is maintained because the socially excluded in these urban poor areas often have a high dependence on the politician to survive. Sives (2002) notes, that this inclusion or coming together alleviates “some of the negative consequences of economic and social exclusion by providing a sense of belonging, identity, and hope” for the disenfranchised urban poor while maintaining the elite’s hegemony (p. 70).

After winning an election, the government has the task of allocating scarce resources. The allocation process often creates problems because the government (JLP or PNP) distributes the scarce resources of the state in a partisan way to maintain the loyalty of their supporters or entice others to switch allegiance (Charles, 2002). There also tends to be a lack of continuity of social programmes. If the government in power is not given another term in office, there is often no follow up on projects that were started since the original projects are often solely beneficial to their supporters. On account of the high unemployment and low level of education and skill among these grassroots supporters, these supporters often attach themselves to the political parties to get first preference in the distribution of scarce resources. Because they are often unemployable, they become dependent on their political party for their economic survival (Charles, 2002). In addition, the fight for scarce benefits and political spoils has “contributed to a polarized society in which we operate as hostile tribes which seem to be perpetually at war, rather than working together to realize a common goal” (Patterson, 1994, quoted in Charles, 2002, p. 31). According to Charles (2002) this situation incites violence because these supporters know that their daily survival will be threatened if their party is not in power. Thus, they will intimidate or even kill those who threaten the support base

of their political party. The result is violence and human rights violations of epic proportions, as militant leaders and their gangs in these communities use guns and other weapons of violence to put in line those who dare to challenge the status quo – the reign of their political party (Charles, 2002). This ultimately satisfies the patron in the clientelist relationship because they are able to maintain their power or control of these areas.

2.3.1. The politics of pre-independent Jamaica and its impact

The use of violence in the political arena dates back to the 1940s. Violence became a feature of political competition first through the trade unions and later through the political parties (Sives, 2003). The two major parties are products of the aggressive Jamaican labour movement that emerged out of a spontaneous labour rebellion in 1938 (Sives, 2003). Alexander Bustamante, who founded the JLP, struggled to keep the loyalty of the working poor, while the nationalist leaders in the PNP sought to dislodge Bustamante's hold over these supporters (Sives, 2003). Initially, this involved physical fights in the streets of Kingston. The legacy of this period took a more disastrous tone in the 1960s during the fight for control of constituencies. As the years progressed, the politicians or party leaders no longer did these fights in the streets themselves; instead, they used the garrison machinery (through the don) to fight for control. Sives (2003) posits that even though the violence of the 1940s was low key, it is important not to underestimate its significance. It is during this period that organized violence and links with criminal elements were features of the political system. This decade set the pace for the future years where there were more innovative ways developed to carry out the fight for control. In the final analysis, "these experiences of political participation formed through violence on the streets, whether political party or trade union inspired," helped to define the way in which the relationships developed between individuals, their parties, and their government (Sives, 2003, p. 59). The impact of these relationships came to a head in 1980 when the general election that year was the most volatile the country has ever experienced with the death over 800 citizens in campaign violence alone (Johnson & Soeters, 2008). Throughout the years prior to this election the political administrations officially denied being connected with criminal elements in the garrison; therefore, there was scant regard for or concern about the impact of the garrison on the electoral

process. After this election, there was no denying the damning effect the garrison has on the Jamaican society.

The ingrained vote seeking through resource distribution has created room for various law violations. Apart from gun crime, which is given much attention, electoral fraud, intimidation and the related political violence are also criminal activities associated with the garrison (Sives, 2003). Generally, in garrison communities, electoral laws are treated with contempt. There is a heavy focus and emphasis on the gun and drug-related crimes in garrison communities with little attention to crimes that take place during the election campaigning period. Figueroa & Sives (2003) highlight that this is of extreme importance because these acts set the stage for the drug and gun crimes that take place. The crimes that take place on Election Day (voter intimidation, voter fraud through plural voting, and lack of competing political information) are usually ignored and rarely prosecuted. The fact that politicians have failed to take action against the perpetrators of electoral abuse within their own constituencies and, in some cases, rely on them means that they are compromised, even if they are not directly involved in criminal activity (Figueroa and Sives, 2003). This makes it extremely problematic for political representatives to be separated from elements in their constituencies who are involved in political manipulation and criminal activity. In addition, even when a violent crime is not politically motivated it is often viewed as political in nature because the actors are “closely associated with a political party or with a garrison community that has been closely associated with a political party” (Figueroa & Sives, 2003, p. 64). The political stratagems and illegal activities that go under the radar because of the close association between politicians and criminal elements in these communities makes the garrison’s operations a serious threat to law and order and democracy in Jamaica.

2.3.2. Where are we today?

Initially, the significance of the garrison was to secure a seat within a politically volatile inner city community, which caused the concern about violence to be focused on the election activities (Charles, 2002). The period of political violence, Harriott (2000) notes, served to school criminals and gave rise to other forms social violence. With the provision of guns, protection, and legitimacy of dons, the political parties have helped to propel the rate of ordinary violent crime in Jamaica (Harriott, 2000). The wanton

lawlessness that is integral to the process by which MPs are elected puts the entire system of government in a state of disrepute. The history of elections in Jamaica worsens the situation because election crimes have not been punished (Sives & Figueroa, 2003). In addition, MPs have increasingly been known to associate publicly with reputed criminals, and have done very little to eradicate the illegal electoral practices. As it now stands, garrison communities provide an avenue for perpetuating and developing different forms of crime – organized crime, gang warfare, extortion, and electoral fraud. Christopher “Dudus” Coke, for example, who was extradited to the United States in 2010 and is currently serving a 23-year prison term for drug trafficking was able to amass a great majority of his wealth through extorting money from local business owners and from funds paid over to him on construction contracts that he was awarded and sub-contracted (Charles & Beckford, 2012). He used the funds received from the largesse of the state to assist in fuelling his illegal business of importing and exporting drugs and guns. Even though he was known for his illegal drug and gun running, he had immunity from local police prosecution. Because of the strong political affiliation that these dons have with MPs, they are essentially untouchable. This then inhibits the state police from properly carrying out their duties in investigating the criminal activities of these individuals (Harriott, 2000). The only reason Mr. Coke is behind bars today is because his activities were called into question by the US government and the Jamaican government needed to preserve this relationship.

Because of its high contribution to crime in Jamaica, eradication of the garrison mechanism is a potential solution. Gray (2004) argues that it will take far more than eradicating the garrison because the solution is one that requires a change in the social structure, which demands an explicit challenge to all forms of social domination. In Jamaica, the various social policies put in place have discredited the social elite – who are often the decision-makers – because these policies tend to create the accumulation of wealth by a selected group. I believe that the current system is set up to create individuals like Christopher Coke. The social inequalities that pervade Jamaican society dictate that one carves out an existence by any means necessary. In a bid to survive, the illegal options are tempting and there are occasions when there may be the use of violence to achieve this end. Social inequality incites social violence, especially in developing countries where the resources are scarce (Harriott, 2003). The mode of

managing the impoverished urban communities does not seem to be effective because these residents are forever in need and are in a state of constant dependency. What we now find is that the dependence has shifted as the poor in these garrison communities depend on the dons of the area, who are men who have retaliated against the systemic inequities by acquiring wealth via illegitimate means; thus, removing the dependence on the politician who represents the rich, middle-class. Due to the global neoliberal thrust that resulted in drastic reductions in public expenditure on social programs for the poor, the dons sustain the communities through illegal activities with the use of violence to carry out transactions. The violence that was of a political nature yesteryear is now a mode of conflict resolution (through the informal justice system) and also a means of acquiring social goods (Charles & Beckford, 2012). Although the garrisons started out as loyal political communities, they have evolved into relatively autonomous political communities that are more loyal to the dons than to the Jamaican state.

2.4. The informal system

Wah wi see, wi nuh chat

And wi nuh chat wah wi nuh see

Wi no infaama, infamieshan wi no gi

If a man a moles' mi and mi family

Mi naa ron fi poliic ar sikuoriti

Mi uda check fi mi ruude bwai knmpini

Shabba Ranks, 'Rude Boy'

Translation:

What we see, we don't talk about

And we don't talk about what we don't see

We are not informers, we don't give information

If someone is molesting me and my family

I wouldn't run to the police or the security forces

I would rather call on my rude boy posse

The lyrics of this popular dancehall song by Shabba Ranks, a Jamaican dancehall entertainer and former resident of a garrison, reflect the widely held views of those in the garrison. All conflicts are handled through the informal justice system without involving state authorities in this process. According to Jaffe (2012a), the leaders of criminal organizations in inner city communities can earn legitimacy because of their ability to meet the needs of the people, especially security and safety concerns. In inner city Jamaica, dons (who are often linked to criminal organizations) enjoy considerable power and respect. This was evidenced in the protest surrounding the extradition of Christopher Coke to the United States in 2010, which led to a complete shutdown of business operations in Kingston and surrounding areas. In fact, in the garrison “the dons and their criminal enterprises are often considered more legitimate than politicians and other formal state leaders” (Jaffe, 2012a, p. 80). Further, legitimacy is also derived from the close association between the politicians and these men (Figueroa and Sives, 2003; Harriott). The fact that their criminal activities go unpunished creates fear among the residents and inhibits the reporting of their crimes to the police (Figueroa and Sives, 2003).

There is a heavy reliance on rough justice, an informal system for the execution of justice in garrison communities because of the perceived “swiftness” of justice in comparison to the formal system that often takes years (Charles & Beckford, 2012). Despite its perceived swiftness, the informal justice system violates the laws of the Jamaican state and is open to serious abuse of human rights and exploitation. For example, swift execution is the punishment for residents who are thought to provide information to the police. Sometimes mere suspicion of being a police informer is sufficient reason for the don to order the execution of the “informer” (Charles & Beckford, 2012). Executions of this kind reinforce the rule that police informers, whether real or imagined, will be killed. However, the dons in these instances are a law unto themselves because they (and their close associates) violate the community rules without sanction because they make the rules (Charles & Beckford 2012).

The major problem with this informal system is that the residents who use its functions become more loyal to it at the expense of the security of the Jamaican state

(Charles & Beckford, 2012). These residents are willing to attack the Jamaican state on behalf of these dons and protect them when there is a clash of authority (Charles & Beckford, 2012). The garrison communities of Jamaica have created its own laws and justice system, which run counter to the laws and justice system of the state. Within these communities, disputes are settled, matters tried, offenders sentenced and punished, all without reference to the institutions of the Jamaican state (Charles & Beckford, 2012). The relationship between the dons and some MPs creates a division within the authority structure of the state, because these MP's association with these men interferes with the work of the police force, which is already operating with limited resources (Harriott, 2000). This further hampers the state's ability to respond to the challenges to its authority by the various garrison communities. However, Charles & Beckford (2012) highlight that there are a number of fearless police officers who uphold the law nonetheless. Coupled with that, there are citizens within these communities who do report matters to the police while maintaining a presence of being in agreement with the status quo. There is still hope.

In sum, garrison is a Jamaican political parlance used to describe a political constituency ruled by a strong core of gunmen that is usually led by a don or area-leader and dominated by a single political party (Justice Kerr, 1997). Through these communities Members of Parliament designate the don who ensures that the community members vote in such a way that secures as many seats in parliament to guarantee the win for their political party. In the past, these garrisons were set up by middle to upper class politicians who wanted to secure the votes of the lower-class, inner city residents in exchange for housing, water, electricity, and other amenities that these communities lacked. The informal system currently in effect in inner city communities did not develop overnight. In their bid to secure political might, the state officials have allowed the workings of the garrisons to go under the radar for many years. They attempt to address certain issues or concerns that are a symptom of the problem only as it suits them. The international drug and gun trades now fuel the system that depended on the patronage of the state. Are we reaping the sin of our forefathers? It is quite obvious that we are reaping the rewards of the "divide and rule" strategy that has been a major characteristic of the Jamaican political landscape. The seeds sown by our forefathers in their alliance with criminal elements in order to gain office "gave criminal networks considerable

leverage over the parties, and led to the use of criminal means to systematically plunder the resources of the state once office is acquired” (Harriott, 2003, xii). Politicians’ connections with and condoning the illicit activities of criminal organizations have profound implications for ordinary criminality, especially the normalization of crime. The generally held view is that if they can do it, so can I. The relationship between garrison community dons and politicians has been redefined. The relationship is different from the clientelist relationship of the past wherein the MP had the resources and the don’s community benefitted from the patronage in exchange for loyalty or some other non-material benefit. Through their illegal enterprises the dons of today, who are more enterprising than their predecessors, are able to assist in funding electoral campaigns and still be able to provide adequate protection, security, and welfare to their community members. Garrison communities have given electoral dominance to some politicians while violating the rule of law. The significance of the garrison lies not just in its role as a place where politics and crime intersect, which provides a protected site for criminal enterprise; it is also a mode of political administration that subverts democracy.

To properly understand and research the garrison phenomenon, it is important to also examine the theories that may be useful in explaining the impact the social, economic, and political transitions in the Jamaican society have had on the garrison’s environment and in turn its residents. The next chapter addresses the role of social disorganization theory in explaining the operations of the garrison and its impact.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework: The Garrison and Criminological Theory

A theoretical framework is used to make logical sense of research findings by establishing a particular perspective or lens through which one can examine a topic or phenomenon (Sinclair, 2007). In the field of criminology, using a theoretical framework can help to open up analysis of past events by providing a particular set of questions to ask and a particular perspective to use when examining crime-related phenomena. From this exercise, new theories may be developed or the analysis may refute or support existing theories. The current study is of an exploratory nature, thus a grounded theory approach was taken to analyze the findings. Rather than using the research findings to test an established theory, the theories were allowed to emerge from the data (see Chapter 4, *Research Methods*, for additional information). In so doing, all experiences of the participants are taken into account without restrictions. Social disorganization theory emerged as the best fit for the interview data.

3.1. Social disorganization theory

After examining the participants' accounts and analyzing emergent themes, the tenets of a number of theories appeared to be relevant to the findings; however, the theory of social disorganization proved to be the most pertinent. Social disorganization theory is a major theory of the Chicago School. Its proponents assert that the social environment is crucial to understanding crime. Unlike previous theories that focused on criminality as a property of the individual, according to social disorganization theorists, an individual's residential location rather than individual characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, and age have a strong influence in shaping the likelihood of engaging in criminality or desisting from it (Cartwright, 2011). Further, the major premise of this theory is that the less cohesive and integrated a community or society is, the higher the rates of crime and deviance (Akers & Sellers, 2009). Accepting that crime will exist in a community, social disorganization theorists propose that the relationship between the

structural characteristics of a neighbourhood and the level of crime is mediated by the ability of residents to come together in creating various types of informal social control (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). The notion is that a stable community is one that has social ties among residents, which facilitates a high level of cohesion in the neighbourhood. In short, social disorganization theory links crime rates to neighbourhood ecological characteristics (Siegel, 2013).

The pioneers of this theory, Park & Burgess (1925), identified five distinct ecological areas or zones, consisting of land used for different purposes, which developed in the city of Chicago during the 1900s (Siegel, 2013). These concentric zones or circles consisted of areas that had significant differences in crime rates. The five zones were:

- The central business district, which was in the centre on the model
- The transitional zone, which was a mixture of commercial and residential buildings
- Working class residential homes
- Better quality middle-class homes
- Commuter zones

Building on Park & Burgess' concentric zone model, Shaw & McKay (1942) found that crime was not evenly distributed across the city of Chicago; instead, crime tended to be confined in particular areas. The zones that were furthest from the city's centre had low crime rates and those zones closer had the heaviest concentration of crime (Siegel, 2013). The transitional zone, which was the zone closest to the city's centre, became the cause of concern and the focus of their study. This zone had a constant displacement of residents and was marked with rundown buildings and poor living conditions (Lilly, *et al.*, 2007). In the zone of transition, "the intersection of persistent poverty, rapid population growth, [cultural] heterogeneity, and transiency combined to disrupt the core social institutions of society such as the family; that is, these conditions caused social disorganization" (Cullen & Agnew, 2011). According to Kornhauser (1978) and Bursik (1988), social disorganization generally "refers to the inability of a community structure to

realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls”¹⁷ (as cited in Sampson & Groves, 1989, p. 777). The usual sources of social control are family, neighbours, schools, and religious organizations (Cartwright, 2011). Shaw & McKay (1942) identified five main characteristics of a socially disorganized community:

- Urbanization
- Poverty or low socio-economic status (SES)
- Ethnic or cultural heterogeneity
- Residential stability
- Family disruption or broken homes

These characteristics were unique to the zone in transition. The limited interaction among residents in these communities in this zone affected the level of social cohesion. Because of the breakdown in the informal means of control, these communities were often plagued with juvenile delinquency. Youth in these communities often feel detached from their social world, thus engaging in a variety of activities, including drug and gun dealings (Siegel, 2013). Quite often, these activities provide an escape from the harsh realities of the environment. Generally, in the Jamaican context the male youth rather than the female youth engage in these illicit activities. This is simply because female youth are more closely supervised to ward off teenage pregnancy. The male youth is usually left to “roam the streets,” which increases his exposure to illicit activities.

3.2. Tests of social disorganization theory

Since Shaw & McKay’s work on defining five characteristics of socially disorganized community, “a great deal of research has been done on the ecology of urban crime and delinquency” (Akers & Sellers, 2009, p. 178). In testing Shaw & McKay’s theory by analyzing data from the British Crime Survey, Sampson & Groves

¹⁷ Citing Janowitz (1975), Sampson & Groves (1989) point out that this control should not be confused with repression. The social control that they speak of refers to a community’s ability to collectively pursue “shared values that are meaningful and rewarding” (p. 777). One such value is the reduction of crime and delinquency.

(1989) introduced three intervening or mediating variables that affect social organization in communities:

- Ability of a community to control teenage peer groups (e.g. gangs)
- Local friendship networks
- Local participation in formal and voluntary organizations

The major hypothesis in this model is that a community's crime patterns are affected by its engagement in formal and informal organizations (Sampson & Groves, 1989), which act as a means of social control. From their study, Sampson & Groves (1989) found that "low SES neighbourhoods are more likely to have unsupervised teenage peer groups and low organizational participation because of the lack of adequate money and resources to collectively defend their interests" (Sun, Triplett, & Gainey, 2004, p. 2). This low community organization is compounded by urbanization, which often results in overcrowded communities. Residential stability has a direct positive effect on local friendship networks (Sampson & Groves, 1989). High residential stability facilitates the development of strong friendship ties among neighbourhood residents. On the other hand, if residents are constantly relocating, this affects "the development of strong friendship ties among neighbourhood residents by reducing familiarity with neighbours" (Sun, Triplett, & Gainey, 2004, p. 2). Ethnic or cultural heterogeneity weakens the control of local youth because of the lack of communication and interaction among residents (Sampson & Groves, 1989). Family disruption also affects the ability of adults to supervise and control neighbourhood youth. Overall, reduction in the strength of friendship ties, supervision of local youth, and organizational participation directly affect the community's crime rate and delinquency (Sun, Triplett, & Gainey, 2004). Lowenkamp and associates (2003) later tested this theory and found a "high level of support for social disorganization theory" with results that corresponded to a large extent with Sampson and Groves' results (as quoted in Cartwright, 2011, p. 106).

3.3. Critiques of social disorganization research

Social disorganization theory marked a change from the notion that "criminals are organically inferior" (Cullen, & Agnew, 2011. p. 89). Instead of focussing on individual

traits that may lead to criminality, the theory allows us to take a look at the vast changes that occur in a society that may contribute to or have an impact on criminality. In addition, the core of the theory is premised on “a careful study of how the forces outside individuals prompt their willingness to break the law” (Cullen & Agnew, 2011, p. 89). Taking this approach to studying criminality results in the creation of programs geared towards addressing social problems that may provide a context for crime, for example, crimes fuelled by need instead of greed. However, inherent in this approach is a limitation. For too long, criminological theories tend to take a single-level approach to analyzing crime (Loeber & Welsh, 2012). It is true that community-level processes have an impact on crime and the propensity for crime. However, the behaviour of individuals does have an impact on the community and vice versa. According to Loeber & Welsh (2012), there has to be a link between “individual-level and community-level processes, rather than ‘controlling’ the variance of one level of analysis when studying the other” (p. 75). Not all individuals who are exposed to a criminogenic environment become criminals. In this regard, individual characteristics in this analysis are equally important.

Another issue with social disorganization research is the model does not take into account the effect external actors could have on the community (Bursik & Grasmick, 1993). The use of official crime statistics as an indicator of social disorganization can be misleading. Quite often, the areas that have the highest crime rates experience targeted policing. As a means of crime prevention, the police often concentrate their efforts on urban areas deemed more prone to crime. This is premised on the notion that the presence of “broken windows,” deserted and dilapidated buildings, and graffiti in a community sends a signal that social disorder exists, thus encouraging additional anti-social behaviour and suggests that the chances of apprehension for law violation is low (Wilson & Kelling, 1982). However, the use of qualitative data along with crime statistics could possibly serve as a means of minimizing this effect.

3.4. Social disorganization and the current study

Credit should be given to Professor Stone as a pioneer in understanding the setup of the garrison and how it was created. However, the garrison does not exist in the same form that it existed in the 1960s to 1990s, as the political territory of the politician

has morphed into the criminal domain of the don. There has been a change of patrons in the garrison. The dons, originally appointed to carry out the dictates of politicians, now possess full control of the garrison and have acquired the unswerving allegiance of the residents. The institutionalization of dons in Jamaican society has solidified their control of inner city communities in that politicians depend on the don to secure votes and quite often these men provide financial support towards their political campaigns. No doubt, the symbiotic relationship that exists between politicians and dons has contributed greatly to the nation's high crime rates (Charles & Beckford, 2012; Harriott, 2011). According to Levy (2009), approximately 40 per cent of the homicides in Jamaica occur in Kingston's inner city, namely the garrison. The dependence of the dons on political patronage has shifted to dependence of the politicians on the ill-gotten gains of the dons (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2011; Sives, 2002). This suggests that the framework of analysis also has to evolve if the aim is to have suitable solutions to the scourge of garrison-induced crime.

Earlier analyses used the clientelist framework to understand the nature of the relationship that exists between the MP and their constituents and in turn the effect the patron-client relationship had on the community. As the garrisons of Kingston's inner city became a force to reckon with, the frames of analysis changed, especially in the wake of the government's cuts in expenditure and the reduction of political patronage that maintained the patron-client relationship. Charles (2002; 2004) and Harriott (2000; 2003; 2007) make their analyses through varied lenses and briefly mention Robert K. Merton's perdurable thesis on the "American Dream" and the pursuit of wealth by any means necessary being the hallmark of criminal elements in the garrison. In short, the analyses of the garrison use political, economic, and sociological frames and they all conclude that the garrison's environment is criminogenic; however, there is no detailed criminological analysis of the garrison and its effects.

The perceived reluctance to apply a criminological theoretical lens is unsurprising as there is often a challenge in replicating these theories in a "third world" or "developing country" context. Generally, theories deal with North American or Eurocentric concerns and its applicability to the Jamaican context may pose a challenge (Harriott, 2003). According to Morris (2010), prior research conducted mainly in the United States shows a strong negative relationship between community civic engagement (i.e., voter turnout)

and homicide rates. Morris (2010) further argues that these scholars contend that high levels of civic engagement should strengthen social organization and promote informal social control, thereby yielding low levels of crime and violence. However, this is not the case in the Jamaican context. Research on the voting behaviour of urban residents indicate that politics plays an integral role in neighbourhood life to the extent that civic engagement activities such as voting in government elections and active participation in national political affairs are regarded as extremely important social activities that are taken seriously by many (Levy, 2009; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; 2002; Morris, 2010; Sives, 2003; Stone, 1985). During an election campaigning period members of the garrison are actively involved and engaged. Even though the members of these urban communities are involved because of the cultural significance and strong sentiments attached to electoral participation, this does not decrease the level of crime and violence; instead, their often partisan engagement increases it (Morris, 2010). Further, the intra-group conflicts that take place because of these partisan engagements affects solidarity.

