

CRIMINAL RECIDIVISM IN THE CARIBBEAN

IMPROVING THE REINTEGRATION OF JAMAICAN *ex*-PRISONERS

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List of Abbreviations & Acronyms

ARCH	HIV/AIDS Resources and Community Health
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CARICOM	Caribbean Community and Common Market
CBO	Community-based organisation
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
CRBs	Community Relation Boards
DCSJ	Department of Correctional Services Jamaica
DFID	Department for International Development
DRF	Dispute Resolution Foundation
ESSJ	Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica
EU	European Union
FAACC	Fort Augusta Adult Correctional Centre
FBO	Faith-based organisation
FNOs	Foreign National Offenders
FPWP	Female Prisoner Welfare Project (Hibiscus Jamaica)
GBP	British Pound
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GED	General Educational Development
GLM	Good lives model
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung
GOJ	Government of Jamaica
GST	General Strain Theory
HIV/AIDSs	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IDP	International Development Partner
INGO	International Nongovernmental Organisation
IRMs	Involuntarily Removed Migrants
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
JIS	Jamaica Information Service
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
JMD	Jamaican Dollars
JRRAP	Jamaica Reducing Reoffending Action Plan
JSLC	Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNS	Ministry of National Security
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NSP	National Security Policy
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PAN	Prison Action Network
PIOJ	Planning Institute of Jamaica
PRI	Prison Reform International
PRT	Prison Reform Trust
PS	Probation Services
PWPs	Prison Work Programmes

RJ	Restorative Justice
RM	Resident Magistrate
RNR	Risk-need-responsivity
SCACC	Saint Catherine Adult Correctional Centre
SCP	Situational Crime Prevention
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit
STATIN	Statistical Institute of Jamaica
SREC	School of Social Science Research Ethics Committee
TSACC	Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre
UN	United Nations
UNAFEI	United Nations Asia and Far East Institute
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollars
UWI	University of the West Indies
WRP	Work Release Programme

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Abstract

Finding ways to reintegrate ex-prisoners into Jamaican society is a pressing but complex social, economic and moral issue. This is due, not least, to the financial costs of prison recidivism and growing concern over the Jamaican state's capacity to meet the needs of a large number of its citizens subject to forced repatriation to their homeland by overseas jurisdictions due to their offending. The absence of a mature and reliable evidence base about the extent and nature of criminal recidivism in Jamaica also contributes to the challenges faced by policy makers and service providers seeking to reduce incidence of crime. This is in part related to the dearth of research on what is a sizeable and multi-faceted subject matter which has impeded a more decisive and progressive political and policy response. While there are generic criminological themes in regard to recidivism, desistance and reintegration of offenders that cross international boundaries (see Harriott 2000; Headley 2006), there remains the not inconsiderable challenge of identifying culturally specific features that bear upon crime and the policies and programmes that might encourage sustained abstinence from offending and which could be better served by a distinctive Caribbean criminological epistemology.

To that end, this exploratory study seeks to offer insights into the social worlds of male and female offenders in Jamaica in order to better understand what they deem to be the influences that led them to crime and those which might at least assist them in desisting from law-breaking. The study is based upon a largely qualitative research design comprising semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Some 54 inmates participated who had received more than one prison sentence and in that sense are termed here a 'recidivist', albeit the contested nature of this term and related key concepts such as desistance and reintegration will be subject to scrutiny in the early chapters of this thesis. One other inmate who could not be

regarded a prison recidivist mainly because he was awaiting trial on this his second time in prison was interviewed in prison and added to the study. All 55 interviews and most focus groups were conducted with persons being held in three of Jamaica's maximum security correctional facilities. In addition, eighteen other individuals who had managed to stay out of prison following their release were interviewed within the community. A further set of interviews were conducted with 17 organisational leaders and spokespeople representing state and voluntary agencies engaged in the process of offender reintegration. Their perspectives reveal illuminating contrasts with those provided by the ex-prisoners about the likely ingredients of an effective return to a life without serious offending.

The findings will hopefully assist policy makers and professionals in thinking about the steps that might be taken to tackle Jamaica's high rate of serious crime. As the findings will suggest, such steps must involve a renewed understanding, sense of belief and commitment towards effective reintegration. Additionally, there needs to be a more robust conviction that persons leaving prison can indeed change but that they face embedded hostility and exclusion from a number of quarters. This study provides insights into why ex-prisoners believe that there is resistance amongst influential others in the community to accepting them as 'reformed'. Such perspectives should assist local agencies in better understanding the impact of negative community attitudes and point to ways to counter social exclusion and help promote effective reintegration.

Moreover, the findings point to the importance of strategies at national and local level that can bestow upon ex-prisoners a more meaningful sense of belonging and positive citizenship that can help reinforce the reintegration process. Throughout, the voices and experiences of the ex-prisoners come to the fore to challenge accepted policy and criminological wisdoms

and to point out the need for more creative and determined initiatives to help people from prison find a new and better future.

Chapter 1: Exploring the Link between Effective Reintegration and Criminal Recidivism in Jamaica

The thesis addresses a much under-researched field of offender management in Jamaica. It is focused on exploring the micro and macro-level social factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of ex-prisoners in Jamaican society. The reintegration phenomenon could be positioned within the overall criminal justice system which includes the correctional service, the judicial system and the police. However this would be an overly ambitious approach and the focus instead resides around the problematic matter of the prison experience and subsequent reintegration of offenders. However this is not without recognition of the traditions and enduring challenges for the police and the courts which stem in part from the country's complex colonial history.

