ASSESSING THE VULNERABILITY OF WOMEN AND GIRLS IN WESTERN KINGSTON.... A UNDP PROJECT BY WOMEN’S RESOURCE & OUTREACH CENTRE

February 29, 2016
Acknowledgements

The Women’s Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC), acknowledges with thanks, the contribution of leaders and members of the Western Kingston communities who participated in this study. The leaders of public sector agencies, educational institutions and civil society bodies who so willingly responded to our call for information was commendable and we truly appreciate your kind response and practical support.

Without the dedicated commitment to the research process by our team, this work could not have been completed on schedule. We thank Mrs. Pauline Bain, Ms. Joan Grant-Cummings, Ms. Cynthia Humes, Ms. Sassah-Gaye McPherson, Ms. Dorothy Whyte and Mrs. Lorna Lee, WROC Board Chairperson, and Mrs. Christine Senior-Harper for their fulsome support.

The UNDP Team has been very engaged as partners and we register our appreciation for their comments and support.

Linnette Vassell- WROC Team Leader
February 29, 2016.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. 1

List of Tables and Boxes ........................................................................................................ 4

List of Acronyms .................................................................................................................... 5

Executive Summary ................................................................................................................ 6

1) Introduction and Background .......................................................................................... 8

2) Purpose, Methodology and Limitations ........................................................................ 10
   2.1 - Methodology ................................................................................................................ 10
   2.2 - Limitations ................................................................................................................... 12

3) Profile of Western Kingston Communities ..................................................................... 13
   3.1 - Economic and Social Aspects .................................................................................... 13
   Summary Observations ....................................................................................................... 15
   3.2 - Profile of Crime and Violence in the Communities .................................................. 16
   Summary Observations ....................................................................................................... 17

4) Considering Vulnerabilities ............................................................................................. 18

5) Manifestations of Vulnerabilities among Girls and Women of Western Kingston ......... 23
   5.1 - Perspectives on Vulnerability .................................................................................... 23
   The Perspective from Children and Youth ........................................................................ 23
   Young Adults’ Perspectives ................................................................................................. 24
   Adults’ Perspectives ........................................................................................................... 24
   5.2 - Socio-Economic Vulnerability .................................................................................. 25
   5.3 - Socio-Cultural Vulnerability ..................................................................................... 26
   “Poor parenting“/ youth don’t know how to parent/lack of parental control...................... 26
   Teen Pregnancy .................................................................................................................... 26
   Area Stigma and Discrimination ......................................................................................... 29
   Trauma and Insecurity ......................................................................................................... 30
   Gender Based Violence ....................................................................................................... 32
   Issues of ‘Voice’ and ‘Freedom of Movement’ .................................................................. 32
   5.4 - Community Based Organisations ............................................................................. 33
6) Strengthening Resilience for Sustainable Community Development ........................................... 36

6.1 - Understanding ‘Resilience’ ........................................................................................................ 36

Vulnerability to Resilience- Key Requirements ............................................................................... 36

6.2 - Interrogating Current Initiatives ............................................................................................... 37

1. An enabling policy and institutional framework ........................................................................... 37
2. Building Trust ................................................................................................................................ 40
3. Credible and competent mediators .............................................................................................. 41
4. Building public awareness to garner public support ..................................................................... 42
5. Supporting jobs and livelihoods creation ...................................................................................... 42
6. Nurturing Local Organisations ..................................................................................................... 43

Summary Observations ...................................................................................................................... 44

7) Proposals to move from Vulnerability to Resilience .................................................................... 45

Summary Observations ...................................................................................................................... 45

Recommendations ............................................................................................................................. 46

8) Reducing Vulnerabilities, Strengthening Resilience ................................................................... 47

It takes a Village to Raise a Child: Core Principles .......................................................................... 53

Localising the Concept ......................................................................................................................... 53

Appendices .......................................................................................................................................... 55

Appendix 1 - In-depth Interview Listing ............................................................................................ 55
Appendix 2 - Number and Sex of Participants in Focus Group Discussions ........................................ 56
Appendix 3 – Focus Group Discussion Instrument (Pre-Test) ............................................................... 57
Appendix 4 – Focus Group Discussion Instrument (Men, 25 years and older) ....................................... 58
Appendix 5 – In-Depth Interview Instrument (with Agencies) ............................................................... 59
List of Tables and Boxes

Table 1 - Population and Households in Western Kingston ................................................................. 13
Table 2 - Comparative Demographic Profiles of the Five (5) Communities ........................................... 13
Table 3 - Individual Profile of Communities .......................................................................................... 14
Table 4 - Main Offences against Females: 2010 - 2015 ..................................................................... 16
Table 5 - Main Offences against Males: 2010 - 2015 .......................................................................... 17
Table 6 - Total Annual Births to Adolescent Mothers 2007 - 2013 (Jamaica) ....................................... 28

Box 1 - Parents’ Priority Concerns re Girls and Boys .......................................................................... 24
Box 2 - Case Stories from Counselling ................................................................................................. 31
**List of Acronyms**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Community Development Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COE</td>
<td>Commission of Enquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSJP</td>
<td>Citizens Security and Justice Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DLA</td>
<td>Damage and Loss Assessment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRF</td>
<td>Dispute Resolution Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECLAC</td>
<td>Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender based Violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDI</td>
<td>Gender Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOJ</td>
<td>Government of Jamaica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDI</td>
<td>Human Development Index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HDR</td>
<td>Human Development Report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFRC</td>
<td>International Federation of Red Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IHDI</td>
<td>Inequality Adjusted HDI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JCF</td>
<td>Jamaica Constabulary Force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAC</td>
<td>Latin American and the Caribbean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNS</td>
<td>Ministry of National Security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PMI</td>
<td>Peace Management Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDC</td>
<td>Social Development Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOA</td>
<td>Sexual Offences Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNFPA</td>
<td>United Nations Population Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WROC</td>
<td>Women’s Resources and Outreach Centre</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Executive Summary

WROC was engaged as a partner in the social cohesion project to (a). assess the vulnerabilities of women and girls, 14-25 years old in the Western Kingston community in the post 2010 context and identify the proposals and hopes they have for moving forward; (b). identify the extent to which the programmes/projects of other partners address the gender interests of women and girls and to make proposals. Some 196 persons 62 males and 134 females were consulted for the assessment.

The discussion on vulnerabilities has been framed within the human development framework put forward by the UNDP in its 2014 analysis that presents that “vulnerability reflects threats to choices and capabilities. If human development is about widening choices, human vulnerability stems quintessentially from a restriction of the choices critical to human development- health, education, command over material resources and personal security”.¹

Profiles of the five (5) communities of Central Downtown, Denham Town, Fletchers Land, Hannah Town and Tivoli Gardens showed features which cumulatively restrict development options for citizens in Western Kingston and in particular, those of girls and women. For example, most households are headed by females, with Tivoli Gardens at 62.2%, followed by Denham Town and Central Downtown each at 54%, having the highest proportions. Youth unemployment is pervasive with Denham Town (46%), Fletchers Land (40.5%) and Hannah Town (34%) having the highest proportion. This, combined with low levels of skills, crime and violence, high level of sexual abuse, teenage pregnancy and school ‘drop-outs’ frame to a large extent, the vulnerabilities facing girls and women. The involvement in crime and violence of young men including youth on youth violence, low educational achievement also emerged as major aspects of male youth vulnerability.

The 2010 joint police military operation, popularly referred to as ‘the Tivoli incursion’ has induced much trauma and five years after the event, emotional vulnerabilities and resentments have been re-awakened by the Simmons led Commission of Enquiry. That as well as the structure of community life in the context of ‘garrison’ political control, constitute the overarching context in which these vulnerabilities have been deepened. Under these conditions, ‘area stigma’ has persisted and has continued to produce a brake on the potential for development for many community members while inducing shame and defensiveness in the life of women, men, boys and girls.

Despite these challenges, family and community relationships, engagement in varied entrepreneurial activities, continuing efforts to create positive spaces for their engagement, help to sustain the hope of many young women and men, strengthening their determination to overcome the odds.

However, for the wider Western Kingston community, moving from vulnerabilities to resilience, a condition in which “people can exercise their choices safely and freely- including being confident that the opportunities they have today will not be lost tomorrow” requires both individual and collective agency and practical measures at varying levels. A key requirement is that the differential needs of males and females and the power structure that sustain gender discrimination have to be recognised in policies and addressed in the approaches taken and the programmes offered by respective agencies.

The examination of current policy and programmatic initiatives has revealed important and creative responses to felt needs by many partners. There are however pointing, for example, to the need to strengthen attention to gender analysis in policy by including specific gender equality objectives. This will strengthen the generating of sex disaggregated data and drive gender responsive programming, monitoring and evaluation. Further, interventions to reduce vulnerabilities around gender based violence and teenage pregnancy are strategic in building resilience and garnering broad community support in the specific context of Western Kingston.

Crafting and implementing counselling and support interventions specifically targeted to females and to males across the life-cycle is vital.

Four pillars should be laid to form the foundation for building capabilities and resilience among women and girls and families. These are

1. Enhancing capacities to respond to the effects of the 2010 Crisis
2. Expanding Basic Services
3. Promoting Social Inclusion
4. Promoting sustainable livelihoods

Each pillar is supported by and anchors specific areas of focus and related actions, with specific attention to (i)identifying and responding to the implications for women and girls and men and boys of each measure; and (ii) ensuring that the existing gender power relations are addressed towards securing outcomes that advance gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls as human rights.

Areas of focus for specific actions to move from vulnerability to resilience proposed by participants include the following:

- Rebuilding livelihoods
- Community Safety and Security
- Strengthening Local Organisations
- Counselling, Healing and Resocialisation
- Education and Training
- Accessible Justice
- Social Protection Strengthening
- Tackling discrimination in all its manifestations- area stigma, gender, age, disability, etc.
- Promotion of children’s rights
- Strengthening networks across communities
- Finance and credit for local entrepreneurship promotion.

Key entry points are proposed around rebuilding livelihoods and providing community safety and security. In specific terms, job creation and the provision of credit and training for small enterprise development, reducing teen pregnancy, combatting gender based violence and promoting the protection of children 0 to 18 years using the mantra-’it takes a village to raise a child’, are seen as starting points. These it is proposed, will draw on partnership of women and men within and across communities as well as with the wider networks of development partners.
1) Introduction and Background

This report is a presentation of the findings of research commissioned by the Jamaica Country office of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP): ‘Assessing the Vulnerabilities, and Hopes of Women and Girls in Western Kingston.’ The research is taking place even as the Commission of Enquiry set up to examine the 2010 Tivoli Incursion as it is popularly called, or the Joint Police Military Operation as it is officially designated, is drawing to a close. The research provides some insight into the socio economic conditions and aspects of the political culture currently being experienced by girls and women and by extension their families and communities. It gives voice to the hopes that citizens, especially women and girls have for turning their lives onto a path of personal development and community transformation.

The research makes no claim to presenting a root cause analysis of the issues encountered, for among other things, citizens do not want, for various reasons, to go too deeply into analysing certain issues such as the link between their vulnerabilities and the history of violence with which their communities are unfortunately associated, or how to address ‘area stigma’. Nonetheless, citizens, represented in the small sample of project participants, shared on their lived experiences; they know and express what they want; they yearn for a ‘normal’ life and are in many ways strengthening the foundation of this. Therefore, while the research can be rightly seen as indicative than comprehensive, it does answer the core requirements of enabling women, men, girls and boys to define their vulnerabilities, the insecurities, threats and exposure to risks they face. Participants have been enabled to outline what they believe are some of the measures needed to strengthen their capabilities and build resilience to enable them to work to secure a future where they are in a better position see their hopes and dreams further actualized by their own efforts as well as by broader social action.

Individual empowerment and broader social action inform a theory of change which is espoused by the UNDP which also rests among other things, on addressing the “entrenched socio-economic problems of inner city communities”, focussing on the challenges faced by the most vulnerable citizens. Using gender lens, the study focuses attention on how these entrenched challenges differentially affect and are expressed in the lives of women and girls and men and boys. The assessment explores how gender discrimination as a structural vulnerability, affects and limits the capabilities and therefore the life chances of girls and women in particular. The perspectives and aspirations of men and boys are also shaped by ideas and practices of masculinities that also limit their potential. These limitations need to be removed in order that the building blocks for nurturing social cohesion can be strengthened.

As is the experience with most research projects and processes, there have been limitations in execution, and especially in this instance, challenges related to time. For while, at the project’s outset, a legitimate mapping of actions with the accompanying timelines was undertaken, there was no magic formula to compensate for the invisible and intricate aspects of the project execution. One important

---

2 "On 17 May through a broadcast to the nation, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Honourable Bruce Golding, indicated that the Minister of Justice would sign the authorization so that the extradition process of Christopher 'Dudus' Coke could begin. That process expanded into civil unrest manifested through demonstrations by women, the blockade of roads, the burning of tyres, the burnings of police stations, the Coronation Market and the declaration of a state of Emergency by the Governor General. These events of late May/early June 2010, resulted in some 180 persons being treated for moderate to severe injuries and another 72 persons being treated for minor injuries. The final number of deaths was still to be determined and could range from a low of 76 persons to a high of 90, including two members of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF)." Quoted from ECLAC, PIOJ, UNDP, Jamaica- Report of the Macro Socio-Economic Effects of the Events in Western Kingston Area, 22 May- 7 June, 2010, p. v.
aspect of this was, for example, the time for working through the protocols related to doing research with institutions as well as in the communities.

