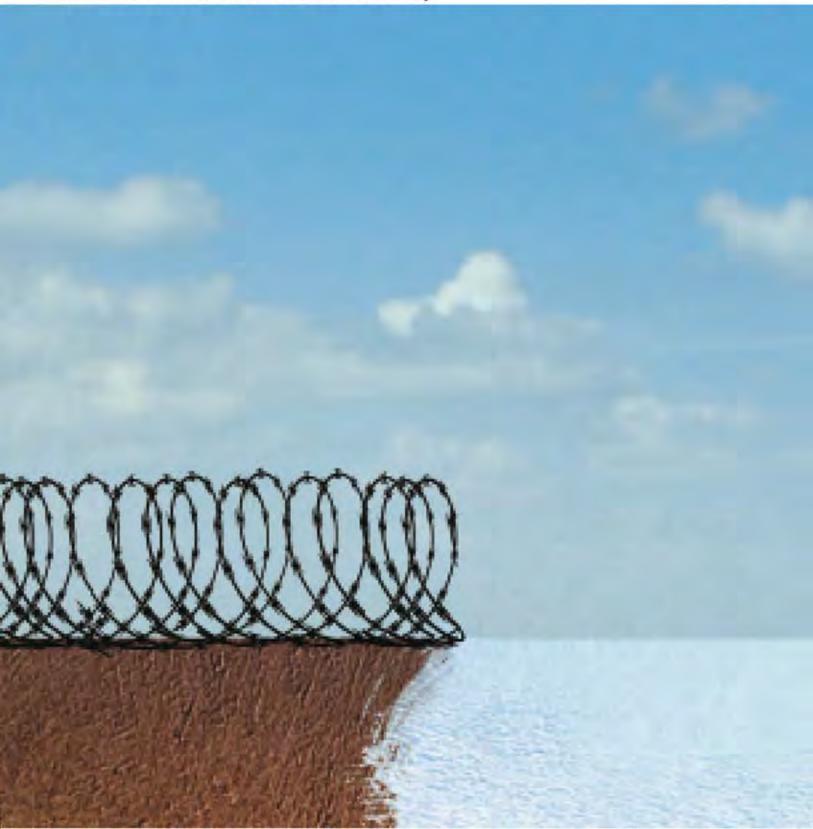
Caribbean Human Development Report **2012**

Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security





The cover design of the report is the outcome of a poster competition organized by UNDP in July 2011 entitled "Youth violence is an exception rather than a rule: Releasing youth vitality through investing in them." The theme for the competition was intended to closely reflect one of the priority focus areas covered by the Caribbean HDR and inspire the branding of the report.

The competition, which was open to all citizens of Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Suriname, Barbados, Guyana and the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS), closed officially on July 17th with a winner selected from a total of seventeen entries from across the region. The selection was the result of a popular poll done on the Caribbean HDR Facebook page and the votes of a judging panel composed of a regional artist and various UNDP representatives.

The winner of the competition was Trinidadian Timothy Bootan who described his work as depicting "two halves of youth, people who invest in their youth and make their lives better by learning to play music and doing things a normal young person would do, while the other half shows some who decide to follow the wrong path and choose violence from either their loneliness or peer pressure."

The report cover is a fragment of the winning poster which is reproduced as well on the back cover. UNDP thanks all the competition participants.



SUMMARY Caribbean Human Development Report 2012

Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security



Caribbean Human Development Report 2012 Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security

Copyright © 2012 by the United Nations Development Programme 1 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior permission.

Website: http://www.regionalcentrelac-undp.org/en/hdr-caribbean

Editors: Robert Zimmermann, Carol Lawes and Nanette Svenson Cover design: Timothy Bootan and Juan Manuel Salazar Design and Layout: Miguel Nova y Vínculos Gráficos

Printed in Panama by Inversiones Gumo, S.A.

For a list of any errors or omissions found subsequent to printing please visit our website.

No consultation has been carried out in Guyana.

The data on Guyana have been obtained through public sources and the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010.

Caribbean Human Development Report 2012

Helen Clark

Administrator United Nations Development Programme

Rebeca Grynspan

Associate Administrator United Nations Development Programme

Heraldo Muñoz

Assistant Administrator and Director of the Regional Bureau for LAC United Nations Development Programme

Freddy Justiniano

Director a.i. Regional Centre for LAC United Nations Development Programme

Anthony Harriott

Niky Fabiancic

Deputy Director Regional Bureau for LAC United Nations Development Programme

Leida Mercado

Human Development Advisor Coordinator Caribbean HDR Regional Centre for LAC United Nations Development Programme

Lead Author Caribbean HDR

Executive Board

Marcia De Castro

UNDP Resident Representative Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname

Thomas Gittens

UNDP Country Director Suriname

Michelle Gyles-McDonnough

UNDP Resident Representative Barbados and OECS

Arun Kashyap

UNDP Resident Representative Jamaica

Khadja Musa

UNDP Resident Representative Guyana

Luis Felipe Lopez Calva

Former Chief Economist and Practice Leader Poverty, MDGs and Human Development Regional Bureau for LAC

Alvaro Pinto

Former Practice Leader Democratic Governance Regional Bureau for LAC

Pablo Ruiz

Practice Leader Crisis Prevention and Recovery Regional Centre for LAC

Consultants

Richard Bennett

Consultant on Police

Terri-Ann Gilbert-Roberts

Consultant on Youth Violence and Youth Resilience

Marlyn Jones

Consultant on State Policies and Policy Orientation of the Populations

Charles Katz

Consultant on Street Gangs and Organized Crime

Edward Maguire

Consultant on Criminal Justice Systems

National Consultants

April Bernard

Marlyn Jones Barbados Jamaica

Jack Menke Suriname

Mellissa Ifill Guyana

Janielle Matthews Antigua and Barbuda Randy Seepersad Trinidad and Tobago

Survey and Statistics

University of West Indies

Mark Kirton Marlon Anatol Roy Russell

Quality Control Consultant

Helena Rovner

Peer Reviewers

Edward Greene

Peer Reviewer on Human Development

Patricia Mohammed Peer Reviewer on Gender

Gabriel Kessler

Peer Reviewer on Youth

Trevor Munroe

Peer Reviewer on Policy

Foreword

The increase in violence and crime in Latin America and the Caribbean is an undeniable fact that erodes the very foundation of the democratic processes in the region and imposes high social, economic and cultural costs. Our region is home to 8.5 percent of the world's population, yet it concentrates some 27 percent of the world's homicides. Violence and crime are therefore perceived by a majority of Latin American and Caribbean citizens as a top pressing challenge. The resulting alarm has often led to short-sighted, mano dura (iron fist) policies, which have proven ineffective and, at times, detrimental to the rule of law.

The situation varies much among and within countries. Broadly speaking, there are high- and low-crime countries in the region, and differences exist even within each of the sub-regions (i.e., South America, Central America, and the Caribbean). However *perceived* insecurity and citizens' concern are independent of actual crime rates, so that *mano dura* policies are not exclusive of high-crime countries.