Very little is known about the challenges offenders in Jamaica face within the community following imprisonment and so the motivation to address this much neglected area of criminological interest derived from this dearth of research evidence and the imperative to better understand the link between ineffective reintegration and Jamaica's violent crime situation. Jamaica's major crime and murder rates stand at 314 and 37 per 100,000 population respectively (Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ), 2014). Therefore for every 100,000 persons living in Jamaica in 2013, 37 were murdered and 314 were victims of category one crimes. Category one crimes are considered serious and mainly include murder, shooting, rape, aggravated assaults, robbery, break-in and larceny (PIOJ, 2014). However due to the absence of reliable criminal justice databases it is difficult to determine how many of these

crimes were reoffences. This may help explain why to date there is no accessible published study on criminal recidivism (reoffending behaviour) in Jamaica.

A further impetus for undertaking this study was prompted by the discrepancy between Jamaica having one of the highest homicide rates in the world (39.3 per 100,000) (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), 2013) and the lowest incarceration rate within the Caribbean region (122.5 per 100,000). This incongruity suggests that this developing country may be doing poorly in terms of detecting and sentencing serious offenders, or, that the most use is being made of available alternatives to imprisonment. Indeed, the declining growth rate in prison recidivism (see PIOJ, 2014) would seem to be an indication, *prima facie*, of the correctional service's success as it tells us that people are staying out of prison. However based on what we know about prison recidivism as a proxy measure (Maltz 1984) and the informal and illegitimate alternatives to punishment used in Jamaica (Harriott 2000), we can confidently assume a dark figure of crime exists, i.e., unrecorded, undetected and unreported cases of offending and recidivism. Therefore the study sought, *inter alia*, to explore aspects of this dark figure by illuminating some of the hidden nature of community and prison life in this vibrant but challenged culture that is contemporary Jamaica.

The decision to pursue this area of research was also driven by the need to identify areas for capacity building necessary for discouraging the criminal recidivism of Jamaicans who are to be sent home by the British government to complete their sentences in Jamaica (Green 2007) and the many other repatriates who are resettled and who may find it difficult to reconnect with Jamaican culture (Headley 2006). Though previous studies have established that the contribution repatriates make to Jamaica's violent crime rate is minimal (Headley et al. 2005; Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne 2007), the reality is that 1527 Jamaicans were involuntarily

removed from the United States (US), Canada and United Kingdom (UK) in 2013. This figure is equivalent to 46 per cent of the Jamaican prison population. It was therefore predicted that if this trend continues it is likely to limit correctional capacity and increase the tax-payer burden especially given that approximately 45 cents out of each Jamaican dollar goes towards paying the country's international debt (Hall 2013). Therefore a key challenge which the Jamaican government now faces has to do with using finite resources innovatively to find ways of preventing future offending by Jamaicans who are about to be removed from overseas jurisdictions. Later chapters will address this topic by exploring the reintegration experiences of repatriated Jamaicans and commenting upon policy options.

Research Approach & Contribution

The above study topics and motives have underpinned a qualitative mixed methods research design that aims to reach beyond what is often a narrow and one-sided aetiology of reintegration (Headley 2006; Caballero et al. 2011) and examine factors that ex-prisoners in Jamaica and repatriates from abroad believe may help them better reintegrate into Jamaican society. In so doing, the study seeks to address four broad research questions:

- How are indigenous prison inmates (who had previous prison experiences) and those ex-prisoners returning to Jamaica from prisons elsewhere reintegrated?
- To what extent do ex-prisoners see prison influencing the quality of their reintegration experiences?
- How can correctional practices in Jamaica be made more effective?
- What are the challenges to making existing correctional practices in Jamaica more effective?

These questions were addressed initially by a detailed review of the theoretical and practical understandings of recidivism and social reintegration in Jamaica and elsewhere, and an

examination of international good practices on what has worked in helping offenders make the transition from prison to the community. Thereafter, the study sought to generate original and rich qualitative data into the factors that contribute to effective reintegration amongst offenders released locally and those repatriated to Jamaica.

Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussion were the key methods used.

Interviews were conducted with 73 offenders (55 in 3 Jamaican prisons and 18 ex-prisoners in the community) and 17 providers of support services (3 in the prison system and 14 in the community). Six focus groups were conducted, four in prisons and two in the community.

The data were analysed thematically using an adaptive theory technique which provided additional depth to the interpretation of a sizeable and varied data base about the reintegration phenomenon and which Chapter 4 (Methodology and Methods) will describe.

The largely qualitative methodology adopted means that generalisability of the research findings is of course limited. However, extensive analytical development linked to key concepts and cognate research may allow some modest inferences to be drawn that can inform correctional policy and practice within Jamaica. Caribbean societies, such as Jamaica, share much with other class-stratified capitalist societies, yet Western criminology seems unable to fully explain the nature of crime and social reintegration within the context of the region's contemporary experiences of neo-colonialism (Pryce 2007). However the thesis is not theoretically positioned within a postcolonial perspective, but much more in a traditional social science methodology that seeks to understand and interpret rather than approach the topic with a predetermined set of assumptions. That said, its originality also lies in its cultural relevance to a Caribbean postcolonial society in which persons leaving prison must seek to lead reintegrated lives. Indeed, it is their insights into these experiences that offer rarely

glimpsed understandings of institutional and community life for some of the most marginalised citizens of Jamaica.

Positioning Social Reintegration in Jamaica

As later chapters will reveal the thesis did not rely solely on understandings of reintegration advanced by the extant Caribbean research literature (Headley 2006; Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne 2007; Griffin 2009; Caballero et al. 2011) because of its limited focus on deported migrants. Furthermore, the reintegration policy context in Jamaica is fragmented across different jurisdictions and objectives and lacks coherence. It has yet to adopt the recommendation of the UNODC (2006a) whose working definition views reintegration as encompassing the arrest, sentence, rehabilitation, reentry and resettlement of offenders. As such, correctional services in Jamaica are yet to be based upon such a holistic formulation.