Despite the foregoing, tenets of the theory of social disorganization aided in creating a framework to analyze the findings. Using the themes of social disorganization, I was able to logically interpret the factors that created the garrison's criminogenic environment. Although census data are generally used to assess the impact of social structures on social outcomes in neighbourhoods, the voices of the residents are key ingredients in assessing a neighbourhood's environment because an individual's experience is often a way of corroborating inferences made from statistical measures. Further, Nicotera (2002) notes that while the measures used in quantitative research provide information about the structural aspects of neighbourhoods, "they obscure the social processes and other mechanisms at work within [them]" (p. 59). The purpose here is not to test the validity of social disorganization theorists' propositions; instead, the intention is to use the deductive themes from this theory to enable a better interpretation of the findings. The garrison exhibits the following aspects of social disorganization theory.

3.4.1. Urbanization

All garrisons are inner city communities - or even ghettos - but not all inner city communities are garrisons. The distinctive characteristic of the garrison is its entrenched allegiance to a political party or its middleman (the don). From the 1970s through the 1980s, Jamaica's enormous debt with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) resulted in reduced investment in the agricultural sector. The spillover effect was a massive rural-to-urban migration in Jamaica. The jobless in the countryside sought refuge in Kingston and other urban areas. Those involved in farming lost their jobs and migrated to Kingston in search of employment. Consequently, there was overcrowding in the country's city centres, primarily in Kingston. The country's economic and the rapid urbanization had effects on the environment, strains on the physical structure of communities, and crime and violence. The strain on the physical structures manifested in encroachment issues that became a mainstay of the Kingston inner city.

According to Bayat (1997), "quiet encroachment of the ordinary" is often the struggle of the disenfranchised as they carry out their activities driven by the force to survive. This "encroachment" refers to "a silent, patient, protracted, and pervasive advancement of ordinary people on the propertied and powerful in order to survive hardships and better their lives" (p. 57). Most persons who relocated to Kingston could not afford to pay rent or access suitable accommodations, which led to many squatter settlements being established. Conditions in these squatter settlements were undesirable, as most did not have their own sanitary conveniences or running water, and had to resort to public latrines and standpipes. Johnson (2004) argues this "quiet encroachment" thesis "explores the political significance of 'capturing' land, building makeshift shelters and sometimes-permanent homes [and] stealing electricity; however, there is scant attention to the 'urban disorder' occasioned by such practices" (para. 3). In the Jamaican context, Kingston offered little hope for employment and a reasonable standard of living; therefore, alternative means to survive became attractive, namely the informal economy. In addition, the need to survive became the driving force for these "people on the margins" (Johnson, 2005, p. 583), which made the development of government housing schemes a viable political mobilization strategy. In so doing, a politician was able to distribute houses in exchange for the vote of the marginalized grouping in the inner city and develop a "permanent power base" or political stronghold

(Charles & Beckford, 2012, p. 54). Affiliation with a political party guaranteed the residents' survival. The result is a bloc of supporters that is maintained by a don "who thwarts political competition with the use of guns and other weapons," known as the garrison (Charles & Beckford, 2012, p. 54).

3.4.2. Poverty or low socio-economic status

Martin¹⁸, a participant from a previous study notes:

The thing about poverty in these areas is that there is an illusion that those who are connected to politicians will help you. You constantly live under this illusion that you have to know area-leader so-and-so or politician so-and-so because he could get you a job or provide you with some connections because your affiliation determines your survival.

Poverty is often defined as an economic condition of lacking both money and basic necessities needed to successfully live, such as food, water, education, healthcare, and shelter. Sen (1999) argues that poverty is more than just income deprivation or low income; instead, it should be seen as the "deprivation of basic capabilities" (p. 87). Poverty includes the lack of basic social capabilities, for example, social inclusion, which often makes the analysis of the level of poverty in any community a challenging feat (Sen, 1999). Sen (1999) favours a capability approach to understanding poverty for three reasons: It focuses on the nature of deprivation and low income is only instrumentally significant; capability deprivation (and thus real poverty) is not influenced only by low income, which means income is not the only instrument that generates capabilities; and "the impact of income on capabilities is contingent and conditional" (pp. 87-8). Although the ideal comprehensive approach to examining the nature of poverty is by integrating quantitative data and qualitative issues, this study focuses on qualitative concerns.

The garrison's infrastructure is distinguished by sub-standard housing, poor sanitation, and inconsistent electricity supplies. These communities often "reek of

¹⁸ Martin was a study participant in my preliminary research on the garrison. This study was conducted in 2012.

abandonment and neglect” (Kerr, 1997, as cited in Henry-Lee, 2005, p. 94). Henry-Lee (2005) adds that the garrison has “a high level of public poverty and problems with infrastructure” (p. 94). In addition, there is usually a halt in regular activities out of fear of injury or even death during volatile periods such as an election. The inability to move during these periods has a negative impact on education and employment (Charles, 2004). To compound the issue, the stigma attached to people living in the garrison makes it difficult for them to find jobs. Roper (personal interview, May, 29 2013) highlights the harsh reality that individuals from the garrison face in finding employment. Some employers make no apologies for declining to employ an individual from a garrison, which results in some using a different address from their place of domicile on job applications.

In her analysis, Henry-Lee (2005) defines *social capital* as the social networks that exist in these communities and “the inclination to do things for each other” (p. 95). Most people in these garrison communities see affiliation with the dons (and to a lesser extent the MP) as a necessary evil. The don, who is the politician’s political guardian, protects the residents and through him their basic social needs are met. In this regard, the residents have no qualms in doing whatever is requested of them in return. So for most, this social network with the don and his henchmen does have value: it helps them to deal with harsh environment in the garrison.

According to Jacob’s (2006) discussion of social disorganization theory, “...communities characterized by high SES [socio-economic status] will have residents who are in a position to establish and maintain strong ties and more extensive social networks” (p. 47). On the surface, the garrison defies this relationship because despite its low SES, the residents are able to establish and maintain strong social networks and ties – networks that will go against state authorities if they think they have been wronged. However, without palpable need for securing socioeconomic survival, the reciprocity between the residents and don (and by extension, the MPs) would be non-existent. Levy (2009) argues that the “authoritative garrison structure with violent ways turned communities into killing fields robbing them of their cohesion, vitality and ability to function as communities” (p. 12). The politician has transformed instruments of solidarity, such as social ties, into “war machines” (Levy, 2009, p. 12). The essence of these social networks, ties, and connections in the garrison has been perverted.

3.4.3. Broken homes or disrupted families

A key element in the Jamaican garrison is the lack of family supervision. Most households are managed by single parents (usually mothers). In a bid to carve out an existence for the family, the children are often left on their own or under the supervision of a grandparent who may not have the wherewithal to provide the requisite supervision. The father is often a missing element in these families and quite often the youth (especially males) fall under the influence of the don and his gang. This is not to suggest that the individuals from single-parent households are the only ones engaging in delinquency or criminality. The lack of supervision manifests in no oversight for consorting that takes place on the street corners. The disrupted family unit, however, does contribute greatly to this problem. Levy (2009) posits that for some in the garrison, the formation of groups on the street corner is aimed at “peer solidarity,” while for the criminal gang the street corner is their turf and “the defense of [it] is for personal gain and power” (p. 29). Meeting on the corner is commonplace in the garrison, which often makes it difficult to distinguish between social gatherings and criminal or delinquent collectives. According to Rapley (2003), “in the ghetto the street is your living room” (p. 25). The corners of garrison communities are a permanent resting place during the day for many and a common meeting ground for most, especially young male teenagers. This is often where they meet because there are no activities at home to keep them occupied; in addition, there is never usually a parental unit at home to supervise them. Not all street corner groupings in the garrison are delinquent collectives; however, for the purpose of this study, the focus is on the criminally engaged corner crew. This segues to the transmission of culture.

3.5. Cultural transmission and the creation of subcultures

According to social disorganization theorists, the breakdown of social institutions, for example the family, aids in creating crime-prone areas (Siegel, 2013). These social institutions serve as a means of informal social control and if they are ineffective or weak, deviant values will replace conventional ones. For the youth in the garrison, the economic and social exclusion experienced often translates into delinquency because of the ever-present illegitimate roles (the dons and criminal gangs) that make access to

illegitimate opportunities a normal occurrence. Deviance is perpetuated due to the exposure that the youth get to the older men in the criminal game. Criminality is learned through individuals, either by association or based on observed favourable outcomes that are derived from such actions. The garrison is such a setting where deviance is viewed as favourable. The street corner in the garrison is where youth learn to fire a gun or taught other tricks of the criminal trade. The garrison's street corner is not the only context that creates the propensity for crime, as the failings of the formal system aids in perpetuating the deviance manifested in these communities. In addition, many garrison youth are blocked from meaningfully engaging in the formal society. Even if the residents successfully attain an education, their place of domicile serves as a disadvantage when compared with an applicant from the middle class with a suburban address (Roper, personal interview, May 29, 2013).

The garrison youth are constantly exposed to illegitimate roles, for example, the extrajudicial killings carried out by the security forces – killings that may include family members. The police force is an arch enemy of the garrison and from the actions of the security forces, the culture of “the police is not my friend” and should not be trusted is reinforced. As a consequence, when police officers seek to legitimately carry out their duties, they are met with hostility and the residents are often unwilling to provide them with information that may aid in their investigation. The relationship between the politician and the don also sustains the culture of deviance. The don is protected by the very nature of his connection. He is untouchable and beyond punishment, despite his illegal undertakings. This protection is extended to the don's community. This is entrenched in the garrison's constitution and the youth in the community know nothing else. This often impels them to pick up a gun and kill to protect the don for, in protecting him, the unsupervised youth lives to see another day. Further, the electoral manipulation that is condoned by politicians acts as a means of normalizing crime in these areas.

In sum, there were themes of various theories supported by the findings of the study; however, the themes of the theory discussed were the most persuasive and aided in the analysis of the garrison's criminogenic environment. The theory's themes aided in providing a context within which to analyze the effects the various social and economic changes in the Jamaican society have had on the garrison and in turn its residents. In this regard, it is important to discuss the decisions made and methods followed

throughout the research process. The next chapter focuses on research decisions and methods employed in the current study.

Chapter 4. Research Methods

4.1. Research questions

In the wake of Christopher Coke's extradition to the US in May 2010 and his later incarceration, the Jamaican environment is "ripe" for rigorous research on the garrison phenomenon. Coke pleaded guilty to drug trafficking charges in August 2011. He was charged by a US federal court and was given a 23-year sentence in May 2012 (Weiser, 2012). Coke's tentacles of power were far-reaching and many were afraid to conduct research on this area of study because of the perceived risks involved. Coke was in control of the garrison of Tivoli Gardens and had a say in the affairs of other garrisons across Jamaica. Moreover, he was an archetypal figure among those in the urban poor communities. Many dons emulated him and aspired to be like him. As the only surviving heir of the Shower posse's¹⁹ kingdom, Coke appeared untouchable and maintained control over his community by providing a system of welfare for his constituents. With the view that the Jamaican government can now reclaim control of these inner city communities since the major kingpin has been "put down" (Charles & Beckford, 2012), this study explores the experiences of individuals living in garrison communities of Jamaica, with a focus on the community of August Town. The aim of this study is to gain insight into the experiences of those living in these communities since Coke's incarceration. The primary research question is:

- What are the experiences of individuals living in garrison communities in Jamaica?

I am also interested in getting an understanding of the garrison's creation, history, and evolution, with an emphasis on the key players in its creation and maintenance. The

¹⁹ The Shower Posse is a criminal gang that is involved in drug and gun smuggling that hails from the Tivoli Gardens community but primarily operates in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania (Zazzali, 2006).

thesis focuses primarily on the garrison construct and the impact it has or had on the Jamaican society. Key players (namely the dons and MPs) were targeted because the system was created by and maintained for these who have a vested interest in its existence. Further, getting insight into the dynamics of the relationship that exists among these key players will provide a better understanding of the garrison and possible ways towards “degarrisonisation”²⁰ or dismantling the garrison.

4.2. Methodology and methods of data collection

The study takes a qualitative approach to garnering details on the experiences of the selected sample of participants. Qualitative research can be characterized as “the attempt to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meanings and definitions of the situation presented by information rather than the production of a quantitative ‘measurement’ of their characteristic or behaviour” (Wainwright, 1997, para. 5). Strauss and Corbin (1998) define qualitative research as “a non-mathematical process of interpretation, carried out for the purpose of discovering concepts and relationships in raw data and then organizing these into a theoretical explanatory scheme” (p. 11). The aim of the study is to obtain rich, thick description of what it is like living in a garrison community, which makes a qualitative methodology quite fitting.

4.2.1. In-depth, semi-structured interviews

In keeping with the need to get insight into these individuals’ experiences, the study involves ten semi-structured in person interviews using an interview schedule to guide the conversation (see *Appendices D & E*). Semi-structured interviews provide room to explore topics that may not have been contained in the interview schedule but might be useful in answering the major research question. My intent is to understand the experiences of these garrison community members, so a considerable swath of this understanding comes from the meanings that they apply to their experiences. As such, the interviews consisted of a series of open-ended questions. The qualitative interview

²⁰ This neologism was introduced by Johnson (2010) in her article “Towards degarrisonisation: A place for civil society.”

was the selected method of data gathering as it seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the participants (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 4). Rubin & Rubin (2005) state that when insight into experiences of individuals is required, the use of numbers often “strips away the context, losing much of the richness and complexity that makes research realistic” (p. 2). The interviews, conducted between May 30th and June 20th 2013, were on average 45 minutes in length. The main task in interviewing is to understand the meaning of what the participants say. Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant’s experience, which allows the interviewer to pursue in-depth information around a topic (Rubin, 2005, p. 5).

4.2.2. Audio recording

With the consent of each participant, all interviews were audio-recorded. Taping the interviews allowed for focus on the participants during the interview. This was a useful exercise because I was able to focus on the participant instead of being busy taking notes. Particular attention was paid to their facial expressions and body language, which allowed me to take cues to move on to something else based on these non-verbal responses that suggested that the matter or issue being discussed is sensitive in nature. Further, the use of an audio-recorder allowed for note taking, especially of descriptions of those non-verbal responses or to make note of responses that piqued my interest. In transcribing the data, it was possible to listen for details such as changes in the tone of voice, hesitations in speech, and emphasis in expressions.

4.2.3. Transcription

Audio recordings were transcribed verbatim. Silverman & Marvasti (2008) argue that the reliability of the interpretation of transcriptions hinges heavily on transcribing “the apparently trivial, but often crucial, pauses and overlaps” (p. 272). Therefore, it behooves the researcher not to focus only on what is said but also the language pattern. Contrastingly, Halcomb & Davidson (2006) are of the view that “the process of transcription should be more about interpretation and generation of meanings from the data rather than being a simple clerical task” (p. 39). This then puts to question the need for verbatim transcriptions, especially if the transcripts will be interpreted with the aid of notes made during and after each interview and memos made throughout the process of

the study. However, because of the eccentricity of the Jamaican dialect, verbatim transcriptions were compiled. Field notes and memos made throughout the process aided in interpreting the data.

In keeping with maintaining a comfortable atmosphere for research participants, some questions and responses were asked and given in Jamaican Patois (pronounced Pat-wah). There are two varieties of languages used in Jamaican society: Jamaican Standard English and Jamaican Creole (Patois). According to Devonish & Harry (2004), the use of Patois is often in a “private, informal and oral interaction” while Jamaican Standard English is used in a more formal, public setting (p. 450). Burton (1997) notes that Patois is African Creole blended with the language of Jamaica’s ex-colonial masters – the British. Burton (1997) further states that the language was created as a form of cultural action among the slaves in the 17th Century, which was in resistance to the oppression of the British. This became the slaves’ way of communicating to each other without being understood by the British. Jamaican Standard English is Standard British English with influences from the USA and Canada (Devonish & Harry, 2004). For the most part, when a Jamaican speaks in a relaxed environment there is often a mixture of Jamaica Standard English and Patois (see vignettes in the following chapter). During the process of transcribing, it was natural to type the words expressed in the Jamaican vernacular in Standard English. To honour the voices of the participants and also to maintain the authentic and natural exchange that occurred during the interviews, a concerted effort was made to transcribe the words expressed in Jamaican Patois. Moreover, some of the experiences described were better understood and had a deeper meaning and impact when expressed in the Jamaican dialect. Transcribing in Patois had its challenges because, unlike Jamaican English that has a standardized written system, Patois is mostly spoken. Nonetheless, I was able to effectively complete the transcriptions. To facilitate a wider readership, translations were provided so that the reader who is not familiar with Jamaican vernacular has a clear understanding of what was expressed.

4.3. The sample and setting

4.3.1. Sampling methods

The purpose of research sampling “is to make inferences about some larger population from a smaller one” (Berg 2007, 48). The two major types of sampling strategies used in social sciences are probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling employs a mathematical (randomized) selection process in determining a representative sample of a population, and is usually the approach in quantitative surveys (Berg, 2007). Quite often, social science researchers are presented with “potentially important research questions that cannot be answered by a probability sampling technique” (Berg, 2007, p. 50).

In the current study, the undertakings of those engaged in criminal activity in the garrison are examined. There may be a challenge in quantitatively or mathematically ascertaining a representative sample of this group of individuals because this is considered a “hidden” or “hard-to-reach” population and a list of those criminally engaged is not readily accessible (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Further, non-probabilistic sampling techniques are often used in exploratory studies (Doherty, 1994). Essentially, the major distinction between these two sampling strategies is that probabilistic samples involve random selection while a non-probabilistic sample does not, as non-probabilistic sampling requires that the researcher invoke some element of judgment in the selection process – a judgment that often draws on a theoretical understanding of the research topic (Doherty, 1994). In the current study, two types of non-probabilistic sampling techniques were used: purposive and snowball techniques. Purposive sampling is a technique used by qualitative researchers where the sample selected illustrates characteristics in which they may be interested (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008). Silverman and Marvasti (2008) note that making this sample selection requires the researcher to “think critically about the parameters of the population” they are studying (p. 166). As such, careful consideration of the research issue is needed to identify the individuals who would best aid in providing the rich, thick data that ultimately meets the objective of the research (Oliver, 2006). This study focuses on the experiences of individuals living in or working with the August Town garrison. Therefore, the participants had to meet the following criteria:

- Residents of the August Town community
- Members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) who work or have worked in the August Town community
- Be 19 years or older

The August Town community was chosen because I am familiar with the area and have an established rapport with some of the residents. The requirement is that the participant be currently residing in the community; however, the sample also includes individuals who had relocated to communities outside of August Town some time in the past. Including such participants allowed for comparisons in assessing the experience. Initially, the decision was to include only a member of the JCF; however, after a brief counsel with Dr. Christopher Charles (my surrogate supervisor while I was in Jamaica), it was decided that it would be best to interview police officers specifically from the August Town police station (whether currently or in the past) since my study involves August Town community members. The age requirement respects the requirements of Simon Fraser University's Ethics Board, and the use of participants under 19 years old requires consent from a parent or guardian. Further, Punch (2002) argues that because of the ramifications involved in the process of seeking the consent of a minor, there is the possibility of being held accountable to a higher standard of care because of the unequal power relationship that would exist between a child participant and the researcher. Hence, it was decided to use individuals 19 years or older.

All participants were selected purposively, and I sought the assistance of my first set of recruits to acquire suitable participants for the study. This method, known as the snowball technique, involves the use of an initial participant to identify other individuals who may be interested in participating in a study (Atkinson & Flint, 2004). The snowball technique allows the researcher to get the specified fit of individual(s) required for the study by getting input from those who are a part of the phenomenon of interest. This method was quite fitting, as those who are a part of the system in the garrison were in a better position to suggest suitable candidates for the study. In addition, the use of this "chain-referral" technique (Berg, 2007) aids the researcher in accessing a population that he/she would not have access to otherwise. For example, the sample in this study

includes a “corner member”²¹ who was referred by a participant. Without the help of my initial participant, I would not have been able to have access to this individual.

4.3.2. The recruitment process

Silverman and Marvasti (2008) explain that it is not uncommon for researchers to “use their existing relationships and contacts for research” (p. 50). In October 2012, contact was made with colleagues residing in August Town and they were informed about the intended research. All agreed to participate in the study. The initial set of participants (three) was a part of my father’s previous pastorate in the Hermitage community. My first interview occurred in the first week of my arrival to Jamaica. This participant, assigned the pseudonym Stokeley, was very helpful in suggesting other participants – the community members. After our meeting, Stokeley made a list of the persons he thought would be worth interviewing based on the purpose of my study. He then made a number of telephone calls and got agreements from these individuals to be a part of the study. With their permission, their contact information was passed on to me. I made contact with three of these people and dates and meeting times were set for the following week. Corretta (who was my contact at the JCF and later became a participant in the study) provided contact information for two Superintendents of police (with their consent), who were contacted. Arrangements were made to meet with them to discuss the possibility of interviewing a couple of their direct reports. These meetings did not materialize because, as noted earlier, Dr. Charles and I agreed that interviewing police officers who have or had a working relationship with the August Town community would be a better fit for the study. This decision created a challenge in recruiting members of the JCF to participate in the study.

4.3.3. Recruitment challenges and solutions

Unfortunately, none of the interviews with the garrison community members slated for the second week of my visit came to fruition. In addition, numerous contacts were made with two individuals who had initially agreed to participate in the study, but to

²¹ This is a person who is unemployed and sits on the corner in the community.

no avail. Two individuals scheduled to be interviewed during the second week of my visit expressed difficulty with meeting due to work commitments. The hope of at least conducting one interview during that week was shattered as the potential interviewee called me the day before our interview and told me he was no longer interested in being a part of the study. I was not given a reason for his decision but I surmised that he did not see how this exchange would have benefitted him. Although the individuals who had work commitments that prevented them from meeting with me suggested that I contact them later that week to set a new meeting date and time, I did not and instead decided to seek other candidates for the study. I solicited the help of my brother, a member of my father's previous pastorate, who plays a very active role in building the relationship between the pastorate and community members. My brother referred me to a childhood friend of mine who was a member of a church in August Town. After our meeting, Tyrone (pseudonym assigned) took me on a drive through the community of August Town, where I was able to take some photographs. The community of Bryce Hill Lane (located in Bedward Gardens) was tense, as a known corner member was shot in the lane the previous week. The death of this young man was a reprisal killing during a battle between two rival gangs. There was a strong police presence in the community to prevent further bloodshed.

We made a stop near a shop where a group of police officers known to Tyrone had congregated. He introduced me to the group of officers, which gave me the opportunity to tell them about my study and solicit their participation. I was given a contact number for the leader of the group. We agreed that I would come by the police station later that week at a time that would be decided the day before the meeting. My calls to this police officer went unanswered up until the day of our planned meeting. I decided to take the initiative and visit the August Town police station hoping that someone would give me an ear. In these communities it is often difficult to get an audience with the residents or the people who work with them. Because of August Town's proximity to the University of the West Indies, it is often the subject of studies and the people feel exploited and inundated with research requests. Coupled with this, when the researcher is seen and treated as an outsider and lacks an established rapport or connection to the community, he/she may not be able to have meaningful exchanges with its constituents. Fortunately, my visit to the police station was well worth the trip.

Although I did not see the person I was to meet, I spoke to a police sergeant who was intrigued by the study and he agreed to participate. We set a date for the following week and he suggested I interview a police constable directly under his supervision. Terrel (pseudonym assigned), agreed to be a part of the study as well. Both interviews were successfully conducted. The remaining interviews did not pose any challenge as my brother, along with Stokeley (my first participant), assisted in recruiting participants. In addition, during my daily visits to the community, I ran into close associates and had the opportunity to solicit their participation in the study. Other than the changing of dates or times due to unplanned eventualities, all ten interviews were successfully conducted.