Notwithstanding the challenges, the information gathered and analysed is rich and steeped in the reality of the lives of girls, boys, women and men in Western Kingston- reflecting important aspects of gender relations in the Western Kingston communities. The assessment invites consideration that in order to build social cohesion, there are necessary preconditions, among them, nurturing the capabilities that enhance the resilience of girls and women in and from the home and in the community. Another precondition is understanding that the particular interests and needs of men and boys must also be addressed and that partnership in development based also on uncompromising respect for the rights of women and girls must be forged through institutions, policies and programmes directed to secure sustainable development.
2) Purpose, Methodology and Limitations

Five years after the events in Western Kingston, the Commission of Enquiry into the events chaired by Sir David Simmons, which has been going on for some months is coming to a close as this assessment was being undertaken. The findings of this study—Assessment of the Vulnerabilities and Hopes of Women and Girls in Western Kingston—in a real sense, seems to anticipate aspects of the findings of the Commission of Enquiry which can be expected to address, as the ECLAC report did, initiatives towards "rehabilitation and revitalization... for the communities to functionally integrate them into the Jamaica society". The assessment is really rooted in the UNDP’s strategic goal to promote social and economic inclusion and equity as expressed in its project “Rejuvenating Communities: A Social Cohesion Approach”. This study is expected to contribute to another phase of engagement with the rejuvenation of Western Kingston communities which the UNDP seeks to have designed for implementation from this year.

Recognising that a gender sensitive approach must inform the analysis, design and implementation and analysis of the project, the Women’s Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC), has been engaged to assess the experiences and vulnerabilities of women and girls. The aim is to deepen reflection and action in the social cohesion project, on addressing issues of gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls. Specifically, the terms of reference call for:

a. An assessment of the vulnerabilities capacities and resilience of women and girls, 14-25 years old in the Western Kingston community in the post 2010 context; and

b. An investigation of the actions taken and/or proposed by relevant public institutions and civil society bodies to address vulnerabilities and build capacities among women and girls.

WROC began the formal assessment in late October 2015. The main findings and recommendations, from stakeholders, will contribute to the conversations with other partners engaged in processes to support the rejuvenating of the communities, based on a social cohesion approach.

2.1 - Methodology

The scope of the study, including the number and type of agencies to be engaged by way of interviews and focus group discussions, was defined and agreed between the UNDP and WROC in the contracting process. Focus was placed, it was agreed, on interaction with agencies partnering with the UNDP in the implementation of its project, “Rejuvenating Communities: A Social Cohesion Approach” as well as through engagement directly with citizens across the targeted communities. The assessment was therefore done through documentary research, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, and a validation workshop. Limited counselling interventions had to be done in response to trauma experienced by three females. Their distress became evident in the course of discussions in one community.

1. Documentary research
   This involved review of published and unpublished sources such as reports, policies, and working papers from partners in public sector ministries, departments, agencies. In this context,
policy papers and reports related to national security, youth development as well as community profiles done by the Social Development Commission were among the local sources mined. Publications relating to the Caribbean and Jamaica on issues that are pronounced in the communities, such as teen pregnancy and youth vulnerabilities were among other important sources utilised.

2. In-depth interviews
In-depth interviews were done with 24 agencies’ representatives (15 females and 9 males) including many who are UNDP partners on the ‘Rejuvenating Communities’ project. These agencies included the Peace Management Initiative, the Dispute Resolution Foundation, the Citizens’ Security and Justice Programme and Legal Aid Council. Officials from secondary schools were also interviewed.\(^5\) An in-depth interview instrument was developed and pre-tested by the team of documentary researchers.\(^6\) This informed and guided the interviews conducted by the team of social researchers. Modifications of the instrument were done for interviews of Guidance Counsellors in schools.\(^7\)

3. Focus group discussions
As indicated in appendix 2, sixteen (16) focus group discussions were held with various stakeholder groups as was agreed in the project design with the UNDP. Fourteen (14) discussions were held in the communities and two (2) at the offices of WROC. This latter included the pre-test session held with students. The instrument for the focus group discussions explored the broad themes of vulnerability and resilience.

Community leaders were the key resource persons organising the focus group discussions. Persons were selected by resource persons in the communities based on the following:

- agreed criteria established within the research team and explained to resource persons. These criteria related to sex and age profile of targeted participants and place of residence within the community ensure as best as possible that persons were invited from various sections.
- initiatives taken by the social research team to organise for discussions with specific groups, for example, with youth, parenting, guidance counsellors and faith based groups

As the table in Appendix 2 shows, one hundred and forty-three persons – 98 adult women and young adult women/girls (68.5%) and 45 men and young men/boys (31.4%) were participants.

- Seven (7) mixed groups - male and female ; 6 all females and 3 all male groups were held.
- On average, 9 persons across all groups participated in each discussions. The all- male groups had an average of 9 men; the all-female, an average of 11 women; and the mixed groups an average of 7 persons.

---
\(^5\) See Appendix1- List- In-depth Interviews
\(^6\) See Appendix 2- In-depth Interview instrument
\(^7\) See Appendix 3- Focus Group Instrument (Pre-test)
- Tivoli Gardens had the largest number of females (24) and males (17) participating in these discussions.
- The twenty five and over (25 & over) age group was most represented, and the 12-17 age group being the second highest.
- Participants represented 0.4 % of the population in Western Kingston.

4. Validation Workshop

Some 38 stakeholders including 10 from three communities and 15 representatives of partner agencies participated in a Validation Workshop on December 14, 2015. The discussion to distil a shared understanding of vulnerabilities and of resilience were among the main issues shared. This set the stage for agreement by participants on a core of issues which are seen as pivotal to the process of building trust and engendering social cohesion.

Through all the methods mentioned above, some 196 persons (excluding UNDP and WROC personnel), 62 males and 134 females have participated in the research process.

2.2 - Limitations

1. The study was conducted over a short period from October 23, 2015 to December 31, 2015. This had several consequences, including some limiting of the scope of the documentary research and field work by:
   a. the time it took to secure permission in line with the established protocols for conduct of work with schools and with public sector officials, including the police for example;
   b. the challenges of securing effective entry into communities which are somewhat suspicious of allowing strangers to again come into their space to interview them especially since many express that investigations in the past have not been followed by practical benefits;

2. Half way through the study period, there was an upsurge of violence in the constituency resulting in the sudden cancellation of two focus group discussions among a group of high school students and ‘unattached youths’. The challenges encountered in work with the young people in schools has meant that focus groups did not have the targeted numbers of young people in the 14 to 24 years age group. One Guidance counsellor did administer the focus group questions to a group of seven (7) high school students.

3. There were challenges in establishing contact with all communities and with key persons in Western Kingston. For example, there was no face to face meetings with the Central Downtown community. Consequently this community is not covered in the assessment. Further, although early contact was made with the police leadership in Tivoli Gardens and at Denham Town, it proved impossible to re-establish contact for promised interviews. Additionally, although links were established with the office of the Member of Parliament and an officer from that office participated in discussions, it was not possible to arrange for an interview with the MP himself.

4. Important information was accessed through the demographic profiles of the various communities from data from the Social Development Commission (SDC). Different data collection and presentation formats were used for the five (5) individual communities which to some extent, limited comparisons across communities.
3) Profile of Western Kingston Communities

The broad profile on peoples’ lives is drawn from information mainly from two pivotal state agencies, the Social Development Commission and the Jamaica Constabulary Force.

3.1 - Economic and Social Aspects

The 2001 national population census has established that 39,332 citizens live in the Western Kingston communities targeted in this assessment. Sex disaggregated data provided by the Social Development Commission (SDC) have enabled a deeper examination of socio-economic features of the communities as follows:

*Table 1 - Population and Households in Western Kingston*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Total # Households</th>
<th>Household Size</th>
<th>% Male Heads</th>
<th>% Female Heads</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Downtown</td>
<td>5304</td>
<td>1434</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denham Town</td>
<td>6279</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher’s Land</td>
<td>5000</td>
<td>1429</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Town</td>
<td>3493</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivoli Gardens</td>
<td>16,031</td>
<td>3910</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>39,332</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- In all communities most households are headed by females. Tivoli Gardens with 3910 households, has the highest proportion 62.2% being female headed households (FHHs). This is followed by Denham Town (1610 households) and Central Downtown (1434 households) each at 54% female-headed households.
- The average size in a household in Western Kingston is 3.78 persons.
- There is a high level of dependency on females in the communities since not only are the majority household heads females, but female headed household have on average in excess of six persons living together. Single family households are mostly comprised of males. 8
- Tivoli Gardens has the largest number of persons living in one household (4.1 persons), followed by Denham Town (3.9 persons).

*Table 2 - Comparative Demographic Profiles of the Five (5) Communities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communities</th>
<th>% youth 15-24</th>
<th>% Youth unemployed of all unemployed</th>
<th>% of all households members Employed</th>
<th>% Employed head of household by sex</th>
<th>% attained secondary school as highest level of education</th>
<th>% attained University as highest level of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Downtown</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>75</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denham Town</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>88</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher’s Land</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah town</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>52.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tivoli Gardens</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table above shows, among other things that:

---

The highest proportion of the youth (age 15-24 years) is in Hannah Town (28.5), followed by Denham Town (23%) and Fletchers Land.

In terms of the unemployed population, Denham Town (46%), Fletchers Land (40.5%) and Hannah Town (34%) have the highest proportion of unemployed youth.

Persons with secondary education as the highest level of attainment were females in Fletchers Land(41.5%), Tivoli Gardens (38.2%) and Hannah Town (36.4%), followed by males in Denham Town (35%).

Males in Central Downtown (2.2%), Fletchers Land (2.1%) and Denham Town (1.5%) had tertiary/university level as their highest level of educational attainment.

### Table 3 - Individual Profile of Communities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Demographics</th>
<th>Re: Female Headed Households</th>
<th>Re: Male Headed Households</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
<th>Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Downtown</td>
<td>Population (2001) = 5,301 in 1434HHs</td>
<td>FHHs=54 % of total HHS</td>
<td>MHHs = 46 % of total HHS</td>
<td>40% earn $40,000 per month</td>
<td>33% males vs. 23.3% females have secondary education as highest level. Tertiary level education low, but males have higher rate than females.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average size of HHs: 3.7</td>
<td>6.8% employed</td>
<td>75% employed</td>
<td>30.5% earn under $25,000 per month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.6% youth in 15-24 years age range; mainly males.</td>
<td>43.2% unemployed</td>
<td>25% unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females mainly in the 0-9 age range</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed youth was 46% of the population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denham Town</td>
<td>Population (2001) = 5,301 in 1434HHs</td>
<td>FHHs = 54 % of total HHS</td>
<td>MHHs = 46 % of total HHS</td>
<td>40% earn $40,000 per month</td>
<td>33% males vs. 23.3% females have secondary education as highest level. Tertiary level education low, but males have higher rate than females.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average size of HHs: 3.7</td>
<td>6.8% employed</td>
<td>75% employed</td>
<td>30.5% earn under $25,000 per month</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.6% youth in 15-24 years age range; mainly males.</td>
<td>43.2% unemployed</td>
<td>25% unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Females mainly in the 0-9 age range</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unemployed youth was 46% of the population</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletchers’ Land</td>
<td>Population 2001 = 5000 in 1429 HHs</td>
<td>53% FHHs</td>
<td>47 MHHs</td>
<td>Appx. 25% of HHs earned below $20,000 per month</td>
<td>36.4% females and 30.7% males had</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average size of HHs = 3.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Town</td>
<td>Population 2001 = 3493 in 944 HHs</td>
<td>50% FHHs</td>
<td>50% MHHs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average size of HHs = 3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Summary Observations

1. Across the communities, a variety of economic activities are undertaken—mainly trading wholesale and retail, services for example in cosmetics related areas, home and construction services—masonry, carpentry, in arts and crafts, music and so on. These displaying ‘sharp entrepreneurial characteristics’ to quote the ECLAC study.

2. Both females and males in the 14-24 age range, across Western Kingston communities, experience high unemployment, sub-optimal educational performance and low incomes. The data show that female headed households (FHHs) have a larger number of members. This, combined with the fact that females experience higher levels of unemployment than males, means that the females across the communities, are open to multiple vulnerabilities.

3. Despite evidence of educational attainment among young people across the communities, the data most compellingly points to low educational performance among the youth, and among
young males moreso than among young females. This is undoubtedly due to a complex of factors and issues.

4. Cumulatively, the data points to some of the issues shaping the experiences of young people—young women and girls in particular—in the 14-24 age group. These experiences are rooted in the socio-economic conditions of the communities and their families and serve as a backdrop to understanding how vulnerabilities are understood by some Western Kingston residents.