In this context, we are confronted by a paradox: Why is it that, despite the democratization process experienced in the region in the last 20 years, citizen security levels, as well as the justice and security institutions in the region, are in crisis? Why is it that, despite the structural and institutional reforms promoted by countries in the region in order to construct governance mechanisms which are more transparent, horizontal and democratic, the justice and security institutions are overwhelmed and confidence in them is shattered?

To begin to resolve this paradox and deal effectively with crime and violence, we need accurate assessments that provide evidence for action. To this end, the United Nations Development Programme, in association with governments, civil societies and international agencies, is leading numerous initiatives aimed at improving citizen security in Latin America and the Caribbean. This report is a one of these efforts. Drafted by a team of outstanding scholars building upon previous research and practical experience, this report also reflects findings from the analysis of extensive new survey data and sustained consultations involving over 450 experts, practitioners and stakeholders in seven Dutch- and English-speaking Caribbean countries.

Of primary concern with citizen security is the issue of public confidence in state capacity to protect citizens and ensure justice. If citizens lack confidence in the police, the judiciary and other public authorities, no amount of repression will restore security. The success of any law enforcement system depends on the willingness of the people to participate and contribute. For the state to enjoy the trust and commitment of the people, it must strive to eradicate exclusion, improve transparency and create opportunities that encourage a sense of belonging for all.

A key message of the report is that Caribbean countries need to focus on a model of security based on the human development approach, whereby citizen security is paramount, rather than on the traditional state security model, whereby the protection of the state is the chief aim. Indeed, the contrast between prevention on the one hand and repression and coercion on the other is ill conceived. Social inclusion to help prevent crime and violence and efficient and effective law enforcement are by no means incompatible or mutually exclusive. In a truly

democratic society, broad based social inclusion and swift criminal justice—or "prevention" and "coercion"—serve to reinforce and complement each other. This is one of the most important lessons to be taken from this report — and not only for the Caribbean but for all of Latin America as well.

An issue of common interest to Latin America and the Caribbean is security. Organized transnational crime, mainly that which involves drug trafficking, looms large in the security crisis currently affecting an increasing number of countries in both sub-regions. Although this report concentrates on implications for the domestic dimensions of the problem in the Caribbean, especially among youth, it is also important to note that the Caribbean is a critical transit route between drug producers and large-scale consumers. As a result of this geographical positioning, it is necessary for the Caribbean to strengthen cooperation with its Latin American neighbours and project a larger voice in the global dialogue on existing policies and possible alternatives.

An improved worldwide policy addressing the problem of addictive drugs could contribute considerably to reducing levels of violence and social disruption in the Caribbean. This belief is substantiated by an encouraging finding presented in the report: despite exceptionally high homicide rates, the overall incidence of crime in the Caribbean as measured by the victimization survey data "compares favourably at the lower end with countries such as Japan," referring to nations that participated in the 2004-2005 International Crime Victimization Survey. This suggests that the spiral of violence generally associated with drug trafficking exists within the context of an otherwise durable social fabric that makes for lesser ordinary "street" crime.

This is but one of the constructive insights readers of the Caribbean Human Development Report 2012 will find. With its fresh prospective, solid data and rigorous analysis, this publication offers people from the Caribbean, along with those from Latin America and every other region, many valuable lessons to apply in the ongoing effort of confronting crime and fostering human development.

Heraldo Muñoz

Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Assistant Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme
and Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean

Contents

Overview

Chapter 1 Crime Trends since Independence and the Impact on Vulnerable Groups

The Caribbean Context Crime Trends since Independence Crime Victimization Fear of Crime

Chapter 2 Youth Violence: Reducing Risk and Enhancing Resilience

Youth Violence and Caribbean Human Development Risk and Vulnerability: Explaining the Patterns of Youth Violence Reducing Risk and Enhancing Resilience

Chapter 3 Reducing the Contribution of Street Gangs and Organized Crime to Violence

Scope and Nature of the Problem The Causes of Street Gangs and Organized Crime Responding to Street Gangs and Organized Crime

Chapter 4 The Police: Transitioning to Citizen Security

Policing under Colonial Rule: State-Oriented Security Modern-Day Policing: The Citizen Security Approach The Police in the Caribbean Perceptions on the Police in the Caribbean Region Willingness of Citizens to Participate and Cooperate with the Police

Chapter 5 Criminal Justice Systems

Indicators of the Effectiveness of Criminal Justice Systems Opinions on the Effectiveness of Justice Systems Accountability Regional Links

Chapter 6 State Policies and the Policy Orientation of the Populations

The Policy Environment
The Policy Orientation of the Population
State Capacity and Citizen Security

Chapter 7 Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions Recommendations

Notes

References

Technical Notes

Introduction



This summary presents the main findings and recommendations of the Caribbean Human Development Report (HDR) 2012: Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security, commissioned by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). As the first HDR on the Caribbean, it analyses the impact of insecurity and violence on human development, within the development context of Caribbean Small Island Developing States (SIDS). Most importantly, the Caribbean HDR provides evidence based recommendations on how to better address insecurity and violence across the region, but particularly in the English- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries.

The Caribbean is diverse, comprising several geographic groupings, including island countries and nations on the mainland. The scope of the Caribbean HDR is, however, limited to the English- and Dutch-speaking countries, two sub-regions where insecurity has become a very serious threat to human development, particularly in the former. Seven countries were selected for research, in order to represent variations in geography, population size, level of development, and the degree and character of the problem of insecurity. The selected countries are Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Guyana, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Suriname, and Trinidad and Tobago (Caribbean - 7).

The process of producing the Caribbean HDR involved extensive and intensive research and consultations. The research included the administration of a citizen security survey to gather primary data on a representative statistical sample of citizens of the seven countries. The data coming from the survey allowed an analysis of the region as a whole, as well as country

comparisons. The consultations involved more than 450 people including experts, practitioners and a variety of institutional actors and interested parties from across the region. They were developed using the methodology of Democratic Dialogue and provided the opportunity to triangulate the findings from the data generated by the survey with the experiences of the participants who were involved in the consultative process. The report also relies on secondary data from official sources and academic research.

The Caribbean HDR presents the opportunity for the people of the region to learn more about each other and to enhance collective learning and solutions. It does not attempt to explore every aspect of the security situation in the sub-region or to replicate or to improve on previous efforts, but rather, to extend them. There are unavoidable overlaps between the HDR and earlier reports dealing with the issue of crime and insecurity, but there is a deliberate attempt to minimize these. The Caribbean HDR limits the discussion of drug-trafficking and organized crime to their national traits and the violence they generate. This approach calls greater attention to the internal roots of this problem and does so without minimizing the importance of international cooperation in tackling transnational organized crime networks and drug-trafficking. Indeed, the central concern of the report is violence and the responses to this problem.

This summary presents the main findings and recommendations of the Caribbean HDR 2012. It does not include all aspects of the original document. The interested reader can find the full report at www.regionalcentrelac-undp.org/en/hdr-caribbean.