UNODC (2006b, p.1) defines social reintegration as ‘support given to offenders during the period starting from prosecution to release and post-release’. This definition is drawn upon in this thesis largely because of UNODC’s reputation as a global leader providing technical assistance to governments in the area of crime prevention and criminal justice reform including the field of social reintegration (see UNODC 2015). Additionally, UNODC has produced a number of handbooks which are informed by cross-country studies. This includes *Custodial and Non-Custodial Measures* (see UNODC 2006b, p.3), a landmark criminal justice assessment toolkit designed to help governments identify their social reintegration needs through gauging the effectiveness of existing measures in order to develop and inform recommendations for technical assistance interventions. The UNODC’s definition of social reintegration is often drawn upon throughout the thesis in order to generate contrast and critical insight into the Jamaican experience.

The above context together with a paucity of research on developments in correctional policy and practice in Jamaica makes it difficult to appraise the impact of any significant change in correctional practice. As a consequence, it can be difficult to define reliably what constitutes social reintegration within the Jamaican correctional context. Indeed, current correctional practices seem often punitive (The Death Penalty Project 2011) but in fact represent improvements from earlier approaches to offender management employed prior to Jamaica gaining independence in 1962 (Department of Correctional Services Jamaica (DCSJ), 2012). With independence came the reorganisation of existing prisons, probation services and approved schools which were joined together to form the DCSJ in 1975 (DCSJ 2012). In that same year there was a decisive policy shift in the function of the prison system towards rehabilitation and care (DCSJ 2012). Hence we may acknowledge that the post-colonial correctional service in Jamaica is now some 40 years old, but in terms of service delivery and impact seems less mature (see Jones 2007).

From available research (Henry-Lee 2005b; Morris 2006; Jones 2007; Caballero et al. 2011) we can see that when compared to the UK's more streamlined and joined-up 'seven pathways to offender management' (see Wedge 2007, p. 39; Appleton 2010, p. 102), Jamaica has a more ad hoc and underdeveloped set of activities in prison and the community in which there is a small and disparate group of nongovernmental organisations with different motives and approaches to reintegration. As such, rehabilitation in Jamaica remains largely prison-based, geared towards the reform or positive behavioural change of known offenders, whilst reintegration is almost synonymous with probation and other forms of early release and aftercare.

Parole is one such form of early release. Section 5A of the Parole Act 1978 stipulates that inmates whose death sentences have been commuted to life imprisonment may become eligible for parole after seven years or based on a minimum term otherwise specified by a judge. The same applies for other ‘lifers’ (DCSJ 2015c). However, in general, Section 6 of the Parole Act 1978 provides for all inmates serving a sentence of more than twelve months to become eligible for parole after they have served twelve months or one-third of their sentence, whichever is greater. However, it is difficult to obtain parole in Jamaica particularly for those found guilty of shooting with intent to cause bodily harm, shooting with intent to prevent the lawful apprehension or detaining of an individual, wounding with intent with the use of a firearm and illegal importation and transshipment of firearms and ammunition.

Probation services are administered through the Community Probation Service, an arm of the DCSJ. Interestingly, when compared to the UK (which has moved away from a traditional type of welfare-oriented probation system, see Gelsthorpe et al. 2010), probation in Jamaica tends to be supervision-based whereby a probation order made under Section 6 of the Probation of Offenders Act 1985 places an offender under the supervision of a probation and aftercare officer. Probation and aftercare officers may also be required to submit reports in order to assist the court in determining the most suitable method of dealing with any person in respect of an offence (see Section 22, Probation of Offenders Act 1985). However, this type of supervisory service (DCSJ 2015a) lacks the welfare aspect of a more holistic approach associated with the UK’s seven pathways to resettlement model mentioned earlier. The UK’s system of resettlement combines the personal supervision and provision of services aimed at developing offenders’ social capital in ways that will assist in their transition from prison to the community (Jones 2010). Therefore absence of a comparable type of

resettlement policy within Jamaica means that in policy and practice terms there is typically a distinction between reintegration and resettlement functions as later chapters will establish.

The resettlement of prisoners in Jamaica in respect to the state helping to safeguard their well-being following release (accommodation, education, training, employment, mental and physical health, drugs and alcohol use, finance and debt management and children and families, see Appleton 2010, p.102,) is not a single and combined policy field directly linked to government-led initiatives aimed at reducing reoffending (as is the policy in the UK). A Jamaica Reducing Reoffending Action Plan (JRRAP) was developed in 2009 with initial funding provided by the UK government which assisted with the provision of temporary accommodation for deported migrants, medical treatment for drug addicts, alcohol users and the mentally unwell. However these and similar services were deemed inadequate (Caballero et al. 2011) and some of the activities which were developed and implemented under JRRAP have now been terminated due to a lack of funding (PIOJ 2014).

Given therefore the absence of an official resettlement policy in Jamaica, the study has drawn upon the definition (see above) of social reintegration employed by the UNODC (2006a). In doing so, the study has sought to use this as a benchmark from which to help identify improvements to the Jamaican context. As later chapters will indicate, the UNODC's (2006) definition does not seem to give full recognition to the role of human agency in the reintegration process. However, as discussed later it is the case that without the cooperation and motivation of offenders, interventions are unlikely to secure the behavioural change sought (Maguire and Raynor 2006). In short, without efforts to engage the offenders in active change and relying instead upon their exposure to some form of 'treatment' is to apply what has been termed a 'deficit model' that undervalues human agency. The deficit model

also underestimates the range of crimes and sources of criminality (see English 1988; Kazin et al. 2011) and seems to ignore compelling arguments that unless offenders are supportive of mainstream norms then incarceration will unlikely lead to correction (DeJong 1997). Thus this study will focus closely upon the matter of human agency and those factors that may support or hinder an offender's attachment to pro-social mainstream norms.