4.3.4. The final sample

The study sample consists of ten participants including seven members from the African Gardens, Hermitage, Jungle 12, and Bedward Gardens communities. The remaining three participants are two police officers attached to the August Town police station and one police officer who worked with the August Town community for approximately two years. Participants ranged in age from 25 to 46 years, and three are female. All but one participant completed a secondary level of education. For financial reasons, this participant's high school attendance ended at grade nine. The remaining nine participants have a variety of post-secondary exposure, vocational and academic education, with the highest level of educational attainment being a Master's degree. Of the seven garrison community members interviewed, two are currently unemployed and one is a full-time student.

Three of the participants are employed to the University of the West Indies in administrative, academic, and ancillary positions and the remaining participant is employed with the Jamaica Constabulary Force in an administrative role. The following table shows the pseudonyms assigned to each participant and the basic characteristics of the sample. Because of the strength of character generally displayed by the community members, I decided to assign them the names of Jamaica's national heroes; however, the sample's gender composition did not permit this. Instead, they were assigned names of US civil rights activists. The pseudonyms assigned to the police officers had no particular meaning attached. To make them distinct from the group of

community members, they were all assigned names beginning with the same letter of the alphabet.

Table 4-1 Sample characteristics

Pseudonym	Gender	Occupation	Highest Level of Education
Stokeley	Male	Administrator & Part-time lecturer	Graduate Degree
Martin	Male	Electrician	Vocational Training
Malcolm	Male	Unemployed	High school
Rosa	Female	Unemployed	Didn't complete high school
Jesse	Male	Janitor	High school
Corretta	Female	Administrator	Graduate Degree
Angela	Female	Student	Undergraduate Degree
Tyrone	Male	Police Officer	Associate Degree
Trevor	Male	Police Officer	High School
Terrel	Male	Police Officer	Associate Degree

4.3.5. The setting

The interviews were conducted at places and times that were convenient to the participants. I ensured that the environment selected was suitable and non-threatening to both the participants and me. The campus of the University of the West Indies was the location for most of the interviews. For those participants who felt safer and more comfortable to take me into their homes, we met there. I agreed because I had visited these individuals' homes either once or twice during my father's time as pastor in the community. The interviews with the police officers were conducted at the police station except one, which was conducted on the University's campus.

4.4. Ethical considerations

The use of human participants in any study involves some amount of risk and raises ethical concerns. The researcher's task is to explore the possible risks that may be associated with the participants' involvement in the research. Berg (2007) notes that

this gets a bit onerous in social science research because the issue of ethics is somewhat subjective and it is the responsibility of ethics review boards to provide oversight in order to determine or define what is ethical. Research ethics boards set the principles of ethics that govern the way research should be conducted; however, the principles do not necessarily aid the researcher in determining how to respond ethically when unforeseeable situations (that could “potentially have adverse consequences”) occur in the field (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 264). Therefore, before and during data gathering in the field, the onus is on researchers to ensure that they “think through ethical issues and respond appropriately” (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004, p. 269). Informed consent was sought as a means of providing participants with the details of the study and informing them of my commitment to protecting their rights by ensuring that they are not exposed to any harm (emotional or social harm) greater than that which they would experience in their daily lives.

4.4.1. Risk designation and informed consent

Prior to gathering the data, approval was sought from Simon Fraser University’s Research Ethics Board. Approval was granted on April 16th 2013 and the research was designated minimal risk. The study is minimal risk in that “the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research is no greater than those encountered by [the] participants in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research” (University Research Ethics Review (R 20.01), para 6.1a). Although the data were collected in Jamaica there was no local Ethics Board Review required before conducting the interviews because the research is not affiliated with any of the universities in the country. Dr. Christopher Charles, who was the academic support person during the data gathering process in Jamaica, confirmed that this is indeed the case. Dr. Charles is currently a lecturer with the Department of Government at the University of the West Indies and he has done extensive research in the community that is currently being studied.

A formal letter (informed consent form – see *Appendices A & B*) detailing the purpose of the study was reviewed with each participant. The letter informs participants that their participation in the study is voluntary and that they may withdraw from the study at any time. It also sets out potential risks and benefits associated with the study,

who they can contact if they have questions about my research or concerns about my conduct as a researcher and, most importantly, the guarantees of confidentiality and anonymity. Before the interview, I reviewed the information contained in the informed consent letter with participants to ensure that they had an understanding of its contents. A few participants were given the informed consent form a few days before the scheduled interview for their perusal. Time was still taken to go through and review the details of the form before the interview was conducted.

Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity is of utmost importance. Quoting Wigmore (1905), Palys and Lowman (2002) point out that “the moment confidence ceases, privilege ceases,” which means that there should be a clear understanding of confidentiality between the participants and the researcher and evidence that this is understood (p. 8). While apprising the participants of the overall intent of the study, I made them aware that details of their experiences will be viewed by academics and the potential that it may be published in a journal at a later date. However, I assured them that they would be informed before a journal submission is made and that their identity will be known only to me because they would be assigned a pseudonym (anonymizing the data collected) to maintain my commitment to protecting confidentiality. The pseudonym assigned to each participant appears on the consent forms and the transcripts, and they were guaranteed that I would be the only one who knows their identity. Each participant signed the letter as an indication of his or her consent to be a part of the study. The consent form bears the pseudonym and the name &/or signature of the participant. For this reason the consent forms are kept in a different location from the transcripts.

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed into Word documents. The audio recordings will be kept until the end of the research study should it become necessary to verify the information contained in the transcripts or clarify any ambiguities. At the end of the research study, which is the final submission of my thesis to the Simon Fraser University’s library, the recordings will be recorded over with ambient noises to ensure its proper deletion. The transcriptions are currently stored electronically on a USB flash drive that is password-protected and printed copies of the transcribed interviews, along with the handwritten notes taken during the interview, will be carefully stored until their destruction. A password-protected file of the transcription is also stored

on my personal computer's hard disk drive, and I am the only person who has access to this computer. The transcriptions (both USB flash drive stored files and printed files), notes taken during the interviews, and any field notes will be kept for an additional three years or until 2016, as I intend to expand the research study. At the end of 2016, all data will be destroyed – USB flash drive files will be deleted and paper files shredded. To maintain confidentiality, during this 3-year retention period, all the documents will bear the pseudonyms that the participants have been assigned and the USB flash drive, field notes, and printed transcriptions will be carefully stored in a filing cabinet.

The purpose of this research is to obtain details about the experiences of the participants and their views on the Jamaican society, which will serve as a means of advancing the knowledge of the garrison way of life rather than bringing harm to the welfare of the participant. Prior to and during the interviews, it was emphasized that the participants were not required to divulge any information that may put them at risk. As a result, the interviews conducted and the information gathered has not resulted in any disclosure that would potentially put the study participants at risk. The participants spoke in general terms and refrained from speaking specifically about the actions of a particular don or Member of Parliament. However, in comparing the actions of dons today and yesteryear, one participant named a few noted dons (their aliases). This is of little or no consequence in causing any harm because these men died more than twenty (20) years ago. All interviews were completed without any problems. Overall, there were no conflicts and no need for debriefing. The participants showed no signs of discomfort during the interviews nor did they reveal any information that would put them at risk.

4.5. Analysis

4.5.1. Coding: Facilitating analysis

Srivastava & Hopwood (2009) posit that “the qualitative [researcher] is constantly on the hunt for concepts and themes that, when taken together, will provide the best explanation of ‘what’s going on’ in an inquiry” (p. 77). In the process of collecting and interpreting research data, information must be systematically arranged in order for effective analysis to take place. Importantly, the intent of the research was not to prove

or disprove a theory; rather, the aim was to allow the themes and patterns to naturally emanate from the data. This inductive approach was useful because it allowed me to take into account all the experiences of the individuals without being restrictive. The data collection and data analysis procedures were not distinct processes as they were carried out simultaneously on many occasions. Strauss and Corbin (2008) note that during the data collection process the researcher often engages in open coding, “which is a process that involves breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data” (p. 195). This process allows the researcher to make sense of the data. The field notes show evidence of this, as ideas for potential themes were documented as I interpreted the participants’ responses.

To familiarize myself with the data, the transcripts were read several times and what I considered interesting in the responses was highlighted and annotated. After transcribing the interviews, I read through the transcriptions to get a general understanding of the participants’ responses. Annotations were also made during this process. During the second reading, highlighters were used to identify the responses that represented the same idea by colour-coding them. This process is an initial stage of the data analysis process because it aids in making sense of the data and also aids in its interpretation (Strauss & Corbin, 2008). Codes were assigned to the responses that illuminated a concept that was in line with the research objectives, which might later translate into a theme. These codes were generated based upon the categories of questions that were asked during the interviews (see *Appendices D & E*). A literature review provided not only a context for my findings but also aided in the initial coding process. It is important to note that the data were not coded based on the responses being in agreement, as counter stories (negative cases) were included in the analysis to ensure that a cross-sectional view of the experiences was captured.

Axial coding is the process of “cross-cutting or relating concepts to each other” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 195). I separated the responses (colour-coded) from the transcripts and placed them into separate Word documents based on their categories. These categories of responses were further reduced to responses that I viewed to be interesting and more germane to the research objectives. While interpreting this reduced set of responses, field notes were reviewed and I realized that some of the responses

that initially piqued my interest (during an interview or transcription) were not captured. With this in mind, the original transcripts were reviewed and re-categorized.

Consequently, additional categories of responses were generated. This is a natural process in qualitative research study, as the data have to be constantly reviewed to get a clear understanding of its content. Berkowitz (1997) notes that qualitative research is “a loop-like pattern of multiple rounds of revisiting the data as additional questions emerge [and] new connections are made [...]” (quoted in Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009, p. 77). This iterative nature of qualitative research aids in creating a deeper and more refined understanding of the data (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009).

Assessing the patterns and themes generated to determine their relationship with the research questions refined the research data. The inductive themes generated represented two distinct categories of responses: those related to the environment (the garrison construct) and those related to the people who maintain or sustain this construct. To create a connection between the themes generated from the categories of responses, the theory of social disorganization was used as a framework and served as a means of contextualizing the results. In the final analysis, the process of coding was successful because there was constant review of the transcriptions and the coded responses to ensure that the decided themes were suitable answers to the main research questions of the study.

4.5.2. Reflexivity: The research and the researcher

Being reflexive is a way for researchers to critically examine their influence on the research (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Reflexive researchers identify themselves in the research and approach it with the understanding that who they are as individuals affects the phenomenon they choose to study, how it is studied, and how the data are interpreted (Guillemin & Gillam, 2004). Srivastava and Hopwood (2009) add that categories of responses in reality do not emerge on their own because “they are driven by what the researcher wants to know” (p. 77). Acknowledging this reality gives the researcher room to critically assess and reflect upon the various decisions made throughout the process of research. This process of constant reflection not only allows the researcher to assess the feasibility and practicality of decisions made. It also brings

to the fore those “taken for granted notions” that may affect the authenticity or credibility of the research.

I was the sole researcher in this study. While I may not have any exposure to the way of life in the garrison, I understand much of the history of the Jamaican society and I have witnessed and experienced the effect of the activities in these communities. Further, this reality allowed me to effectively interpret certain colloquial terms/statements and expressions made by the participants. Taking into account that perceptions vary, I remained open to alternative experiences and implications emerging from the research study and the available literature. To ensure that the data are accurately presented, counter narratives are included so that all the “voices” from the data are represented. As a qualitative researcher, my purpose is not to gain consistent results, as situations cannot be exactly replicated in qualitative research. Instead, the aim is to capture and represent the responses from the participants elicited “at a specific time, place, and within a specific interpersonal context” (Finlay, 2007, p. 4).

4.5.3. The research journal

I used a research journal to document my ideas and thoughts throughout the process of the research. ‘Journaling’ was an integral part of my research process because it allowed me to elaborate on the various research decisions and assumptions made and it also provided an avenue for reflection on my relationship with the participants I interviewed and my place in the research, thus being a more reflexive researcher. Patton (2002) notes that jotting down analytical insights during the process of research is important as “repressing [them] may mean losing them forever, for there [is] no guarantee that they [will] return” (quoted in Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 123). The journal writing process was a very useful exercise as it aided in interpreting and getting a clear understanding of life in the garrison. It was of utmost importance that the information garnered was not misconstrued or misrepresented; therefore, my approach to interviewing as well as my interview questions were reflected upon and revisited throughout the process of my fieldwork.

4.5.4. Credibility and authenticity

Golafshani (2003) highlights that the key distinction between the methods used to evaluate quantitative and qualitative research is that qualitative research measures are based on the idea of trustworthiness, which is not quantifiable, and “an established confidence in the findings” (p. 602). Therefore, the use of quantitative conceptualizations of “reliability” and “validity” are unsuitable for evaluating qualitative research because it “may create the impression that qualitative research is not academically rigorous” (Horsburgh, 2002, p. 307). Finlay (2007) posits that a body of research should be “evaluated on its own terms” (p. 20). That said, if the aim of the research is to be “objective” and systematic, “then the researcher needs to demonstrate how this rigour was operationalized” (Finlay, 2007, p. 20). On the other hand, if the researcher’s purpose is to persuade, then the work has to demonstrate authenticity and credibility (Finlay, 2007). Qualitative research is often geared towards giving “voice” to an issue or concern. Therefore, the onus is on the researcher to ensure that these “voices” are truthfully represented and the ideas and words expressed are not misconstrued. The use of participants’ responses in support of claims made during the analysis process adds to the authenticity of the research, as the participant’s response serves as evidence for the inference. It is important to include not only those cases that are in agreement with a theme, as incorporating counter narratives makes for a more credible research. Engaging in reflexivity acknowledges the impact and influence that one has on the research; therefore, all research decisions should be critically assessed and evaluated.

4.6. Summary

The interpretation of the current data is based on a number of sources: findings from previous research, my personal understanding of the experiences of individuals living in or working in the Jamaican garrison, and input from personal communication with persons who interface with garrison communities, which all help to control for biases about the Jamaican garrison experience and increases the likelihood that my exploratory study can be trusted. The following chapter is a discussion of my findings, which includes the findings of previous research done on the garrison and its defining characteristics.

Chapter 5. Results & Discussion

This chapter is an analysis of narratives on life in the garrison. In line with the main purpose of the study, which is to explore the experiences of garrison community members in August Town, the results from the study were interpreted and analyzed based on two key areas: the setting/environment (the garrison construct), and the people (the human resources and/or relationships that maintain and sustain the garrison's existence). After generating sixteen (16) categories of responses, the major inductive themes present in the study are the characteristics of the garrison, the don and his role, and the creation and maintenance of gangs in garrison communities. From the study, information pertaining to the garrison's genesis and sustaining forces is uncovered; in addition, insight into the undertakings of the dons and gang members within the community is garnered.

The findings from the study support the tenets of various criminological theories; however, because of its community-level analysis, the themes from social disorganization theory were the most persuasive. The themes in this chapter include those that are directly related to the study's research questions, and also themes that naturally emerged from the data. This chapter begins with the participant's definition of the garrison, which includes characteristics of its environment. The don's role in the community is then discussed. Creation of gangs is addressed next, where there is a look at their contribution to the often hostile environment in the garrison. The chapter closes with a discussion on the garrison's evolution.

5.1. The Garrison: An informal system at work

In this section, there is a look at the garrison and its defining characteristics. During the interview, participants provided their definitions of a garrison community and the features that make the community different from other communities in Jamaica. The

findings suggest that the garrisons of yesteryear differ from the ones of today. The violence that was once politically motivated has transitioned into battles among gangs and gang members with a somewhat political undertone. The illegal gun and drug trades often flourish in the garrison and the violence that occurs is associated with maintaining or taking over a corner or turf.

5.1.1. Defining the garrison

To get insight into the participants' understanding of the garrison construct, they were asked to define the meaning of the term garrison. Rosa notes, *"To me, it just mean a bad community. A suh me look pon it...like poverty. From yuh hear garrison a poverty."* (Translation: *A garrison is a bad community. In my opinion, the term means poverty. A garrison is synonymous with poverty.*) Jesse expresses a similar sentiment by focusing on the type of physical structures present in a garrison community, *"Wow! Garrison? Wha' [what] mi [I] categorize as a garrison is zinc fence and board house²² and...yeah."* However, Martin presents a slightly different take on the meaning of the term garrison. *"For me, it's like a community that just might have to survive by themselves; have their own system of justice and so on. For me, that's a garrison."* All definitions point to a sense of lack that exists in a garrison community, whether this lack relates to members of the community or to the community's resources. A few participants took a critical approach to analyzing the term garrison and what it represents. Stokeley's definition, for the most part, refutes suggestions that the garrison is a physical location:

Marsha-Ann: So what does the garrison mean? What is the garrison?

Stokeley: The garrison is not the zinc fence...

Marsha-Ann: Not the physical layout of the land? What is it?

Stokeley: The garrison is a state of mind. I think it is a mindset; it is a culture; a pattern of behaviour. The garrison is almost defined by politics sometimes, poverty sometimes, social class. It is defined by...yeah, the definitions for it or how it is defined varies...dependent on when it is politics time or it is not politics time, so yeah.

Stokeley's response points to the fluidity of the term garrison, which is in contrast to its definition in the past. In its creation, the garrison was solely known as a community that

²² Jesse is referring to the substandard housing that exists in the garrison.

benefitted from political clientelism on account of the urban blight that existed coupled with limited economic opportunities. Tyrone echoes Stokeley's response: "A *garrison*, you know, for me...my definition of *garrison* is that *garrison* is really a state of mind. Yeah...for me a *garrison* is a state of mind [...]." More definitively, Trevor takes a political stance, "A *garrison* is a particular community that has allegiance to a particular party and will do as the don says. The members of a *garrison* cannot do as they like, they work under directions."

Angela's definition, on the other hand, questions August Town's classification as a *garrison*:

Well, that is up for argument because...I refer to them as inner city communities but not every inner city community is a garrison. So like Tivoli now, that was fully "garrisonised." Where a community is so protected where not even the police can go in at will and have to get permission; that is what I call a garrison. I don't know how to define August Town, 'cause I go to some ghetto areas and trust me, August Town nuh [does not] know how to behave like an inner city. Maybe it is because of the University's influence. I think it is where the community is located. These are the areas that do not allow free access to the security forces and it is heavily policed by the inhabitants.

In his response, Terrel provides a comprehensive view of the *garrison* and its undertakings:

A garrison is in a sense a community where certain social infrastructures are lacking and where the rule of law is not adhered to. As I said before, it is a twofold definition because there are inner cities that are not garrisons but they lack certain infrastructure but they tend to follow the rule of law. A garrison now is a community where the social infrastructures are lacking and the rule of law is not adhered to. The garrison is a community where the don is the order of the day and the people sometimes find that the police and the law are their enemies and they are politically aligned.

Importantly, some of the participants who took a critical approach to defining the *garrison* construct had some form of post-secondary level education and may have been exposed to discourse on the *garrison*. Stokeley's response highlights that the definition of the term *garrison* is both time-specific and context-specific. Unlike the *garrison* of the past, the *garrison* of today is not simply a site where the underclass of the Jamaican

society fights to maintain their political alignment in order to receive “handouts” from the state’s largesse. Similar to previous research (Harriott, 2003; Charles & Beckford, 2012), the garrison has evolved into a community that seems more loyal to the dons than the politicians who represent the Jamaican government. The findings suggest that however it is defined, the garrison today is not the same as it was in the past; further, not all garrisons are the same.

5.1.2. “Two Jamaicas”

Life in the garrison differs from that of other communities, especially communities in suburban Jamaica. There are two systems at play as it relates to the administration of justice – one for the elite (the rich, middle to upper class) and another for the underclass. A garrison community member is always assumed to be guilty and the treatment is often hostile in nature.

Stokeley: As it pertains to the justice system, I have to side with the view of Edward Seaga a past Prime Minister who made a statement some time ago that there are two “Jamaicas.” There is the upper class Jamaica and the lower class Jamaica and justice would have been served according to what class you are from. And as such, you would find someone from the upper class having been charged for a crime [who] would not have been [hand]cuffed, they would have been spoken to in different tones as opposed to someone from the lower strata, there would be more aggressive tones, the body language would have been different. They would be kicked, boxed and the most physically abused. [...]

Malcolm: Malcolm: Mi have people a de US and dem inna one betta position dan me. [...] And if me ask my sister fi sen a Nike Air fi mi, when de police come and see me inna my clean clothes and shoes, a step dem a go step up pon it because me nuh supposed to have dem tings deh kaah me a ghetto yute. When dem go uptown and see de Azan inna dem nice clothes, dem nuh treat dem suh. Dem stereotype we. Nuff a de big crime a gwaan up a Cherry Gardens and Beverly Hills. Dem sey wi dunce and we illiterate but half de tings wey dem people do we naah do....we naah do certain tings.

Translation: I have relatives living in the US and they are in a better position than me. [...] And if I ask my sister to send a pair of Nike Airs for me, when the police do their patrols and see me in “clean” clothes

and shoes, they step on it²³ because I am from the ghetto and I should not have those things. When they patrol uptown and see Azan²⁴ in nice clothes, they do not treat them this way; they stereotype us. A lot of the big crimes take place in Cherry Gardens and Beverly Hills²⁵. They say that we are dunce and illiterate but half of the things that these people²⁶ do, we will not do. We will not do certain things.

This targeted policing could very well be a stereotypical response on the part of law enforcement. The general view in Jamaica is that those living in the garrison do not possess the wherewithal to procure “nice things”. If they do possess them, it is by ill-gotten means. Because the drug and gun trades are the means of acquiring wealth for some individuals living in these areas, all persons from the garrison are stereotyped as such. Corretta also expresses this idea in making a comparison with suburban communities.

[...] If your back is against the wall, your neighbour is there. In upscale communities, if your back is against the wall, your neighbour is not there. I think a lot of people blame...I'm not sure if blame is the right word. They have to understand garrison life to appreciate it. For example, a lot of persons will see persons in the garrison with an expensive brand shoes and the initial reaction is if they can buy that, then why they can't do this. When in truth and in fact, because of how things are in the garrison, friends or family of yours are overseas, so they send stuff. They send [...] expensive shoes. They always wonder how people in the ghetto have such fabulous hairstyles. What they don't know is that these people circulate the hair. So I wear it and since we live like sisters, when I take it out you come and borrow my hair. Not only dat [that], everybody in the ghetto can do hair. So I sit on the roadside and you do my hair and I do your hair; there is no cost. So a lot of times I think that the good thing is that people in the ghetto have yuh [your] back.

Angela shares a similar sentiment based on her lived experience. Usually, persons living in the garrison find it hard to leave because they lack the financial resources to do so. Angela found the means to leave the community temporarily but for

²³ Literally stepping on their shoes to get them dirty as a sign of disrespect. This sends the message that their attire cannot mask who they are – criminals.

²⁴ The Azan family is one of the wealthiest families in Jamaica. Malcolm is referring to what they represent – wealth and privilege.

²⁵ These are two popular suburban communities in Jamaica.

²⁶ Malcolm is referring to those living in suburban communities.

reasons, which she did not share, she is back with her family in August Town. Her views on the administration of justice are a comparison of the experiences in both worlds.

There are [sic] no justice...in bold caps...in "Bounty language."²⁷ It doesn't exist. There cannot be justice when me and you [you and I]...because we polarize, eh nuh [you know]. You are a brown girl with curly hair. Me [I am] is a black inner city girl with 'locks [dreadlocks] pon [on] my head. Why de [the] two a [of] we [us] fi [should] run de [the] same red light and de [the] police only stop me? Dem [they] not [don't] even see me, just stop me because of mi [my] 'locks [dreadlocks]. You can say, oh I'm late for my friend's party and yuh [you] gone tru [through]. Me now, dem [they] waan [want to] see all my mother birth certificate. When dem [they] come to my house in Mona²⁸, dem [they] call me miss and mam [madam]. When dem [they] dealing with the people in the inner city is pure bwoy [boy] and gyal²⁹[girl].