Overview

The approach

The Caribbean cannot achieve sustainable well-being and enjoy the fruits of its efforts towards progress unless its people can be secure in their daily lives. Crime and violence limit people's choices and liberties, threaten their physical integrity, disrupt their daily lives whether in their homes, in their jobs, in their communities or in their environment, and create uncertainties and costs that hinder economic development.

The search for citizen security leads towards development, not to partial strategies such as repressive-only measures that are ineffective in eradicating the causes of insecurity, affect basic liberties and thus risk eroding the legitimacy of the democratic system. In general, it will not be possible for the Caribbean nations to achieve their major goals - not human rights or democratization, not protection of their citizens against crime and violence - except in the context of sustainable human development.

The First Caribbean HDR addresses the concerns of the Caribbean people focusing on the challenge of citizen security within human development. This lens shows that the problem of insecurity does have a solution and that the solution is achievable. It shows that the real, long-term, irreversible response to crime, violence and conflict is human development.

Human development is a process of enhancing human capabilities while protecting rights and freedoms; expanding choices and opportunities so that each person can lead a life of respect and value. It puts the people at the centre of development, regards economic growth as a means not an end, and addresses intragenerational and

intergenerational equity, enabling present and future generations to make the best use of their capabilities and to realise their potential.

Citizen security is a necessary dimension of human development for it eliminates threats that restrict people's options. Citizen security refers to the social situation in which all persons are free to enjoy their fundamental rights and public institutions have sufficient capacity, under the rule of law, to guarantee the exercise of these rights and to respond efficiently when they are violated. Thus, the citizen is the principal focus, and operates in partnership with credible, effective and legitimate institutions of the state.

Human development therefore allows for people to participate creatively and exercise power in the society, economy and polity, as much in Caribbean countries - which are generally characterized by small size and limited natural resources – as elsewhere in the world.

The Caribbean

Caribbean people now have a vastly wider range of choices than they had in the colonial era. There have been significant advances in human development, especially in health care and education. There has been a virtual revolution in access to education. Secondary education is near universal and there is much greater access to tertiary education. Levels of poverty have been substantially reduced while the standard of living of the majority has improved. Since the 1960s, the end of the colonial era, there has been a marked increase in life expectancy and a similarly manifest decline in infant mortality.

There have also been advances in democratic governance. With few exceptions, Caribbean countries are stable democracies with high levels of political participation. Government administrations change according to electoral rules in the majority of countries. There are declining levels of political violence, consolidation of the rule of law, and protection of the independence of the judiciary.

Despite these positive trends, several countries of the region are affected by high rates of violent crime and social violence, which typically affect the historically disfavoured and discriminated members of the society. The elevated rates of violent crime in the Caribbean may be taken as evidence of social inequalities that restrict the choices to large sections of the vulnerable population. Crime may thus rightly be regarded as being a profoundly developmental problem.

Crime and development in the Caribbean

After independence, Caribbean countries were challenged by economic, political and social factors that had their foundation in the colonial past. The legacy of very high levels of income inequality, gender inequality, high rates of unemployment, high rates of rural and urban poverty and social exclusion, has continued. Negative factors have impacted the region. Except for Guyana's agricultural and Trinidad and Tobago's extractive sectors, light industries and services, including tourism, that sustained the region, have struggled. Despite these struggles, tourism is now a major source of economic wealth and employment. The heavy dependence on this sector creates vulnerabilities due to the instability of flows and the effects of climate change, with its accompanying loss of shoreline and extreme weather conditions. Tourism is also vulnerable to the effects of high rates of violence in the region. Thus, citizen security is truly a regional issue and a regional vulnerability. In the political sphere, social movements advocating social justice and social change became part of the mainstream influencing the development policies of governments. A growing population of young people demanding participation and access to education created pressures for social reform.

With the exception of Suriname and Guyana, which are in the medium human development category, countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) show rankings as high-level human development countries. This is according to the components of the UNDP Human Development Index (HDI), namely, indicators of levels of health, education and standard of living. Nevertheless, the advances in social standing are offset by poor economic performance, high debt burdens, and significant rates of poverty, with the poor being concentrated in rural areas. Additionally, there are disparities in the distribution of income and wealth, and persistent gender inequalities. These disparities are reflected in the loss in HDI and each of its dimensions, when adjusted by inequality and gender inequality. For example, the 2011 percentage loss in achievement across the three dimensions due to gender inequality ranged between 33 and 55 percent among the seven countries selected for research.

The current high level of violent crime is associated with these trends. In addition, the region has been impacted by violence emerging from political competition, growth in the drug trade, and more recently, gang-related violence.

The crime situation

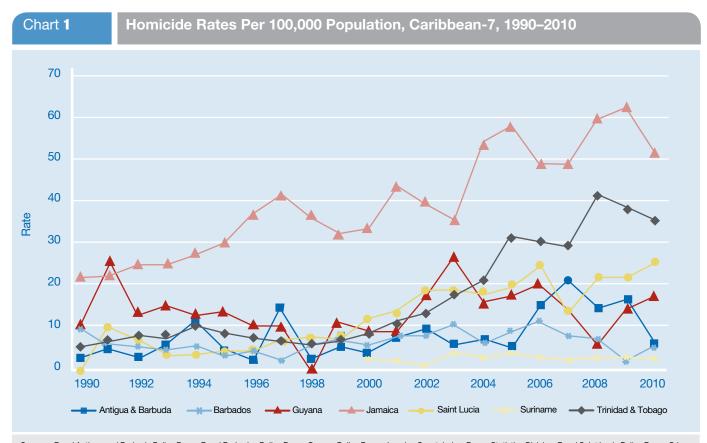
Despite the increasing rates of violent crimes, there are variations in the structure of crime and the complexity of crime problems across different Caribbean countries. The trend of violent crimes has been increasing, as shown by the evolution of homicide rates (chart 1). Jamaica has had particularly high but recently declining per

capita homicide rates and is ranked among the more violent countries worldwide. The homicide rates were relatively low and stable in the other six countries from 1990 to 2000. Since then, the homicide rate has risen substantially in Trinidad and Tobago, and fluctuated, but trended mostly upward, in Antigua and Barbuda, Guyana, and Saint Lucia. Barbados and Suriname have shown low rates across the 20-year period 1990-2010.

Robberies - defined as stealing any property using force or fear of force - and burglaries/break-ins are the most fear-inducing crimes for Caribbean residents. Although relatively stable in Barbados and having declined in Jamaica and Guyana, the rates overall have increased. Trinidad and Tobago currently shows the highest rate of robberies, and while Saint Lucia shows a gradual increase, Antigua and Barbuda has shown

the most dramatic increase. Suriname, which has lower rates of violent crimes than other Caribbean countries, posted an increase in the robbery rate from 107 per 100,000 people in 2004 to 386 in 2006. Robbery rates in Suriname have decreased since 2006 but have remained over 300 per 100,000. The region shows a long downward trend in burglaries and break-ins.