Additionally, we may observe that the UNODC's (2006a) definition of social reintegration does not fully address matters of effectiveness. This is a thorny question and this study proposes a more nuanced approach whereby the ability of ex-prisoners to stay out of prison may be considered successful reintegration (see Clancy et al. 2006). However this does not mean that some or all the requisites for ex-prisoners to lead crime-free and productive lives following imprisonment have been met. In short, for the purposes of this exploratory study, effective reintegration is based on a modification of White's (2011, p.1) conceptualisation whereby the focus is on behavioural change connected to prosocial environments beyond the prison gate which operate long enough to allow these to influence and support the legitimate behaviour of ex-prisoners and enable them to enjoy inalienable freedoms without succumbing to earlier patterns of offending.

Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into three sections. The first comprises Chapters 1, 2, 3 which seeks to conceptualise the nature of ineffective and effective reintegration and the associated national, community and individual challenges of reintegrating into Jamaican society. Chapter 1 has sought to highlight the relevance and significance of the study and major research questions. It provides a brief outline of the policy and research context and

introduces the problematic nature of some key terms and concepts around social reintegration.

Chapter 2 introduces the notion of ‘troubled communities’ in Jamaica and explores how persons living in them are at risk of becoming trapped in cycles of crime which seem linked to ecological and larger structural constraints related to poverty, lack of capabilities and area stigma. It reveals how ingrained ‘deviant subcultures’ help to support the social exclusion of the urban poor in Jamaica. And the continuation of these subcultures challenges the plausibility of offenders being able to leave prison and lead reintegrated lives in these marginalised and disadvantaged communities in which criminality seems a normative means of survival for many.

Chapter 3 focuses on the facilitators of reintegration mainly at the institutional, community and individual levels which may be linked to positive behavioural change processes. The likelihood of positive behavioural change in this chapter was portrayed as being dependent on complex and multiple factors such as: human agency in developing a sense of redemptive self; rehabilitative treatment completion; policies and practices which are supportive of desistance behaviour; offender models that emphasise the responsibility of offenders; availability of appropriate reintegration services and managing stigma within the community. These are some of the key developments in reintegration practice the chapter traces and which provide a conceptual context for assessing Jamaica’s progress in terms of correctional practice.

The second section of the thesis consists of Chapter 4 which provides the methodological and epistemological principles that informed the qualitative mixed methods study design, together

with a critical account of data collection and sampling, analysis and ethics. Issues of access to offenders who constitute a hard-to-reach population and access to service providers are addressed together with a discussion about researcher identity. The chapter describes the characteristics of the research sample such as age, gender, offence, nationality and interview location. A detailed account of the analytical procedure and related considerations of validity are also set out. Finally, reflections about the limitations of the study conclude this chapter.

The third and final section of the thesis comprises Chapters 5,6,7,8, which are the empirical findings chapters and Chapter 9 provides a summary of all four. Chapter 5 examines the personal histories of offenders interviewed and how these histories may have affected the difficulties they encountered in seeking to achieve community reintegration. It focuses on the post-release period in seeking to explore the social factors which offenders believe hindered their planned transition from prison to life within the community. Poverty and social exclusion were key themes identified by respondents.

Chapter 6 examines the role of prison from the perspectives of offenders in Jamaica's maximum security prisons. The extent to which Jamaican prisons could be described as punitive is explored and a number of key themes are identified. Facilitating their agentic renewal and personal development were some of the ways in which Jamaican prisons were viewed by offenders as helping to prompt and support their positive change. Other factors such as respite from crime and developing a sense of self-worth seemed for some to be indirect results of being imprisoned. However the research literature about the poor physical conditions of Jamaican prisons and how these may impact upon access to correctional programmes was not refuted by the findings in this chapter. The chapter also notes the unintended discriminatory system of prisoner classification and negative relations between

prisoners and staff. Such barriers are highlighted and reveal something of the mismatch between the stated aims of corrections in Jamaica and day to day practice in the prison estate.

Chapter 7 examines the role of human agency in seeking to address the challenge of how offenders can reintegrate positively when returning to environments that are predominantly criminogenic, unsupportive of desistance behaviour and exclusionary. Maintaining a positive mind-set, shame management, encouraging pro-social family bonds and self-rehabilitation were key themes which emerged from interviews and focus groups with offenders in prison and in the community. The chapter also reveals ways in which these positive agentic experiences developed. In doing so, the chapter gives particular reference to associated relational and structural factors that may impede or enhance reintegrative success.

Chapter 8 considers the views of statutory and voluntary service providers engaged in various aspects of the reintegrative process. Some 27 individuals representing 17 agencies providing aftercare services in Jamaica were interviewed about what they deemed to be barriers and facilitators to reintegration. Overall, their views about the deleterious impact of prison on effective reintegration seemed to correspond with those identified by offenders. However the interviews located some policy and resource challenges which offenders did not identify. These included agencies working in silos and the under-prioritisation of ex-prisoner assistance by the Jamaican government. Counselling services and work release programmes were considered by prison staff to be among the more useful correctional interventions but these programmes were seen as hindered by resource scarcity.