Justice is geographic. It depends on where you are. Jamaica is predominated by three factors: race, class and colour and it is not by chance that the lighter set of people are [sic] at the higher part of the food chain. Yes, you have dark-skinned people but according to their class. It nuh [not] nice fi [for] a [sic] inner city dark-skinned bwoy³⁰ [boy] when police stop him. I often sey [say] to my nephew and brother, nuh bodda [don't] wear the black shirt with de whole heap a [a lot of] monster dem [monsters]. Wear the polo shirt dem [shirts]. Cause dem [they] will stereotype you and put you in a group and police will shoot you without asking questions. [...] Is a kind of schizophrenia that we have to live in where yuh [you] have to change your personality. Where at home you are one thing...different language...different dress and outside is a different creature altogether. Yuh [you] have to talk different, behave different out there. Is like you are deprived of certain blessings if yuh [you] don't behave a certain way or act a certain way. And yuh will walk into a store and still inna [in] 2013 nobody will pay yuh attention if yuh don't behave a certain way. [...] A lot of these things are stereotypes and I wonder what kind of training our police officers get...yeah...and if these stereotypes are perpetuated.

Communities in Jamaica are socially stratified. The fact that someone comes from the garrison often serves as a self-fulfilling prophecy because limited access to the

²⁷ Her reference is to a popular Jamaican Dancehall artiste, Bounty Killa. His lyrical gimmick includes intentional misuse of grammar.

²⁸ This is reference to a suburban community in Upper St. Andrew (Uptown).

²⁹ The words bwoy and gyal are used to belittle the recipient.

³⁰ Not being used pejoratively in this case.

resources of the wider society may result in resorting to informal means of surviving. The residents are deemed to be prone to crime and are often the usual suspects of criminal activity. Dr. Garnett Roper (personal interview) states that, in seeking jobs, the residents sometimes refrain from using their domicile's address. Stating the address of a garrison on a job application may prejudice their chances of even landing an interview, as the stigmatization also affects their ability to earn an income. Angela's concern with the training of police officers is valid because one of the participants from the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) admits that they have to respond differently based on the community in which they operate. Tyrone's response highlights the nature of the relationship between the police and members of garrison communities, which segues to the next theme.

Inna de garrison now, it different...inna de garrison mi a go tell yuh straight up sey you cyaah go sey "good morning, sir, I am here to search your place." It naah go work. You might get gunshot, they might throw things on you, and they might stone you and so forth. When you go Uptown now, you can say good morning and I am so-and-so I need to come inside and they will let you een. But yuh cyaah go inna de garrison suh. When yuh a leave out fi go a inna de garrison, yuh have to g inna one different state of mind. I think people "adopt" to their environment where they are. Because when you uptown, yuh behave like yuh uptown, when yuh inna de garrison, yuh a go behave like yuh inna de garrison...you haffi go kick off one door and know sey yuh a go buy dem back a door. But most a de time a de saaf police always get injured inna de garrison. If yuh go een saaf, yuh a go get damaged. Yuh nuh waan get damaged; it much cheaper yuh kick off a door. When you knock a door and yuh hear gunfire, mi naah sey yuh fi go een and brutalize people and so forth but most of the time a dat dem used to and if yuh try change dat now, yuh a go put de security force inna danger. Suh yuh haffi have hard-fighting cops and then you have the softer side of the cops dem where after de hard fighting cops dem come een now, you get de softer ones dem to do damage control. [...] So inna de garrison...for me growing up inna de garrison and working inna de garrison it's...going in there as a police it's just kill or be killed.

Translation: In the garrison it is different. You cannot say, "Good morning, sir, I am here to search your place." It is not going to work; you might be shot. They might throw things at you; they might stone you. When you visit Uptown, you can say, "Good morning, I am so-and-so, and I need to come inside and they will let you in. But you cannot go into the garrison in that manner. When you visit the garrison, you have to go with a different state of mind. You have to kick off a door because most of the time a "soft" police gets injured in the garrison. If you go in "soft," you will be hurt. I am not saying that

you should brutalize people. Most of the time this is what they are used to and if you try to change that now, you are going to put the security forces in danger. So for me, growing in the garrison and working in the garrison, it is kill or be killed.

5.1.3. The community and the police

In general, the community members' relationships with the security forces in the August Town community seem to be a work in progress. There is a longstanding, unwritten community rule that police informers should be killed. Accordingly, the police find it hard to solve murders and other crimes in the community. Most participants note that the relationship has improved over the years. However, some participants express concern about the police officers' undertakings, whether it is because they view them as biased or there is simply no faith in them or the Jamaican system of justice.

Jesse: Alright, the police where I live they are one-sided because at one time dere [there] was a war going on and they deal with only one-side of de [the] community...the other side was not harassed.

Malcolm: As mi tell yuh dem mentality nuh right. If de police a run inna one yaad and CVM a come is top secret, dem run dem. De law nuh supposed to a hide nutten. Most a de time dem go inna one place and sey dem find gun, dem nuh find no gun. A politician can deh ya and sey him doan like you and call two policeman and sey mash dem up. A man did get shot inna Bryce Hill and de police dem deh pon Mona Road and get de call and wey dem do? Come a Hermitage and mash up we ludo board, harass wi and a question wi. Dat time dem get a call sey dem a watch de two man dem who did do de killing. When yuh check it out, de man dem did come from de bottom a August Town...after dem done disrespec' we and a accuse we [...]

Translation: As I told you, their mentality is not right. If the police run into a yard and CVM³¹ is present, they send them away because it is top secret; the law is not supposed to hide anything. Most of the time they carry out raids and say they find guns, this is not usually the case – they did not find any guns³². A politician can request them to kill men in the community and they kill them. A man got shot in Bryce Hill Lane and the police were on Mona Road when they got the call and what did they do? They came to Hermitage and destroyed our ludo

³¹ CVM is a Jamaican news, sports, and entertainment media company. They operate both television and radio stations.

³² This alludes to the police "planting" evidence.

board³³, harassed us, and questioned us. During that time, they got another call stating that other police officers were currently watching the two men who did the killing. At the end of it all, the men who did the killing were from another section of August Town and we were disrespected and accused for something we had no part in.

Stokeley: [...] With the emergence of the Jungle 12 community, people had less faith in the police, because you would hear that the guys from Jungle 12 had a lot of money and had the police in their back pockets. I can't confirm; it was only alleged.

Rosa's perception of police undertakings in the community has been tainted by past interactions. Her son has been a "person of interest" for the police (he is currently awaiting trial) and her home has been raided on account of this.

Marsha-Ann: What is the relationship like with the community members and the police?

Rosa: Let me tell you, it all depends. Because you will have a inspecta down de road who dem always sey him a tek side. If I know something, I would not go down to August Town police station. Reason being, mi a centre of a attraction already...mi have mi source...a police fren wey mi go to but not down deh so.

Translation: It all depends. There is a police officer at the August Town that is always biased. If I have any information, I would not go to that police station. I am the centre of much attention already...but I have a friend who is a police officer, and if I have any information, I would go to him.

The police officers are well aware of the community's perception that they are biased, as an officer expresses this concern and acknowledges the fact that it often affects one's ability to carry out their duties.

Tyrone: [...] Most of the time the police get blame fi sey de police a tek side [that we are taking sides]. And you have to be careful because if you go to one side and lock up a man, the community will demonstrate and sey [say] is not dem start the war. So most of the time the police is just there. The police cyaah [cannot] determine whether fi [to] stop it or not. The police is just there.

Tyrone expresses a bit of frustration with maintaining peace in the community. Oftentimes, when there is a dispute between communities involving a gun battle, there is

³³ Ludo is a board game that is usually played by the guys who sit on the corner.

no guarantee that a resolution will be reached because both sides are always innocent. Corretta, who serves in an administrative position in the JCF and is also a garrison community member, expresses a similar sentiment.

What I can tell you is that the police station in August Town is in a very precarious position because the citizens are always saying that they are for one side. They are always saying that they are for one side. I don't know which side, but I have often heard that. No matter how often they change the person in charge that person is always seen as being on one side, even if the person just come [was recently appointed].

Some garrison residents grew up with the understanding that the police are the enemy and cannot be trusted. They are accustomed to police brutality and have come to expect this as a part of policing. In the community of August Town, however, there seem to be corrective measures in place to bridge the gap in the relationship, as discussed later in this chapter.

5.1.4. The informal justice system: “wi deal wid it wiself” (Translation: we deal with it ourselves)

The lack of faith in the formal system of justice and mistrust in the police has resulted in members of the community exercising their own form of justice.

Marsha-Ann: Did the people in the community trust the police at any point in time?

Jesse: No, as I said, they were one-sided, so no trust.

Marsha-Ann: Well, you had said something about the fact that the don is in control and maintain peace and control. Is this how it was all the time?

Jesse: It always worked that way...never involve the police.

Marsha-Ann: Why not?

Jesse: Just know sey...ahm...we nuh have no [sic] clean police, so if summen happen wi deal wid it wiself, we don't involve the police.

Translation: We know that the police are corrupt, so if something goes wrong, we do not get the police involved. We deal with it ourselves.

It is evident that there are two sets of competing laws at play in the community: norms created by the August Town community (an informal justice system), and the other set of laws from the state – the formal justice system, which the police represent. These two laws often coexist but depending on the situation, the residents will not call the police;

instead, they resort to community norms commonly known as “jungle justice” because this gives them swift action and resolution.

Angela: I think that domestic crimes are handled by the police but for certain justice to be executed some people go to the area leader. When tings [things] like rape and battery happen, people have these things handled in the community. I remember one time the police had to come take some tyres off a man³⁴ because him rape a little girl because those things must not happen.

The offences that are morally reprehensible seem to be handled by the community norms. Women and children are to be protected and offences against these individuals require swift action. The women in the community who are raped often resort to the don, who is responsible for the informal justice system, because going through the formal system is a lengthy process and women are often re-victimized. The same is true for instances where members of rival communities commit crimes in the community. The matter is handled in keeping with community norms.

Marsha-Ann: So when there are periods of conflict in the community, how is justice served? Do people report the matters to the police?

Rosa: Well, it a go automatically be a police case. But what kinda hard...like wid de killing a de guy pon de corna last week, if one a de guys witness who do de killing dem naah go police station go give no statement. Dem a go jungle justice demself and dem a go shoot out dat back and tek care a dat. So all if dem see, de police cyaah come to dem and get no information.

Translation: It is automatically a police case. But what is hard, for example, with the killing of the guy on the corner last week, if one of the guys witness the killing, he is not going to go to the police station and give a statement. They are going carry out jungle justice; they are going to retaliate. So if they saw, the police cannot come to them for information.

In contrast, Corretta does not seem to share this view of the August Town community:

I am not sure that the people in August Town are violent like that, eh nuh [you know]. I don't think that they necessarily believe in what you are alluding to – jungle justice. I don't get that impression from them.

³⁴ This form of torture, “necklacing,” is retention of African culture. The wrongdoer, especially one who harms children, has a ring of tyres filled with gasoline placed around his torso and is set ablaze.

I think in August Town the people know who and who are at war or at odds with and they try to outdo dem one another [each other]...kill one another not really an innocent person. That is my take on it, I could be wrong. But I don't get a lot of innocent people dying in August Town. Usually when you hear a name it is usually somebody...the stories behind that person is that they are actually involved in some criminal activity, in some war, or something like that. But I don't think people in August Town too...too into jungle justice. I don't get that impression either.

Corretta may be misunderstanding the concept of jungle justice. It does not involve hurting innocent people; instead, it focuses on addressing the actions of a perceived wrongdoer. Carrying out jungle justice is a form of retaliation that aids the aggrieved individual. A supervisor at the police station affirms the views of other residents in the study:

Trevor: You find that a dispute will happen in the community and they will come to the police readily but there is a process. [...] You find that when they come to the police and make their initial report, and maybe we will send them to the doctor because they would have to obtain a medical certificate. You find that by the time the case is through processing and ready for court, they will come back and say that they don't want to bother with it. Sometimes there is somebody counselling and telling them not to take this case to the court. So there are a lot of cases that we start that will not end up in the courts because they don't want to go any further with it. [...] Unless it is the case where you as the police go in a home and detect some issue and offer mediation, persons will always come back in most cases and say that "officer I no longer want to deal with this case" because after that long period when heat and anger has simmered, then you find that they will get some counsel from some person or leader in the community and they will come up with some solutions themselves.

Terrel, also a police officer, recounts the following incident:

Alright, what we find is this, some time ago when I came to August Town a gun battle ensued in Jungle 12. One person called and said, "offica, gives us a hour, mek we jus fight da war yah because a nuh fi unnu war dis. I remember having a conversation with some guys in the community of Vietnam and they were complaining about the men in Jungle 12 firing shots on them. So when I enquired about why they never reported it to the police, dem just say bwoy [boy]³⁵ we just wappi back pon dem.

³⁵ Bwoy is used as an interjection – an exclamation of wonder.

Translation: When there was an ensuing gun battle between gangs in the Jungle 12 and Vietnam communities, one person called and said: "officer, just give us an hour to fight this war because it is not your fight." I later had a conversation with some of the guys from the Vietnam community and they complained that the men from Jungle 12 were firing shots at them. When I asked why they did not report the matter to the police, they said, "we just retaliated."

"Jungle justice," which involves taking matters into their own hands, seems to be the way conflicts or disputes are handled in the community. The wrongdoer is not handed over to the police; instead, they are dealt with by the community. When asked to define "jungle justice," Malcolm offers the following explanation:

A man come inna your house and tief and we know a who do it, it nuh mek nuh sense we call de police, we just deal wid it. Him naah go do it again. Wha' dem a go do? Sen' him go jail fi do 25 years? Yeah, him can go a jail fi 25 years but we a go deal wid him first. Rememba sey yuh haffi protect yuh own community, eh nuh. Yuh cyaa wait pon de police. Tivoli Gardens School get rob de odda day, dat could neva gwaan unda Dudus.

Translation: When a man steals from your home and we know who he is, it makes no sense to call the police; we just deal with it. That way he will not do it again. What are they going to do? Send him away for 25 years? For sure, he will get 25 years but we will deal with him first. You have to protect your own community, you know. You cannot wait on the police. Tivoli Gardens High School³⁶ got robbed the other day. That would never happen if "Dudus" was there.

Jungle justice does not suggest that the residents are individually carrying out their form of justice; this is the role of the don. Malcolm's reference to the incident that took place at Tivoli Gardens High School emphasizes that as the don, Christopher "Dudus" Coke was in charge of maintaining order and protecting this community. Now that he is no longer there, things have gone awry. The don serves as protector and maintains the informal justice system. Whenever there is a dispute or a war of sorts, it is not a police matter but a problem for the don, as judge, to resolve according to the laws of the community. The don and his role are discussed later in the chapter.

³⁶ Tivoli Gardens High School is located in the garrison that Christopher Coke controlled.

The question remains, are the police complicit in this matter of “jungle justice?” Oftentimes the police rely on the informal justice system in these communities to aid in their policing. As Trevor notes, in describing “positives” of the garrison, the system keeps the incidence of crime at a minimum.

The only positive I will take from it is that sometimes it keeps the stats down if there is a don in control. Even though from their end it may be illegal, they keep the crime stats low because sometimes if there was not a don to keep a handle on things, because the police can't be everywhere, they manage things. So when there is a community that doesn't have a don have [sic] three murders, if there was a don maybe there would be one. So that is the positive.

The presence of a don may have an illusory effect on the incidence of crime in the community because acts of violence or crime, such as wounding with intent, kidnapping, and sometimes death, have to be committed for the informal justice system to work (Charles & Beckford, 2012). These crimes are unreported and represent a “dark figure”³⁷ of crime in the community; therefore, the community is not really “crime free.” Angela shares how the system operates:

If you do something wrong, judgment is carried out and there was a little prison too where you have to serve your sentence.

Marsha-Ann: Right there in August Town?

Angela: Right there so³⁸. You would be grateful if that happen to you and you get a sentence because I believe that some people become missing and buried, whether from in the community or out of the community. But the rate of finding out these things and proving these things are next to impossible because the people with the information don't live very long, you understand. And when I say people with the information, I am talking about people who are involved and do it. So I might kill somebody and I brag sey [say], you know I did kill da man deh [that man] by the time the police fi find [finds] out, somebody kill me. And worse than that, now that I say police, the police was very integral [involved] in this.

If the police are party to the operations of the informal justice system in the community, it is no wonder the members of the community have no faith in them or the

³⁷ “Dark figure” of crime refers to the unreported or undetected crimes that affect the reliability of official crime statistics (Biderman & Reiss, 1967).

³⁸ She is affirming that this indeed takes place in August Town.

formal system for that matter. In addition to the unreported crimes in the area, what is even of greater concern is there is no guarantee that the right justice is served. Another problem with the informal justice system is, as Charles and Beckford (2012) find in their study, those who maintain the informal justice system, namely the don and his henchmen, are not answerable to the laws that they enforce. There is no accountability on their part. As Terrel notes, *“There are times when the don will take a 13 year-old girl and have sexual relations with her and the mother cannot talk about it.”* The informal laws created by the norms of the community and maintained by the don and his henchmen do not apply to them. In the final analysis, the formal justice system is undermined by the workings of the informal justice system in these communities. There is a breakdown in law and order, which is reinforced by some police officers who encourage the informal system by supporting the dons (whether wittingly or unwittingly) in order to reduce crime.

“See and blind”

Because of the mutual mistrust that exists, the police often find it difficult to get information from members of the community. Not all members of the community use or are in agreement with the informal justice system. Because they are not sure how the information will be handled, residents often refrain from providing information to the police.

Martin: Say for instance a shooting takes place. We are living in a garrison community. Everybody knows we don't sleep. We live on the corna' [corner]. We know what is happening. Now we go to de [the] police and report something. Before you know it, you get killed because de [the] police demselves [themselves] take back this information to the gunmen. So you don't feel safe. So you would have to exercise the see and blind kind a [of] ting [thing].

The police explain the issue of the residents' unwillingness to report matters to them is to avoid being labelled an “informer” because informers are treated with disdain.

Trevor: On a whole, persons would not want the don to see them communicating with us. They will not be telling us anything even if it is just a social exchange they still don't want to be seen with us. They are just afraid to talk to us. They will take our numbers and call us secretly but they will not talk to us openly.

There is also some concern that the police officers themselves may be in league with the criminal elements of the community, so the residents are unwilling to provide information. This may not be the case but the widely held notion by the Jamaican populous that members of the security forces cannot be trusted also affects the relationship. The legacy of mistrust in the police affects those who want to honestly serve and protect. Tyrone notes how the residents' unwillingness to give information poses a challenge in executing his job:

Alright, as a police officer now, it is hard for you to get information in that community. It is hard for you to get confirmation in that community and each time you go in that community, the network is very good [strong]. You wouldn't yield any result and sometimes the person – the area leaders or the dons most of the time have good financial standing, so persons can get corrupt, which you are working with³⁹. They leak information and so forth, so it kinda difficult now fi [to] get anywhere in the garrison. Most of the time you get information is because of a fall out with gang members.

Despite how dismal things may seem in the community, there seems to be some glimmer of hope. The participants highlight the various challenges that exist with their relationship with the security forces; however, they note that things are improving. It may not be at the place that it should be but it is certainly getting better.

Marsha-Ann: So has that changed? Is it that the police have gotten more trustworthy or what?
Martin: A little....a little. There is still a long way to go but a little. I guess people are kind of fed up with the gang wars in my community. The elder people, more so. And ahm, they are kinda moving away from not saying anything. So ahm...they like "private" their numbers and make a call and that's it. But they won't come up front and say. I think technology has moved in a way where you cannot be found.

Stokeley adds that there is a change in the relationship and mentions that the police are able to command a certain amount of respect.

Stokeley: The relationship with the police has changed. It has changed in some aspects but in others it has not. [...] So you would find that

³⁹ Tyrone is referring to fellow police officers being in league with the criminal elements in the community for financial reasons.

the guys on the corner would be more cognizant of the fact that they can't go out of line because the police have a higher hand now than they would have then. [...]

Corretta is of the view that the police have always done their part in ensuring that the residents feel protected.

Corretta: [...] I think for the most part the police often try their best 'cause every now and then you will see them do a walk through and try to get to know the citizens. As a church girl I can tell you that they actually take part in church services every now and then. But you will always find the police presence because as I said there is always something happening in August Town even if it is not on a wide scale. So there is always that presence to prevent a crime from occurring. Hence they always will be in the community. It seems as if they are not there, then there is a major flare up, so to prevent that they always maintain a presence in August Town. I think they get along well apart from the persons who say that they are always one side...don't know which side but I think there is a good relationship.

What seems to account for this improved relationship is the effort made by the police officers. I visited the police station on two occasions and I observed friendly exchanges between the residents and the police officers; in addition, a few of the officers were able to call the residents by their names. Trevor and Terrel note that getting involved in the community aids in improving the relationship with the community members.

Trevor: What we do is that we try to go around and have community meetings, which is what we call "community consultative meetings." We will try to socialize with them, play football with them because we have a police football team here. [...]

Terrel: We have initiated a program in 2008 when community policing was rolled out. That was when August Town was selected as a pilot community. We have initiatives where we have two police officers that we call resident officers who would work with getting to know the people, which would result in us getting more intelligence. Back in the days when we would hear gunshots firing and get a call that there are dead bodies and not be able to get information from people as to what happened. Now we find in the community that with the new relationship with the police and the community, people are calling...people are giving information to the police. Persons come to us to give us information even before things start to happen.

Marsha-Ann: I hear you talking about community policing. Is it that things have drastically changed since you took on this initiative?

Terrel: Yes, man, things have gotten better. People are now coming to the police station. You find people are interacting with police officers now. So it has significantly increased the relationship. [...] In August Town [...] my role is basically to bridge the gap in the relationship between the community and the police. My role is to ensure that people gain confidence in the police as opposed to putting confidence in the dons [...]

Implementing strategies to bridge the gap in the relationship between the police and the residents seem effective. Both the residents and the police acknowledge that the relationship is improving because of this. These measures could also serve as a means of rebuilding the community's relationship with the formal system.

5.1.5. Voting and the electoral process: “Vote because of where mi [I] live”

Jesse and I spent some time together in the same Sunday school class during my childhood. Because of my position as the pastor's daughter there was a certain amount of respect and even reverence from which I benefitted. I decided to interview Jesse because he was connected to a gang and was known to be one of the “shottas” for the Hermitage area. He is no longer engaged in gang activity and I was hoping to get some insight into his experience as a gang member. Unfortunately, Jesse was guarded in his responses and they were often vague. I suspect that there is still that level of respect that he has for me that would not allow him to talk about his previous undertakings. This was my shortest interview as it lasted approximately thirteen (13) minutes. There were moments when I sensed some level of discomfort in providing a response to questions, so I had to move on to the next question. There were also very abrupt and curt responses that served as an indication to move on. For example, when asked about his views on voting the following transpired:

Marsha-Ann: Have you ever voted?

Jesse: Yes.

Marsha-Ann: Have you ever been forced to vote?

Jesse: No.

Marsha-Ann: What were your views on voting when you were growing up?

Jesse: Put it this way, mi [I] vote because of where mi [I] live and grow up.

Despite how off-putting some of his responses were, the response to this question puts quite succinctly what often takes place in the garrison. The franchise that should be guaranteed to every Jamaican is perverted, as the decision is not a personal one. As he notes, your decision to vote is based on where you live. In these communities, your political identity is based on the garrison in which you live. Whichever political party the community is aligned with, that is the party you vote for during an election. Your vote is not an individual decision but decided on a community level. According to Tyrone and Terrel, who currently serve as police officers, this is the reality for some in the garrison of August Town:

Tyrone: Each person have to come out and vote and de [the] don get money. If yuh have 500 persons in de community at the end of the day, you should have 500 votes. What happen now, after election if the person they are campaigning for does not win, they do a house-to-house check and check everybody finga⁴⁰ [finger]. So you have to explain yuhself [explain] why yuh neva [never] vote and there so, all hell break loose. You have to vote one way and sometimes if 400 vote go one way and 1 vote go the other way, they might just suspect you and it might not be you. They burn down yuh house beat you out of de community. [...] It is not democratic. It can't be democratic because you don't have a free speech...you don't have a free speech dere suh [there].