Sexual violence, domestic violence and trafficking in persons, affect particularly women and girls. Rape is particularly devastating and life-changing in its effects. Chart 2 illustrates the prevalence of rape in five of the countries under review. United Nations statistics on countries with available and comparable data show that among Caribbean countries, each experienced a higher rape rate than the average of 102 countries in the world.

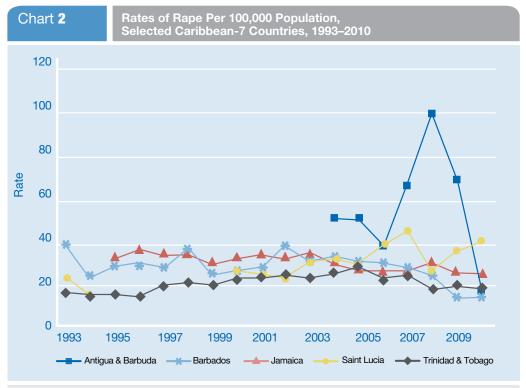


Sources: Royal Antigua and Barbuda Police Force; Royal Barbados Police Force; Guyana Police Force; Jamaica Constabulary Force, Statistics Division; Royal Saint Lucia Police Force, Crime and Problem Analysis Branch; Trinidad and Tobago Police Service.

Crime data challenge in the Caribbean

The HDR makes extensive use of secondary data including official statistics on reported crimes although this was limited by the absence of comparable hard data on all countries.

For example, there is no region-wide survey using a common methodology to document levels of violence against women. Similarly, lack of standardized data and data collection methods, and the inability to disaggregate statistics by sex and age deter accurate assessments. There are also gaps in hard data on the caseloads of the courts, the caseloads of police investigators and other indicators of the capacities and capabilities of the institutions of the criminal justice systems of the countries of the region. In many cases the data was either not uniformly available or simply did not exist in some countries. Data on school violence, an escalating problem in the Caribbean, it is not readily available.



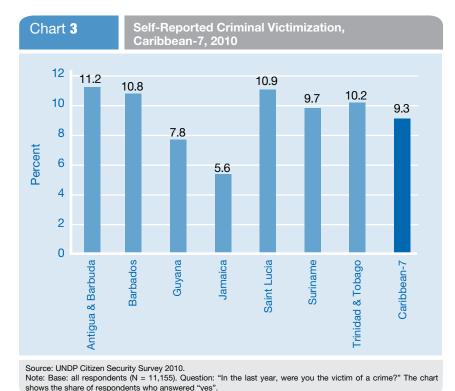
Sources: Royal Antigua and Barbuda Police Force; Royal Barbados Police Force; Jamaica Constabulary Force, Statistics Division; Royal Saint Lucia Police Force, Crime and Problem Analysis Branch; Trinidad and Tobago Police Service.

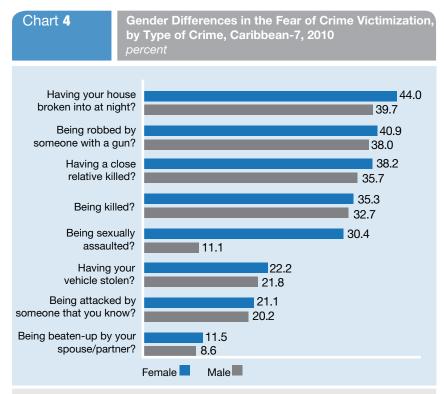
Citizens' perception of crime

The UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010 has allowed for measuring the extent of victimization in the region and its variation across individuals and nations (chart 3). The proportion of interviewees who reported being a victim of a crime in 2009 ranged from around 11 percent in Antigua and Barbuda, Saint Lucia and Barbados, to a low of 6 percent in Jamaica, with an average for the region of 9 percent.

Gender violence is a major issue in the Caribbean. While women are less likely

than men to be victims of crimes generally, their vulnerability to sexual assault and domestic violence is dramatically higher than men's, and sexual offences is a category of crime that reflects their differential risk. Some 30 percent of all females feared being sexually assaulted but only 11 percent of males had a similar fear. Among females, 12 percent feared being beaten-up by their spouse or partner while the comparative figure for males was 9 percent (chart 4). Approximately 11 percent of survey respondents of both sexes reported experience with domestic violence, with





Source: UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010. Note: Base: all respondents (N = 11,155). Question: "Thinking about each of the following things, please indicate how much you worry about them." The chart shows the percentage of respondents who answered "All times", plus "Most times" and "Sometimes".

the rates ranging from a low of 6 percent in Jamaica to a high of 17 percent in Guyana. Gender based violence has been a persistent problem in the region. However, it is now better understood and can be better controlled and prevented by interventions that abort the cycle of violence and associated patterns of conflict.

Youth and street gangs

Organized crime and gangs are the source of major lethal violence in the region. Youth are inherently vulnerable in the Caribbean development process. Youth violence is an important challenge, particularly in the form of street gangs, contributing to popular perceptions of increasing insecurity (chart 5). It is related to high levels of youth unemployment, poor or inadequate educational opportunities, social exclusion, exposure to and experience of violence at home, in school, in communities and the wider society, and insufficient attention to youth development and empowerment.

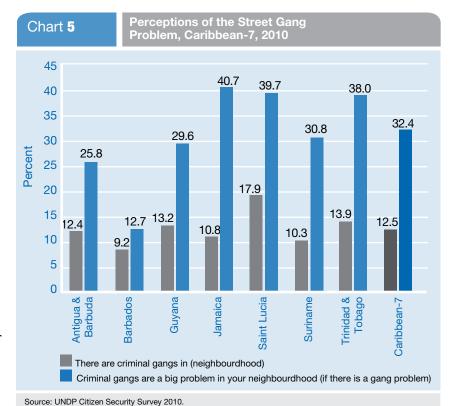
However, violence is not prevalent throughout the youth population of the region. Studies show that 6 percent of youth may have been gang members. In fact, most youth that come into contact with the police reflect behaviour related to the need for care and protection after abuse, neglect, abandonment or having run away from home. The majority of aggressors and victims are young men who use violence for protection against threats, or who have acted under a male-dominated tradition of violent conflict resolution, particularly by being involved in various forms of neighbourhood or community violence. At the same time, young women are victims of verbal and physical violence, particularly in interpersonal or domestic spheres.

Organized crime constitutes a different and serious problem, by exercising violence in connection with an enterprise activity, be it drug, gun, or human trafficking, and extortion. In some countries these groups are powerful and entrenched. However, the extent of their prevalence is difficult to measure. Caribbean nations lack the institutional capacity to effectively respond to the problems of street gangs and organized crime. This is evidenced by the fact that crime associated with these activities rarely leads to arrest, and even more rarely to conviction. Robust law enforcement is required for more effective control of organized crime. However, to reduce the prevalence of street gangs, social cohesion should be promoted through socially integrative policies. This approach gives people, particularly youth, a sense of being valued, and of belonging to community and country.