Chapter 9 provides a summary of all four empirical chapters. It recaptures for the reader the major challenges of resource, targeting needs, key interventions, and particularly the role of

personal agency. These themes are represented via the perspectives of offenders and officials and linked to the critical question of necessary shifts in policy and practice if the Jamaican Government's vision for reintegration is to become realised. Here, a number of potential improvements are identified that may make policy more protective of prisoners and their rights, correction practices more desistance-supportive, and partnership and coordination of services more enabling. These and other improvements are discussed and conclude the chapter and thesis.

Chapter 2: Cycles of Crime and Urban Poverty— Challenges for Offender Reintegration

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the link between urban poverty and crime in Jamaica. It focuses on key factors which have perpetuated cycles of crime in disadvantaged areas in Jamaica and which may have encouraged criminal recidivism and made effective reintegration difficult. Whether there is a causal relationship between crime and poverty is still inconclusive (see Patterson 1991; Hsieh and Pugh 1993). The relationship insofar as it exists is likely to be complex whereby poverty may motivate persons to engage in criminality, indeed some may fall further into poverty because they have turned to crime and bystanders may be made both poor and criminal due to the ripple effect of these two social forces intersecting (Wilson 1994). Despite this complexity the correlation between types of crime and community economic deprivation is well documented (Krivo and Peterson 1996; Warner and Rountree 1997; Kawachi et al. 1999; Hannon 2002).

These correlations are of direct relevance to this study because of the concentration of violent crime in Jamaica's urban areas and the ways in which troubled communities found within these localities have been socially and politically organised (Moser and Holland 1997; Henry-Lee 2007). It is likely that the types of environment which typify these communities help to reinforce the barriers to effective reintegration which will be explored later in the thesis. This chapter is intended to provide a background to these types of environments and thereby

introduce debates and concepts that can help understand the challenges ex-prisoners may face upon resettling in disadvantaged urban communities in Jamaica.

2.1 Serious Nature of Urban Crime

Over the last two decades, Jamaica has had one of the lowest average annual per capita gross domestic product (GDP) growth rates of a negative 0.1 per cent (Johnston 2013). In 2007 this country was identified as the fourth most indebted country in the world with a debt-to-GDP ratio of 132 per cent (King and Richards 2008). In the same year the poverty rate stood at 9.9 per cent and in the three years following this almost doubled (17.6% in 2010) (World Bank Group 2014b). Closely linked to increasing incidence of poverty is the unemployment rate, where 11 per cent of men are unemployed in comparison to 20 per cent of women (Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2013).

With a human development index score of 0.715, which is a composite measure of levels of income, education and life expectancy, Jamaica ranks 96 out of 187 countries (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 2014). This represents a significant decline in levels of human development in this country since 2000 when Jamaica had a ranking of 78 (UNDP 2014). The gini index of 45.5 suggested that there remains marked inequality in the distribution of income in this country, though there has been a tapering gap between the rich and the poor since 2001 when Jamaica's index stood at 69.2, (World Bank 2014a). It is likely therefore that this type of socio-economic climate helps to amplify the vulnerabilities of at-risk populations such as the urban poor and ex-prisoners.

Despite this pessimistic outlook Jamaica was able to achieve ahead of time Millennium Development Goal (MDG) number one of eradicating extreme hunger and poverty. There are

eight MDGs which were based on the Millennium Summit in 2000, the globally agreed, measurable and time-bound targets for addressing the needs of the world's poorest people by 2015 (Duncan and Henry-Lee 2004). The measure of success for goal number one was developed nationally and is based on targets of halving between 1990 and 2015 the proportion of people with income of less than US\$1 dollar per day (£0.65 or \$119.45JMD) and others who suffer from hunger (Duncan and Henry-Lee 2004). However in spite of Jamaica's progress in relation to the MDGs there is much further to go with respect to reducing the violent crime rate which seems to be associated with urban poverty. This association is recognised in the extant literature (Gray 2004; Henry-Lee 2005a; Johnson 2005; Henry-Lee 2007; Harriott 2008) and remains a matter of legitimate concern.

2.1.1 Social Disorganisation of Troubled Urban Communities

This concern over poverty and offending emerges from the negative impact that high levels of violent crime continue to have on economic development (see Ayres 1998; Alleyne and Boxhill 2003; Francis et al. 2009) and the welfare of citizens living within (see Levy 1996) and outside troubled communities in Jamaica. Troubled communities refer to social groups whose members are usually located in poor urban areas which are infamously known for high levels of crime and spontaneous public disorder and violent clashes (Henry-Lee 2007). This demographical feature is not unique to the Jamaican state. It is estimated that about 60-75% of persons living in poverty within Latin America and the Caribbean are the urban poor (Ayres 1998; United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2003). Similar to the Jamaican slums are areas such as South American ghettos (see Solomon 2012), which are also characterised by high crime levels. The *Global Report on Human Settlements* has evidenced how such communities are defined by the readiness of males to employ violence, often using

guns to assert territorial control or avenge insults with injury or death (United Nations Human Settlements Programme 2007).

Crime and particularly juvenile delinquency, is often concentrated in poor, deprived and urbanised areas (see Shaw and McKay 2014; McCord et al. 2001; Fennelly and Crowe 2013). This is notwithstanding those broader cultural and structural contexts which help to define the relationship between crime and urbanisation and which has inspired a comprehensive body of research (Wikström 1991). One of the earliest studies was undertaken by Shaw and McKay (1942), cited in Wikström (2012, p. 189) who evidenced a link between crime rates in urban areas and characteristics of segregation and land use across diverse urban environments. Their study which included major cities within the United States (US), urban centres in the United Kingdom (UK) and European capitals. In essence, early studies such as the above and since argue that strong networks of social relationships support cohesive and integrated community structures which help to prevent crime and deviance (Jobes et al. 2004). Conversely social disorganisation is likely to exist when community members are unable to solve jointly experienced problems and achieve shared values (Bursik 1988). This inability is often related to low economic status, ethnic heterogeneity, residential mobility and family disruption (Sampson and Groves 1989). Therefore it is assumed that socially organised communities are better able to identify outsiders who may be deemed problematic in some sense, and children are more closely supervised because of the willingness of acquaintances to intervene in their upbringing (Osgood and Chambers 2003). These types of interactions act as safeguards against what Durkheim (2014) termed in classical sociology as 'breaches to the collective conscience' (see also Durkheim 1960, cited in Schuilenburg 2015, pg.138).