3.2 - Profile of Crime and Violence in the Communities

The Research, Planning and Legal Services Branch of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), has provided a wealth of data, much of it sex-disaggregated, that enables some understanding of crime and violence from 2010 to 2015 and how this relates to the life experiences of women and men.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having sexual intercourse with person under 16 years old</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Research, Planning & Legal Services Branch, Jamaica Constabulary Force (2015)

The table above shows that reports of offences that are frequently committed against females were assault, robbery, rape, sexual intercourse with a minor, larceny and murder. Among the main observations are the following:

- The lives of girls and women are plagued by assault and the fear of abuse. Although specific information is not made available on the sex of perpetuators, experience shows that males are the chief offenders. The high level of assault recorded might relate specifically to reporting on domestic and gender-based violence.
- With reports of rape of four (4) children under 10 years, and 80 children 10 to 14 years old, it is evident that infancy and the onset of puberty open up multiple vulnerabilities for girls which impact the lives of the entire family. There were no incidents reported of sexual offences against minors in 2010, and many claim that this was a result of the power of Christopher Coke in imposing ‘order’ on the community. Reports of rape steadily increased to a peak of 71 incidents in 2012, and have since been declining. Over the 5 year period, there was reporting of some two hundred and two (202) girls under 16 years being victims/survivors of this sexual crime as well as 6 boys.
- Two hundred and twenty-one (221) cases of rape against females were reported over the period. There were 46 other sexual crimes (sexual grooming and sexual touching) that were committed against women, the majority of these took place in 2010 and 2012.
- There was only one case of child abuse reported. That was in 2011 and this requires deeper discussion, for example in parenting education groups and in schools to define what is understood as child abuse and factors that explain the low reporting.
The highest level of rape reported was among girls 15 to 19 years with one hundred and sixteen (116) incidents reported.

Table 5 - Main Offences against Males: 2010 - 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Offence</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2015</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wounding</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source - Research, Planning & Legal Services Branch, Jamaica Constabulary Force (2015)

The data from the table above shows that:

- Shooting was the most prevalent of crimes committed against males, with 857 victims. This was followed by robbery (544 cases).
- Murder and assault were the next common offences against males at 439 each.

Summary Observations

1. The lives of young children, girls and women are shaped by vulnerabilities linked to gender based violence in all its manifestations. This engenders insecurity and other consequences for families such as possible mental health issues- suicide and depression -and the overall wellbeing of the children, girls and women, but also a few boys. The data bring closely home the reality of aspects of the trauma many young women and girls in Western Kingston are facing in the wake of the pain of the events of 2010.
2. The data point to the possible relationship between sexual abuse, rape and teenage pregnancy, school drop-outs, the contracting or transmission of sexually transmitted infections such as HIV and AIDS.
3. The involvement in crime and violence of young men including youth on youth violence has also emerged as a main aspect of youth vulnerability.
4. The failure to explain the category ‘assault’, results in silence on and ‘normalisation’ of a major aspect of reported criminal activity affecting women and girls. The data merits deeper analysis.
5. Many males involved in crime and violence particularly in relation to the use of the gun in murders and shooting, are drawn into these activities as part of their identity formation. This as well as the smoking of ‘weed’ and drinking is seen as part of ‘becoming a man’. However, as one participant asserted, “there is need for a conversation on masculinities, on what it really means to be a man”.

17
4) Considering Vulnerabilities

This study drew on discussions of vulnerability by participants during the early stages of the research as well as at the Validation Workshop. Participants in a focus group of eleven (11) females identified vulnerability as:

- Open to anything - rape sexual abuse, robbery
- Have to be very careful
- Abuse from police and soldier
- Discrimination - jobs, unemployment, and skilled but not certified
- Certified but unemployed
- Discrimination at school outside the community

Males identified vulnerability as:

- ‘Wants’
- Having to prove things - trying to show off on people
- Do not want to feel left out
- Hurting - your father is dead, so you rob

From the small sample of responses above, females express vulnerabilities in terms of (a) personal insecurity from many sources including sexual abuse; (b) stigma and discrimination; and (c) economic deprivation. Males speak more to internalised feelings related to exclusion and to practical economic ‘wants’.

Expanding on the meaning of ‘vulnerability’ at the Validation Workshop, the same themes are amplified by females and males sharing together. Vulnerability is expressed, for example in terms of ‘unable to move freely’, ‘fear’, ‘nakedness’ ‘poverty’ ‘hopelessness’.
Vulnerability has generally been defined in the context of environmental disasters. The International Federation of the Red Cross for example defines vulnerability as "the diminished capacity of an individual or group to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural or man-
made hazard”. 9 Participants’ reflections speak to what “diminished capacity” looks like in reality arising not only from a natural hazard like a hurricane but from a devastating human-made conflict or hazard which, in many aspects, the May-June 2010 events signified. Their word-associated definitions of vulnerability embody ideas of ‘exposure to risks’ as well as link with understandings of ‘human vulnerability’ described as the “prospect of eroding human development achievements and their sustainability”. So participants spoke of issues of insecurities around knowledge and skills (skilled but not certified), jobs and livelihoods (certified but unemployed), quality of life (have to be careful, hurting, fear) and human rights concerns (open to anything- sexual abuse, abuse from police and soldier). Their reflections link with understandings that see human development as a ‘process of enlarging people’s choices and rights’ by removing the constraints such as those identified. Enlarging choices and expanding rights rest on building and expanding capabilities. This is the conceptual framework discussed for example in the UNDP’s 2014 Human Development Report (HDR) with the theme- Sustaining Human Progress : Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience.

Expanding on the theme, the report states:

“Vulnerability reflects threats to choices and capabilities. If human development is about widening choices, human vulnerability stems quintessentially from a restriction of the choices critical to human development- health, education, command over material resources and personal security”.10

Men and women will experience vulnerability differently due to the social construction of gender relations. For example, for women and girls, fear of abuse, limitations on their rights to express their opinions or choices, can deepen a sense of powerlessness in inter-personal/ family and community relations. The importance of understanding and addressing power relations between men and women and guaranteeing women their human security and rights, are therefore vital in constructing the base of social cohesion.

Vulnerability is associated with and is a core aspect of poverty but is not the same as poverty. While poverty describes lack of access to economic and social resources, including ‘voice’, vulnerability, as participants express, is signified by insecurity and defencelessness in the face of shock and stress. This can be the experience of persons who are not poor. Class position, occupation, caste, race, ethnicity, gender, disability, age, health status and the nature and extent of social networks, among other factors, will determine exposure to and the variations in the impact of the various manifestations of vulnerabilities. Based on their responses, citizens who live in ‘garrison communities” in Western Kingston experience vulnerability also as exclusion, stigma and discrimination and that this is linked not only to the May/June 2010 events, but to a longer and deeper experience linked to their particular history of being seen as ‘garrison communities’.

It is accepted that garrison ‘communities’ exist in contradistinction to ‘communities’ which are generally regarded as networks of ‘free- acting neighbourhoods’. Historically, ‘garrison’ were formed by political parties in power, using large housing projects to concentrate their political supporters. According to Robert Budhan, the garrison is a ‘forced community held together by patronage, personal loyalties, violence and a siege mentality. In this siege mentality, the community’s security, leadership, and

---

organisation are protected at all costs from “the enemy”. The enemy might even be the State, another gang, or some political party”.11

The May 23, 2010 declaration of the state of emergency for the parishes of Kingston and St. Andrew by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister was then seen, and is analysed in the context of a clash between the forces of the state and the power of the garrison centred in Tivoli Gardens but with wider scope, influence and implications for the wider Western Kingston constituency. Tivoli Gardens, cited as the first garrison community established between 1967 and 1970 according to Budhan, was in 2010 under the leadership of Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke. It was the announcement by the Jamaica State to extradite Coke to the United States of America to answer criminal charges, that was a trigger for the events that led to the joint police military operation in the Western Kingston communities.12

The reports of the sittings of the Simmons led Commission of Enquiry carried in the media, kept Tivoli Gardens and Western Kingston riveted in the minds of Jamaicans.

---

Tivoli Shocker - West Kingston Commission Of Enquiry To Hear From Soldiers Who Claim Cops Killed Unarmed Civilians
September 10, 2015

Tivoli Children Still Traumatised By Relatives' Deaths In Operation – Mom
September 12, 2015

'Slaughter House' - Mother Gives 'Distressing' Testimony About Bloody Deaths Of Sons In Tivoli Home
September 15, 2015

TRUCE! - Gangsters Agree To End Their Bloody Feud In West Kingston
September 20, 2015

---

West Kingston Commission of Enquiry - Tivoli Gardens resident says police killed two brothers
October 15, 2015

---

12
West Kingston residents call for end to Tivoli Enquiry
Tuesday, February 17, 2015

Chilling revelations from the Tivoli Enquiry
Friday, April 17, 2015

Tivoli’s tears and others’ fears
September 14, 2015

These media reports sustained an image of communities which in many ways were seen as set apart from the rest of Jamaica. They raised and kept in the public’s mind, issues of violence and criminality that had long characterised much of the public’s perception of Tivoli Gardens/Western Kingston as a garrison community/constituency. The reports also conveyed aspects of the pain and trauma that citizens experienced - loss of life, physical damage, economic and social loss. The understanding of what it means to be vulnerable or to see oneself in this light, emerge from a wider and deeper context, the specific situation of the events of 2010 but also in light of the longer experience of a history and legacy not of development but of economic and social exclusion.

The experiences shared by many residents of aspects of life in Western Kingston, convey a reality that the garrison itself and garrisons in general, constitute structures that perpetuate systemic vulnerabilities in the life of citizens, communities as well as in the larger Jamaican nation.
5) Manifestations of Vulnerabilities among Girls and Women of Western Kingston

5.1 - Perspectives on Vulnerability

The Perspective from Children and Youth

Children 11 to 18 years from seven (7) focus group interactions, related concerns and direct experiences. From among these mainly high school students, many expressed feelings of hopelessness and despair about their future, difficulty in maintaining interest in academic pursuits, demoralisation from poor academic performance, lack of trust in the justice system and especially the security forces, and a constant sense of living with fear and danger. Many admitted to experiencing a sense of trauma related to the 2010 events.

As asked to relate to the main challenges facing children and youth in the broader community they pointed to teenage pregnancy, peer pressure, crime and violence and juvenile delinquency, physical and sexual abuse, lack of finances, stigma and discrimination, disunity between communities and poor community amenities and infrastructure. Crime and violence was most troubling since this impacted their ability to function ‘normally’, for example, to focus on school and on academic activities after school. Some students see community violence spilling over into their school. Reflecting on the 2010 Operations/Incursion and on the current resurgence of violence, one student commented:

“Miss... me cyah sleep a night time... some very terrible tings happen in Denham Town.... ...trust me miss it was very terrible because gunshot wake me at night miss, and put me to sleep!”.

The exposure of children and the possible impact was also a major concern in their communities as they the young children witnessed and experienced the crime and violence in several ways. The students in WROC’s COMET 2 programme expressed concern that children were also perpetrators of crime and violence at school and in the communities. One participant noted – “even the younger youths them Miss, mi deh inna the community and mi see little boy 12 wid gun, me-ah talk bout after the incursion!”... This view was verified by other participants in the group. “yes miss twelve wid gun!”

The discussions held with the adults across communities also cited crime and violence as a factor to which their children and young people are vulnerable. They noted that the boys and young men are more vulnerable, as perpetrators. This was asserted by parents in Hannah Town for example. In the view of a participant from a focus group in Tivoli Gardens... “You find now, more youth 10 to 17, a buss di gun right now, after the incursion. Most a the time when the security force list a wanted man, 100% of the time, he is less than 20!”.

The children and youth in Western Kingston are also vulnerable to abuse. Abuse surfaces in many forms and include: sexual abuse (and sexual harassment), physical abusive, emotional and verbal abuse. The sources of this particular type of vulnerability include parents, children, youth, other community members and the police.

Recommendations from the children and young people for changes in their community include education and skills training, psychosocial support and personal grooming, mentorship and financial
assistance. Government policy to support these change initiatives are needed, they recommended. The children suggest that these approaches and strategies are needed for children, youth, parents, community members and educators.

**Young Adults’ Perspectives**

A more mature small youth group, in the 18 to 25 age range, among them, six females and one male, ranked their concerns and vulnerabilities as follows:

- a. Lack of parental and adult guidance (attributed to poor parenting skills)
- b. No security because Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke had held the community together. (He was like a ‘father’ they explained and his absence led to a higher rate of crime than before).
- c. Parents lack the resources to send their children to school.
- d. Lack of education leading to poor choices
- e. Teen pregnancy
- f. Area stigma which they described as “having the wrong address.”

**Adults’ Perspectives**

One parenting focus group of mainly females, identified the main issues facing young people with which, as parents, they were concerned. Their ranking was as follows:

1. (a)The peer pressure that young people faced and (b) the fact that young people don’t listen to adults
2. Poverty
3. Dress style of young people
4. (a)Teen pregnancy and (b) relationship with older men

This same parenting group, separated the challenges which they faced with girls and boys. These are set out in the following box.