Terrel: [...] Oftentimes they will not seek to ensure that the best person is put in the position. We find that people vote because they are pressured by the don to vote a particular way or they are used to a particular party. [...]

This process eliminates any chance for the opposition party to take hold of the constituency. Failure to comply with or show support for the designated party means forced removal from your place of dwelling, which was highlighted in Tyrone's response. This finding is also noted in Charles' study involving a sample of sixty (60) participants from five (5) different garrison constituencies (including August Town garrison

⁴⁰ To prevent voter fraud, for example, an individual voting more than once, the voter uses his/her fingerprint to select their candidate. The ink used in this process stains the finger and normally remains for days. For members in the garrison, an unstained finger suggests that the individual did not vote, which is unacceptable.

community members) in Jamaica (Charles & Beckford, 2012). The study consisted of participant-observation, focus group discussions, and personal interviews as methods of data collection. Indecision and non-response to the established way of voting in the garrison of August Town do not seem to be an option; however, Malcolm from the community of Hermitage sees this differently:

Marsha-Ann: What is a garrison?

Malcolm: A garrison is a place where there is a one-ruler ting [thing]

Marsha-Ann: So you don't have a one-ruler here?

Malcolm: No. Everybody free can do what dey want and sey what dem feel unlike inna de garrison. Pon Election Day, if is a green community, everybody haffi vote green.

Translation: No. Everybody can do as they want, unlike in the garrison. On Election Day, if it is a green community⁴¹, everybody has to vote green

Marsha-Ann: And you don't have that experience in Hermitage?

Malcolm: No. In Hermitage probably you have a majority sey green sey 'bout 80% but the other 20% come out and vote inna dem orange shirt. Yuh cyaa do dat inna garrison...a dead ting dat.

Translation: No. In Hermitage, you may have a majority that says green, approximately 80%, but the 20% come out and vote in their orange shirt.⁴² You cannot do that in a garrison; you may lose your life.

In his definition of the garrison, Malcolm makes it abundantly clear that the community of Hermitage does not fit this characteristic (electoral manipulation/forced voting) because the people in the community have the opportunity to vote freely. Stokeley shares a similar sentiment about the Hermitage area:

I personally don't think that the persons in Hermitage vote in a particular way because the don insists that they do. You would have people in Hermitage where everybody knows that they are PNP⁴³ in a strong JLP community. So the influence of the dons, while I wouldn't say is not influential, it is not in all cases influential to the masses.

⁴¹ The color green represents the Jamaica Labour Party. "Green community" suggests a community that is politically aligned with the Jamaica Labour Party.

⁴² Orange is the color of choice for the People's National Party. A voter wearing an orange shirt on Election Day is showing his support for the People's National Party.

⁴³ Supporters of the People's National Party (PNP).

It seems as if forced voting may be becoming a thing of the past, Some participants compare the current voting operations in the community with the events of earlier years.

Stokeley: [...] Since the '70s the politics would have made some significant strides in that they end up trying through various organizations and non-government and government organizations to clear it up...to make it less corrupt and to make the politicians more accountable and stuff. But back in the past you would find from my experience that the politics would have been dirty and the politicians would almost be puppeteers to...for the masses. They would sell you the politics as gospel and if you buy into it, then you would vote for them and if you don't buy into it, then you would be seen as...you would be ostracized. And, ahm, the guns, when I was growing up, would have been the order of things...how people decide on the votes. It would be used for intimidation and fear. Fear still exists in the politics today, however, you find that, ahm, people are more informed...

Rosa also notes the following:

Rosa: [...] Probably inna de 80s, yuh know sey like dem a kill out de labourite dem or yuh hear 'bout dat inna dem time deh. Certain politicians will give some man some gun fi go down deh so fi go kill out, yuh nuh. But yuh naah hear it now...it nuh so plenty now.

Translation: Probably in the 80s, you know, when they were killing Jamaica Labourite Party supporters⁴⁴ or you would hear about that then. Certain politicians would give some men guns to go and kill, you know, there is not much talk about that now. It is not so prevalent.

The participants who spoke about forced voting in the community were the police officers. The residents, on the other hand, see this activity as a thing of the past. Charles and Beckford (2012) find that there is still some amount of political alignment in garrison communities, but the violence associated with electoral manipulation exists on a very small scale. This may account for the conflicting responses on this issue. The operation of the garrison has evolved and has morphed into a system where political violence is taken over by gang violence. Coupled with that, since the electoral reform of 1997, which includes numerous non-governmental organizations overseeing the electoral process in

⁴⁴ Rosa's community was considered a People's National Party (PNP) stronghold, so to prevent the persons supporting the opposition party, Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), from voting they would be threatened with violence, or worse, be killed

these communities, there has been a sharp decline in incidents of voter intimidation and the violence associated with non-compliance (Charles & Beckford, 2012).

Election day: Putting your 'X' beside the "head"⁴⁵ or the "bell"⁴⁶

Previous studies (Charles, 2003; Harriott, 2003) indicate that political violence is generally the order of the day in garrison communities and the day of an election is where most of the crime is committed. Participants were asked to describe the environment on an Election Day in the community. This is of great importance because, for as long as I can remember, elections in Jamaica are often rife with bloodletting in these communities, whether it was on account of an individual voting against the established party in the garrison or to prevent people from exercising this right. The general consensus is that things are different today.

Marsha-Ann: What is the community like during an election or a campaigning period?

Martin: In the past it was like you don't wanna [want to] talk politics with anybody. You go out and you try to vote and come back in and hope that you come back in safely. Back then...in the past 10-15 years ago, you get up in the morning, you try to go out and vote early before these guys "arms up" and so on. There was like an exchange of bullets because both parties did it and so on. People got shot, people died and for some reason some people still go out and vote, nonetheless. [...] Now, it is changing. I guess people start to see what politicians are and realize that look, we are just killing our own people and we are not benefitting in no way. We are the ones who are going to prison and we are the ones who are executed at times. We are kinda moving away from that now; so for the past couple of years, I have seen a very normal voting process, you know.

Stokeley: In the 80s, you did not want to go out. You wanted to stay in your house in fear of being shot. Angola was on a hill and the fear was that the men could stay from that side and shoot. Now people are freer to go out and vote.

On an Election Day, for most police officers, it means extra hours of work because there is an expectation of violence or incidences of electoral manipulation.

⁴⁵ Liberty bell represents the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP).

⁴⁶ Hatted head represents the People's National Party (PNP).

Trevor: The environment is always tense. On Election Day the police is always beefed up because there is this expectation of gunfire or ballots being stolen. So the environment is very tense during an election period.

The extra effort put out by the police officers may be yielding good results because, as Terrel notes, there were no visible or reported instances of violence during the last general election in December 2011.

During an election time when I was growing up I would see persons on both sides of the political divide going at it with sticks, stones, guns, and machetes. Here in August Town there was not a single report of political violence. I believe that persons have grown past that. [...]

One resident notes that an Election Day is always a joyous occasion and provides insight into why this may be the case:

Rosa: Excitement, man...People deh up pon de road a chat and have fun. And mek mi tell yuh something, yuh see wen time politics or a election season, no shot naah fyah. Dats why mi tell yuh sey August Town kinda different...everybody woulda up and about. Mi understand sey de politicians woulda give dem a set amount of money and sey cease fyah den.

Translation: Full of excitement...People are on the road talking and having fun. In addition, during an election season there are no shots being fired. It is different in August Town...everybody is up and about. I get to understand that the politicians pay the gunmen to cease the gunfire during that time.

Whether or not it is a joyous occasion for some, one thing is for sure, the community's environment changes during an election. The political violence that is a result of the rival supporters clashing is non-existent. This may be due to a number of factors:

- There is a strong police presence in the community during an election period.
- The move towards electoral reform since 1997
- The clamour for change from the citizens of the area, as Martin notes. Most, if not all the residents, in the August Town community have lost a family member(s) during past political wars.

The participants all agree that things have taken a different turn in the community because they feel free to “talk politics”⁴⁷ with supporters of the opposing party.

Political identity and survival: “Eat today, for tomorrow we may die”

The need for political alignment is a reality for most living in the garrison because it determines whether or not they survive. Charles (2002) notes that lack of skills and the overall poor living conditions of most people in the garrison forces them to align with a political party in order to benefit from the scarce resources of the government. Charles (2002) continues, “These supporters see the patronage benefits as their only or most secure lifeline” (p. 31). This translates into a bitter fight to ensure that the party remains or acquires power. If their party is not in power, their lifeline is disconnected. With the increased level of education, employability, and opportunity for skills training in August Town, this mindset has been changing; however, remnants of this mentality remain.

Angela: I think the mentality of the people needs to change, though, because there was a particular politician who was pushing for education and school building programs in the community. The people were resistive because they wanted things that they could get now. They never saw the bigger picture. The mentality is: eat today for tomorrow we may die. And it is because of this mind-set the politicians were able to exploit the people for so many years.

For years, MPs exploited the needs of people in these communities for their political advantage. There once was a heavy reliance on MPs because of what they promised and may have been able to provide. Over the years, with the reduction in government spending on the area, the residents found other ways to survive – by shifting dependency to the don or making a way out for themselves. Despite the often empty promises, there are still some who depend on this patronage and it still influences the way they vote. Terrel, who was very concerned about those in the community who choose to live this way, had this to say:

Persons within August Town may have become reliant on the politician to take them out of poverty, out of their needs and wants. As a result they become complacent in their own situation not wanting to venture out for themselves....not wanting to tap into their own human

⁴⁷ In other words, they express their political identity.

resources. You find that the politicians are often unable to deliver on their promises. And because they have fed persons a line that says, I will help you, I will deliver you vote for us. Persons become complacent waiting on them to help them and deliver them and it just does not happen. So you will find that when we go on a corner, many young men will say, "nothing naah gwaan [nothing is going on], eh nuh [you know]." And they will get bitter and complain that the politicians are not doing anything. People start to individualize the help they get from politicians and they vote for that party because they depend on it.

One of my participants is a corner member. During our discussion about gangs, I was able to observe evidence of Terrel's concern from Malcolm's response.

Marsha-Ann: Do you have experience with gangs or gang activity?

Malcolm: Mi [I] did deh inna one [was in a] gang a [in] Mobay [Montego Bay]

Marsha-Ann: What was the recruitment process like?

Malcolm: We jus' deh deh pon de corner day in day out and dem just call we a gang. If we deh yah now naah do work and dem see we pon de corner. Because we look a certain way, after a time dem a go call we a gang.

Translation: My friends and I were on the corner on a daily basis and they⁴⁸ just called us a gang. If we are constantly sitting on the corner, unemployed, and due to our appearance, after a while, we are going to be called a gang.

Marsha-Ann: So you just sit down here and dem [they] call you a gang?

Malcolm: Same way suh. At the end of the day, government nuh have nutten fi give wi, eh nuh. At least if wi did live inna de States and naah work, wi coulda go de post office a get a likkle summen a week time. All dem a do a buy new vehicle, new house, and charge wi fi it.

Translation: Exactly. At the end of the day, the government does not have anything to give us, you know. If we were unemployed and living in the US, we could go to the post office and get some money on a weekly basis. All they [politicians] do is buy new vehicles, a new house, and charge us for it.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ In reference to members of the security forces.

⁴⁹ The politicians are there to serve themselves not the people. They live luxurious lives for which taxpayers pay.

The Jamaican political administrations has created a dependency among those who do their bidding and get them in office. In the end, they often cannot deliver on their promises. This dependency seems to be the reality of a few in the community because this is often the attitude of the young men who spend their days on the various corners in August Town.

The link between crime and politics

A key characteristic of the garrison is the nexus between political activity and crime. The politicians of Jamaican society fomented electoral fraud in these communities, which legitimized other illegal activities (such as drug and gun smuggling and extortion) in the community. As noted previously (Chapter 2, *Literature Review*), the 1980 election was significant and pivotal for the Jamaican people. It has since been deemed the “bloodiest election” and demonstrated the negative impact of the garrison. In its embryonic stage, the garrison was created by the construction and provision of irresistible large-scale housing solutions for the residents, in replacement of the decrepit housing that existed in these communities. These housing solutions were used to “barter for electoral votes and political support” (Johnson & Soeters, 2008, p. 174). Johnson & Soeters (2008) note that the method of garnering votes through resource distributions became an ingrained aspect of Jamaica’s political culture, “driven by the systematic and strategic dispersal of state-sponsored largesse (money, contracts, land, and jobs) in a discriminatory and politically partisan fashion within the inner city” (p. 174). It is therefore by no stretch of the imagination that citizens in these communities fought hard to ensure that their benefactor (their party) remained or acquired power. The participants were asked to give their views on the crime and politics nexus and the consensus is that the crime and violence in the community is rarely politically motivated. Some of the participants used the 1980 general election as a reference point.

Rosa: Mi nuh tink it so much of an effect pon de crime now like earlier in the 80s when yuh know sey dem a pay man fi kill man. Mi nuh tink it suh plenty now. Because even in our...I don't think politics have any ting to do wid crime in this community...definitely. If you ask anybody in this community, they will tell you that politics have nothing to do with the crime that is going on. [...] Because even during elections, yuh nuh find nobaddi a kill nobaddi.

Translation: I don't think it [politics] has much effect on crime like earlier in the 80s when you knew that they were paying men to kill people. I don't think politics have anything to do with crime in this community. If you ask anybody in the community, they will tell you that politics has nothing to do with the crime that is going on. Even during elections, you don't find people being killed.

Angela talks about the evolution of this connection:

Well, I know that we have a crime situation and I know that there is crime everywhere in the world; however, the type of crime that we have in Jamaica originally started out of politics – political crime. But eventually that evolved into something that's different...into a...I don't know if I can call it an economic crime, but where people are basically fighting to survive. There are similarities to the political crime situation but it has evolved where they are not necessarily fighting for a party but where they are fighting for spoils even though that was what political systems bartered on – spoils.

This evolution that Angela speaks about is largely because the high incidence of crime is no longer confined to an election period. The pervasive acts of violence that take place these days are rarely politically motivated. The fight is no longer for their exploiters but for their own survival. In addition, as Corretta points out, some MPs are moving away from maintaining a connection with the criminal elements in the community. The politicians no longer want these criminal agents to use the deeds done on their behalf as leverage to plunder the resources of the state nor do they want to be viewed by the Jamaican public as being in league with criminals.

I don't know if there still is but I have heard stories about politicians giving people guns. [...] I am not sure to what extent now because I think even if it is there, it is not as potent or as strong as it was back then because of the type of people now that we have. So the politician know dat [that] if dem try summen [something] these nowadays people going to continue to expect them to give even long after they have served their purposes. I think it is changing but I'm not sure if it is crime and politics anymore. I don't want to sound like everything is good but it sounds like it is outside of politics that is driving the crime. It is the state of the economy. I know is politicians managing the economy but I think it is just the state of the economy – A sense of hopelessness [...]

As noted in the earlier definitions of the garrison, some amount of evolution has taken place. There is no outright incidence of violence to maintain a particular party's

dominance in the community; instead, there is a fight for control over a geographic space by gang members. Unlike Corretta, who is unsure of what is driving the crime rate in the community, Tyrone is convinced that the crime and violence that takes place in August Town is gang-related as opposed to being politically motivated.

Yeah. Ahm...one time. Politics have come a far way now where yuh see where is not politics war. Because persons on either side of the fence link business. So dem nuh do politics war, is business...politics nuh have nutten fi do wid dis now, is just business and a man control a drug turf. 'Cause most of the time when dem have internal gang war a person inna one circle wey a support de part inna war. Dis lane inna war wid dis a lane. [...] Suh most of the time politics no have nutten fi do wid it because most of de time de politicians dem nuh waah de war. Because when dem have de war a more for dem because dem have more funeral. Even recently there is a war in West Kingston and the Member of Parliament come sey a 10 persons him have fi bury. And outta 10 - 20 persons dead in the space of a month, suh dem nuh really waan de war...dem no war de war suh dem naah go preach de war inna de garrison. Dem woulda try more mek peace [...] but as long as you have don, you naah go get rid of it.

Translation: Politics have come a long way where there is no political violence because persons on either side of the political divide are connected via business venture. So they don't engage in political wars...it's based on business...politics has nothing to do with it. It is just business and a man seeking to maintain control of his drug turf because a lot of times there are internal gang wars, this section of the community fighting with another section of the community [...]. Most of the time politics has nothing to do with it because the politicians are not in support of the war. When there is a war, it costs them more because they have to fund the funerals. Recently, there was a war in West Kingston and the Member of Parliament noted that he had 10 persons to bury...10-20 persons in the space of one month. They would prefer to make peace but as long as the don exists, the battle for turf will continue.

The dons of today are very enterprising. The fight among criminal gangs is geared towards maintaining financial viability. In addition, some politicians realize that there is a negative benefit derived from political violence.

5.1.6. Summary

Dr. Garnett Roper (personal interview) notes, "The garrisons are places where everybody votes for one man or one man votes for everybody." The garrison guarantees political outcomes and they become safe seats for a political candidate. With changes in

the Jamaica Electoral Commission, this is no longer a valid strategy of securing votes; however, the garrisons still exist but they marginally play that role. There is still a battle for control over turf in these communities. Charles' (2004) study on the August Town community in 2002 finds that the gang members who are hard-core party supporters fight to maintain control over an area because "a loss of criminal territory means a loss of political territory" (p. 37). Maintaining this territory serves the needs of the political candidate in securing a win and it also ensures that their illegal activities are free from judicial scrutiny, as there is usually a blind eye turned to their illegal undertakings if their political party is in power. Since the cash-strapped state cannot meet their needs, the underclass in the garrison has found a way to bridge the economic gap between themselves and the rich, middle class. The illegal gun and drug trades are the avenues through which wealth is obtained for some in the community, and the fight to maintain control over a "turf" or "corner" is a fight to ensure that their economic lifeline is not disconnected.

5.2. The Don: Provider, protector, and prosecutor

This section explores the don's role and the community's perception of this role. A defining and established characteristic of a garrison is the presence of a central authority or a ruler. Whether the central authority bears the title of don, area-leader, or community leader, most of the participants assert that a central figure does exist in the community; however, the role and operations of this individual have changed over the years. The themes uncovered address the relationship this central authority has with the Members of Parliament and the community and the change that has occurred in these relationships.

5.2.1. Defining the don

The participants were asked to provide a working definition of a don. Most of the responses touch on key characteristics of the person who holds such a position and the various acts that he would have to undertake to maintain it. The following responses provide a more general definition of the don:

Stokeley: A don is a strongman who wields power over his grouping. And he wields the power because he is the most influential of his group or the baddest [sic] in his group or he commands the most respect in his group or he has access to resources.

Corretta: ... a don is one who actually replaces the government and get things done in a speedy manner.

Malcolm: A man who governs a community like how Portia⁵⁰ govern Jamaica. Him [he] mek [makes] sure dat [that] de [the] people dem⁵¹ [people] inna [in] de [the] community safe and protected. Mi [I] can lef [leave] my door open and nobody nuh [doesn't] go in and rob it.

Trevor: The don is a man in the community, the man in charge. He is not an official person but he is the man in charge who calls the shots.

The politicians rely heavily on the actions of the enforcers (dons) during an election season. This was no different in the community of August Town. As in the past, the men used force to keep opposition out and ensure that the allegiance is maintained to the established party.

The don redefined

Even though most of the participants agree that there is a central authority, not all participants agree that this is in the personhood of a don.

Marsha-Ann: Does Hermitage have a don?

*Malcolm: No. We have a community leader. Our community leader go [sic] around and have meeting and try fi [to] keep de peace.
[...]*

The terms “area-leader” and “don” are often used interchangeably in the literature on this topic. According to Rapley (2003), “area-leader” is the euphemistic jargon used while “don” is the ghetto vernacular. However, Johnson & Soeters (2008) point out that the don is often called an area-leader because of his control over a geographic space or area. Taking into account the views of those living in the garrison, a slight distinction seems to exist between the two terms and how they are used in the

⁵⁰ Portia Simpson-Miller is the current Prime Minister of Jamaica and the president of the People's National Party (PNP).

⁵¹ Often used as a means of pluralizing people. It simply means everybody...nobody is excluded.

community. Angela notes that based on experience and what she has learned, *“the area-leader can fall in the category of community leader or go to person whenever anything is happening, while the don is the politically affiliated, centralized figure. He is in control of all Mafioso business...”*

In August Town, the various communities have leaders who engage the community members in development programs, and unlike the position of a don, this person can either be male or female. The don, on the other hand, is the top-man. He has the political connection and is the person the area-leader may go to get approval on any projects they desire to embark on in the community because they are the ones with the resources. Some communities in the area have both a don and an area-leader while others have only an area-leader, as is the case with the Hermitage community. For the most part, the role of the don has been reduced to the role of a community leader or area-leader. The aspect of the don’s undertakings that focuses on garnering political support has been muted and nullified because of the move towards electoral integrity; in addition, participants report that they vote for a political party of their choosing. However, with the current failings of the formal system to adequately meet the economic needs of the people, there is an allegiance that the don seems to possess because of his ability to provide and meet the various needs of the residents. Therefore, this allegiance that most may have to the don may affect the way they exercise their franchise.

5.2.2. The political mercenary

The don’s political alignment is important because it determines whether or not he and his community benefit from the state’s largesse. He is the point of contact and the person through which the political representative accesses the community.

Angela: The don is basically the person in charge of the community and probably have the affiliations with the politician. And when I say have the affiliation with the politician, him nuh [he not] just [only] know [sic] him, him [he] can call upon him and get things done and vice versa...it works both ways. And also the politician will come to his aid. [...]

In the past, the don’s role had more to do with securing a seat for the MP within the often politically volatile inner city communities. Politicians used the needs of the people as

leverage for securing political votes and the don was the enforcer of such a task. As such, the community has to vote for the party that the don supports. How the don develops his political alignment is unclear but the participants spoke to his role in maintaining the community's allegiance to the established party.

Marsha-Ann: I hear you calling the names of two dons in your community – Bitter blood and Zollibuff. What was their role in the community?

Stokeley: Zollibuff was a don in the 70s, he migrated to Canada eventually. His role would have been...he would have been the henchman for the community. So his role would have been to keep out persons who were of the other political side who would want to come and ahm, influence the community...switch or not switch it. So he would stand as that guard who would say that this community is a "labourite" community or the opposite where the community is a PNP community. [...]

Tyrone: A don is the one who...that calls the shots, gives the orders, gets the contracts, order the beatings, order the roadblocks...order the hit on the police that is [sic] doing his job. Eradicating persons that is [sic] causing a threat. That is the person the politician goes to and tell him don't let that other politician come in here. So that person is the don. [...]

Terrel: [...] And even in terms of political benefit the don would be the person a politician comes to or to say well, I want for you to secure the votes for me. So the don ensures by brute force that the community votes for a particular person or else. So you find that the politician themselves sometimes welcome these dons because they ensure that a certain politician gets the votes from a particular area. And as a result the don benefit from an informal contract or some other means provided by a political party.

In the community of August Town, like all other garrisons in Jamaica, a period of unswerving political allegiance was forcefully maintained by the don. In the past, there was one don who was the central authority and was responsible for all the communities in the August Town area. This has now changed in that the criminal elements in the community have decided that it is more feasible for the various communities to carve out their own existence.

Marsha-Ann: So what I hear you saying then is that if there is not a go-to person, a person in charge in an area then anybody can come and take over?

Trevor: Indeed. So you will find that in former days the August Town community would have one don who resides in say Gold Smith Villa

and who will have control over the entire August Town. It has not been so for the past 10 years. There are pockets of communities with their own person in charge. [...]