Breaches to the collective conscience expose the inability of society to keep the natural insatiability of human appetites - drives, sensations and desires in check (Durkheim 2014). The collective conscience is therefore expected to accomplish this, it being the embodiment of 'the entirety of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society' (Durkheim 1893, cited in Adams and Sydie, pg.93). As such, a strong collective conscience involves homogeneity of beliefs about what constitutes right and wrong and good and bad actions and it also fosters a sense of moral outrage when individuals violate the rules which everyone assumes are just (Powers 2010). Based on this early characterisation of social organisation one may also assume that socially disorganised communities are not part of the dominant collective conscience or able to generate same, or perhaps instead have constructed their own alternative. Durkheim's formulation retains relevance for late modernity in that it directs us to the ways in which urban inner city citizens in Jamaica perceive their neighbourhood and the 'rules' by which membership, interaction and interaction are routinely constructed and come to bring a sense of 'order' to even the most troubled of communities.

2.2 Probable Causes of the Concentration Effect

To reiterate, we can see that the 'entirety of beliefs and emotions' which Durkheim (2010, p. 25) identifies as the collective conscience may also exist amongst residents who openly embrace Jamaican deviant subcultures. These are individuals who in the words of Uggren et al. (2004, p. 223) may be considered 'less than the average citizen'. The less than the average citizen is stigmatised and excluded from mainstream activities (Uggren et al. 2004) and within the Jamaican context they often live in communities which suffer a similar fate (Levy 1996). Braithwaite (1995) defines stigmatisation as a process whereby individuals and by extension the places where they live, are certified as deviant, are disrespected, humiliated, labelled and

sometimes excluded from mainstream activities to the extent that their exclusion may initiate or amplify criminal subcultures.

2.2.1 Role of Stigma and Issues of Identity

Stigmas comprise beliefs and attitudes that deeply discredit individuals (Link and Phelan 2001; Goffman 2009b). It may lead to discrimination or actions or omissions that harm or deny entitlements to those so labelled (Ahern et al. 2007; Phelan et al. 2008). When it is unsuccessfully contained it is likely to lead to repetitions of deviant behaviour as solutions to the problems that discredited individuals encounter (Lemert 1972). This repeated behaviour may be attributed to issues of a deviant identity. Identity may be understood here as a 'way of systematising information about one's self' (Clayton 2003, p. 45).

Stigmatised individuals who accept the deviant identities assigned to them by others are those who have started to see themselves as others see them. The problem here from a symbolic interactionist position is, 'if individuals define situations as real, they are real in their consequences' (Merton and Sztompka 1996, p.183). Therefore if people or communities are told that they are violent, then based on an interactionist position which views human interpretations of objects and situations as indirect and non-mechanical (Newman 2008), then their actions may develop based on their interpretation of this negative label. This process becomes something of a self-fulfilling prophecy whereby individuals (or communities) allow a prediction about them to shape and determine the direction of their life course (Merton in Biggs 2009, p. 311).

In short, stigma if it sticks, acts as a form of master status (Gove 1985; Bernburg 2010).

Linked to this notion of stigma is the familiar concept of labelling, a process by which some

members of society create and apply the rules and sanctions to those they deemed to have transgressed in some way (Slattery 2003; Browne 2011). More specifically, when suspected offenders are successfully labelled as deviant or outsiders then this process may amplify deviance through adoption of what Becker (1973), cited in Hoffmann (2011, p.171) described as the delinquent master status. The master status is an over-riding negative identity (Becker 1973, cited in Hoffman 2011, p.171) which causes stigmatised individuals (and communities) to employ deviant roles as a means of defence, attack or adjustment to societal responses to actual or potentially deviant acts (see Dhillon 1992; Downes and Rock 2011). This reaction is known as secondary deviance which denotes likely immersion in a life of violating societal norms (Franzese 2009).

The original distinction between forms of deviance (primary and secondary) was drawn by Lemert (1972, p.63-65) who defined secondary deviance as a process which involves individuals adopting a new role or social self which may discourage or encourage deviant behaviour, depending on the reaction of others. In comparison, primary deviance involves actions which lead to the initial label as a troublemaker. Although labelling theories mainly refer to the impact of stigma on individual behaviour it also seems quite applicable when seeking to understand the fate of troubled urban communities in Jamaica. However due to the dearth of research evidence it is difficult to say whether stigmatisation fully explains the high concentration of crime in these areas. It will be interesting therefore to understand from the perspectives of Jamaican offenders living in troubled communities how community stigma has either supported or discouraged their ineffective reintegration. This will be explored in Chapter 5.