*Box 1 - Parents’ Priority Concerns re Girls and Boys*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parents’ Priority Concerns re Girls –HT</th>
<th>Parents’ Priority Concerns re Boys –HT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>▪ Staying out late</td>
<td>▪ Abusive – fight the young girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Don’t listen</td>
<td>▪ Involved in Rape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Keeping wrong company</td>
<td>▪ Truanting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Disrespectful to parents/adults</td>
<td>▪ Disrespectful to parents/adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ ‘Improper’ dressing</td>
<td>▪ Attire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>▪ Having intimate relationships with older men</td>
<td>▪ Having intimate relationship with older women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Drug abuse- smoking, drinking alcohol (Boom)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Gambling and stealing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>▪ Crime and violence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the challenges identified above from children, young and more mature adults, mainly females, speak to interrelated economic, socio-political and emotional issues which define various areas in which low capabilities are manifest.
5.2 - Socio-Economic Vulnerability

For example, economic vulnerability is identified in the following realities which the majority of the citizens in Western Kingston communities and in particular by women raise in the course of this assessment.

- **Unemployment - no jobs for youth and for mature women**
  - Many of the mature women, especially in the 40 and over age range spoke strongly that they were ‘forgotten’, that little attention was paid to providing jobs for them. They were equally deeply concerned that there were no jobs for young people.
  - Many of the young women lamented that they had ‘subjects’ but could find no openings in the job market.

- **Lack of skills to gain jobs; skilled but not certified.**
  Many young women have gone into programme by HEART/NTA and have completed training in various skills areas. Many take skills training opportunities offered also by Faith based organisations and other non-governmental organisations, but employment opportunities are generally unavailable and some persons who have skills, report that they do not have the certification to verify those skills.

- **Challenge of financing for small business activities**
  Many women and girls who speak of their livelihoods activities as ‘hustling’, expressed the view that they could do much better with the entrepreneurial activities with potential, mainly in the area of buying and selling. Two women, members of a parenting group, in speaking of the challenges made it clear that they were not talking about large sums of money. One needed she said, a scale to do her buying and selling in downtown Kingston; another said that having the funds to buy a few bags of coal would give her a good start. They saw no avenues for getting a small loan.

- **Poverty and inadequate access to social protection**
  From discussions with Guidance Counsellors in particular, poverty, ‘wants’, destitution were cited as features of the experience of unattached youth, both males and females. Participants in a parenting group discussion verified this and expressed the view that in the community quite a few persons live in poverty, without any avenue for support, except for what community members would provide. The situation facing the elderly and persons with disability was particularly unstable many said, because of the reduction in social support usually provided by various entities who in the current situation also find themselves under pressure to survive.

For many families, provision under social protection, although small, is the only reliable lifeline to survival especially for sending children to school. However the coverage under PATH, the reach of the social protection programme is lower than the demand. For example, in one high school, it was revealed that according to the level of registered recipients, some three hundred and fifteen students should receive lunches daily but there was a regular shortfall since only one hundred and fifty would be served daily. That leaves many children hungry and teachers having to try to meet needs as best they can from their own resources. This situation undermines
school attendance, educational attainment, places children, especially young girls at risk and can lead to them dropping-out of school and fuelling the cycle of poverty. “I think the government need to structure the PATH programme more, cause you have a lot of children, dem parents can’t find the lunch money…and a lot of people register fi go on PATH Programme and dem still cyah get no benefit”, member of a parenting group suggested.

5.3 - Socio-Cultural Vulnerability

The factors that characterise economic vulnerability show themselves in the complex of socio-cultural issues that face various segments of the population. In nearly all focus groups and in-depth interviews, participants, and females in particular, identified what they call ‘poor parenting’ as a major factor that shapes vulnerability in the lives of the youth and dysfunction in families and in the communities.

“Poor parenting”/ youth don’t know how to parent/lack of parental control

This is often also described in terms of the inability of parents to guide and exercise control over their children; lack of love and affection from parents to children and absence of a father figure.

While the many hard working and ‘trying women’ were commended as the cornerstone for family stability and coping, both women and men women spoke against what they classed as the ‘careless life’ of some women and the negative effect on their children, especially the girls. Referring to a specific case in Fletchers Land, a participant commented:

“As a mother of 5, including 3 girls...you can’t live in a 1, 2 room house and go in room with different, different man...they feel the mother don’t respect dem...soon the two girls bringing in man too”.

Family /interpersonal conflict- men versus women, women versus women, children and young people versus adults, were signs, many stated, of poor upbringing and negative socialisation. This resulted in young people not knowing “how to talk to big people” for example, and adults and children in many instances trading curse words.

Poor parenting was associated with a host of other ills- young girls being ‘own way’, ‘following crowd’, staying out late at night, pre-occupied about sex. Boy children and youth going into gangs with adult men, being aggressive and violent, ‘locking’ gun, using drugs and alcohol (boom and rum) even involved in battery and rape- these were associated with negative socialisation, and in particular aggressive expressions of masculinities.

Teen Pregnancy

When the issue of ‘poor parenting’ was probed, participants invariably came back to examining some root causes for example, the poor quality of living in the communities- overcrowded tenement life, poor infrastructure including sanitation, deficiencies in the educational system and the socio-economic conditions that faced a majority of mothers and fathers.

13 The challenge of finding money to meet critical needs was evidenced also by the fact that when one client who had asked for counselling was contacted the issue of finding the money to travel to the office was raised. As a result, WROC covered the cost of transportation for all clients who came for counselling at the centre.
“Too much young people a have pickney, them nuh finish train up because...me work at a school and if you notice the parents dem wey carry dem a school a morning time, a teenager weh should a inna dem modder care ...so at the end of the day dem no stay fi get nurturing”.

Teen pregnancy was seen both as a cause and an effect of vulnerability linked to an interweaving of multiple economic and social factors. The 14-25 years cohort and especially unattached young women, compared to women over 25, have less access to personal resources, in order to build their capacities economically and socially and therefore greater at risk for unplanned pregnancy. Figures were not available, but in every focus group without exception, adolescent pregnancy was cited as a challenge although there was disagreement on the extent of teen pregnancy in Hannah Town. The many interrelated causes and the negative impact this has on outcomes for young women, their families and children was widely acknowledged, albeit that positive stories are also heard of many young women who have overcome the initial challenges to pursue successful lives.

Many contributing factors were cited, among them:

“Some of them get into relationship with older men...sometimes dem hungry and the parents cannot afford to give them food and lunch money”...

“Sometimes the parents at fault because dem buying name brand give them...and when they can’t afford to maintain the lifestyle, dem (the girls) go out a dem way”.

“It is like a trophy...every one must have a baby at their side...every second one is pregnant and before they reach 20, they have three”, one Educator noted.

In general where males spoke on this issue, the comment centred around the tendency of the young girls to want to live a life they cannot afford- to get the latest cell phone or clothes and to want to have relations with ‘bad-man’. Others spoke against the men who targeted young girls at the first signs of puberty. In general there were more complaints than suggestions for dealing with what is clearly seen as a situation getting out of control. Persons suggested improved parenting, sexuality education in schools to start at lower grades and making contraceptive accessible to children at 17 years old.

**Teen pregnancy a critical development issue**

The United Nations Population Fund UNFPA in its 2013 State of the World Population Report which turned the spotlight on girls who become mothers before their 18th birthday, points to the fact that while efforts and resources are being made available by some countries to prevent adolescent pregnancy, the focus has primarily been on girls aged 15 to 19. Yet, they warn, the girls with the greatest vulnerabilities, and who face the greatest risk of complications and death from pregnancy and childbirth, are 14 years old or younger. This group of very young adolescents, is typically overlooked by or are beyond the reach of national health, education and development institutions, it is said.

The 2013 report further reveals that 20% of Jamaica’s population is between 10-19 years old and that in Jamaica’s region (Latin America and the Caribbean - LAC), an average of 20% of girls’ under 18 got

---

pregnant with 3% getting pregnant before 15 years. The LAC region has the distinction of being the only region where births to girls under age 15 rose and are projected to rise through to 2030.\textsuperscript{15}

Table 6 - Total Annual Births to Adolescent Mothers 2007 - 2013 (Jamaica)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2013</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below 15 years</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 years</td>
<td>7,560</td>
<td>7,488</td>
<td>7,482</td>
<td>7,110</td>
<td>6,955</td>
<td>6,973</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Registrar General’s Department

Note! These are officially recorded live births. The real number may be as much as three (3) times this amount in the opinion of state employees in the healthcare system.

Table 6 above shows that there was a steady decline in the number of teenage mothers in the country between 2007 and 2009, but there was a tendency towards an increase between 2011 and 2013. As it is, Jamaica’s teen pregnancy rate is the fourth highest in the region despite gains in lowering the fertility rate among the demographic, according to the 2013 State of the World Population Report. With a birth rate of 72 per 1,000 adolescent girls, Jamaica lags only behind Belize, 90, Guyana, 97, and the Dominica Republic which has a rate of 98 per 1,000 teens and is the highest in the region. Rounding off the top five is St Vincent and the Grenadines with a rate of 70 per 1000\textsuperscript{16}. Hence this situation is a critical developmental issue for the individual involved, the family, the community and the nation as a whole.

Discussion in parenting group meetings in both Hannah Town and Fletchers Land, as well as with Teen Mothers themselves, confirm the assessment by UNFPA that not only do early pregnancies reflect powerlessness, poverty and pressures—from partners, peers, families and communities - but that these potentially create several other vulnerabilities. These are related to her health, education, earning potential and her entire future – her ability to achieve her full potential.

In too many instances, pregnancy among adolescents is the result of sexual violence or coercion and so becomes both a cause and a consequence of rights violations. Her rights to education, health and autonomy as guaranteed in international treaties such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child, to which Jamaica is a signatory, is therefore systematically violated, although some measure of support is afforded by programmes such as those of the Women’s Centre Foundation of Jamaica.

Teen Pregnancy and Health

Poor health outcomes have resonance in the life of teenage mothers who face specific risks of maternal death. In Jamaica for every 100,000 live births 110 women die and complications during pregnancy and childbirth remain the second leading cause of death among young women aged 15-29 years.\textsuperscript{17} Illness and disability, complications of unsafe abortion and its linkages to high infant and maternal mortality rates, health risks to the infants are added burdens that teenage motherhood brings.

The interruption or termination of her formal education and consequently reduced or loss of opportunities to realize her full potential spiral into economic vulnerabilities. This includes limited


\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{16} Daily Observer, From \textit{State of the World Population 2013: Motherhood in Childhood –Facing the Challenge of Adolescent Pregnancy}, October 31,2013.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{17} Jamaica National Family Report, 2014.}
opportunity from paid employment or sustainable livelihoods, increased risk of gender based violence due to economic dependency all resulting to additional costs to the health sector and loss of human capital.

In challenging countries to look at adolescent pregnancy through a human rights and gender-based perspective, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights stated:

“Amidst many other factors, adolescent pregnancy might be due to a lack of comprehensive sexuality education; gender norms that reinforce early pregnancy; early marriage; high levels of sexual violence and/or transactional sex; a lack of youth-friendly health services; lack of affordable and accessible contraception; or a combination of the above.”

Vulnerabilities not only of youth males and females but also of adults are discussed extensively in other global, regional and Jamaican studies such as the Progress of the World’s Women: Transforming economies, realizing rights, (UN WOMEN, 2015), The Commonwealth Plan of Action for Youth Empowerment; the CARICOM Youth Development Action Plan and the region wide situational analysis of The CARICOM Commission on Youth Development. This latter report informs that based on research in five (5) countries with available data, the most common manifestations of youth risk and vulnerability are: dropping out of school; unemployment; adolescent pregnancy; HIV infection and crime. These, the report argues, have a direct and indirect cost on the countries’ productivity.

Area Stigma and Discrimination

Many men, women boys and girls have their own experiences of area stigma which they can relate. Many admit that the stigma from which the community suffers is strongly linked to the association with crime and violence with which the communities and especially Tivoli Gardens- the so-called ‘mother of all garrisons’- have long been associated. Citizens cite this stigma as a strong factor in the sense of exclusion, discrimination and demoralisation which they say is a fact of life of citizens, young and old. Men and women, but especially young males, many think, are denied employment because of their address. Discrimination in terms of educational opportunities is not unknown.

One mother reported that when her first daughter was placed in a traditional, uptown high school, a teacher remarked, “What is she doing in this school when she comes from Tivoli Gardens?” The mother reported the teacher and after investigation, she lost her job. The daughter and her younger sister went on to pass nine CSEC subjects from the same school.

What is most painful many persons say, is that they as well as the majority of decent law abiding citizens, suffer as a consequence of this stigmatisation.

Asked specifically what could be done about area stigma, many persons pointed mainly to the need for a change of attitude by persons outside the community. Among young people the view was that leaving the community was the only solution. This was a goal shared by many parents, a number of whom, it is said, do not want their children to attend secondary schools located in the communities and

---


www2.ohchr.org/English/issues/women/docs/A.HRC.21.22_en.pdf
often send their children to live with relatives outside the communities because of educational, but also security concerns.

**Trauma and Insecurity**

The sense of personal trauma and insecurity among girls and women in particular, is perhaps the major cause and manifestation of vulnerability. These are rooted in both economic and social factors, including the level of crime and violence revealed in the community profiles. The nature of the operations of the state security machinery was, from citizens’ testimonies, also a major source of trauma and vulnerability.