In recent years the security situation has been aggravated in several countries of the Caribbean, and has become very high relative to other world regions. The region has become more violent. In nations with the highest rates of violence, organized crime and gang violence present the greatest challenge. In others, gender-based violence is the main concern. The increase in crime has been accompanied by a decrease in crime clearance and conviction rates. Inequality and social exclusion are big factors, but the near immunity to arrest has also increased the incidence of violent crimes in some countries. This highlights weaknesses in the capacity of institutions to respond effectively to these problems.

The apparent paradox

Despite the high rates of violent crime, the general victimization rates remain fairly low by international standards. The Caribbean region is not characterized by a generalized turn to crime or increase in all categories of crime. In some countries high rates of violent crime are accompanied by low rates of property crime and thus low rates of total crime. In others the relatively high rates of property crimes are associated with low rates of violent crimes. While the average rate of homicide for the region is high, on



Note: Base: respondents who answered that gangs were in their neighbourhoods (N = 1700). Questions: "Is there a criminal gang (or gangs) in your neighbourhood?" "To what extent is there a criminal gang problem in your neighbourhood?" The chart shows, for the first question, the percentage of respondents who answered "Yes" and, for the second question, the percentage of respondents who answered "A big problem". *p<.05

average, Caribbean citizens feel somewhat secure. Feelings of security are related to the national patterns of crime. Thus, the Caribbean rate of victimization compares favourably at the lower end with countries such as Japan, among the 30 nations that participated in the 2004-2005 cycle of the International Crime Victimization Survey.

The sense of security is greatest where the level of confidence in the institutions of law enforcement and justice is high. What matters most is the confidence in the capacity of states to protect their citizens and to ensure justice.

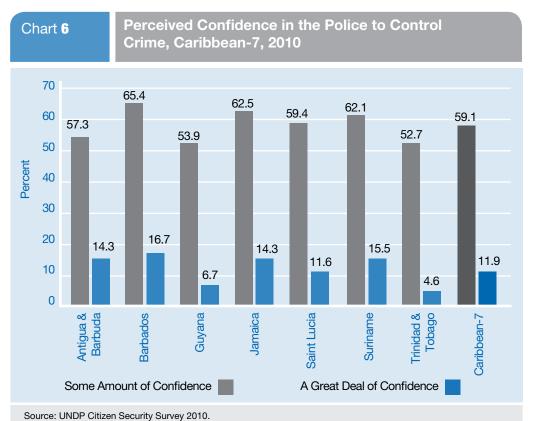
Public institutions: Police, judicial and penitentiary systems

The human development approach to crime and violence in the Caribbean is hampered by the lack of institutional capacity of public institutions. Despite progress made in some countries, the predominant model of policing in the Caribbean still focuses on state security rather than on citizen security. The police system in the Caribbean faces several challenges to complete a transition to citizen security. These include, first, improving police capacity and capabilities to enhance performance in terms of responsiveness and effectiveness. The second challenge is promoting legitimacy, which comes from integrity and improved accountability, and eradicating corruption, which weakens public confidence. Third is reducing abuses of power and fully recognising human rights. Overcoming these problems will allow community policing and citizens' cooperation to prevent crime and control criminality.

The survey results provide some grounds for optimism. Citizens perceive their police forces as moderately legitimate and competent and show willingness to become coproducers of their own security (chart 6). Further, the citizens of each nation manifest support for governments investing more resources in the reform of the police services in order to increase their effectiveness.

Within Caribbean justice systems, legal codes and institutional arrangements continue to present characteristics of the colonial legacy. Arbitrary arrest and detention is prohibited by the Constitution, and the systems allow visiting of incarcerated persons by external observers. But the criminal justice system still faces challenges. Case processing delays and backlogs, low conviction rates, prison overcrowding and insufficient alternatives to prison, all strongly interconnected, impact on the capacity for fairness, effectiveness, transparency and accountability. Although systematic data are not available, conviction rates in the Caribbean appear to be alarmingly low.

The practice of pre-trial detention is widespread, and the length of time a person may be detained on suspicion of involvement in criminal activity varies. This often contributes to significant problems



Note: Base: all respondents (N = 11,155). Question: "How much confidence do you have in the police to effectively control the crime problem in your country?" The chart shows the percentage of respondents who answered "A great deal of confidence" or "Some amount of confidence".

with case backlogs and prison overcrowding. Detainees are held sometimes for years. This practice is an affront to justice and overwhelms the capacity of prisons, while the incarcerated must contend with substandard conditions, overcrowding and poor sanitation. Probation is viewed as a viable alternative.

Furthermore, even in those countries where separate facilities are available, juveniles may often be detained in adult prisons due to security concerns at youth facilities. In some countries, female juveniles are especially vulnerable to being placed in adult prisons due to an absence of female youth facilities. The extent to which juveniles are isolated from adult populations within adult facilities varies as well.

Caribbean correctional systems are far from being able to balance protection of the public against the need for efficiency and fiscal prudence. The focus of getting "tough on crime" reduces the emphasis on rehabilitation and alternative sanctions, ideas around which a regional knowledge base on good practices is still to be built.

The path ahead

Caribbean citizens want safer societies. Governments have made considerable efforts to improve security. The challenge is how to respond more effectively to broaden the results for the society as a whole with respect to citizen's rights and inclusion of the most vulnerable.

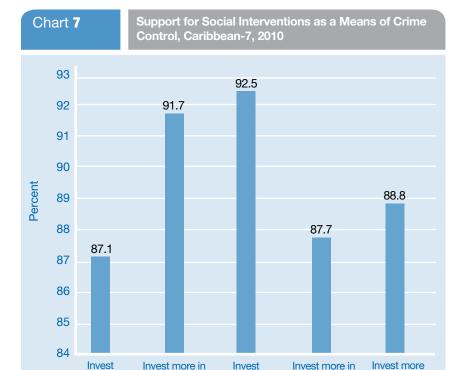
The approach is crucial to making Caribbean societies safer and more just. It requires completing the shift to citizen security in the framework of human development. This means rebalancing policy so that there is a stronger focus on social crime prevention, and grounding this policy in the overall human development strategies both at the national and regional levels.

An important aspect of policy that is citizen security oriented, is the reform of implementing institutions concerned with

crime control and law enforcement to make them more fair, efficient, transparent and accountable. This is a necessary, but not sufficient condition. Human development also encompasses policies of economic growth and productivity, social development, enhancement of democratic governance and respect for the rule of law, as well as sustainable environmental development. Unemployment and underemployment, constraints to political participation, marginality, and unequal distribution of wealth and income, are directly and indirectly linked to problems of security. Thus, citizen security policies need participation of the various actors: central ministries like finance, labour and education; local governments; the private sector; civil society organizations, like non-governmental and community organizations, and the media. Within the region, CARICOM has had strong influence on crime policy, the fight for drug control, and the promotion of a shift towards prevention programmes. International actors, both bilateral and multilateral agencies that have accompanied the process and provided financial and technical support, also have a role to play.