Despite the difficulty in testing labelling and similar theories within the Jamaican context, Levy (1996) makes it clear that some answers to the socio-economic challenges faced by residents of troubled urban communities in Jamaica exist in their need to be heard, respected and included in mainstream activities. Levy (1996) vividly describes how inner city violence in Jamaica affects the well-being of children whereby some drop-out of school because of the cutting off or reduction of their parents' income-earning potential whilst others are prevented from attending school due to restrictions on their freedom of movement caused by gang warfare. One can only assume that these children form part of the 22 per cent of Jamaican children who are believed to be living below the poverty line or in absolute poverty (PIOJ and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade 2009). However, these challenges tell us – as we shall see when examining the dynamics of troubled urban communities later in the chapter – that some communities may be organised around different principles (Vito and Maahs 2012) having their own local 'collective consciences'. In which case urban communities in Jamaica which seem to exist outside the norms set by the dominant culture may not necessarily be socially disorganised but may be experiencing 'concentration effects' of having been socially excluded from mainstream activities. Concentration effects are situations in which elements of the most disadvantaged populations tend to be consolidated in urban ghettos which are known to be isolated and socially excluded areas (Wilson 2002).

2.2.2 Social Exclusion

There is evident contestation about what comprises social exclusion and reaching a single reliable definition can be difficult (Pierson 2009) given the multiple factors which have been associated with the phenomenon (Percy-Smith 2001). In various contexts the construct has been used interchangeably with the term poverty. However not all individuals who are poor are socially excluded though they are likely to be. This is because poverty may be worsened

by exclusion. The opposite is also true especially in situations involving the stigmatisation of the poor. Hobcraft (2007, p. 62) further suggests that ‘social exclusion is unmistakably a broader issue than poverty but poverty is its key precursor, marker or component’. Therefore definitions which seek to limit exclusion to impoverishment ignore its multiple dimensions.

In conceptualising the dynamics of exclusion this study has drawn upon Rogaly et al. (1999) who offer three broad categories based on a definition of social exclusion positioned within a citizenship framework and comprise (i) economic citizenship, which refers to inability to access economic opportunities including employment and financial services (ii) political citizenship, which speaks to the incapability of individuals, groups and communities to influence processes of decision-making which affect their lives, and (iii) social citizenship, which is marked by the disability of individuals to accumulate and maintain supportive social networks and strengthen their sense of belonging. These inability which tend to be characteristic of the poor are likely to increase their vulnerability to external shock and weaken their resilience. This seems to be the case in Jamaica whereby the urban poor in seeking to recover from shock often caused by unexpected disasters tend to employ coping strategies which may not necessarily be in keeping with formal societal norms (see Gray 2004). These various components of social exclusion highlight complexities involved in, not only defining and measuring, but also understanding social exclusion.

Adoption of a multi-dimensional approach seems justified given the range of issues involved. However it certainly widens the net of persons who may be considered socially excluded. Already we see from foregoing discussions on the concentration effect that individuals living in troubled urban communities in Jamaica may have experienced many of the difficulties identified by Rogaly et al. (1999). It will be important therefore to learn how social exclusion

as a process influences the reintegration of ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society. This will be addressed across Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

There is also a human agency component to social exclusion. This was underscored in the work of Burchardt et al. (1999) cited in Percy-Smith (2001, p.4) who sought to explore the voluntary or self-imposed nature of social exclusion by defining it as a situation in which individuals have the choice to participate in the normal activities of citizens who geographically reside in the same society (Burchardt et al. 1999). However the relativity of ‘normalcy’ underscores the importance of understanding the role of narrative identity in the behavioural change process. This is explored in Chapter 3 when examining the relevance of narrative theory in seeking to explain the exclusion of ex-prisoners, based on the extant research literature.

2.2.2.1 Considerations of Human Agency

The power of human agency is a central theme of narrative theory which is largely about how individuals and by extension groups and communities are able to change perceptions of themselves in order to rewrite a negative life script and accommodate changes involved in leading ‘normal lives’ (Maruna 2001; McNeill 2006). Human agency as used in this context is the sum of the capacities and qualities of people which enables them to bring about changes in their own lives and the lives of others through conscious actions. It is a fundamental principle of developmental life-course theories (Elder Jr et al. 2003) which treat the development of offending behaviour as an emergent process based on the assumption that the causes of crime are not reducible solely to either the individual or the environment (Sampson and Laub 2005).

This agentic perspective sees human agency as a prevailing force irrespective of existing social or structural constraints (Elder Jr et al. 2003; Maguire and Raynor 2006; Farrall et al. 2010). It assumes that ‘people are not just spectators of their behaviour nor are they simply products of them but they intentionally influence and contribute to their own life functioning and circumstances’ (Bandura 2006, p.164). Therefore the things that individuals value are those which shape their progress in life (Porter 2000) and the construction of their life trajectories are based on how they choose to exercise their free will (Bandura 1982; Elder Jr et al. 2003; Bandura 2006; Geldhof et al. 2010; Farrington 2011). Essentially, the ways in which identities are formed help individuals to determine how to structure their lives and relate to their social environment (Bandura 2008).

However, exogenous hindrances may weaken an individual’s sense of agency (Burnett and McNeill 2005a). This exposes the limitation of ideas of self-exclusion (Burchardt et al. 1999) which seem to ignore that though individuals (and communities) may have the drive and capability to accomplish goals, structural hindrances may not allow this. Whether structural factors are to be given more weighting than personal traits when seeking to understand the reintegration process in Jamaica, is uncertain. However invoking Gray’s (2003b) suggestion about the urban poor in Jamaica being disempowered and seeing themselves as ‘poor but not living in poverty’ (Moser and Holland 1997, p. 5), we might come to the view that the more pervasive challenges seem to be structural. These challenges are explored to varying extents across Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. However, through detailed exploration of the role of human agency in the reintegration process in Chapter 7, the agentic perspective is given close attention not least because of its under-representation in Caribbean criminological research.