Citizens were traumatised by the military operations. They spoke of seeing young men killed in cold blood, of young men being taken away and not seen again; of security forces shooting at unarmed civilians. A report that the body of one of the two women reportedly killed in the 2010 events, was said to be on a hand-cart for some days and circulated across the communities. Narrating that and other incidents, brought some women to tears. Also, because of their pivotal role as household heads, their movements to make a living and maybe also to get out of generally overcrowded living spaces, women have a high visibility on the streets of Western Kingston communities and were said to have been very active during the 2010 incidents. One male explained:

“Sometimes the women make us stay in and they go out...sometimes in situations like that, they are more stronger than we...as we can agree. We cyah really express ourselves in that way cause a woman can talk back to a police officer and him wi listen...women can say anything, you understand? That’s where they get their strength...that’s a strong area for them...when they see stuff like abusive disrespect. Where men and police are concerned, they expressed themselves by trying to make the situation better in one sense”.

And they suffered much as well and the insecurity remains as one young woman revealed:

“When I walk on the road I still look behind me. Miss, you see when mi hear gunshot, mi still get figgity and drop on groun and roll or something. Normally when mi hear gunshot mi usually cry, but now I use to it”.

Some women do not express their feelings in words but the pain is evident many assert:

“A lot of women affected very much but some a dem don’t have the guts to express themselves by talking about what dem go through and feel...sometimes you look at dem and the expression on dem face is deep hurt...dem shaken up, dem shaken up, bad bad bad”.....cause dem lose dem man...dem lose dem pickney.....and di ting about it...you don’t get him body fi bury...how you expect a woman gwine feel fi know say har child dead and you nuh get di body fi bury...it must take a toll on people”.

Others say that the emotional pain and scars have crippled their ability to cope, dampened their spirit and left them in a state of constant fear and distress. They are still searching to find the emotional healing and strength that will help them to function as before. Their anger is stirred by the Simmons Commission of Enquiry because of what they see as ‘attacks’ and ‘lies’ against the communities by the security forces and the lawyers defending them. It stirs up memories.

“It (memories of 2010) nah go weh because everyday dem put it up ina yuh face pon yuh TV and dem a tell pure lie and when dem done question di people dem and di people dem so confused, dem haffi go back and retract dem statement. One man come on and di man gwaan bad and say ‘me know wah unuh do! Me know wah unuh do!”
Many men and women are against the Commission of Enquiry. They also criticise the high cost being paid to Commissioners and Lawyers versus the ‘pittance’ paid to a few Tivoli residents in 2010.

“A lot of people experienced abuse, a lot of family lost loved ones… it was a tragedy. People’s assets were destroyed… living in the ghetto, it takes 10, 20 years to furnish you house… dem mash it up an look at us and give us $15,000. It is an insult!"

The view was strong that ‘nothing’ would come out of the Enquiry for the benefit of citizens and the effects of the human-made hazard still linger. “Up to now people are traumatised” a Community Development Committee (CDC) leader said because of the violence, verbal abuse and lack of respect from members of the security forces from member of security forces prior to and during the incursion/joint police/military operation.

“…we have a lot of persons that is still not healed. So we need more organizations fi come into the community cause people is still having problems…and we a try to cooperate with the police cause we want a good police citizen relationship but I don’t see it going nowhere… we a try fi cooperate”

Although there was counselling, this many said, was not consistent and therefore not as effective.

“…some people is still not healed because them (Counsellors) come with the incursion… then dem come fi one month and two month and say dem a go take out people… but people still need counselling.”

Box 2 - Case Stories from Counselling

The stories that emerged in counselling confirmed the list of challenges that participants in the assessment mentioned. They referred to unemployment, underemployment, low income, low literacy levels, not having enough money to buy food for self and children. Some persons expressed the view that, although they were grateful for the PATH programme, it was insufficient; for example, the children received lunches only three days a week. One participant reported that she had skills but was not certified and had difficulty finding work. Some persons were unable to finance children’s education. When, in one case, an external sponsor provided funds for course fees for an adult, the recipient was unable to complete the training programme because of unavailability of money to cover transportation and lunch.

Participants described fear and distress in the aftermath of the 2010 joint police-military operation. They also spoke of unresolved inter-personal conflicts, which often resulted in tension and verbal and physical confrontations between members of the community. Such conflicts were not necessarily associated with the joint police-military operation and speak to the need for training in conflict-resolution skills. Two surprising issues mentioned were poor family support and, in one case, self-blame for poor selection of sexual partners who had become the fathers of her children.

Trauma and insecurity are also induced by the crime and violence in the communities. The communities are not seen as safe spaces for women and the data presented on the community profile, bears this out. Table 3 for example shows that assault and sexual offences were the two areas of highest abuse and violation affecting women over the period 2010 to November 2015 with 735 cases of assault and 423

---

19 In response to the expressions of pain and stress among some participants in one community, nine counselling sessions were hosted by WROC among four (4) females. The case stories are summarised in the box.
cases of rape and sexual abuse of females under 16 years old. This would explain the high level of fear for the safety of their children that many parents express and the determination of many to send their children, especially the girls, to live outside the communities.

**Gender Based Violence**

The high level of assault reported might relate specifically to reporting on gender based violence. In the various focus group discussions, although violence readily emerged as an issue of concern, there had to be probing around domestic and gender based violence. The feedback was that man/woman violence was “‘common assault’- no big thing”. The general perception was that violence is generally equated with gun violence or stabbing and wounding. Domestic and gender based violence seemed so normalised that schoolchildren were narrating incidents of beatings and fights among boy-friend and girl-friend in schools. Often this moved from school to wider community communities. Guidance Counsellors for example, spoke to knowledge of these situations, which, as is often the case in the wider community, is linked to jealousy and have been known to lead to conflict between gangs and even to murder. Many girls and women see these situations played out in their local contexts and therefore fear for their own safety and security.

Community members point to the fact that women are also implicated in crime and violence as well. They are accused of protecting their sons and relatives who are known wrong-doers and of fuelling gang rivalry by having relations with a male from a rival gang. There was also the matter of jealousy women versus men, women versus women fuelling domestic and gender based violence. It was felt that the behaviour of many men in the communities ‘having more than one woman’ was a big cause of conflicts. Men, women complained, were not as open as women were to engage in discussions around parenting and better family living. On the other hand, men said that women did not ‘reason’, but were more into ‘quarrelling’ and verbal abuse. Poor inter-personal was seen as a major barrier to family cohesion.

**Issues of ‘Voice’ and ‘Freedom of Movement’**

Speaking to vulnerability in terms of ‘socio-political’ factors rests on understanding that the existence and influence of ‘garrison culture’ and the related turf war that has resurfaced in some of the communities in recent months, continue to limit the ‘voice’, choices and free movement of residents and men moreso than women, across the communities. Speaking on the absence of the voice of youth in the broader Jamaican context, and not necessarily in reference to Western Kingston, a Youth Advocate commented:

“Some of my youth volunteers live in communities that are very volatile and don’t make decisions for themselves, the decisions are imposed upon them. They cannot leave the community if they are not educated or lack skills; or have family to take them out or who really, really cares”.  

This situation limits political participation in governance and consequently the development prospects for the communities and the country as a whole.

---

20 From mid to the end of 2015, reports spoke to the resurgence of shootings and killings related to gang violence and affecting Tivoli Gardens, Denham Town and Fletchers Land.

21 “Unleash our potential- youth advocate”. In The Sunday Gleaner, November 29, 2015, Section G
Any query relating to general life in the communities or on what was happening in Tivoli Gardens that caused the encounter with the security forces, was veiled by comments such as “I don’t support criminality, but if they wanted one man, there was no need to attack the whole community”. Further, while many persons said that rape and robbery were not prevalent before 2010, beyond saying lightly that perpetuators would be punished, they were not often forthcoming in discussing the related issues or how to address them in the current context.

Turf line violence also has the same effect of limiting ‘voice and choice’, keeping citizens and young men in particular, within borders and boundaries. Unable to move freely across communities, even to visit relatives in other neighbouring areas, undermines the exercise of basic citizenship rights of freedom of movement and limits opportunities, including being able to go to school because of fear of warring factions. People’s visions of what is possible in their lives and communities is therefore blocked: “many yout don’t even know Crossroads... an’ some a dem fraid to go downtown”, a focus group participant remarked. Such experiences help to explain why many young people would request that a skills training centre be placed within their communities and would refuse to go a mile away to a centre in Three Miles as was explained by a focus group participant in Tivoli Gardens.

5.4 - Community Based Organisations

To an extent, community organisations do attempt to give some space for citizens’ voices and participation. All the communities do have Community Development Committees (CDCs), which are umbrella bodies to which other community organisations are linked organisationally. There are Parenting Groups, Sports and Cultural Groups, Senior Citizens’ Groups and Youth Clubs, mainly Police Youth Clubs identified with most CDCs. The CDCs are registered Benevolent Societies with an executive made up of representatives of the various community based organisations. Women are the ‘backbone’ of these organisations both in terms of leadership and membership and therefore in the forefront of efforts to provide services to various groups and to be the link of the communities with potential development partners, local and global. Some CDCs are more active than others and coordinate through the various bodies, programmes which are often sponsored or supported by external partners.

The CDCs as well as some of the affiliated organisations have challenges which affect their functioning and therefore their role in strengthening the voice and participation of residents. These include low level of response by citizens: “we are preaching to the converted” one of the leaders of a parenting group said. Parenting groups in Hannah Town and Fletchers Land express concern about lack of participation of males (some do participate in Hannah Town) and groups are not as vibrant as previously. This is perhaps related to other factors, including fact that the activities do not appeal to males as one participant observed and therefore there is need to be sensitive to males’ interests and respond to these.

Lack of financial resources to mount programmes which would draw the interest of residents, inconsistent support from external partners, for example, to build local capacities so that they can service the needs of residents are other key limitations. It was also of concern that many local leaders

---

22. A focus group discussion with Unattached Youth from St. Anne’s School was cancelled due to violence in the community.
had been involved in the organisations for years and find it difficult to sustain their level of voluntary contribution.

**Summary Observations**

1) Economic vulnerabilities such as unemployment, low level of skills, limited finances; social vulnerabilities, for example, dysfunctional parenting practices, adolescent pregnancy, area stigma, trauma and personal insecurity; and socio-political vulnerabilities including limitation of voice and movement are among the factors that make it extremely difficult to strengthen the local community based organisations. The overarching political context of partisan and garrison-based politics is particularly constraining to community development.

2) Considering the vulnerabilities of women and girls in Western Kingston in the broader context of national and global research findings, a main conclusion is that, vulnerabilities are directly linked to the state of the Jamaican nation as measured by certain indices of development. In this national context and particularly in the case of Western Kingston and other ‘garrison communities’, the issue is therefore to enable people to exercise agency and voice "to be free of social, institutional and other constraints that inhibit their ability to act".

3) It is important for policy and programmes to analyse and address the inter-relationships between the various vulnerabilities; for example, to examine and respond to how economic inequality facing women and is be linked to their dependence within relationships with men and increases their vulnerability to gender based violence and additionally especially for young women (14-19 years old), to the risk of teenage pregnancy. This can in turn result in girls dropping out of school and consequently to poor employment chances and/or high representation in under-employment, and low-income jobs, repeated pregnancies which could in turn eventually lead to inter-generational poverty. Young women would also have a higher vulnerability to Gender Based Violence (GBV) and health issues such as Human Immuno-deficiency Virus (HIV), particularly if the partner is older. For many young men, including those in school, the reality of becoming or being a father can bring pressure for maintenance and if they are over 18 years old, threat of prosecution. These in turn add to the instability in the lives of males.

4) In responding to the inter-related manifestations of vulnerability among girls and women in Western Kingston, an alert must be sounded to ensure that priority should be placed on addressing structural vulnerabilities. These as discussed in the HDR 2014 “are perpetuated by exclusion, low human development and people’s position in society, reducing their ability to cope with downside risks and shocks”. Equally it is critical to engage men as partners in this process and simultaneously to respond to the issues which continue to distract and alienate them from a path of self-development. It is the duty of the state as duty bearer to ensure that

---

23 Indices of human development in a long and healthy life, access to knowledge, a decent standard of living and human equality and rights.
25 The UNFPA, State of the World Population 2013: Motherhood in Childhood –Facing the Challenge of Adolescent Pregnancy
26 UNDP, 2014, p.70.
as rights holders, citizens, women and men alike, are enabled to strengthen their resilience through opportunities for productive self development and empowerment.

5) There is need to consciously build understanding around the issues of gender and vulnerability. There is a tendency, and this was manifested by a few institutional partners interviewed, to question to the point of almost rejecting the validity of looking at gender and vulnerability from the point of reference of women’s interests. A main response has been that it is men and boys who are vulnerable in the Western Kingston and indeed the Jamaican context. In all cases, the fact of males being the main perpetuators of crime and violence and the ones being killed as a consequence, is used to justify this position and the insistence that priority should be given to males. It is as if there is a competition about who is most vulnerable.

While there is understanding of the source of this perspective, and consciousness that addressing women’s vulnerabilities, does not mean that there is indifference to the issues facing males, the seeming ‘competition’ must be engaged. For it is a matter of examining whether and how females experience vulnerabilities differently from men. For example, the source of fear that a young woman has of walking in the community, especially at night, is different in scope and in depth from that which a young man will experience. She has a fear of assault, rape which has many ramifications. The discussion in the UNDP report is particularly pointed on this aspect:

“Both real and perceived threats affect behaviour. Fear of violent assault is of particular concern to women everywhere. The term ‘bodily integrity’ gives concrete meaning to this vulnerability.”