Control of the community is currently decentralized. Individuals who sought to get “a share of the pie” railroaded the centralized power of the past. Today, dons exist for each community within the August Town area. During my interview with Trevor, he notes the name of the various communities and highlights the various communities that currently have a central figure. He points out that two of the communities’ dons have been killed in gun battles. There are currently individuals vying for these positions but no one has been successful to date. Rosa, who is from one of the communities that Trevor highlights does not have a don, provides some insight into why this is the case:

Yuh see from dat big incident wey gwaan from 2004, nobody nuh waaan tek it up back. After the killing of that don nobody seem to be able to tek control. A lot of people want it, eh nuh, but it naah happen. Is like nobody naah tek nuh chat....nobody naah allow nobody fi come tek ova. In the past, you would have somebody who rise up and tek control because dem can do dat. Now, dat cyaah happen, a history dat. [...]. Inna de past only few man did have gun, so one man coulda control. Nowadays everybody have gun.

Translation: From that incident that took place in 2004 nobody can take over. After the killing of that don, nobody seems to be able to take control. A lot of people want it, you know, but it’s not happening. It is as if nobody wants to be controlled...they don’t want anybody to take over. In the past somebody would rise up and take control because they can do that. Today, that can’t happen; that’s history. [...] In the past, only a few men had guns, so one man could control. Nowadays, everyone has a gun.

Instilling fear and intimidating those around them allows these men to seize control of an area. The man who becomes a don often rises to prominence because of how much he is feared by members of the community. The challenge for those seeking such positions today in August Town is that the residents are publicly resisting rule under a fist of tyranny. Trying to gain respect or control over an area by using brute force only sends these men to an early grave.

Fear and intimidation

Gunst (1995) notes that all Jamaicans know that the politicians, even though they often try to deny it, have armed and paid gunmen in Kingston's inner cities to maintain their rule of these areas. The use of the gun was not the only means of increasing the fear factor. The track record of the individual also determines how much he is feared and respected. Trevor speaks about how a young man is able to acquire the position of a don.

Because of how many men he has killed in the past. How brave he is and how determined...as I said, he may get the position because he was a shotta in his earlier life. He was brave enough to kill so many persons. He may have been a contract killer. So everybody knows of his actions, so there is this fear of him. He is the one that calls the shots. He tells people when to go out and come in...he tells people how to vote and he is the one who will kill if you disobey.

In the formative years of the garrison, the man possessing the gun is the one who maintains power and control. Guns were used to aid the dons in carrying out voter intimidation so that the community maintained its support for the established political party. From the late 1970s to early 1980s, narco-trafficking and the gun trade became viable businesses in the garrison, which made accessing guns an easier task (Gunst, 1995). Rosa notes, *"Inna de past only few man did have gun, so one man coulda control. Nowadays everybody have gun" [Translation: In the past, only a few men had guns, so one man could take control. Today, everybody has a gun]*. The fear and intimidation the man possessing a gun would usually incite is met instead with the barrel of another gun. There were constant gun battles among those who wanted to maintain or seize dominance. The fear and intimidation created by the gun has lost its effectiveness and potency. With increased access to guns, other avenues were required to gain and maintain control.

Angela: The thing is you can't rule people with fear; they will get rid of you quicker. It is almost a type of charisma that you have to have. I think it is the charm that is deceptive, eh nuh [you know]. You have to be charismatic. They have a certain amount of charisma that allows them to get the job done. It is the people outside that don't know better and the media hype that make the bark worse than the bite. If I am a single mother and I get some help from this man, no strings attached. He is not the father but he takes care if the child, what you

think is going to happen? There is going to be some amount of loyalty developed.

Rosa's view on the don's persona expresses the same sentiment.

Marsha-Ann: When you had that one man or person in charge of the community, how did the people feel about that person?

Rosa: To be honest, you would have a set a people who inna it. [...] Wherever dem get dem resource [sic], dem have money fi gi yuh and tings fi help dem tek care a dem. So you will have people who really nuh have it a lean to dem caah me neva did have to do dat. Is one pickney me grow at a time. Me nuh inna dis whole heap a pickney. Maybe if I was in need and have whole heap a pickney and dem tell mi sey ray-ray a gi wey some books and tings fi kids down de road, maybe me woulda did go down de road for summen.

Translation: To be honest, you would have a set of people in it. Wherever they [the dons] get their resources, they have the money to give away things and assist the people. So you will have people who don't have to do that [depend on the don] because I don't do that. I raise one child at a time. I don't believe in having a lot of children. Maybe if I was in need and had a lot of children and they told me that someone was giving away things for children, then maybe I would take it.

Marsha-Ann: So you're saying that it's dependent on how much that you don't have that they would be loyal to this person?

Rosa: Yes, so based upon how dem assist de people in need, den dey would have a certain amount a respect for dem ...yuh woulda tek up'

Translation: Yes, based the assistance they give people, respect is developed. Some will even feel obligated to get involved in criminal activities on behalf of the don.

A mentioned earlier, the students have now become the masters. Meeting basic needs is of vital importance and the dons are cognizant of this fact. They have now taken over the exploitative role the MPs once possessed by being able to make provisions for members of the community without solely depending on the state. The dons have set up a mechanism through the workings of the garrison that allows them to be independent and no longer totally dependent on the power structure – a structure that was rather exploitative. By assisting in meeting the needs of members of their communities, the dons develop an unswerving allegiance from the residents where the residents are willing to violently challenge the Jamaican state on their behalf and protect them (Charles & Beckford, 2012). The connections to the political powers-that-be only

serve as a means of continuing the illicit activities of the dons. Harriott (2011) notes that the situation exists today where the criminally acquired wealth of the don “has penetrated sectors of the formal economy as a party in symbiotic relations with previously legitimate business and independent operations” (p. 1). He further notes that this deep interdependence has resulted in a situation where the leaders of organized crime have become a “force in national [political] party affairs and exercise influence over other public processes,” which includes contracts and resources allocation (p. 11). These men in the community are more involved in the process; their status has been elevated from that of gofers or political mercenaries to decision-makers.

5.2.3. The protector and provider

The community that the don controls is often stricken with poverty and unemployment. The don maintains his position through his ability to have access to resources. In his definition of the don, Stokeley notes that the don is the man who has “access to resources.” He provides the following clarification:

Marsha-Ann: When you say access to resources what are you talking about?

Stokeley: I have heard that if you are a don and you don't have a link with other community dons, then you would have been weak. If you can't call the councillor or the MP or call a man and sey [say] mi [I] need help to fight a war with another community, mi [I] need some man [sic] and some guns, then you are not effective, yuh [you] have no clout. If you can't call a man a farin [overseas⁵²] and tell a man to send down a barrel, you nuh [don't] have no clout.

A member from the JCF provides a similar explanation:

Terrel: In the garrison community sometimes the don is the person that has more connections, more links, and probably more money. In some instances the more guns the badder [sic] the person.

The dons run the community with the wealth they acquire from legitimate businesses, criminal activities and government contracts (via political clientelism). They use these

⁵² Usually the United States of America

resources to contribute to the daily survival of some of the residents through a system of welfare.

Terrel: [...] You find that in these communities the don sometimes operates like a Robin Hood in the sense that they will go out and plunder and they will come and share the spoils among the less fortunate.

Corretta: As I said, for me I don't know if it is because I grew up in the church I can't speak definitively to that but I know normally when you talk about the don, the don actually replaces the government, so to speak. So if children are to go to school then yes, that person will send them but I can't say that I know of any one person in August Town who did that.

Marsha-Ann: So, in the past when you had that one man in control, what role did he play in the community?

Rosa: Well, dat ... to be honest, yuh see dat one wey dem did kill, him did help people fi go back a school and he would give things to people in the community who were in need.

Translation: To be honest, that guy that they killed, he helped with the children going back to school. He would give things to the people in the community who were in need.

Notwithstanding the expressions of the dons in the community being providers, a counter story exists. In noting that his community (Hermitage) does not have a don, Malcolm highlights the differing characteristics between a don and an area-leader, which goes against the provider characteristic of the don:

Marsha-Ann: Does Hermitage have a don?

Malcolm: No. We have a community leader. Our community leader go around and have meeting and try fi keep de peace. A don now when him siddown now, him have four, six, seven man 'roun him wid gun a protec' him. An area leader motivate the community. Right now if dat house deh bun down, den the area-leader 'roun up people fi help. We don't have a don. A don now will keep everything fi himself. Zeeks is a don. When yuh go inna fi him house yuh find 20 million dolla' and de people 'roun him a dead fi hungry. A him a de don....don nuh share.

Translation: No. We have a community leader. Our community leader conducts meetings and tries to maintain peace in the community. A don, on the other hand, has men around him who protect him with a gun. An area leader motivates the community. Right now, if that house is burning down, the area-leader gathers people to help. We don't

have a don. A don will keep everything for himself. Zeeks⁵³ is a don. When you go into his house, you will find a lot of money and the people around him are dying of hunger.⁵⁴ He is a don. A don doesn't share.

Although Malcolm expresses this view, the general consensus is that the dons in the community do share, in a sense. They provide assistance, especially in the form of protection. Very often the community may come under attack by rival gangs or communities and assistance from the police in this regard is often non-existent. Being responsible for the informal justice system, Terrel states that *"the don is a person who not only becomes the leader of a particular gang or the leader of a particular section of the community. The don also becomes the judge, the lawyer, and executioner in most instances. The don is supposed to secure the lives of the people."* The don also ensures that the members of his community do not fall out of line.

Marsha-Ann: And what role did he play? What did he do in his position as a don?

Jesse: Ensure that everything is okay.

Marsha-Ann: Ensure that what is okay?

Jesse: Alright, when I say everything is okay, ahm, ensure that nobody nuh [doesn't] do what dem [they are] not suppose [sic] to do. No rape, no robbery. Nobody nuh [does not] come in and trouble de [the] people in the community. Him shelter us...tek [take] care of us.

As previously mentioned, there are certain codes of conduct that must be followed by all who live in the garrison. Those activities that are *mala in se* in nature, such as rape, are frowned upon and are treated with a zero-tolerance approach. Although there is little to no accountability on the part of the don and his cronies, the don maintains the informal justice system with an iron-fist and the wrongs are meted out with punishment that is decided on by him.

Marsha-Ann: So if somebody goes out of line are there repercussions? What will happen to that person?

Jesse: Well, that person will get beaten [a beating].

⁵³ Zeeks is currently serving a life sentence in the Horizon Adult Remand Centre in Kingston for a double murder.

⁵⁴ During Zeeks' arrest, his dwelling was raided and a large quantity of cash was found.

Getting a beating is putting it mildly because some people lose their lives depending on the type of wrong committed. Garrison justice is swift justice and the don is often relied on more than the police to provide resolutions to conflicts or solution to wrongs committed.

5.2.4. Limitations to the power of the don

In his response to the operations of the police, Malcolm (pseudonym) states, “*A politician can request them to kill men in the community and they kill them.*” This is often the case for the don who falls into a bad relationship with his political representative. Although the don possesses the financial wherewithal to make provisions for members of the community and is not dependent on the MP in this regard, he must ensure that a friendly relationship with the MP exists. It is by maintaining this friendly relationship that the don is allowed to wield his power and control untouched by the law and its enforcers. Quite often, this friendly relationship involves funding a political campaign. In sum, the politicians seems to still exercise some amount of control; however, depending on how influential and revered the don is by the members of his garrison, they will rise in flagrant opposition to government authority in support of him. This was evidenced during Coke’s extradition proceedings.

5.2.5. Summary

The dynamics of the don’s relationship with members of the community as well as with the Member of Parliament (MP) have changed. As it pertains to his relationship with the MP, the illegal undertakings of these men have become their source of income and survival, and they are less beholden to their political representative. The wealth garnered using illegitimate means makes the don less dependent on the MP, who on some occasions may be unable to deliver because of reduced government spending afforded to the community. The system of centralized control in the community is currently being eroded as the members of the gangs that were created to carry out the orders of the don are seeking an anarchic type of control. This has changed the course of events in the August Town garrison because the crime and violence previously motivated by politics are now the result of rival gangs fight for control of a turf or corner. According to Trevor (assigned pseudonym), a garrison community without a don present

is one that is rife with crime and violence. Through an informal justice system, the don is the judge and enforcer of the community's laws. Similar to the change in the dynamics of the garrison construct, the role of the don has evolved. These findings suggest that in the past the don was solely responsible for garnering votes for their political representative and then later benefited from the state's largesse should their political representative and party win the election. Benefits would be in the form of construction contracts or money spent on well-needed social amenities or programs for the community. These men still have a responsibility to ensure that their Member of Parliament is in power; however, it now serves a different purpose. The task of securing votes is not only to "receive scraps from the master's table" but also to ensure that their illegal activities are free from judicial scrutiny. Although the don wields power in the community and seems not to be answerable to the MP, there is a limitation inherent in his role. The don's reign can be short-lived if the political powers have ample reason to limit or remove the power that they possess. However, depending on the level of influence that the don has on the residents of his garrison, they may protect him and at the risk of their own personal safety.

5.3. Gangs: The pack mentality

This category of responses focuses on the gangs and the impact of their activities in the community. There is a constant battle for turf or corner in the community because the places and spaces the gangs in August Town control for their criminal activities are the same places and spaces they control for their political parties. No control over a territory means limited access to government benefit, so the members of the gangs often fight to maintain geographic hegemony (Charles, 2002; 2004). The findings from the study suggest that the crime and violence in the community are often the result of the embittered battle between gangs or members of gangs. The gangs created to carry out the bidding of the don have railroaded the process of centralized power, as they no longer want to be answerable to anyone. The mentality is that they benefit better when they band together as a group because the don usually takes a lion's share of whatever gains received and they too want a bigger piece of the pie. The themes address the gang recruitment process and factors in the garrison that provide a breeding ground for gang involvement.

5.3.1. The first seed - The making of gang members

The formation of gangs that carry out drug and gun smuggling was not always the order of the day in the garrison. As noted earlier, the garrison was initially set up to guarantee votes for a particular party while eliminating the opportunity for another party to gain control of the votes in the area. To ensure that the members of these communities did the bidding of the politicians, they employed enforcers (later known as dons) who they equipped with guns. The don would then recruit a band of soldiers to aid him in carrying out his duties. The don with his band of foot soldiers (criminal gangs/posse) would use force and fear of death to intimidate the members of the various communities. Martin notes:

Oh God...in terms of the gang members, it's like...as I said earlier these guys get things from the politician and that includes guns, money, and they formed their little gang. Ahm...they do crazy stuff in the name of politics and basically they get respect. A lot of these guys that you see on the corner...I guess parenting play a major role...you know, no job, so they hang out on the corners. Depending on the politician...politician give dem [them] money, guns and they fight war.

These gangs were created solely to keep out political challenge with guns and the use of other weapons. The willingness to be involved in gang activity may have little to do with allegiance to a particular party as the young men in the community often form or become a part of these gangs as a means of surviving the harsh environment of the garrison:

Terrel: August Town is a community where there is not a lot of opportunities and one criminologist like yourself said where there is scarcity, that breeds rivalry, and the rivalry turns over into violence. So because there is a lack of opportunity, the scarce commodity is often fought for bitterly. So here it is that we find August Town with men and women lacking opportunity, which results in them being easily swayed. Because of the political affiliation the person who is put up as the don or area-leader, he benefits from government contracts and even just for mere political gain, the persons realized that the dons on the corner flourish and as a result they are able to find youngsters to join with them because they can't make ends meet. Another thing is that they will adapt to the animalistic attitude where they believe that if they hunt in packs it is easier. You find that they are willing to join up with a crew or a gang because it is easier to get by. It is easier to get things as opposed to trodding it alone. That's why the gang thing is so rampant because it is easier.

It was easy for the politicians (through the dons) to get the young men drafted to fight political wars because of the many needs that existed. This exploitative relationship has yielded a breed of men who are ruthless and are willing to give up their family relationships.

Terrel: [...] The diverse ting [thing] about August Town is that most of the persons here are related and there are relatives that are stretched across the community. The alarming thing about August Town is that you find where persons forgo blood relations all in the name of a corner or a crew or a gang. We have found instances where there are two brothers and two opposing gangs that's how much persons are willing to forgo family relations in an effort to belong to or be a part of a particular gang.

The lack of opportunity seems to be a driving force for gang involvement. However, the involvement out of need has now morphed into one fuelled by greed and getting all that one can possibly get. Martin notes, *"I guess money comes in play and drugs and I guess that's why people started doing this for their own selfish reasons."* A counter-narrative suggests that there may be a greater purpose that is served by being a part of a gang in the community. Apart from the economic needs being met, the gang provides a sense of solidarity, especially for those individuals who are from broken homes.

5.3.2. The "Fatherless Crew"

The findings suggest that there are no set criteria for gang recruitment in the area. What seems to be present is, much like the findings in previous studies (Charles, 2004; Gayle, 2008), that the individuals who become gang members (often young men) have a number of things in common.

Marsha-Ann: And I guess you have done all that you could do to prevent him from...

Rosa: Mi sey, mi nuh know. Somebody just call me today...last week when me a go a court...because mi do wha' mi can do; wha' mi cyaah do mi nuh do. Mi nuh pay nuh lawyer fee...nutten. A mi family deal wid it. But wid him, him did have all de support. Him neva have a faada but him neva short a family support...him have de church....him jus' cut fi be bad. A 'tree' pickney him have, eh nuh....'tree' dawta.

Translation: I did all that I could. What I could do, I did; what I couldn't do, I did not do. I have never paid a lawyer's fee because my family takes care of that. He had all the family support. He may not

have had his father around but he was not lacking in family support...the church...He was just born to be bad.

This was an emotionally riveting part of our interview. This is the voice of a mother who did all she could and explored all avenues to save her son from being involved in criminal activity. Rosa constantly spoke about her son during our interview. At the time of the interview, he was in jail awaiting trial for the killing of a “so-called don,” as she puts it. She knows little about the details of the incident but she was informed that her son and his crew were in a bitter battle with another posse in a bid to take over and run a corner. She notes that he may not have been the one who did the killing but he is connected to the incident. A poignant note in this vignette is the absence a father. Rosa notes that for as long as she could remember, her son kept on asking about his father – a question that she found difficult to answer at times because his father did not see the need to be a part of his life. This is pretty much the fate of these young boys in the community of August Town. This finding from the study echoes the findings of Gayle (2008) in his study of multiple murders committed by young men in Jamaica, as most of those gang members had no father figure. A former killer for a gang, from Gayle’s study, highlights that he did not have any father figure around him, and the don of that particular community saw that and used it to his advantage. He notes, “He fed us, clothed us, we got money, jewellery, and any female that we chose” (quoted in Robinson, 2012, p.1). However, the absence of a father does not seem to be the only factor that creates a propensity for gang membership:

Marsha-Ann: Do you have any idea about how the recruitment process works for the gangs?

Trevor: They tend to go after the ones who do not have a father figure or mother, especially those who live with their grandmothers. You know grandma is getting old now and she is not able to have this control over them. So it is the ones that are more loose [looser] and don't have a mother or father in the house. The dons will cause them to gravitate to them and put them under their wings. And they will kinda infiltrate their minds and direct them in the way they want them to go. So, they basically go after the ones who are not protected by a family structure. I will tell you this that in this community there are a lot of boys who are like that.

Interestingly, even though Stokeley’s grandmother raised him, he was insulated from such a fate.

Stokeley: I was never recruited in my own area because my grandmother was respected and the don, Zollibuff, lived beside us and would have respected her...So all the dons after him and even opposing dons knew that you don't touch Mother Brown's grandson. Because seniors were so respected at that time, you find that they would not approach you if you had that kind of family connection. So because I was known as Mother Brown's grandson, I was untouchable and everybody knew that they could not approach me to be a part of a posse or group. As a matter of fact, they would run [discourage] me from those kinds of things.

Most, if not all, Jamaican gangs comprise young men with an absentee father in the home or their life. The findings suggest that the stable and secure family structure may not necessarily be the nuclear family setting (one where both mother and father are present) that dissuades those seeking recruits. This is evident by Stokeley's insulation under the protection of his grandmother. What those recruiting members tend to take advantage of is the dysfunction that may exist within a family setting along with the deposition of the individual. Tyrone notes:

Tyrone: There isn't a recruitment process, eh nuh [you know], but they know who to recruit. They know who to recruit and which house to go to...and they know who fah [whose] parents will say yes or no. Because just as how persons in the garrison will have respect for them, they have respect for certain persons. They leave you to let you go to school. Basically, the decision is yours. And the parental background....They not gwey [going to] just call you like that. For me it was just...I can't say they do it elsewhere but where I grow up, they didn't do that. It was basically your choice...what you want to do.

Terrel, who grew up in a garrison community and currently serves as a police officer, comments on the firm hand of his father who raised him on his own coupled with his personal decision to stay away from gang activity.

Marsha-Ann: So were you ever approached to be a part of a gang?
Terrel: Not necessarily approached because growing up I was always the kind of youngster who took to academia rather than reveling in certain social circles. Persons around me grew to understand that I was different from the other youngsters. As a matter of fact, I did not take pride in being called 'dawg'⁵⁵ and those other names. So persons around me grew to understand that. As a young man in the garrison

⁵⁵ Jamaica slang which means a close acquaintance.

people grew up to know me as the person that people could come to with their schoolwork because I was known to be that kind of person....not into the everyday corner ting [thing] but I would be home. Even the persons who were the so-called shottas of the time grew to understand that I was not really about what they are about. Sometimes the influences can be great but if you portray an attitude that will allow them to know that you are not what they are about, over a period of time they will understand and eventually they will leave you allow.

Then again, my father was the kind of person who would not allow it. Even in my moment of weakness where I would probably want to venture out because I am a sports person; I like to play football. I have even seen where persons got killed over a ball game. My father would be the person to say, "not even football I want you to go and play with those guys."⁵⁶ When they come and call, he would say that he does not want those guys to come and call me at his gate. He knew what was lurking out there because of his experience and he wanted me to have no part in it. Garrison crime and violence was close to me where quite a few of my relatives got involved where it was assumed that I would follow suit. I did not want to be a part of that trend. It is harder to do in certain areas, especially when it comes on to peer pressure. But I was not one of those persons who were for friends, so probably the peer pressure was not great on my part. When I became older I was wise enough to make a conscious decision for myself.

In his response, Terrel notes how involved his father was in his upbringing. A combination of his father's involvement in his life and his commitment to school are what steered him away from gang activity. Despite the stable family environment that existed, two of my participants were still curious:

Stokeley: If I was recruited? I was never recruited in my own area because my grandmother was respected [...] However, as an adolescent, I had friends who had guns and you would usually put a gun in your waist because you want to know how it feels, but to fire a gun or shoot somebody? No.

Unlike Stokeley, Martin, who did not go into great detail, did more than get the "feel" of a gun:

⁵⁶ Here is father is emphasising that he does not want his son to be associated with the criminal elements in the community. His father was of the view that playing a "harmless" game of football could encourage delinquent associations.

Marsha-Ann: So have you had any experiences with gangs or gang activity?

Martin: Oh Lord...why? Not much...not much...ahm, when I was much younger, I used to hang out on the corner and I was exposed...I was exposed. For me, after getting a child actually opened my eyes to see: look you have a responsibility and you have to survive. You have to put yourself in a position to, you know, be able to take care of your child, you know. That was...I think that was my escape...that was my escape. And then my life was changed after that, you know, Christianity had a lot to do with strengthening all of that change. So I was exposed earlier in my teens but eventually, thank God, I am out of that.

Marsha-Ann: So what is the recruitment process like to be a part of these gangs? What is it like? Is it that you have to defend a turf or commit random acts of violence?

Martin: Well, for me it was not even in my community. It was like where I got my schooling and that community actually experienced...it was like a culture of gang war in that community where my school was. So that's where I really got exposed. And you know, after school I tend to visit that particular community and hang out and we never did have like an internal war. It was like my community...it was like politics then, so to speak...a Jamaica Labour Party community against a People's National Party community. So that was how I got exposed.