A citizen security approach emphasizes prevention, and protection of potential victims, rather than action once a crime has been committed. An optimal response includes prevention strategies that address the root causes of crime and violence as well as crime reduction initiatives. Therefore, the way that crime policy is formulated and executed is at the core of its effectiveness.

The assessment of public attitude towards crime and violence indicates that despite expressions of support for punishment, citizens overwhelmingly favour social crime prevention strategies (chart 7). The perceptions of the citizenry and the media influence the criminal justice policy. Citizens are willing to join in the quest for a safe society when they are aware that the state pursues a policy towards security complying with the rule of law and protecting their rights.



Source: UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010.

Note: Base: all respondents (N = 11,155). Questions: "In order to reduce the crime rate, the government should invest more in education." "In order to reduce the crime rate, the government should invest more in programmes for young people." "In order to reduce the crime rate, the government should invest more in job creation." "In order to reduce crime, the government should invest more in the communities of the urban poor." "In order to reduce crime, the government should invest more in reducing poverty." The chart shows the percentage of respondents who answered "Strongly agree" or "Agree".

more in job

creation

more in

education

programmes

for young

people

Main conclusions

• The efforts by governments and experiences already underway in the Caribbean show a new and positive direction that fosters the transition to citizen security in the context of the democratic system and constitutional form of government. The states' respect for civil and political liberties creates favourable circumstances. So, too, do the participation of civic organizations, more engaged publics, and the media, which contributes to creating more awareness on pressing issues, promoting debate and demanding accountability in public actions.

communities of

urban poor

in reducina

poverty

 Levels of insecurity remain high in the region and have a negative impact on human development. For Caribbean people crime, violence and insecurity are important social problems since they limit individuals' choices and liberties; represent threats to their physical integrity and patrimony and disrupt their daily lives. Insecurity is partly rooted in a lack of confidence in the institutions of the state, in the police and in the justice system.

- There is a demand for change that calls for greater attention to crime as a social problem and for the recognition that security cannot reliably rest on the capabilities and performances of law enforcement.
- There is official recognition of the need for comprehensive reform of the police and justice services in several countries. There are promising Caribbean efforts in this direction, but these have neither been evaluated nor properly documented.
- A shift to citizen security is necessary
 and there is a willingness of the people
 to participate with the state in activities
 designed to promote change. Impediments
 to change include insufficient capacity of
 the state, a weak system of accountability
 and low governance.
- The shift would require the formulation of a new strategy, an effective programme design as well as institutional strengthening and a re-allocation of public resources that recognize the new priorities. Future efforts should focus on juvenile justice reform, responses to domestic violence, new mechanisms for the participation of citizens in governance, a response to corruption, and strong advocacy for citizen security policy.

The Caribbean HDR is intended to shift discussion about security in the region and lead to actions consistent with this new orientation. According to this report, the trajectory of violence in the region can be interrupted by a more vigorous transition to citizen security.

Main recommendations

The following are the main recommendations of the Caribbean HDR. These are grounded in the analysis of the data that was collected as a part of the research process, which shows that human development, human rights and citizen security are interdependent. The recommendations are products of the accumulated experience of several experts and practitioners across the region, and suggestions from several consultations with hundreds of high level institutional actors in the state sector, non governmental organizations (NGOs), and others.

Reducing victimization:

- In the short term there is a need to reduce access to illegal firearms and to better manage the access to legal ones.
- Protection of those at risk is necessary. Measures must be taken to prevent child sexual abuse, provide better protection for indigenous people and sexual minorities, and establish gender-based violence units in the police services.
- In the longer term, there is a need to take social crime prevention more seriously. This implies an assessment of existing programmes including jobtraining and job-creation; greater support for families in high violence areas; training of social workers to provide the services needed to support families; and increasing the budgetary allocation to social crime prevention programmes.
- Another related priority is the promotion of awareness of and respect for human rights. This is best done in partnership with the Ministries of Justice, the media and advocacy groups. Governments are expected to lead on these recommendations and to include them in their plans and programmes.

Reducing risk and building youth resilience:

- In the short-term there is a need for the development of programmes for promoting pro-social behaviour among the youth. Measures should include gender differentiated after-school programmes; the establishment of youth friendly spaces; the promotion of voluntary community service; introduction of programmes that support family stability and prevent the shifting of children between multiple guardians, which is a significant contributor to the development of aggressive and anti-social behaviour.
- Institutionalization of youth in conflict should be a last resort. Restorative justice should encourage and promote alternative means for provision of care and protection. Legislative changes should take place concerning the treatment of 'wandering' and 'running away' offenses. Children and youth who are in jail should have access to health services including evaluation of their mental health status.
- In the long-term, a regional platform for monitoring youth development and for the collection and analysis of data is required to develop evidence-based programming.
- At the regional level, CARICOM should be encouraged to advocate, facilitate and provide technical support for the adoption of these recommendations by national governments.

Controlling street gangs and organized crime:

- In the short-term the establishment of a surveillance system of street gangs and organized crime at the regional level is necessary. Research should be done on the causes, scope and nature of the phenomenon and assessment of the trends in the region.
- Training of Caribbean police services confronted with street gangs and organized crime should be improved and their

- accountability promoted in a way that maintains the citizen's human rights.
- Programmes that would assist gang members to successfully exit gangs are important. Those interested in leaving the organizations should be supported and protected by relevant programmes.
- In the long-term, there is a need to implement a balanced response to street gangs and organized crime, using primary prevention programmes for those who are at risk, and intervention, and as a final resort, suppression programmes, for those involved in violence.
- These recommendations ought to be considered by the governments of the region. The research aspects may be best implemented in partnership with the regional university and the various national universities.

Transforming the police:

- In order to facilitate the transition from the state security model to the citizen-oriented model of policing, dramatic changes should occur in the police services. Foremost is the need for change at the top, with the adoption of an "executive style" in which the community is viewed as a major resource and considered as a valuable and necessary partner in decreasing violence. Changes should also address the rank and file whose job satisfaction is key to their embracing organizational reforms. The systems require more participatory management.
- To take advantage of the public's will-ingness to cooperate with the citizens, police should strengthen the quality of their service to enhance trust and confidence among citizenry. In the short-term, they must establish properly resourced and trained gender-based violence units. They should also strengthen partnerships with other state agencies and with NGOs as is required by the reform process.

- In the long-term, more robust systems of police accountability are required, both internal and external to the institution. Prevention and investigation of corruption should be priorities. External investigative units to address force violations by the police should be established. An alert press and organized human rights groups focused on police misconduct are needed.
- The Association of Caribbean Commissioners of Police (ACCP) should be encouraged to advocate for some of these proposals. However, implementation would have to be the responsibility of national governments via their ministries of national security or home affairs.