The woman’s vulnerability is linked to socially constructed ideas, norms and behaviour that elevate the position of men over women, that sends messages that women’s bodies, for example, are ‘fair play for men’, that a male can beat ‘his’ woman if she ‘misbehaves’, and that being a man gives men the to dictate and constrain the choices of women.

These ideas about what it means to be a man are shaped and perpetuated by the same gender system that ‘justifies’ discrimination against women. The gender system also does much harm to men by perpetuating ideas and practices that undermine their wholeness as human beings and therefore undermine prospects for social cohesion. Development practice to be effective must therefore deconstruct gender relations in the Jamaican context and respond to what information and data present.

6) Strengthening Resilience for Sustainable Community Development

6.1 - Understanding ‘Resilience’

Asked to present in a word, their understanding of the concept of ‘resilience’, participants in the study identified the following: strength, hopeful, defence, self-empowerment, confident, stand up, faith, cope, spirituality, persistence, resistance, determination. Their responses characterise energy to ‘bounce back from adversity and stress’ consistent with some of the core characteristics of resilience identified as:

- Problem-focused coping, meaning that the individual deals with the specific characteristics of the situation (push back, positive force)
- Emotion focused coping- dealings with the feelings brought on by the situation (faith, spirituality)
- Self-confidence, being in control (mental fitness, stand up for self/justice/rights)
- Optimism , a sense of purpose (strength, hope, comeback, overcome)
- Seeking support

These attributes bring clarity to the need for individual engagement and empowerment to reduce vulnerability and build resilience. They speak to personal agency to pursue sustainable development – to expand one’s choices and to secure them.

According to the UNDP, ‘human resilience means that people can exercise their choices safely and freely- including being confident that the opportunities they have today will not be lost tomorrow”. This requires both individual and collective agency and practical measures. The UNDP discussion continues:

“Active policies to build community, to remove barriers to individual expression and to strengthen norms to help others in need all might be needed to build resilience. A useful way of viewing this relationship is as going from ‘vulnerability to resilience’.”

Vulnerability to Resilience- Key Requirements

The journey from vulnerability to resilience is therefore one in which capabilities are built and strengthened, enabling the individual and the community to address the economic, social, political and other insecurities that constrain choices, undermine rights and fracture prospects for social cohesion. Nurture social cohesion rests on measures such as:

- An enabling policy and institutional framework
- Trust building
- Credible and competent mediators
- Building public awareness and support
- Supporting jobs and livelihoods creation.
- Organisation building to strengthen community voice.

---


29 UNDP, op. cit. p.17.
Integrated into all these must be demonstrated commitment to eliminating inequality and exclusion, whatever their bases or expressions - class position, gender, abilities/disabilities, community, sexual choices, etc.

A critical aspect of the mandate of WROC in doing this study is specifically to examine the extent to which partners working on the social cohesion project, embed in their work, attention to nurturing citizens’ capabilities by addressing systemic gender inequality. In-depth interviews with existing UNDP partners and information from the documentary research, were therefore focussed on whether, and if so, to what extent, initiatives took into account, the need to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as a basic requirement.

6.2 - Interrogating Current Initiatives

1. An enabling policy and institutional framework

Policies addressing youth development, national security as well as directions towards the reform of the justice system have specific resonance with the mandate and work of agencies which have been working in Western Kingston under the UNDP’s Social Cohesion project. These include the following:

   a. Jamaica National Youth Policy, 2015-2030

The report of the 2012 qualitative survey, titled “A Suh di Ting Set!” 30 was designed to “evaluate the status, needs and prospects of the youth population”. The range of reproductive health issues girls and young women face, the higher unemployment rates faced by them in comparison to their male counterparts, were noted.

The specific vulnerabilities of male youth in relation to education, skills and crime and violence were also analysed. Following on this work, the Government of Jamaica (GoJ) in April 2015 presented a Green Paper on a National Youth Policy to guide the country to 2030. 31 The Minister of Youth signalled that the contents are reflective of “the situation of youth as related by the youth themselves.” In the Green Paper, youth identified nine (9) critical areas of concern, with their two most pressing issues being education and unemployment - indicative of a high level of unemployment and poor education outcomes. Others were crime and violence – as victims and as perpetrators; health – especially mental and sexual & reproductive health; poverty – alongside a high unemployment rate; inadequate social protection; unstable family environment and lack of access to services.

“Gender Equality, Non-Discrimination and Equity”, is identified as one of the guiding principles in the Green Paper. In this regard, programmes and projects will, it is stated, “take into account the different circumstances and therefore the needs of young people”. Grounded in the Bill of Rights, the policy paper states that “no young person or group should be excluded from accessing services as a result of race, gender, age, (dis)ability, religions or other beliefs, socio-economic status and geographic location, level of literacy or capacity to understand”. 32

Related policy actions mention “designation of funds to enable vulnerable groups…including young women” and “reduction of crime and violence, and protection from physical, sexual and verbal abuse”

---

31 Jamaica National Youth Policy, 2015-2030.
32 Jamaica National Youth Policy, p. 33.
as specific measures.  

However, the draft policy falls short of an objective of securing gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls and combatting the pervasive culture of aggressive masculinities, although the data analysis points to the need for such a specific direction.

b. The National Security Policy

Jamaica’s National Security Policy (2007) in Chapter 2 entitled, Threats relating to crime, reminds Jamaicans that the June 2002 Report of the National Committee on Crime and Violence, pointed out that there were at least ten (10) types of personal crimes to which a “significant number of Jamaicans would consider themselves vulnerable”. Sexual Assault is one of these. Further under the sub-heading “The Effects of violence on communities”, it acknowledges that domestic violence is one of the “more pervasive and common forms of violence plaguing the society”, noting that it has “debilitating effects”, which impact the socialization of youth: “Women and children are disproportionately at risk from domestic violence” it emphasizes. The policy then made a key statement that failure to protect the groups that are most vulnerable, “increases the risk that these groups will remain in or enter long-term poverty, which will help to fuel the cycle of violence and abuse.”

Yet, there is a grave disconnect; for while the policy makes this observation, it does not follow with actions specific to the named concerns and is in fact gender neutral or gender blind. The situation has not significantly improved in 2015 for although the information on the Ministry’s website mentions “a low rate of gender-based violence” as a desired strategic outcome, no specific goal, objective or strategy nor analysis of gender based violence is included. It is acknowledged that smuggling and trafficking of persons, including internal trafficking of people is of “increasing concern in the Caribbean”.

The policy proposes that ‘focus on at-risk individuals and communities’ is one of the six Tier 1 threats to be addressed. However there is no mention of intention to addressing the specific vulnerabilities of women and girls. Further, although the National Policy on Gender Equality does call for coordination between ministries and the Bureau of Women’s/Gender Affairs (BWA) which is charged with mainstreaming gender, that coordinated implementation with the MNS is not strong. It is important as a starting point that the two policies mentioned should have objectives that specifically relate to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls and the related strategies, outputs and outcomes.

c. Citizens’ Security and Justice Project

In relation to projects, the Citizens’ Security and Justice Project (CSJP) of the MNS, which is in its third cycle of implementation, focuses on the most volatile communities nationally. The CSJP is viewed as being effective in its work, for example with intervention programmes directed to unattached youth in particular in areas of training, labour market attachment and support for academic advancement at secondary and tertiary levels. However, the evaluation of the second cycle programme concluded that gender analysis had not informed the work of the agency. “One gender isn’t favoured over another, but we notice that more women participate” one agency representative advised in an interview. With a

---

33 Ibid, p. 39
36 Ibid, 2.16, p.21
37 Ibid, 2.27, p. 27
38 Note a Strategy and Action Plan to address gender based violence is being developed by the Bureau of Gender Affairs.
gender resource expert recruited to the agency, it is anticipated that this will begin to influence the CSJP to mainstream gender in its work at all levels.

d. Unite for Change

Unite for Change, is a national movement and public awareness campaign also of the MNS. Launched in December 2014 it is aimed at “empowering each citizen to take back Jamaica from the clutches of criminal elements”. It is billed by the Security Minister as an initiative towards building hope among law-abiding citizens that they are not helpless. The strategy is said to be three-pronged with components such as interrupting the transmission of crime and violence; preventing the future spread of crime through “improving the capacity of the security forces to respond quickly and effectively”; and to re-normalize the society towards anti-crime behaviour via “re-socialization programmes”. A gender analytical approach does not seem to explicitly guide the design and delivery of the project.

e. Ministry of Justice Reform Project

The priority policy objective of the Ministry of Justice is the comprehensive transformation of the justice system, focusing, it is said, primarily in the short to medium terms, on justice reform, restorative justice and protecting children, youth and vulnerable groups. Agencies of the Ministry of Justice, namely the Legal Aid Council and the Victim Support Division are partners working in the Western Kingston communities.

In an effort to assist victims of rape and sexual abuse, the majority of whom are girls and young women, the Legal Aid Council has introduced a new initiative by collaborating with the Jamaica Information Service to produce posters for police stations. These posters contain complete and accurate information to help victims and their parents find the best help possible. The Legal Aid Council is concerned that only victims/survivors are provided with counsellors. It is their belief that the accused should also get help from counsellors.

The Ministry is undertaking a review of the Sexual Offences Act (SOA) which is of great significance to women, including the proposed Marital Rape Act. Unfortunately, the review of the SOA has been suspended without explanation. Further, women’s organizations diligently participated in the process to develop a comprehensive National Strategic Action Plan to Eliminate Gender Based Violence, but this has not reached the implementation stage. It is also reported that proposals have been developed to facilitate access to justice issues by victims/survivors of gender-based violence. These are yet to be reviewed and implemented in communities by the Ministry. While these measures show sensitivity to addressing gender equality and equity issues, there is no central and coordinated gender mainstreaming programme which directly impacts the work of the agencies on the ground in the communities.

Among civil society groups, some public awareness raising campaigns are being implemented with messages such as “Protect Not Neglect Our Young Girls” by the National Family Planning Board and the “Nuh Guh Deh” campaign implemented by Eve For Life, a Jamaican NGO warning Jamaican men, “cradle snatcher, cradle robber... nuh guh deh... end sex with the girl child.”

The Women’s Resource and Outreach Centre (WROC) itself has been engaged in projects that address the exposure of women and girls to gender based violence. The COMET 2 project was one such that involved both awareness raising activities and counselling among young adults, both males and females. Parenting information was also shared with community members, again both males and
females, gender related family issues which proved to be an engaging aspect of the projects. The initiative has however not been sustained because of resource constraints.

2. **Building Trust**

Trust building involves first being trust-worthy and this has to be an attribute of parties involved in and committed to resolving conflict to strengthening the basis of social cohesion and moving from vulnerability to resilience. The work of the Security Forces is being used to reflect on the issue of trust building for various reasons, including (i) the fact of the high level of hostility harboured towards the security forces by citizens in Western Kingston and (ii), the repeated assertion by a wide cross section of the national and local community as well as the leadership at all levels of the security forces itself, that active police/citizen cooperation through community policing is fundamental for building social cohesion and (iii), commitment to this path is tested every day in the communities.

*Traditional vs. “Developmental Policing”*

The Security Forces constitute the most visible arm of the State, through the MNS which has prime responsibility to engender trust with communities in order to address the persistent and unacceptably high level of crime and violence in the nation and in the current context with Western Kingston communities. The negative relations with the police was a subject of much discussion and commentary across these communities in the course of this assessment. There were expressions of strong levels of resentment, fear, and disrespect for the police. However some citizens were quick to add that the negative attitude had not always been as strong as was being expressed. Many recalled that immediately after the May/June 2010 confrontations, things had become a little ‘chaotic’, but some level of positive relations with the community had been engendered by the security forces. This resulted from what one community leader termed a more “developmental approach” to policing which saw greater dialogue with the communities and more dynamic partnership with the local organisations.

“The idea of policing in my mind ...is one where you find baby mothers, persons who are being involved in different things would call that Officer and say...'listen, X is giving me hell enuh. So that confidence now, allows the police to operate and therefore the residents’ confidence is built because you find that even those who are said to be involved in criminal activity are now saying, ‘you know Police, a see Y do something aa don’t like enuh...find out weh him a deal wid enuh cah we nuh want to bad it up’.”

That approach of close consultation with community organisations was taken for a period, it was said, and a Community-Police Consultative Committee had been set up which operated for a while. That body dissipated for reasons which were not explained. Police Youth Clubs were also revived in Western Kingston Communities and it is reported that clubs exist in Tivoli Gardens, Denham Town and Hannah Town. While these are seen as playing a role in building leadership among young people, they are said to be somewhat stagnant in most cases and not attracting male youth, the key target group.

The view was expressed that there was evidently within the JCF itself some ambivalence between the traditional hard policing approach and what is seen as the more developmental framework and it seemed the former currently had the upper hand. Yet citizens of Western Kingston see a definite role for the police and have proposals on issues that need to be addressed within the JCF itself. These include psychological testing for recruits and members; human rights training; customer service training and bringing some stability to the cadre of officers that would operate in a particular area.
Ongoing training on a gender sensitive approach to recruitment, deployment, service delivery and monitoring and evaluation are proposed by citizens as critical requirements for building trust and engendering respect between citizens and the Police.  