This all suggests that no one factor drives gang involvement in the community of August Town. As an aside, there is a Jamaican gang called "Fatherless Crew." The gang was originally founded in Rema, a garrison community located in Kingston's inner city. They chose this name because the crew consisted of young men with an absentee father. This gang, like most Jamaican gangs (or internationally known as posses), has an established drug-trafficking base in the United States. It is alleged that they control sections of the South Ozone Park area in Queens, New York⁵⁷. The August Town gangs comprise of young men whose fathers were absent during their childhood years. These young men's fathers may have been killed by criminals, the police or just be absent because they fail to live up to the responsibility. The findings not only speak to the absence of a father but also the absence of a secure family structure creating the atmosphere for gang involvement. In general, the propensity for gang involvement in August Town seems to be a combination of internal and external factors. Like all other

⁵⁷ Information retrieved from United States Department of Justice (USDOJ) website <http://www.justice.gov/usao/nye/pr/2012/2012feb08c.html>.

study on phenomena involving human beings, the reasons for the behaviour(s) have to be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Nonetheless, the study provides evidence that a breakdown in family structure, namely an absentee father, being a contributing factor to gang operations in the community of August Town.

5.3.3. Fitting the pieces together: The garrison, the don, and gangs

The dynamics of the August Town community have changed. A community created to keep out political challenge with the use of force and weapons has evolved into a site where other major crimes and acts of violence are given oversight. The MPs who benefit from the political “thuggery” that takes place in the community have officially or unofficially legitimized the illegal undertakings (gun and drug smuggling) of the various criminal factions in the community, as they choose to be in league with these criminal elements to maintain their political power. The findings from this study echo the findings of other studies in that the garrison serves as an incubator for criminals and criminal activities (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2003; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Charles & Beckford, 2012). On the surface, the violence that occurs in August Town may seem politically motivated; however, the fight to maintain political hegemony by getting rid of those who oppose serves the best interests of the don and his band of men because they benefit by receiving a portion of the scarce resources of the Jamaican state and their illegal activities are free from judicial scrutiny. The latter benefit hampers the ability of the police to effectively carry out their duties, and as such, they have often come to rely on these criminal elements to aid them in carrying out their duties. In the final analysis, as Charles (2002) notes, the failings of the formal system have resulted in the formation of a counter society that subverts all forms of legitimate authority. In general, the findings in this study are similar to other research done on the garrison.

Although the experiences of the study participants are varied, some similarities exist. All participants agree that the crime and violence present in the community is rarely politically motivated. With this in mind, the next and final chapter brings forward some additional thoughts on the garrison as an institution, along with a synthesis of the literature review and an overview of key findings from my interview research.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

Jamaica is world renowned both for its white sandy beaches and development of the reggae music genre and the high incidence of violent crime. The Caribbean in general has been established as the “world leader in violent crime” with Jamaica deemed “the world’s most murderous country” (“Sun, sea and murder”, 2008; Morris, 2010, p. 1). Studies of violent crime in Jamaica conclude that a high percentage of homicides are related to the workings of the garrison phenomenon (Charles, 2004; Harriott, 2003; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Sives 2002). The garrison in its embryonic stage was an inner city community under the tacit rule of a political party and viewed as safe seats for said political party. A term adopted by the late Professor Carl Stone, these communities were so named partly because of their homogenous voting patterns.

The creation of garrisons was “not a natural outgrowth of the [Jamaican] political process” (Kerr, 1997, para. 26); instead, they were nurtured by strategic initiatives to secure or retain political power. With the aid of appointed enforcers or dons, these strategic initiatives included politicians giving oversight to electoral fraud and democratic rights violation, in a bid to maintain and secure political power in these communities. Unwittingly, this has set precedence for other forms of crime. Employing individuals to carry out these acts of illegality to gain office gave “criminal networks considerable leverage over political parties” (Harriott, 2003, p. xii). Essentially, resorting to criminal means to secure a seat in parliament has strengthened and encouraged the growth of criminal enterprises in the garrison and by extension the wider Jamaican society. Thus, the garrison, created to maintain political dominance, has morphed into a criminal territory. The research is of current relevance to better understanding the socio-economic and political contexts within which dons and garrisons have evolved. This chapter addresses strengths and limitations of the study as well as the study’s policy implications and future research needs. Specifically, there is a look at the implications for Jamaican legislation and social policies tied to garrisons.

6.1. The garrison and crime

The garrison is more than a geographic space or an electoral constituency. It has become an institution with its own distinctive culture, an ingrained force in Jamaican society. The garrison, created as a means to serve the needs of those elected as parliamentary representatives, is now the don's domain. Before delving into the garrison's evolution, there has to be a brief look at the history of the partisan nature of Jamaican politics that resulted in a "die-hearted"⁵⁸ allegiance to political parties. Bartered on the exchange of votes for political patronage, the garrison in its formation was a space created in inner city areas in Kingston to house the supporters of a political party. Rival party members were forced out of these spaces or they willingly relocated to be with like-minded voters. However, according to Sives (2003) before the creation of these "politically packed,' housing schemes" there was evidence of a strong sense of political identity among the population in Kingston that was not based on the receipt of political spoils (p. 59).

Intuitively, this may in large part be due to how the two major political parties in Jamaica were formed. Both political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), were the offshoots of trade union movements in the late 1930s. The farm workers across the island demanded better wages and working conditions and two political orators, Norman Manley and Alexander Bustamante, who became leaders of the PNP and JLP respectively, championed this cause. No doubt, being advocates of the working class and securing worker representation in the colonial state of Britain created some allegiances among the people to these men and/or the organisations/parties they represented. Coupled with that, the working class population then was barely literate and those seeking to gain political mileage exploited this to their advantage by delivering emotionally driven speeches advocating the needs of the workers geared towards inciting their support. Consequently, "loyalties to political parties [during that time] need to be seen as a complex set of relationships" (Sives, 2003, p. 59), rather than simply based on receiving political spoils. Nevertheless, the patron-clientelist relationship that began during the move towards industrialization in the Caribbean in the

⁵⁸ A Jamaican colloquial expression that means unswerving loyalty to a political party.

1940s bolstered the existence of the garrison and set in motion dependence on political patronage by most in the inner city.

Political clientelism is “the distribution of selective benefits to individuals or clearly defined groups in exchange for political support” (Hopkin, 2006, p. 2). Hopkin (2006) describes clientelism as a “pattern of unequal, hierarchical exchange” (p. 2) because an imbalance of power remains, in that the patron (in this case the politician) has control over resources that the client often needs. The sharing of political spoils to loyal supporters created and nurtured a partisan political culture. The housing of political supporters was a useful strategy in the inner communities of Kingston because the living conditions were often inadequate. The move towards industrialization in the late 1940s reduced the need for farmhands in rural areas as machines were replacing people. Small town rural dwellers, dependent on working agricultural lands for survival, flocked to Kingston in search of employment. Some migrated to the city in search of a better standard of living but failed miserably because they had difficulty acquiring suitable employment. This forced most individuals to live in places where they paid little to no rent, with substandard living amenities. Notably, the rural dwellers of Jamaica quite often relocated to urban areas because of the perceived opportunity to better themselves, especially during periods of economic turmoil. The recession of the 1970s, for example, resulted in another major spate of urbanization. Consequently, the rapid increases in the population of Kingston were not matched with improvements to the physical structures and availability of economic opportunities, which led to the creation of tenement housing and self-made infrastructures (Levy, 2009). These areas became the “slums” or “ghettos” of Kingston.

A legacy of colonization is a socio-spatial divide based on race, class and skin colour (Jaffe, 2012b). The darker-hued Jamaicans, who were previously the plantation field hands, were often confined to places with poor living conditions. As the population in Kingston’s inner cities grew from internal migration, this socially excluded group of citizens were not too concerned about voting because the workings of main stream Jamaican society, which political process represented, did not seem to benefit them in any way (Levy, 2009). Thus, the political parties provided members of these inner city communities with well-needed social amenities (housing, water, and electricity) in exchange for their vote as a means of inciting their commitment to the voting process.

As a result, clientelism became the hallmark of political activities in these areas, and in a bid to eke out an existence there was often a strong dependence on this process by most in these communities. Political clientelism is not necessarily evil. After all, this is how most democracies in the developing world operate. The concern with this process in Jamaica is the political violence, fraud and infringement of rights with which it has come to be associated.

There are several factors that account for the evolution of the garrison and the role of dons:

- Neoliberal shifts in state policy in the late 1970s to 1980s;
- Weak state capacity;
- The country's debt burden;
- Politically polarized partisan history;
- The boom in the Colombian drug market in the 1980s;
- The gun-for-marijuana trade between Jamaica and Haiti in the 2000s (Blake, 2012; Charles, 1998; 2004; Charles & Beckford, 2012; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Harriott, 2003; 2011).

The first two factors affected the ability of politicians to provide their usual political patronage and the last two factors are major avenues that dons used to gain financial wealth. In large part, the Third World debt crisis of the 1980s saw Jamaica increasingly dependent on multi-lateral lending institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Charles, 2002; Harriott, 2003; Stone, 1986). A major effect of the stipulations of the structural adjustment policies of these institutions was large cuts in public spending (Charles, 2002; Charles & Beckford, 2012; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Harriott, 2003; Stone, 1986). These spending cuts affected a Member of Parliament's ability to effectively execute the political patronage to which his constituents would have become accustomed. As a result, their ability to garner political support was compromised. Further, during this time, the dons were gaining wealth from shipping cocaine from Latin America to North America and Europe.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Colombia was a major exporter of marijuana to the US; however, this began to change in the 1980s, when Colombian traffickers turned to the more lucrative cocaine trafficking market (Bargent, 2003). Because of Jamaica's location

and its easy access to the American states, the dons and their posses became useful to the Colombian drug market in transshipping cocaine (Haughton, 2011). The don and his band of merry men became cocaine traffickers and amassed considerable amount of wealth; therefore, they were less dependent on political patronage. The technology and access that came with globalization in the 1990s helped solidify these alliances, as local drug traffickers gained access to and penetrated international drug markets (Haughton, 2011). The geographic space (the garrison) that these henchmen were appointed to maintain for their political representative became a warehouse for drugs awaiting shipment to its overseas market, namely the US and Britain (Haughton, 2011). The wealth and independence of dons further increased during the guns for drugs trade between Haiti and Jamaica. Haitian refugees fled to Jamaica in 2004 during political unrest after President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was deposed (Davis, 2008). The disbanded Haitian army had a large number of military weapons on the streets and that started the illegal trade to Jamaica – guns for marijuana (Davis, 2008). The abundance of firepower increased the fear factor of the don and the gun violence in Jamaica. Although the laws of the country require that these criminal actions be meted out with severe punishment, the local authorities were unable to do so because Members of Parliament shielded these men. Implicitly, the barter then became maintaining the political territory (securing votes) in exchange for judicial immunity. With their newly acquired wealth, these criminal actors were less beholden to their political patrons (Charles, 2002; Figueroa & Sives, 2003; Harriott, 2003). According to Blake (2013) income from the gun and drug trades along with the state's incapability to provide for and protect residents in these areas aided in the evolution of the don's role. They transitioned from being mere enforcers to providers and protectors for those residing in the garrison. In his research, Blake (2013) identifies three tiers of dons:

- Street level don
- Area don
- Mega-don

The street level don is in control of a section of a community, which is usually an avenue, lane or street in a larger community. He is responsible for protecting the residents of this avenue from members of rival avenues or streets. His means of securing income is usually via extortion and petty robberies (Blake, 2013). He uses

“jungle justice” to ensure that law and order are maintained, which is the use of community norms, rather than the formal justice system to administer justice. This is a function that is carried out by all dons regardless of their area of control. In August Town, the predominant type of don seems to be the street level don. The era of having one don in this community is a thing of the past, as the participants in the study allude to a decentralised form of control. This is manifested in the number of breakaway communities created in order for criminal factions to secure a piece of the turf for themselves. The community has become fragmented and divided because everyone wants to be in control and violence is often the means used to assert this position. The area don, which is the second tier of dons, is in control of several avenues or streets in a garrison or in charge of an entire garrison (Blake, 2013). These dons have deep connections with political parties and have both legitimate and illegitimate businesses.

The distinguishing characteristics between the area don and mega-don is that the mega-don is in control of several different garrisons, has the financial wherewithal to provide a system of social welfare for his residents and has international alliances in the drug and gun trades (Blake, 2013). Christopher Coke, for example, was a mega-don prior to his incarceration. He had a construction company that was his legitimate business and he also trafficked guns and drugs, all of which aided him in providing social welfare for the residents of his Tivoli Gardens community. This made Tivoli Gardens somewhat of a state within the state of Jamaica because Coke was able to make all the provisions for the residents in his community. He only relied on state authorities to overlook his criminal undertakings, which prevented any local judicial prosecution. Securing and maintaining the political seat for his MP guaranteed Coke’s protection. Thus, the type of don that is in control determines the level of criminal activities undertaken by residents in the garrison. Suffice it to say, as the findings from the current research study indicate, the garrisons and dons of today are not the same as yesteryear. These terms are fluid and vary based on the inner city community being analyzed.

6.1.1. Legitimizing criminality

In a nutshell, social and economic processes directly influence the electoral process in these garrison communities and the continued existence of these

communities in the Jamaican society is due to strategic activities carried out by politicians in league with criminal elements (Henry-Lee, 2005). The garrison has become an established site for the intersection of crime and politics and a place where illegal activities are protected (Harriott, 2003; Sives, 2002). The “elite-mass criminality” that takes place within the construct of the garrison is an organized criminality that brings the rich and the poor together in a well-established accord (Harriott, 2003). The elite and the masses are both united in the cause of securing a win for their political party but they benefit differently. The elite stakeholders (politicians) win control of the “throne” and the state’s largesse, while the masses in these inner cities who fought (often violently) to secure their party’s win benefit from the provision of well-needed social amenities such as improved housing, and consistent electricity and water supplies. For the poor and socially disadvantaged securing a win for their party is their cultural style – their way of life. In a society that is socially stratified, for the poor a party win is “their road to power and social opportunity and is therefore deserving of total commitment and great sacrifices in defending its interest” (Stone, 1986, p. 51). In the final analysis, the implication of this organized criminality is that there is an alliance with criminal networks that serves to normalize the criminal undertakings of the don and his gang members. The actions carried out by the enforcers (the dons) of these communities on behalf of the politicians to secure votes are illegal and criminal in every respect, giving them considerable leverage in other criminal undertakings.

6.1.2. The informal system of the garrison

The garrison represents a counter society because it subverts most, if not all, the operations of the formal system (Charles, 2002). Because of the marginalization experienced by members of these communities as it pertains to social, economic and justice concerns, some residents of the garrison have chosen the don to make provisions to aid them in eking out an existence, especially in the area of administering justice. The police are known for extra-judicial killings and the fact that they cannot be trusted by members in these communities “consolidates the rule of the don” and the use of the informal justice system that is based on community norms (Johnson, 2005, p. 587). The role of the don is further solidified by persistent facilitation of gang activity by some politicians. As an aside, despite the government’s public condemnation of crime

and violence and official support of violence reduction strategies, the continued oversight given to gang activities in these communities acts as a hindrance to violence reduction efforts (Leslie, 2010). These dons have their own agendas and quite often do not truly represent the residents or the state for that matter. They maintain a system of welfare and are responsible for meting out punishment via an informal justice system. Quite often, the community norms that govern this justice system do not seem to apply to them, as their infractions go unpunished, for example, having sexual relations with a minor. I conclude that there has not been a switch in allegiance. The members of the community who are dependent on the informal services in the garrison still show allegiance to political parties via the MP who serves as its representative. What has changed is the reason or purpose for this allegiance. The dependence on state patronage is not the only means through which the don-led community is able to survive, as the dons have gained wealth via drug trafficking, gun smuggling, extortion, and other illegal activities. The members of these communities no longer see the MP as their source of support. The don has taken over this role and as such they vote to ensure that the don maintains his criminal territory. The don is able to provide in ways that the MP cannot; however, there is a limit to the don's ability to provide welfare. If the don and his band of men are not able to maintain the political territory and guarantee a win for their party, they cannot maintain their criminal territory (Charles, 2004). The don needs to maintain the power of the party in order to receive judicial immunity (thus maintaining his criminal territory), so the relationship of interdependence still exists but serves a different purpose.

6.1.3. Reinstating state power

The state in this regard is the Weberian definition, which includes the government and its various agencies. Entrenched efforts are required to meet the needs of these people in order to restore state control of these communities. From the current study, there seems to be a need for impartial parliamentary representation, as the partisan political practice has resulted in crime and violence of epic proportions, which serves to further exploit and marginalize these communities. The Kerr Report (1997) points out that the political and social arrangements in these communities have ensured the residents' protection, housing and employment. However, for the most part, this

employment is usually short-term and insufficient to break the cycle of poverty. The solution is very clear. Instead of providing short-term solutions, which is often the thrust of the patron-clientelist relationship, skills training, opportunities for jobs and education are long-term solutions that would rid the system of dependent clients (Gray, 2004). The fact that these options have not been adequately explored suggests that there may be a desire to maintain the inequities that currently exist in the system.

Christopher Coke's extradition to the United States in 2010 and later incarceration in 2012 saw the fall of the archetypal don (or mega-don) and the breakdown of the garrison prototype – Tivoli Gardens. Has this reality effected any change in the economy of the garrison? The shakedown of Coke's kingdom in Tivoli Gardens, Jamaica sent shockwaves throughout the networks of the garrison. Things have not been the same, as there was some amount of fear among gang members because they realize what their fate could be if they do assume such a coveted position. While some were vying for the position of don, others were bewildered and greatly concerned about what will happen next. I believe that this was the perfect time for the government officials to seize hold of these communities. The Jamaican government must reassert its authority in the garrisons by effectively and efficiently providing the services that are informally provided by the dons. Charles & Beckford (2012) highlight that the use of the formal justice system by some members of Western Kingston since the incarceration of dons Donald "Zeeks" Phipps and Christopher "Dudus" Coke reveals that these residents respect the formal justice system and are willing to work with the Jamaican government. I believe that the use of the informal system is due to the systemic failures of the Jamaican government. The trust of the people has to be regained in order for the country to move forward. This trust can only be regained by "cleaning house." The ties between politicians and criminal elements in these communities *must* be severed. Before expanding on these points, a brief review of the merits and shortcomings of this thesis project is presented.

6.2. Strengths and limitations

A major strength of this study is its account of individual experiences of life in the garrison. No two persons see and experience the world in the same way and the

responses from the participants manifest just that. This research was exploratory, allowing for inductive themes to emerge from the data rather than using an approach with a pre-determined framework, which would have restricted what was uncovered. Further, the exploratory nature of the research provided the avenue for an in-depth look at and understanding of the garrison environment and its impact on the lives of its residents. This research approach was apt for this topic since there are few comprehensive studies of the garrison institution and there is a need to break ground in order to understand the dynamics of garrison life and links to the wider society and to developments in the global economy.

A limitation of this study is the sample size, which may affect transferability of the findings. There are currently 12 garrison electoral constituencies, Jamaica and the August Town community represents one. The transferability of the findings may be further affected by the differences that exist among garrison communities. Unlike the operation of the dons of the Italian mob or the leaders of the Mexican cartels that is structured, the dons across Jamaica do not possess uniformed characteristics because the criminal enterprises of the dons are loosely organized and there exists a broad spectrum of garrison community types (Blake, 2011; Figueroa & Sives, 2002; Johnson & Soeters, 2008). The key characteristic of a garrison is: “any individual/group that seeks to oppose, raise opposition to or organise against the locally dominant party would be in physical danger [...]” (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, pp. 85-6). In its extreme form the garrison “exhibit[s] an element of extraterritoriality; they are states within a state [i]n that the Jamaican state has no authority or power there, except in as far as its forces are able to invade in the form of police and military raids” (Figueroa & Sives, 2002, p. 85). The Tivoli Gardens community exhibited this extraterritoriality as the community was under the tight control of Christopher Coke. For the most part, the social, political, and economic options of the residents in August Town are loosely controlled. They vote for a political party of their choosing and they are not coerced to vote against their wishes. There is no major provision of a system of welfare by the don(s) in the community. Some residents are assisted if they choose to seek help but the provision is not to the magnitude of that in Coke’s previous garrison. However, some elements of the informal justice system exist where the actions of wrongdoers are dealt within the community instead of through the state’s justice system. Although there is a move away from voter intimidation, there

are still some garrisons that are under strong control of a don and they have to do their bidding. In August Town, the power that the don wields seems to be restricted to those who choose to be affected by it.

Research that hinges on self-reports has to deal with social desirability bias concerns. There is often the tendency by participants to downplay activities that may be viewed as socially undesirable. This research was no different, as my master status – as some people would see it - as a pastor's daughter may have affected the level of interaction I had with some of the participants. According to Becker (1963) a master status is a position that is central to the identity of the individual that it overshadows all other statuses and serves as a primary identification of an individual. It refers to the quality of a person that dominates how one is viewed or treated by others. Although, for the most part, the participants displayed a great amount of comfort during our interviews and spoke freely about the actions of others, there were often occasions of unwillingness to share instances of personal actions that may have been deemed illegal or criminal from a pastor's daughter's perspective.

6.3. Policy recommendations and future research needs

The current study focused on crime that occurs through the workings of the garrison because this informal system contributes greatly to Jamaica's violent crime. The crime problem in the Jamaican society is multi-faceted and deeply rooted; therefore, the solutions put forward have to be multi-faceted. According to Harriott (2003), the traditional crime prevention methods of the past have not been successful because there is no in-depth analysis of the crime problem in Jamaica. The research was a move away from survey-based inquiries and other quantitative data gathering methods by taking into account the experiences of individuals living in a community that is viewed as a site for criminal activities. Community policing may offer an important alternative to security forces' more repressive approaches to crime control. It allows them to have casual exchanges with the residents and sets the atmosphere for increased dialogue. The participants in the study express concern with the level of crime and violence that exists in the community and the wider Jamaican society, and some are doing what they can to aid in reducing it. In the community of August Town, there seems to be an improvement

in the relationship between the security forces and the residents. This is in large part due to the community policing that the police officers engage in – reduced use of the repressive approaches to crime control, such as taking an accusatory stance when dealing with members of these communities, which the police officers are usually known to do. Both the residents and the police officers attest to various relationship-building activities, for example, engaging in community sporting activities, doing presentations at the schools in the community, or having monthly meetings with residents of the community, that take place in the community have engendered a reliance on the security forces to handle their justice concerns. One of the police officers highlighted that since the introduction of community policing in 2008, there has been a change in most of the residents' attitudes towards them. In addition, since they have been called upon more by the residents of the community, there has been a decrease in the incidence of crime in the area.

Community policing strategies are not new to Jamaica, as the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) has been utilizing these strategies since 1996.⁵⁹ With the US Agency for International Development (USAID) supporting the development of community policing and other inner city development initiatives to ameliorate the incidence of crime in these communities since 2002.⁶⁰ Community policing seems to be the way to go as it relates to restoring or gaining the trust of residents in the police, in these communities. And by extension this could also serve as a means of rebuilding these communities' relationship with the formal system. In so doing, it will create more reliance on the police and the members of these communities would not have to resort to the dons, which would also reduce the occurrence of violent crimes. A 2008 assessment of various community policing initiatives indicates that these strategies do bridge the gap between the residents and the police; however, more work may need to be done to sustain these relationships. Quite often, there is no continuity as the funding needed to maintain these programs is inaccessible, which is one of the major challenges present in any properly researched crime abatement strategy. Community-based policing is one of the many initiatives the Jamaican government has employed to aid in

⁵⁹ Information retrieved from: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADT846.pdf

⁶⁰ Information retrieved from: http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADT846.pdf

curbing the high rates of homicide. It is evident that they have heard and are acting upon the cries of the people. However, any reductions in crime and violence will come to naught if the linkages among politicians, organized crime, and gangs are not severely eroded. Therefore, any policy put forward to ameliorate crime and violence associated with the garrison has to first address these linkages. In addition, garrisons in general possess elements of subversion to state authority. Future research could examine the state of affairs in the extreme form of “garrisonisation,” namely, the Tivoli Gardens community, especially in the wake of Coke’s incarceration.