Reforming the justice system:

- In the short term, there is a strong necessity to minimize delays and backlogs that are bedeviling the criminal justice systems in the region. It requires a better witness management system, appropriate preparation of the cases by justice practitioners, and resolute action against corruption practices by court administrative personnel and lawyers. A regional witness protection system would help.
- In the long-term, sentencing policies should be reviewed and revised in order to promote alternative punishments and minimize the use of incarceration for all but the most serious offenders. Strategies for alternative sanctions should be implemented for juveniles, first time offenders, older, and non-violent offenders. The proportion of pretrial detainees should be reduced.
- Measures are needed to improve the confidence in the criminal justice system. A new system of oversight for the courts and prosecutors, with greater inclusion of representatives of civil society should be adopted, and a more open information system instituted. The cost to court users should be reduced and mediated settlements encouraged.

■ Several governments of the legion already have justice reform projects and programmes. These recommendations are best integrated with these programmes. They will however need to be championed at the national and regional levels. Human rights groups, the media and organizations of citizens may play important roles in making these proposals a reality.

Building capacity for evidence based policy:

- The shift in policy requires a **greater emphasis on social crime prevention**, institutional transformation, respect for human rights and the rule of law, youth empowerment and gender equality.
- Research is important in championing the effectiveness of different strategies for decreasing crime based on the collection and analysis of data. In the short-term, a regional observatory on crime should be created to be in charge of crime mapping, monitoring and evaluation of promising practices. This would strengthen the capabilities of regional and national institutions to measure crime, and allow for study of the capacity of governments to prevent and alleviate the threats to citizen security. There is a need to fill the data gaps regarding gender-based violence and

- crimes against vulnerable populations. CARICOM, the ministries of national security, the ministries of justice and the universities should partner to make these recommendations a reality.
- Increased budgetary support is necessary. New priorities must mean shifts in allocation of public resources.
- Participation is a key principle of citizen security and is a condition for the effective implementation of the transformations that are required. Implementation of many of these recommendations requires active youth organizations, and the involvement of women's, victims' and human rights groups. It requires immediate and sustained action and commitment by officials in the state system of the region and in regional institutions such as CARICOM. Everyone has a part to play in ensuring citizen security: government, police, social institutions and citizens.
- On the whole, what is proposed does not go beyond the inventiveness and innovativeness of the Caribbean people. However it requires greater and more sustained advocacy on the part of civil society groups, and greater commitment to citizen involvement by the governments of the region.

Technical Note 1. National and Regional Consultations

In preparing the first Caribbean Human Development Report (Caribbean HDR) for the English- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries, a critical data collection methodology employed—and one which embodies the HDR Corporate Principles of national ownership and participatory and inclusive preparation—was that of a series of national and regional consultations, the details of which are described in this technical note. The purpose of these consultations was twofold: to obtain qualitative data on the views, experiences and priorities of stakeholders across the region regarding the issue of citizen security, and to promote Caribbean ownership of and buy-in for the report as a means to strengthening its advocacy potential.

The consultation processes involved extensive and intensive one-on-one interviews and focus group dialogues with experts, practitioners and institutional actors from across the region. In six of the seven countries selected as

research sites for this report¹, a purposive sample for both national and regional consultations was developed with input from the UNDP Country Office focal points. Sample selection for both national and regional consultations was carried out in line with the principles of the Framework for Actor Mapping/Stakeholder Analysis presented in *Democratic Dialogue: A Handbook for Practitioners*, which facilitates the analysis of potential actors, their interrelationships and distinct perspectives on the issue at hand.²

The key actors for a potential dialogue include a variety of individuals, institutions and interest groups. A thorough analysis for determining a valid sample takes into consideration not only the identification of major relevant groups and institutions but also the diversity existing within each of these organizations. The figure below presents the matrix framework through which such an analysis was configured.

Figure 1. Framework for Actor Mapping and Consultation Sample Selection

Democra	Democratic Dialogue Framework for Actor Mapping						
Actor	Interests/needs/	Perception of/	Connections to	Openness to/sup-	Power/means of		
	goals/	position on key	others/ quality of	port for a dialogue	influence		
	concerns	issues	relationships	process			

A total of 194 actors participated in the national consultations; 62 percent represented governmental agencies and 38 percent represented non-governmental bodies. A total of 256 actors participated in the regional consultations; 49 percent represented governmental agencies and 51 percent represented non-governmental bodies. Table 1 below shows the breakdown by number and representative percentage of participants by country.

National Consultations

For the national consultations, three or more rounds of focus group dialogue sessions were held in Barbados, Jamaica, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. Additionally, national researchers held a series of bilateral meetings with key local actors who were unable to participate in the group consultations. In Antigua and Barbuda, the consultations were limited to bilateral meetings and no national consul-

tations were conducted in Saint Lucia. In total, 92 national consultations were held, 69 (75 percent) of which were bilateral meetings and 23 (25 percent) of which were group meetings.

Regional Consultations

Five group dialogue regional consultations also took place in September 2010 in Paramaribo, Suriname; Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago; Bridgetown, Barbados; Castries, Saint Lucia; and Kingstown, Jamaica. These meetings involved a total of 256 participants from regional organizations such as the Regional Security System (RSS), the

NOTES:

¹ No consultation has been carried out in Guyana. The data on Guyana have been obtained through public sources and the UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010.

 $^{2\,}IDEA, CIDA, OAS, and\,UNDP.\,2007.\,Democratic\,Dialogue\,-A\,Handbook\,for\,Practitioners.$

Table 1. Number and percentage of participants in national and regional consultations, by country

Country	Number of participants in national consultations	Percentage	Number of participants in regional consultations	Percentage
Antigua & Barbuda	16	8		
Barbados	44	23	47	19
Jamaica	37	19	42	16
Saint Lucia			46	18
Suriname	61	31	41	16
Trinidad & Tobago	36	19	80	31
Total	194	100	256	100

Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) and the CARICOM Secretariat, among others. The regional consultations provided an opportunity to triangulate the quantitative data findings from the survey with the experiences of the participants involved in the consultative process and to solicit feedback on the report presentation.

Recommendations offered in the course of these consultations ranged from suggestions for supplementing missing data, revising chapter titles and changing terminology definitions to the identification of successful crime prevention programmes. Questions were also posed by the participants, specifically on methodology employed as well as the accuracy of the official crime statistics reported and

the representativeness of the findings of the surveyed data, particularly with regard to urban and rural populations and different demographic groups. A call for reformation of the criminal justice system was endorsed in all consultations and proposals were offered for alternative penal solutions, different policing models and methods, means for reducing youth violence, and strategies to promote wider involvement of the local community.

It is important to note that the recommendations presented during the consultations were either accepted as offered or further researched and developed; a concerted effort was made in the report preparation to incorporate all substantiated feedback from consultation participants.