3. Credible and competent mediators

The work of several of the UNDP partners involved in the Social Cohesion Project directly and indirectly mediates the various levels of conflict and social dysfunction that are evident among citizens in context of the post 2010 upheavals. The community mediation services of some entities are negatively affected by resource constraints, but efforts are sustained to respond to the critical needs that are presented.

a. The Dispute Resolution Foundation (DRF)

DRF offers conflict mediation and dispute resolution services to citizens. The agency’s ‘Pull –Out programme’ engages high school students who are on suspension from schools, in activities to facilitate their re-entry into the institutions and support behaviour modification. Information is shared pointing to the different challenges faced by male and female students, but in the main, the interventions were not informed by a gender sensitive approach.

b. The Peace Management Institute (PMI)

PMI has had a history of effective interventions in community based gang conflicts in volatile communities. The organisation focuses on men in gangs, but also pays attention to what is happening to women and the wider community, because, as one leader remarked: “often when they (the women) start…they don’t stop and that can fuel negative community dynamics like reprisals…and when people flee the community, it is the women and children mostly affected”.

It was in response to these issues and to grief within families, that the PMI initiated counselling services, using male and female volunteers in various communities, including in Western Kingston. Counselling has been offered to both victims/survivors and perpetuators of violence. Children are also among those targeted for therapeutic support.

There is a need to continue both aspects of this work and to undertake training towards a more intensive and gender responsive and life cycle approach. For example, the organisation has found that many men are still silent concerning the events of 2010 but still deeply affected; among women, gender based violence is real but because of their dependence they do not go to the police; many senior citizens lament the changes in their lives and forced to live with the visible signs, like the bullet holes still in the walls of their homes. There is much to be done, including the training of volunteers to more effectively respond to the varied issues that are presented, but there are resource constraints with which the organisation has to contend.

c. The Victim Support Division (VSD), Ministry of Justice

VSD of the Ministry of Justice, offers counselling and psycho-social support for community members and has a counselling centre on Spanish Town Road in the West Kingston constituency. Data is not available on the uptake of women and girls as against men and boys for the services. Neither is there evidence that a deliberate gender sensitive strategy is being taken in the work of the VSD.

39 Lack of contact for interviews with the Police has meant that, outside of data provided, the assessment has not benefited from their insight.
The majority of their clients are in the 13 to 18 years age group. Most come with sexual offences cases, with many young girls molested and raped but boys also subject to sexual assault. Many referrals come through the Centre for the Investigation of Sexual Offences and Child Abuse (CISOCA). Females, mainly in the 20 to 40 age range are supported to deal with domestic violence issues. Some women, it is said, will not go to the police because of the intense distrust and the police they say tell them to ‘talk it out’ with the partner; others are dependent on the partner and fear losing the relationship. Clients are also referred from the Simmons led Commission of Enquiry suffering from psychological and emotional trauma. The VSD uses the Beck Depression Scale as the main investigative tool and is fully aware of the different ways in which males and females respond to the conflicts they face and see the need for strategies to address the differential needs.

**d. Legal Aid Council, Ministry of Justice**

The Legal Aid Council offered legal assistance to citizens referred from the Office of the Public Defender and Commission of Enquiry. Some young people who have to face the courts for various crimes including shootings, gun possession and assault are supported by the Council. There is no information that suggests that a gender responsive approach is taken in the work.

**4. Building public awareness to garner public support**

As a requirement for promoting social cohesion towards enabling capabilities, it is true to say that the main messages coming out of Western Kingston have to do with the negative revelations emanating from the Simmons led Commission of Enquiry. Actions being taken by community members and by partners, however limited, are not being projected in the media and this limits the level of broad support that is garnered and needed to respond to the historic stigmatisation of the communities. Apart from the occasional exposure on the work of the CSJP for example, little is available in mainstream media on what entities are doing on the ground. This dearth of information is being addressed by the UNDP itself but again, this information is not in the broad public domain.

**5. Supporting jobs and livelihoods creation**

Enabling men and women to meet their basic needs is a first order of business to enable them to ‘stand up on their feet’. In every discussion, this was the main proposal coming from citizens. Among agencies, the Citizen Security and Justice Programme (CSJP) was the only body identified with offering support towards preparing young people to move towards employment. However information is not available on the uptake of women and men and the areas in which they are engaged.
6. Nurturing Local Organisations

While this is not specifically cited in the UNDP analysis as fundamental for nurturing social cohesion towards building capacities, spaces for peoples’ voices and actions are critical levers for building resilience. That is why family networks and local organisations were cited as important media for coping with the trauma which faced many citizens - females and males. Participants revealed a number of coping strategies used to sustain themselves and their families over the years. They highlighted the role of community based organisations, including CDCs, and Faith Based Organisations, working individually and collectively. For example, the West Kingston Ministers’ Fraternal composed of the New and Living Way Church Tivoli Gardens, the New Testament Church of God Beeston Street, Open Bible Church Spanish Town Road, Faith and Hope Deliverance Ministry Tivoli Gardens and St. John’s United Church Hannah Town, were among the churches working together in providing welfare support, especially to the elderly and to children.

Community Based Organisations (CBOs) were also seen as crucial to addressing, within their capabilities, some of the social, economic and emotional challenges of Western Kingston citizens. Among their roles were helping different factions in a community to relate, teaching them communication and cooperation skills and partnering with external agencies to provide community services.

At another level, their own CBOs enabled residents to coordinate information sharing among themselves, often with support from external supporters and to work through challenging issues that they face. For example, in terms of their everyday parenting, talking through challenges in parenting meeting, served to build confidence and solidarity. For example, one mother in the context of a group meeting related how she addressed her fear of teen pregnancy by drumming into the ears of her daughters, her own experience of hardship as a teen mother:

“I tell her I get pregnant at 18 and I don’t want that to happen to her and that baby nah wear…it no hang up downtown...so no badda wid it”.

Her plan, she told the group, was to put her daughter on family planning as soon as she turns 17 years of age.

Community based organisations also facilitate civic engagement by community members and leadership development. All the communities have Community Development Committees (CDCs), which are umbrella bodies for other community organisations such as Parenting Groups, Sports and Cultural Group, Senior Citizens’ Groups and Youth Clubs, mainly Police Youth Clubs. CDCs are registered Benevolent Societies with an executive made up of representatives of the various community based organisations. According to one CDC President, 10 of his executive members are females and women make up over 85% of members and volunteers in the organisation.

Active community groups exist in some areas - for example, parenting groups exist in Hannah Town and Fletchers Land, but there is concern about lack of participation of males (some participate in Hannah Town) and that all-together membership is low and “we are preaching to the converted”. Sports activities also take place, but generally not an organised basis - the view is that the strong organised activities in sports and culture have fallen down over the years.

Leaders of the local communities make effort to mobilise resources for activities among children, for example, summer schools, and to link with entities that provide skill training and channel young people into these, such as the Jamaica Social Investment Fund. They are also active links with ‘external’ agencies wishing to work with the communities and use their influence to speak to the interests of the communities. They do not address gender issues in any structured manner in their programmes, but are alive to the differential concerns of women, men, girls and boys across the life cycle.

**Summary Observations**

1. There is need to strengthen attention to gender analysis in policy and programmes. In relation to policies, the inclusion of gender equality in an explicit way would be important to drive and to ensure attention to addressing the differential gender interests of men and women. This could lead to focus on programmes that will tackle issues such as gender based violence and teenage pregnancy which are pervasive in the communities.

2. All the requirements must be pursued and met in order to mainstream gender not only in the policies of ministries but also in the practical work of all related agencies which engage at the community level. The gap between policy analysis and prescriptions around gender inequality and strategies to address these, could therefore have a framework for monitoring action.

3. Collaboration between Ministries, Agencies and Departments and civil society/community organisations is vital if coherence in approach and use of resources in service delivery at the community level are to be met.

4. It is important to examine the approach being taken and/or considered to integrating gender in the CSJP and other agencies. Capacity building at the community level on issues of gender equality including addressing masculinities could prove critical. Linked to this, would be the need to draw on the experiences of service providers in crafting and implementing counselling and support interventions, targeting males as well as females.
6) Proposals to move from Vulnerability to Resilience

At the heart of moving from vulnerability is an attitude of fighting back to bounce back. So when asked how they see their role in addressing the area stigma which is a deep source of their sense of exclusion participants offered the following solutions which involve both individual and collective action:

- Increase knowledge on issues
- Develop life skills to help them to cope, build themselves and others
- Participate with a purpose
- Build strong networks among themselves
- Building democratic participatory leadership where all voices are heard

When asked further to identify their coping strategies and their vision for themselves three years hence, responses from seven students at one high school, identified God, praying and parental/mother/family support, as being pivotal. Choosing to focus on school work as a strategy to move beyond their current situation was another key motivator for some youth as well as becoming engaged in positive extra-curricular activities.

In terms of their vision for themselves within three years, all hoped for successful school completion, getting CXC subjects in order to qualify them to undertake further training.

Regarding their vision for the community they individually listed the following:

- more community activities, less violence, more unit
- violence stop, children abuse (stop)
- less violence, more cooperation, less killing
- stop all violence, bill (build) youth club, more activities
- peace, clean up community and also provide jobs for the peoples in our community
- peace in my community and people get jobs in my community
- no more killing, no more raping, no more ‘thieving’.

Summary Observations

1. In terms of advancing the mandate to identify and address the vulnerability of women and girls, existing policies and programmes and projects that support interventions in building social cohesion in Western Kingston area do respond to some identified needs in the communities. However, high level concerns around job creation, persistent crime and violence and teenage pregnancy are not being addressed by these entities.

2. The policy framework that would guide the outreach work is weak in respect of identifying gender equality objectives in a central way. This could be one important factor, among others, that is influencing the absence of a targeted approach to teenage pregnancy for example.

3. Because of its multi-faceted consequences which establish a spiral of economic and socio-cultural vulnerabilities, reducing pregnancy among adolescent mothers could have a very significant positive impact on the individual teen mother, her family and community and on the national development effort. Pursuing this goal could touch some levers deemed necessary to propel social cohesion and build capabilities towards resilience.
4. Identifying analysing and responding to issues of gender and power relations in policies, strategies and projects is vital to expand the effectiveness of development initiatives.

Recommendations

1. Reducing and halting teenage pregnancy is a foundational requirement for addressing the multiple manifestations of vulnerabilities that teen mothers and their families experience and to which they are exposed. Addressing teen pregnancy must become a priority in reducing the vulnerabilities of girls and women.

2. All the requirements must be pursued and met in order to mainstream gender both in the policies of ministries and in the practical work of all related agencies which engage at the community level. Focus on collecting sex disaggregated data is an important requirement to be addressed. The gap between policy analysis and prescriptions around gender inequality and strategies to address these, must also be filled.

3. It is important to examine and strengthen the approach to mainstreaming gender in the CSJP and in other agencies. Capacity building at the community level on issues of gender equality including masculinities is critical as is gender mainstreaming training of ministries and agencies.

4. Specific measures to address gender-based violence must be addressed by the Ministry of National Security in collaboration with other stakeholders including community organizations in Western Kingston.
7) Reducing Vulnerabilities, Strengthening Resilience

As stated, the Community Security and Social Cohesion (CSSC) approach is the framework for current interventions in Western Kingston. This approach which “seeks to operationalize human security, human development and state-building paradigms at the local level”, 41 is a pathway to enhancing capabilities and therefore the foundation of moving from vulnerability to resilience. Drawing on principles enunciated in UNDP’s 2014 HDR 42 and adapting these to the local context and specifically to the post 2010 realities in Western Kingston; based also on the recommendations for action put forward by community stakeholders, three strategies are vital. These are first to identifying the core building blocks or pillars for nurturing capabilities; secondly, identifying areas of focus to support the key pillars and thirdly, isolating specific actions for priority attention.