This research contributes to the body of knowledge on garrison-induced crime and violence in Jamaica and incorporates a criminological theoretical perspective, namely the theory of social disorganization to analyze the findings. The findings of this research echo findings of research done by political scientists, sociologists and economists who have studied the phenomenon. Since it is evident that there is an understanding of the local context of crime, future research can look at the regional dimension of the problem. With the advent of globalisation, the borders of nations have become more porous and there is usually a regional context to any problem faced by a country in that it may be a concern that is faced by other nations within the same geographic space. In this regard, a comparative analysis would provide an avenue to gain a different understanding of the problem of crime in this context. The *favelas* of Brazil have a similar history to the Jamaican garrison. These *favelas* stem from unequal distribution of wealth in Brazil. There have been many attempts by the Brazilian government to remove these communities and their impact on the society. A study incorporating an analysis of the Brazilian context and the various strategies employed to ameliorate the impact of these communities could possibly aid in providing insight into the way forward for the Jamaican society.

6.3.1. Closing remarks: A moment of reflection

While I was putting my final thoughts for this manuscript together, a Jamaican artiste was in the throes of displaying her talent in a US-based singing competition. After the final sing-off, only persons living in the US were eligible to cast votes. The outpouring of support and solicitation of votes on her behalf via social media from Jamaica and the diaspora was tremendous and unimaginable. Those who resided outside the US found

ways to cast their votes and show their support using various technological platforms. In the end, our ambassador was declared the winner. She was not only declared the winner because of her incredible talent and winsome personality, but because she amassed the majority of votes. This was a very telling experience to observe and I was reminded of our determination as Jamaicans and how united in an effort we become when it matters. This says to me if we as a nation come together to deal with the issues of crime it can happen. Margaret Mead once said, “Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it is the only thing that ever has.” There is a kernel of truth in this quote. And to further quote Meade, “all social change [do] come from the passion of individuals.” Too often we are unconcerned about the high rates of crime because it does not immediately affect us. Anything we want to do as a people we can. Despite how things are in the Jamaican society, things can change. In keeping with the country’s *Vision2030* tagline, with unity and organization we can transform Jamaica and make it a better place – the place of choice to live, work, raise families and do business.

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Appendix A

Participant Informed Consent Form (Garrison Community Members)

The Simon Fraser University Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

This consent form, a copy of which is made available to you, is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask the investigator.

Please take the time to read this carefully and understand the information contained.

RESEARCH TITLE: Crime, Politics, and Garrison Communities in Jamaica

ETHICS APPLICATION NUMBER: 2013s0242

INVESTIGATOR: Marsha-Ann Scott, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University

██████████, ██████████

SENIOR SUPERVISOR: Dr. Brian Burtch, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University

██████████, ██████████

Purpose of the Study:

I am a Master of Arts student in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. I am conducting a research as a part of the requirements for my degree. I am working closely with my senior supervisor, Dr. Brian Burtch, who will be a contact person for this project. I would like to know if you would be willing to take part in a research study on the experiences of garrison community members in Jamaica. The main purpose of this study is to uncover and understand the operations of garrison communities and get insight into the experiences of the community members. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you are a garrison community member.

Procedure:

Your participation in this study will involve an interview for 45-60 minutes. The interview will be conducted at a place and time of your convenience. This interview will provide an opportunity for you to help us better understand life in the garrison. With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped to preserve the spoken word and to ensure that the information you provide is recorded accurately. During the interview, notes will be taken to elucidate any ambiguities and also as a form of backup should the audiotape malfunction.

Potential Risks & Benefits:

The study may not benefit you personally but it will provide you with an opportunity to share your experiences as a garrison community member. You can expect the probability and magnitude of possible harms incurred by participating in the research to be no greater than those encountered in the aspects of your everyday life that relate to the research topic.

Confidentiality & Dissemination:

All information you provide will be strictly confidential, and your name will not appear on any documentation. Instead, any documents pertaining to the interview session will bear a fictitious name, which means that you will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. The audiotape (until its transcription) and notes from the interview will be kept in a secured and locked cabinet in my home. The audiotape recording will be destroyed, after its transcription, by being recorded over with ambient noises to ensure its proper deletion. The transcriptions will *only* be kept on a USB flash drive that will be password-protected and stored in a locked cabinet in my home when not in use. The transcriptions and notes from the interview will be kept for an additional 3 years or until 2016 should I wish to expand the research study, at the end of which time, all data will be destroyed – electronic files will be deleted and paper files shredded. During this 3-year retention period, all the documents will bear the fictitious name that you have been assigned. There is a possibility that the findings from this study will be published in a journal or presented at a conference. This journal submission or conference presentation will also use the pseudonym that you have been assigned. If you wish to obtain the results of this study, please contact the investigator or senior supervisor stated above.

Voluntary Participation & Statement about Compensation:

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your participation at any time during the study. In addition, if you decide to be a part of the study, you may also refuse to answer any question(s) that may be asked during the interview. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable to the project as we seek an understanding of the experiences of individuals living in garrison communities.

Complaints:

This research is being conducted under the permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is the health, safety, and psychological wellbeing of participants. Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, the responsibility of researchers, or have questions or concerns about the research or researcher, please contact Dr. Dina Shafey, Associate Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at [REDACTED] or phone [REDACTED]. The file number for reference is 2013s0242

Acceptance of this Form:

Your acceptance of this form indicates that you 1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2)

agree to participate as a research participant and have the interview audio-recorded. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigator or Simon Fraser University from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

NAME (please print): _____ DATE: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

Appendix B.

Participant Informed Consent Form (Members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF))

The Simon Fraser University Research Ethics Board has approved this research study.

This consent form, a copy of which is made available to you, is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask the investigator.

Please take the time to read this carefully and understand the information contained.

RESEARCH TITLE: Crime, Politics, and Garrison Communities in Jamaica

ETHICS APPLICATION NUMBER: 2013s0242

INVESTIGATOR: Marsha-Ann Scott, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University

[REDACTED], [REDACTED]

SENIOR SUPERVISOR: Dr. Brian Burtch, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University

[REDACTED], [REDACTED]

Purpose of the Study:

I am a Master of Arts student in the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University. I am conducting a research as a part of the requirements for my degree. I am working closely with my senior supervisor, Dr. Brian Burtch, who will be a contact person for this project. I would like to know if you would be willing to take part in a research study on the experiences of garrison community members in Jamaica. The main purpose of this study is to uncover and understand the operations of garrison communities and get insight into the experiences of police officers who interact/interface with these communities while carrying out their duties. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you a member of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF).

Procedure:

Your participation in this study will involve an interview for 45-60 minutes. The interview will be conducted at a place and time of your convenience. This interview will provide an opportunity for you to help us better understand life in the garrison and the experiences of police officers during their interaction with these communities. With your permission, the interview will be audiotaped to preserve the spoken word and to ensure that the information you provide is recorded accurately. During the interview, notes will be taken

to elucidate any ambiguities and also as a form of backup should the audiotape malfunction.

Potential Risks & Benefits:

The study may not benefit you personally but it will provide you with an opportunity to share your experiences as a police officer in your dealings with garrison communities. You can expect the probability and magnitude of possible harms incurred by participating in the research to be no greater than those encountered in the aspects of your everyday life that relate to the research topic.

Confidentiality & Dissemination:

All information you provide will be strictly confidential, and your name will not appear on any documentation. Instead, any documents pertaining to the interview session will bear a fictitious name, which means that you will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. The audiotape (until its transcription) and notes from the interview will be kept in a secured and locked cabinet in my home. The audiotape recording will be destroyed, after its transcription, by being recorded over with ambient noises to ensure its proper deletion. The transcriptions will *only* be kept on a USB flash drive that will be password-protected and stored in a locked cabinet in my home when not in use. The transcriptions and notes from the interview will be kept for an additional 3 years or until 2016 should I wish to expand the research study, at the end of which time, all data will be destroyed – electronic files will be deleted and paper files shredded. During this 3-year retention period, all the documents will bear the fictitious name that you have been assigned. There is a possibility that the findings from this study will be published in a journal or presented at a conference. This journal submission or conference presentation will also use the pseudonym that you have been assigned. If you wish to obtain the results of this study, please contact the investigator or senior supervisor.

Voluntary Participation & Statement about Compensation:

Your participation is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your participation at any time during the study. In addition, should you decide to be a part of the study, you may also refuse to answer any question(s) that may be asked during the interview. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable to the project as we seek an understanding of police officers' experiences with garrison communities.

Complaints:

This research is being conducted under the permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is the health, safety, and psychological wellbeing of participants. Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, the responsibility of researchers, or have questions or concerns about the research or researcher, please contact Dr. Dina Shafey, Associate Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at [REDACTED] or phone [REDACTED]. The file number for reference is 2013s0242.

Acceptance of this Form:

Your acceptance of this form indicates that you 1) understand to your satisfaction the information provided to you about your participation in this research project, and 2) agree to participate as a research participant and have the interview recorded. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigator or Simon Fraser University from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from this research project at any time. You should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

NAME (please print): _____ DATE: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

Appendix C

Study Details: Approved Ethics Application

Crime, Politics, and Garrison Communities in Jamaica

Principal Investigator: Marsha-Ann Scott

Senior Supervisor: Dr. Brian Burtch

Simon Fraser University

School of Criminology

Department Director: Dr. Robert M. Gordon

General Study Details

This exploratory, qualitative study seeks to examine the interconnectedness of crime and politics in garrison communities in Jamaica. The Jamaican crime problem has attracted much international media attention. For many, the question remains: how can a country with a population of approximately 2.9 million people have one of the highest murder rates in the world? This research focuses on the incidence of crime that occurs through the workings of the garrison phenomenon. Created by the political administration to garner support from the marginalized and socially excluded groupings in the inner city, the garrison has morphed into a counter society that subverts all forms of legitimate authority. In addition, the garrison's evolution contributes to the high incidence of violence and Jamaica's connection with the international drug trade. Protected and led by dons who were originally appointed to carry out the dictates of the politicians, these men now possess full control of the garrison and have an unswerving allegiance from the members of these communities.

In 2011, Jamaica's murder rate was 42.1 per 100,000 Jamaicans (JamStats, 2012). This is a significant drop from the 58 per 100,000 Jamaicans in 2005 that led to the country being dubbed the murder capital of the world, but even so, violent crimes seem to be a never-ending problem for the Jamaican society, especially those that take place through the workings of garrison communities (Harriott, 2007). It behooves the political administration to work at a solution because tourism is Jamaica's number one income generator and an established reputation of being a high-crime destination may undermine the tourism industry (Harriott, 2003). Harriott (2003) argues that the high rate of crime may be attributed to an inadequate analysis of the crime problem (p. xvii). A major drawback to crime abatement in Jamaica is the generally held view by government officials that in-depth research is a waste of money. In addition, there is a strong dependency on external consultants who oftentimes have their own ideological "baggage" associated with the way things operate in their countries, leading to prejudices and preconceived notions about Jamaica and Jamaicans (Harriott, 2003, p.

xviii). Although these consultants bring wider experiences, they have no knowledge of the local situation and little time to learn about it. As a consequence, the solutions put forward rarely provide a proper fix to the problem because they are often band-aid approaches or short-term strategies. In addition, the crime problem in Jamaica is multi-faceted and as a consequence the response to the problem may require a combination of measures (Harriott, 2003). The solutions of yester-year – for example, increased law enforcement – cannot be assumed to be the solution to the problem today. In essence, before solutions can be put forward, an in-depth analysis of the problem has to be done.

Goals of the Study

Since the workings of the garrison contribute greatly to the crime problem, adequate time has to be spent understanding its historical roots, evolution, and its sustaining forces. There has been a change of guard as the dons are less beholden to the politicians and are now in control (Charles, 2012). To this end, the research study will be guided by the following questions:

- How have the “middlemen” become the “top-men?”
- What has caused the switch in allegiance?
- How have the dons been able to gain this much power in these communities?
- Is the allegiance to these dons purely for economic survival?
- How do the dons maintain the allegiance of the members of these communities?
- What are limitations to the power of dons?

The dons seem to be adept in meeting the various needs of these residents of today. Why is this so? I believe the failings of the formal system, especially in the area of maintaining law and order, has created this counter society – a don-led society that gives the people a measure of protection and security. With this research, I intend to explore this notion.

Study Participants – Who are the participants?

The study will consist of approximately 10 participants who reside in Jamaica. The participants will be garrison community members and members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) who interface with garrison communities during their daily undertakings – six (6) garrison community members and four (4) Jamaica Constabulary Force members. All the participants will 19 years or older.

How will participants be recruited?

The sample of participants will be purposively and conveniently selected. The sample of garrison community members will be taken from an inner city community with which I am familiar and have a good rapport. To date, three garrison community members, who were a part of my father’s previous pastorate in August Town, St. Andrew, have agreed to participate. The remaining participants (3) will be acquired using

a snowball technique, which is described as the use of an initial participant to identify other individuals who may be interested in participating in the study (Atkinson & Flint, 2004). In line with the policy of SFU's Research Ethics Board, before making contact with individuals who are sought using the snowball technique, the participants will make contact with the suggested individual to determine if they would be interested in being a part of the study. Contact with the suggested party may be made in two ways. My contact information will be given to the participant for the individual to make contact with me if they are interested in being a part of the study. Or, the participant will make contact with the individual to affirm the release of their information and approval for me to contact them to discuss being a part of the study. It should be noted that approval from the garrison leader is not required for these individuals' participation because the garrison is an informal grouping. The name "garrison," in the Jamaican context, is ascribed to an inner city whose members may be seen as socially excluded from the formal society.

I have a contact person in the JCF who serves in an administrative position. She has agreed and committed to referring members of the force who may be interested in participating in the study. The members of the JCF are private individuals who are sharing experiences about their daily undertakings. However, I will seek their consent by noting in the consent form that I may seek information about JCF to which approval of their participation from the JCF was not sought.

What will the participants be required to do?

Participants will be required to respond to a set of open-ended questions in an in-person or Skype interview, which will last approximately 45-60 minutes. Conducting Skype interviews was an initial means of data collection. Because of the ramifications associated with acquiring consent from the participants using this medium and the inability to guarantee and maintain confidentiality of the identities of my participants, all the interviews will be conducted face-to-face. The questions will primarily be aimed at getting the participants to discuss what it has been like living in or interfacing with a garrison community. It is to be noted that participants will in no way be obligated to respond to questions that they find uncomfortable; their participation will be purely voluntary. That said, the participants may refuse to continue their participation at any time during the study. They will also have the option of choosing a location that is most suitable to them while at the same time a venue that is comfortable and conducive to carrying out interviews.

What are the risks and benefits of participation?

The purpose of the current research is to garner details on the experiences of the participants and their views on the Jamaican society, which will serve as a means of advancing the knowledge of the garrison way of life rather than bringing harm to the welfare of the participant. Further, based on the aims of the research and the questions that will serve as a part of the discussion, the study is minimal risk in that "the probability and magnitude of possible harms implied by participation in the research is no greater than those encountered by [the] participants in those aspects of their everyday life that relate to the research" topic (TCPS2). While sharing their experiences, participants may provide information that may be of a sensitive nature that could implicate key players

(whether a politician or a don), provide names of said individuals, or recount some painful/hurtful experiences. To safeguard against these related risks, it will be pointed out that the participants do not have to divulge information that they perceive may put them at risk (whether or not this perceived risk is an actual risk). Further, if they do feel the need to share this information, I will insist on the use of a pseudonym.

Methodology

The purpose of the study is to understand the participants' experiences, thus a big chunk of this understanding comes from the meanings that they apply to their experiences. The qualitative interview seeks to describe the meanings of central themes in the life world of the participants (Rubin, 2005, p. 4). Rubin (2005) adds that interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experience, which allows the interviewer to pursue in-depth information around a topic (Rubin, 2005, p. 5). As such, the qualitative interview is quite fitting for this study.

Data Collection

The interviews will be semi-structured in order to create room to ask further questions on matters pertaining to the research that may arise that were not a part of the interview schedule. With the permission of the participants, all the interviews will be audio-recorded to preserve the spoken word. In addition, notes will be made during these interviews in order to capture the non-verbal responses to some of the questions that may aid in understanding and interpreting the participants' responses. These recordings will then be transcribed, from which I will look for themes and patterns.

Data Storage and Confidentiality

Any information resulting from this research study will be kept strictly confidential, and the participant's name will not appear on any documentation. Instead, any documents pertaining to the interview session will bear a fictitious name, which means they will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. The audiotape (until its transcription) and notes from the interview will be kept in a secured and locked cabinet in my home. The audiotape recordings will be transcribed into Word documents at which time the audiotapes will be recorded over with ambient noises to ensure its proper deletion. The transcriptions will be stored electronically *only* on a USB flash drive that will be password-protected and printed copies of the transcribed interviews, along with the handwritten notes taken during the interview, will be stored in a locked cabinet in my home when not in use. At the end of the study the transcriptions (both USB flash drive stored files and printed files), notes taken during the interviews, and any field notes will be kept for an additional 3 years or until 2016 should I wish to expand the research study. At the end of 2016, all data will be destroyed – USB flash drive files will be deleted and paper files shredded. To maintain confidentiality, during this 3-year retention period, all the documents will bear the pseudonyms that the participants have been assigned and the USB flash driven, field notes, and printed transcriptions will be secured and stored in a locked cabinet in my home.

Data Analysis and Dissemination

Strauss and Corbin (2008) note that during the data collection process that the researcher often engages in open coding, “which is a process that involves breaking data apart and delineating concepts to stand for blocks of raw data” (p. 195). This process allows the researcher to make sense of the data. With the use of the NVivo software, codes will be assigned to the responses (from the transcriptions) that illuminate a concept that is in line with the research objectives, which could later translate into a theme. NVivo software supports qualitative research and allows for the collection, organization, and analysis of content from interviews. In part, these codes will be generated based on the categories of questions that are asked during the interview. There will also be a review of literature on the topic to provide context for my findings to date and to aid in the initial coding process. It is important to note that coding will not be restricted to agreement among responses, as contrasting responses (negative cases) will be included in the findings/analysis in order to ensure that a cross-sectional view of the perceived experiences is captured. Therefore, constant review of the transcriptions and the coded responses will be done to ensure that the decided themes are suitable answers to the main research questions of the study.

Data are being collected as a part of the requirements for the principal investigator’s Master’s of Arts degree in the School of Criminology. Once completed, the results from this study will be shared with the academic community, especially the area of criminology. The participants will be made aware of the possibility of a journal submission or conference presentation. The participants may request the results of this study from the principal investigator or senior supervisor. Contact information for both individuals will be provided to all participants.

The researcher and the research

‘Journaling’ will be an integral part of my research process because it allows me to elaborate on the various research decisions and assumptions made throughout the process. The journal also provides an avenue for reflection on my relationship with the participants whom I study and my place in the research, thus being a more reflexive researcher. It is of utmost importance that the information garnered is not misconstrued or misrepresented, which means that it is important that the information is presented as the participants intended. This further means that my approach to interviewing as well as my interview questions will be reflected upon and revisited throughout the process of my fieldwork.

To the best of my knowledge, there are no Jamaican laws that stipulate that findings from academic research that may possess incriminatory evidence should be handed over to the government upon request. Research has been done (and continues) in the area of garrison politics, with the use of anecdotal information, which would be considered to be of a more sensitive nature than what I will undertake in this study, without any government sanction. Further, the previous studies were done during a more volatile period in these communities. The work of Dr. Christopher Charles, a Jamaican academic and a faculty member at the University of the West Indies, accounts for the crime and violence and fight for political identity that surrounded the General Elections held in 2002 in the garrison community of August Town – a research that incorporated

the “voices” of noted dons. Dr. Charles also continues to conduct research with participants from the Tivoli Gardens garrison – the area that was once controlled by Christopher Coke. Since the imprisonment of Christopher Coke, there seems to be a lull in criminal activities in these communities. Essentially, the risk to the researcher is minimal to nil.

There is no local Ethics Board Review required before I conduct my interviews. Since I am not affiliated with the University of the West Indies and I will not be using the University’s facility to conduct my study, an Ethics Board approval is not mandatory. Contact was made with the University of the West Indies and Dr. Christopher Charles, who has agreed to provide me with academic support during my data gathering process in Jamaica once approval is given, confirmed that this is indeed the case. Dr. Charles is currently a lecturer with the Department of Government at the University of the West Indies. A letter confirming the foregoing will be sent to the ORE as soon as it has been done.

Appendix D

Interview Schedule (Garrison Community Members)

Establishing Rapport

1. What is your current occupation?
2. What jobs have you had in the past?
3. What is your highest level of education? / What is your educational background?
4. Describe your views on the current state of Jamaica as it relates to crime and politics.

Life in the Garrison

5. What was it like growing up in your community?
6. Tell me about your experiences with gangs or gang activity.
7. Who controlled the community?
8. What role did he play?
9. What was that like?
10. What were your views on their role/position then?
11. Has your opinion on their role changed?
12. How has this opinion changed?
13. How did the other members of the community feel about this individual?
14. What does a “garrison” mean to you? /Tell me about your position on the workings of the garrison phenomenon in Jamaica.
15. In your view, who is a “don?”/ What does a “don” do?

Voting and the Electoral Process

16. Have you ever voted?
17. Have you ever been forced to vote? If so, what was that like?
18. What are your views on voting?

19. While growing up, what was your family's attitude towards voting?
20. What were your views on voting while you were transitioning from adolescence to adulthood?
21. Tell me what happens in the community during the election campaigning period?
22. What is the community like on an Election Day?

The Informal Justice System and its Operations

23. Tell me about your views on justice and its execution in Jamaica.
24. Describe the relationship between the community members and the state police.
25. How was justice executed in the community?
26. Tell me about periods of conflict in your community?
27. Describe the source of the conflict?
28. How were these conflict(s) resolved/handled?
29. What role did the state police play?
30. What are your views on how the conflict was handled?
31. Tell me about any act of violence carried out against any member of your community?
32. How did you feel about it?
33. Did the injured party get help from any source? Who was the source of help?

Perceptions of the System

34. What do you view as positive aspects of the garrison?
35. Describe the undertakings of the don that you view as commendable?
36. What are your thoughts on how to break the links between crime and politics?

The Cord that Binds

37. Describe the relationship that the Member of Parliament has/had with the community?
38. What was the relationship like before the 1980 election?
39. What was the relationship like after the 1980 election?

40. Describe the relationship between the don and the Member of Parliament
41. Tell me about the relationship between the don and the community members.
42. What do you think accounts for the community's allegiance to the don?

Appendix E

Interview Schedule (Jamaica Constabulary Force Members)

Establishing Rapport

1. What is your current position in the JCF?
2. What jobs have you had in the past?
3. What is your highest level of education? / What is your educational background?
4. Describe your views on the current state of Jamaica as it relates to crime and politics.

Interactions with Garrison Communities

5. Tell me about your experiences with gangs or gang activity.
6. In your dealings with garrisons, was there a central authority in the community?
7. What role did/does this person play(s)?
8. Did this individual's role affect the performance of your duties? If so, how?
9. What are your views on their role/position?
10. How do the members of the community feel about this individual?
11. What does a "garrison" mean to you? / Tell me about your position on the workings of the garrison phenomenon in Jamaica.
12. In your view, who is a "don"? / What does a "don" do?

Voting and the Electoral Process

13. Have you ever voted?
14. What are your views on voting?
15. Tell me what happens in the garrison during the election campaigning period?
16. What is the garrison like on an Election Day?

The Informal Justice System and its Operations

17. Tell me about your views on Jamaica's justice system.
18. Describe the relationship between garrison community members and the state police.
19. Tell me about periods of conflict in the garrison?
20. Describe the source of the conflict?
21. How are these conflict(s) resolved/handled?
22. What are your views on how the conflict was handled?

Perceptions of the System

23. What do you view as positive aspects of the garrison?
24. Describe the undertakings of the don that you view as commendable?
25. What are your thoughts on how to break the links between crime and politics?

The Cord that Binds

26. Describe the relationship that the Member of Parliament has/had with the garrison?
27. Describe the relationship between the don and the Member of Parliament
28. Tell me about the relationship between the don and the garrison community members.
29. What do you think accounts for the community's allegiance to the don?