Technical Note 2. The UNDP Citizen Security Survey 2010

The most important methodological tool utilized in the preparation of the first Caribbean Human Development Report was the Citizen Security Survey, which involved over 11,000 respondents from across the region and contributed the primary data for much of the subsequent analysis presented in the report. The objective of the survey was to provide empirical evidence for the analysis of how, in the context of the English- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean countries and within the development context of Caribbean Small Island Developing States (SIDS), insecurity and violence have negatively impacted human development. Guided by this central objective, the survey collected data on the following:

- Satisfaction with standard of living/level of human development
- Actual victimization/Crime at the community level
- Domestic Violence
- Fear of crime
- Policy orientations of the population

- Evaluation of and confidence in police and justice systems
- Community and societal cohesion
- Informal control of crime and violence
- Self-reported interaction with the criminal justice system
- Demographics

The survey was conducted in the seven selected territories that served as sites for the report research--Guyana, Trinidad & Tobago, Suriname, Antigua & Barbuda, Saint Lucia, Barbados and Jamaica. The target population of the survey was households with at least one permanent resident 18 years of age or older. In total, 11,155 persons were interviewed.¹

The sample for the survey was designed to reflect key demographic characteristics of the adult populations in the participating countries based on the most recent census data. The sample was self-weighted by region and gender distributions. Even though probabilistic procedures were followed to select households, it was expected that at least some of the sample would present moderate biases in variables not controlled by quota.

Post-fieldwork processing of the data implied control of all relevant demographic variables for each country against the last available census data to evaluate possible biases and to elaborate and apply weighting factors where needed. The variable distributions controlled for were age, gender, ethnicity, education level and population by county/area.

The report also utilizes a series of surveys conducted by the Vanderbilt University Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP). These datasets were used primarily for their data on the justice systems in the countries surveyed.

Analysis of policy attitudes

The issues that guided the analysis on attitudes of the population towards policy were based on the following:

- The extent to which crime and insecurity is defined by the various populations as a serious social problem in need of policy attention. Section 1 of the Citizen Security Survey questionnaire measures this as the relative seriousness of the problem.
- The specification of policy orientation dimensions and determination of the extent and intensity of support for each
- The patterns of support towards different policy orientations by country, victimization experience, confidence in the criminal justice system, age, gender, income, education and area.
- Intensity and coherence of the different tendencies or orientations.
- Correlates with perceptions of societal features (for example, how just a society is seen to be); law-abiding inclination among the populations; perceptions of good governance (control of corruption, confidence in the criminal justice system, etc.); and regime commitment (or attitude to regime change or military government).

In order to detect and analyze underlying attitudinal

orientations in the population, a cluster analysis was performed based on a series of 22 items included in the questionnaire. These measured degrees of support or rejection for different statements related to social prevention policies, punitive policies, and attitudes of optimism (or pessimism) about whether the crime problem can effectively be solved by the state and the society.² Cluster analysis is a segmentation method that identifies groups of entities or statistical samples (in this case, the citizens), intended to identify homogeneous subgroups of cases in a population. This technique is used to first, establish groups not previously defined but relevant to the study in question, and second, analyze the group's membership and characteristics. The specific technique used in chapter 6 of this report was hierarchical clustering. This statistical method allows the researcher to select a definition of distance, a linking methodology for forming clusters, and the number of clusters best suited to the data.

Lastly, the analysis of confidence in police and justice systems is based on the construction of simple additive scales. Cronbach Alpha coefficients were analyzed in order to test the scales' reliability.

Use of official crime statistics

The report also relied on secondary data taken from official state sources in the seven countries included in the HDR. Official crime statistics were used for the trend analyses reported. An important condition for comparing crime indicators is that the compatability of definitions across the range being examined. For this reason, the categories of crime used in these analyses were restricted to homicide, rape, and the aggregate categories of violent crimes and property crimes.

NOTES:

¹ For more details on all technical aspects of the survey described in this note, please refer to the following website: http://www.regionalcentrelac-undp.org/en/hdr-caribbean.

 $^{2\,}$ The complete English version of the questionnaire is available at http://www.regionalcentrelac-undp.org/en/hdr-caribbean . Questions used for cluster analysis are Q55 a to Q55v.

CARICOM Human Development Index

To reflect more closely the specific characteristics of the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking countries, we have estimated a 2011 aggregated HDI that covers all CARICOM countries for which data are available (details on the estimations can be found on the report's website at <a href="http://www.

regionalcentrelac-undp.org/en/hdrcaribbean). This represents the first attempt to estimate such a HDI. The 2011 CARICOM estimated HDI is 0.564, which is considerably lower than the 2011 LAC HDL Since the HDI is a population-weighted index, the low value of the CARICOM HDI may be explained by the impact of Haiti, given the proportion of the CARICOM population accounted for by Haiti (nearly 60 percent) in 2011. If the CARICOM HDI is estimated without including Haiti, the value shifts upwards (0.724), which better approximates the reality of the Dutch-speaking and English-speaking countries and is closer to the LAC HDI (0.731).

CARICOM Human Development Indices

	Human Development Index (HDI)	HDI rank*		Inequality- adjusted HDI		Gender Inequality Index	
	Value 2011	Rank 2011	Change ^b 2010- 2011	Value 2011	Change in rank* 2011	Value 2011	Rank 2011
	Very high	human	develop	ment			
Barbados	0.793	47	0	-	24	0.364	65
	High	uman d	evelopmer	it.			
Bahamas	0,771	53	0.	0.658	-3	0.332	54
Antigua and Barbuda	0.764	60	1+	**	196		
Trinidad and Tobago	0.760	62	14	0.614	-2	0.331	53
Grenada	0.748	67	0	**	140	***	-
	Medium	human	develop	nent			
Saint Kitts and Nevis	0.735	72	0	140	44	-	144
Jamaica	0.727	79	-1+	0.610	+	0.450	81
Dominica	0.724	81	-1.4		Sec	144	144
Saint Lucia	0.723	82	0	+4	1841	44	-44-
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	0.717	85	-1+	#	-tr	(46)	+4
Belize	0.699	93	-1+	+		0.493	97
Suriname	0.680	104	ø	0.518	-3	**	- 10
Guyana	0.633	117	29	0.492	-1	0.511	106
Hairi	0.454	158	1+	0.271	-9	0.599	123

Source: Homan Development Report 2011 Installability and Equaty: A Botton Fotton for All. NOTES

s. Change in rank a based on amorties for which the languality adjusted Harriss Development bases a calculate

n. Rank is based on 187 commune for which the 2013 HDH is calculated.

Across indicate appeard or document investment in the amony's ranking over 2010-2011 using communicates and mechalology; a blank indicates no change.



Caribbean Human Development Report 2012 Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security

Violent crime is a major challenge to human development in the Caribbean. Produced after a thorough consultation and based on a telltale survey of 12,000 citizens from seven countries, this Report reviews the current state of crime in the English-and Dutch-speaking Caribbean, as well as the policies and programmes developed at both national and regional levels to address crime. The report offers a set of recommendations to reduce and prevent violent crime while advancing human development. It advocates for a balanced mix of policies that includes social programmes to induce youth away from crime, preventive measures to abort the cycle of violence and stop gender violence, and a shift from a state security approach to one focusing on citizen security and participation. Achieving this will require reforms to make law enforcement fair, accountable and more respectful of human rights. A key message of the report is that everyone can be an agent of citizen security; government, police, social institutions and citizens – everyone has a part to play.