Based on the data in the local context, the four building blocks are as follows:

1. Enhancing capacities to respond to the effects of the 2010 Crisis
2. Expanding Basic Services
3. Promoting Social Inclusion
4. Promoting sustainable livelihoods

Below, specific areas of focus and the related specific actions are identified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</th>
<th>AREA OF FOCUS</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enhancing capacities to respond to the effects of the 2010 Crisis</td>
<td>Rebuilding livelihoods</td>
<td>Employment promotion in road work, sanitation, factories</td>
<td>Focus on single mothers and male youth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Safety and Security</td>
<td>Establishing mechanism for multi-stakeholder partnership in policing.</td>
<td>Provide more schools’ security personnel Establish Boot camp training programme for young men in or open to crime Re-establish the children curfew programme</td>
<td>Need to investigate experience with the Community Consultative Committee This is seen as high priority programme around theme- ‘It takes a village to raise a child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


42 See Summary- HDR, 2014, Box 1, p. 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</th>
<th>AREA OF FOCUS</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Focus on crime prevention plan using approaches, including developmental policing.</td>
<td>Focus on crime prevention plan using approaches, including developmental policing.</td>
<td>Major reform of training and protocols of recruitment proposed.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthening Local Organisations</td>
<td>Develop and implement programme for capacity building for CDC’s and related organisations. Develop in collaboration with CDCs and external partners, plan for the long terms development of the communities.</td>
<td>This is to include plan for sustainability of local organisations.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counselling, Healing and Resocialisation</td>
<td>Establish school-based behaviour modification programme</td>
<td>Multi-stakeholder partnership including MNS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expand guidance counselling cadre in school. Ongoing training of Guidance Counsellors Major programme of counselling for community members using existing and new partners. Family life education programme</td>
<td>Collaborate with tertiary level training institutions for training, placement and mentoring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

43 Proposal from National Security Policy if for the establishment of a school-based programme to address “maladaptive behaviour, trauma, post-traumatic stress, depression and other long term consequences of the physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse of children”. See National Security Policy for Jamaica, p. 53.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</th>
<th>AREA OF FOCUS</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expanding Basic Services</td>
<td>Expand Education and Training Opportunities.</td>
<td>Strengthen programmes to keep boys in schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Continuing adult education programmes in communities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Implement active community education programme; eg, homework, computer classes and cultural programmes in community centres.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Support for teen mothers who cannot get into Women’s Centre Foundation Programme.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible Justice System</td>
<td>Deepen work of VSD and support CDC’s to integrate victim/survivors’ support into their programme.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthen Social Protection</td>
<td>Expand feeding school programme</td>
<td>Improve PATH benefits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Promote NIS registration /participation in communities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infrastructure Improvement</td>
<td>Address houses damaged in 2010</td>
<td>Address overcrowding and poor housing in most vulnerable</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</td>
<td>AREA OF FOCUS</td>
<td>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</td>
<td>COMMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>communities</td>
<td>Give attention to sanitation and hygiene facilities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROMOTING SOCIAL INCLUSION</td>
<td>Tackle Discrimination, including area stigma, gender discrimination within a human rights framework.</td>
<td>Public education programme to combat area stigma.</td>
<td>Faith-based organisations have a strong role in these partnerships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Design and implement programme to mainstream gender at institutional, policy and programmes and projects.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mount multi-faceted programme against Gender based violence.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Design and implement a values based programme targeted to men and boys and women and girls.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strengthen partnership across Western Kingston communities, with civil society bodies and international partners to advance the agenda to build community resilience.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Train a cadre of community facilitators to take programme across communities in collaboration with partners.</td>
<td>Practice should be develop to train, mentor and employ more community members as resource persons to do developmental work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</td>
<td>AREA OF FOCUS</td>
<td>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</td>
<td>COMMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote Children’s Rights</td>
<td>Design and implement multi-faceted programme to reduce adolescent pregnancy as a priority.</td>
<td>The sexual and reproductive health and rights for the youth must be broadly discussed towards building community consensus on key issues.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strengthen collaboration and networks across communities</td>
<td>Identify and pursue areas of all-communities programming- for example, “It takes a village to raise a child” programme.</td>
<td>Focus on and expand sports, arts and culture programmes and competitions. It is important to have the rights of community members to self organise affirmed by the political directorate.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS**

| Training for employment and self-employment | Apprenticeship for employment | Partnership with large, medium and small private sector interests and government needed. |
| Financing for small business, community enterprise for example, in the development of arts and culture | Certification of skills in welding, electrical, foods and barbering. | Non-traditional skills training and employment for women. |
| Financing for entrepreneurship | Training in entrepreneurship including money management | Need for focus on small enterprise development. |

- Financing for entrepreneurship
- Micro-credit schemes including through community based entities
- Need to encourage financial institutions to partner with community organisations to also bring services into communities.

---

 See below, proposed principles for the development and implementation of the programme.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CAPABILITIES BUILDING BLOCKS</th>
<th>AREA OF FOCUS</th>
<th>SPECIFIC ACTIONS</th>
<th>COMMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>partnership with Jamaica Household Workers Union to advance the decent work agenda.</td>
<td>Partnership and Collaboration</td>
<td>Information Sharing</td>
<td>Share findings of study under the direction of the UNDP and establish the framework for moving forward.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It takes a Village to Raise a Child: Core Principles

Localising the Concept

In terms of operationalising the process of moving from vulnerability to resilience and hope, representatives of the communities at the validation workshop on December 14, 2015 made an impassioned call for introducing and implementing the concept that “It takes a Village to raise a child.” They based this call, among other things, on their own past experiences, when a practice was reportedly started by Denham Town and Fletcher’s Land and later adopted by Tivoli Gardens that ensured that children were off the streets and in their homes by a certain time each night as a way of engendering their safety and parental responsibility.

According to community members, this initiative had been taken over by the Don, Christopher Coke and after him, by the Security Forces when in fact it had come from citizens themselves. The call to action around this mantra of the village nurturing the child, could be seen as one way of reasserting community leadership around an idea that could generate wide agreement across all the communities, albeit that opposition and cynicism were also to be expected.

From discussion, it is possible to identify the following principles (among others) to guide and propel the development of this initiative. These would include:

1. **Establishing, through a participatory process, the principles, guidelines and boundaries for the implementation of the “village to raise a child concept”**. A core principle that should anchor the building out and practice within the framework of the Village Concept is commitment to the human rights based approach to development, including commitment to equality and equity in the relationships between males and females and to secure the empowerment of women and girls, men and boys and addressing issues of masculinities.

2. **Child centred development** – the care and protection of the child would become the highest priority for the family and the community. This could also embrace the utmost priority to stem teenage pregnancy and to solicit the role of responsible men in the protection of women, girls and families.

3. **Personal, parental and community responsibility and commitment** - each member of the community would be encouraged to commit to the overall village development process and to take responsibility to support in specific ways activities that are agreed.

4. **An enabling environment** – physical, emotional, social, spiritual. This would entail among other things addressing the total health and wellness of the community; nurturing positive interpersonal relationships and supporting men, women, boys and girls to begin to take responsibility for their actions.

5. **Transformative personal and community leadership** - where individuals are encouraged and supported to empower themselves by nurturing their own leadership skills and combining with others to develop and strengthen community groups and organizations to meet their mutual needs.
6. Establishing and sustaining partnerships within and outside of the communities with organizations, agencies of civil society, the private sector, the state and international development entities for the sustainable development and transformation of Western Kingston.

These principles are grounded in a belief and hope that everyone can change and cooperate for the development of Western Kingston.

In the words of a female participant in the Validation workshop...

“What happened in 2010, is a part of the past and if we can accept our own little part that we play and work together and try to live.... I am talking about acceptance. We need to accept our own down fall, then we could build on it.”

Prepared by the Women’s Resource and Outreach Centre through Linnette Vassell Research Team Leader, February 29, 2016.
### Appendices

#### Appendix 1 - In-depth Interview Listing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Peace Management Initiative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dispute Resolution Foundation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. JCF Research Planning and Legal Services Branch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Legal Aid Council</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Office of the Public Defender</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Social Development Commission</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Citizen Security &amp; Justice Programme</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Association for Inner-city renewal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Faith Based Organization</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. St. Anne’s CA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Charlie Smith High School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Kingston High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 2 - Numbers and Sex of Participants in Focus Group Discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group ID No.</th>
<th>Name of Group</th>
<th>Age Range (Years)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hannah Town Parenting Group</td>
<td>28-57</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Comet 2 WROC Group</td>
<td>18-25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Women’s Centre of Jamaica Jones Town</td>
<td>15-17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Fletcher’s Land Parenting Association (Executive)</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Fletchers Land Parenting Association</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Peace Management Initiative and Victim Support Department Volunteers</td>
<td>20-55</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>West Kingston Ministers’ Fraternal</td>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Denham Town Adult Females</td>
<td>25-60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Charlie Smith High School</td>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Denham Town Adult Males</td>
<td>24-81</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Tivoli Gardens High School</td>
<td>12-17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Guidance Counsellors</td>
<td>30-55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Tivoli Gardens Females (1)</td>
<td>17-30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Tivoli Gardens Males (1)</td>
<td>17-24</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Tivoli Gardens Females (2)</td>
<td>25-51</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Tivoli Gardens Males (2)</td>
<td>18-60</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3 – Focus Group Discussion Instrument (Pre-Test)

Name of Group: COMET 11 GROUP. Facilitator- Mrs. Pauline Bain ; Rapporteur: Sassah-Gaye McPherson

Date- November 3, 2015- 4pm- WROC Office

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues/Questions</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introductory on the Project</td>
<td>Ms. D. Whyte- also introduces Mrs. Bain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How has the 2010 Tivoli incursion affected young people like yourselves ... girls/boys and youth male/female?</td>
<td>Encourage participants to speak in terms of their areas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are the main challenges you believe children/young people in their community are having now?</td>
<td>Focus on girls and women BUT include male challenges. What do males think the main challenges of females are?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you believe that these challenges are linked to what happened in 2010?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are the challenges different for girls and boys and male and female youth?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How male youth and females get along?</td>
<td>This question is directed towards pulling out whether domestic/gender based violence is a reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who and/or what enables you to keep going?</td>
<td>Are the supports different for females and males?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What do you see yourself doing in the next 3 years?</td>
<td>Need for careful documentation of specifics for these last questions IN PARTICULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are you going to do to get there?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What support do you need to get there?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What are three positive changes you would like to see in your community in the next 2 years?</td>
<td>Get specifics re the community being referenced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pairwise Ranking Exercise</td>
<td>Linnette to do- hopefully time allows.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finalised by Project/Team Leader- Nov. 3, 2015.
### Appendix 4 – Focus Group Discussion Instrument (Men, 25 years and older)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues/Questions</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How has the 2010 Tivoli incursion affected men like yourselves?</td>
<td>Probe whether they still see/feel effects…what are these?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. What has really kept you going? How do you manage?</td>
<td>Focus on girls and women BUT include male challenges. What do males think the main challenges of females are? List challenges on a sheet of paper and if there is time at the end get a ranking done.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. What are the main challenges that families like yours are facing?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Are the challenges different for girls and boys and male and female youth?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. How do male youth and females get along?</td>
<td>This question is directed towards pulling out whether domestic/gender based violence is a reality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Who and/or what enables you to keep going?</td>
<td>Are the supports different for females and males?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. What do you see yourself doing in the next 3 years?</td>
<td>Need for careful documentation of specifics for these last questions IN PARTICULAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. What are you going to do to get there?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. What support do you need to get there?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. What are three positive changes you would like to see in your community in the next 2 years?</td>
<td>Get specifics regarding the community being referenced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Pairwise Ranking Exercise</td>
<td>To be done- hopefully if time allows.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Appendix 5 –

ASSESSING VULNERABILITIES OF WOMEN AND GIRLS OF WESTERN KINGSTON

A UNDP/WROC PROJECT

INSTRUMENT FOR INDEPTH INTERVIEWS: AGENCIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions/Issues</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. How long has the agency/organisation been serving in the community/ How long has the existing entity been doing this work</td>
<td>Which community…probe and note others communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Composition of population being served… sex, age, socio-economic status</td>
<td>Probe…main clientele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. How is the community reached? Do persons come in or officers go out?</td>
<td>Probe circumstances that would determine approach taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Issues/needs/complaints /faced and brought by community members in general</td>
<td>Get data as available…by communities if possible in Western Kingston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Any differences, if any are there in the issues, complaints, problems brought since 2010?</td>
<td>Probe- reason for any differences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. (a) What are some of the impacts of the Tivoli incursion that have been observed/brought to the organisation. (b). Clarify the impacts noted for women, girls, men, boys.</td>
<td>Probe classification of impacts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Overall what threats, if any are faced by women and girls? men and boys?</td>
<td>Any reports, data available?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b. Do young women have the same opportunities as young men?</td>
<td>Probe- who is more vulnerable in the whole post 2010 situation? Vulnerability= “diminished capacity to respond to cope with recover from the impact of 2010 in western Kingston”. Probe reasons.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. (a). How do men relate to women?</td>
<td>Probe female experience with the judicial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b). What are the sources of conflict among young men and young women?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c). What has been the experience of GBV since 2010 [forms, rate of incidence, reporting and response – including the involvement of the judicial system?</td>
<td>Probe also female role / involvement in crime and violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions/Issues</td>
<td>Comments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. What in your view are the three main challenges/problems facing young girls 13-and over in the community?</td>
<td>system, for example to address gender based violence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. What has been the experience of the elderly and men and women with disabilities? What agencies if any, have focused with these 2 groups?</td>
<td>Get ranking 1, 2, 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Is the community more ‘together’ or less so since 2010?</td>
<td>Seek explanation with examples.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. What capacities or resources have your clients had which have enabled them to respond positively to the stressors they have faced?</td>
<td>Probe capacities, resilience…what do they describe in concrete terms. Note we could be talking about human and social assets.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. How has your agency/organisation contributed to the resources and capacities of women and girls in particular? (b). How can resources/capacities be improved to enhance the personal/individual and the collective resilience of young girls and women in particular?</td>
<td>Probe- who can/must do what? What can/must women and girls themselves contribute?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. What resources/assets are available (a).through your agency and (b). through other entities, to enhance capacities of girls and women, boys and men?</td>
<td>Get specific project/programmes named with contact details, if possible.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>