Essentially, we may agree that social exclusion is a condition in which some individuals and groups lack access to goods, standards of living and life chances available to the majority and this reinforces their marginalisation (Millar 2007). However, any summation of the relationship between exclusion and social disorganisation is likely to be problematic (but is attempted in the concluding Chapter 9). Wilson (2012) provides a good starting point, by suggesting that the concentration effect cause urban areas (which tend to be marked by concentrated poverty, isolation and insulation from the social mainstream) to be more prone to crime when compared to rural areas. As a result, urban areas may be considered socially disorganised; they are also identified in the classic work of Burgess (1925), cited in Shepard (2009, p.504) as ‘zones in transition’.

2.2.3 Zones in Transition

Chicago School sociologists Robert Park and Ernest Burgess developed the concentric zone theory which maintained that crime and disorder were not randomly distributed throughout a city but plagued areas known as zones in transition which were often located between the business district and suburbs (Hill and Paynich 2010). These zones in transition were characterised as socially disorganised, experiencing the highest levels of crime and victimisation rates in the city (Brantingham and Brantingham 1981). They were also viewed as undesirable areas in which to live (Hill and Paynich 2010). This was largely because of the deterioration in housing and other public infrastructure brought on by the outward migration of stable wage earners as businesses continued to expand in these types of areas and laws continued to change to accommodate them (Vito et al. 2012). Similar characterisations were also found in Shaw and Mckay’s (1969) study, cited in Humphrey and Schmalleger (2011, p.62). They identified transitional zones as pervasively poor (with marginal opportunities for employment and heavy reliance on welfare by residents), heterogeneous (mixture of racial,

ethnic and other social groups) with residents who are highly mobile (continually shifting population which contributes to the instability of the community).

These theories seem relevant in helping to further our understanding of the relationship between urban poverty and crime in Jamaica. However the heterogeneity characterisation may prove problematic in also capturing the 'plural [nature of Jamaican] society which is based on sub-cultural separatism' (Chang 2007, p.122) and class conflict resulting from competing desires and interests amongst a group of people now socially organised based on their achievements, wealth and capabilities (Stone 1973). However, the remaining aspects of concentric zone theory seem pertinent to understanding contemporary features of Jamaica's urban inner-cities and their historical antecedents.

2.2.3.1 Historical Antecedents of Garrison Communities

During the early 19th century the urban slums of Jamaica's West Kingston became places of refuge for the rural poor who migrated to the city (Stolzoff 2000) including displaced members of Rastafari who were then being targeted by the state police in relation to an infamous violent clash between the police and Rastafari adherents in Montego Bay (Buffonge 2001). Tivoli Gardens was the first garrison community and was established in 1963 by the Jamaican Labour Party (JLP) as part of the 'slum clearance project' (Rao and Ibanez 2003, p.16). The term 'garrison' was used because of their political organisation and affiliations. Garrisonisation involved the development of low-income housing schemes in the 1970s, following the clearing of large sections of shanty towns that had spring up in previous decades (Gray 1991). However it is believed that these clearances, especially that of the Rastafari shanty community known as Back-O-Wall was not properly planned as alternative accommodation for the indigent slum dwellers was not provided and was simply a way of

striking back at the militant urban poor who identified themselves as political adversaries (Gray 1991). It also provided opportunities for the government at the time to break-up the shanty towns in order to reconstruct the area and its residents as ‘captive populations’ and proceed with an industrialisation strategy which promoted the fortunes of foreign and indigenous capital (Gray 1991, p.119). This helps us to understand why it has been ‘argued that creating, sustaining and supporting the growth of garrison communities was a process that was never an accident of history but purposefully nurtured for political ends’ which included obtaining majority votes (Figueroa (n.d.) cited in National Committee on Political Tribalism and Kerr 1997, p. 8; see also Figueroa and Sives 2003).

Political parties in Jamaica compete freely for public votes and the party which succeeds in winning a simple majority of votes governs on behalf of the entire community (Ryan 1999). This feature of the Westminster model, which Jamaica inherited from Britain, has led to the development of an enduring political culture which is largely based on patron-clientelism (see Stone 1980; Stolzoff 2000). Patron-clientelism is an institutional outcome of Jamaica’s electoral system which can be identified by its ‘pork barrel’ and tribal features (Ryan 1999), in essence a politics of patronage that sustains rather than diminishes the prolongation of some of these troubled garrison communities.

In the past, politics of patronage stemmed from public and private investment decisions which took the form of housing infrastructure, council construction, casual work and the commitment of recurrent expenditure at the local level, whose disbursement was mediated by the political party in power (Austin 1984). Whether this remains the case currently is uncertain. However within the context of poverty, unemployment, social deprivation and an

unjust economic system, political victimisation was the likely outcome (Lacey 1977) and this seemed endemic across Jamaica's garrison communities.

Twelve out of the sixty political constituencies in Jamaica are considered to be garrisons (Heal 2015). These are perhaps amongst the most troubled communities in Jamaica today partly due to their location and political architecture. They are communities which are located in poor inner city areas mainly in Jamaica's capital city of Kingston (Barker 2005) and were, and arguably still are, largely controlled by political party supporters of either of Jamaica's two party political system, viz - JLP and the People's National Party (Rao and Ibanez 2003). However this control has eroded over time due to growing apathy over Jamaica's political system (Wesson 1984). The formation of these two parties during the 1930s saw in subsequent decades their divisive impact upon deprived communities resulting in social and political unrest as they polarised loyalties and generated antagonisms through a tradition of clientelism and patronage (Bakan 1990; (Arnone and Cottrell 2004). In more recent decades the influence of politics on shaping the behaviours of garrison communities seems to have weakened. Munroe and Bertram (2006), cited in Boxhill et al. (2007, p.157) argue that the influence of state politics on the nature of crime and violence within these communities has diminished. However the impact of garrisonisation on the identities of urban communities in Kingston and their residents seems pervasive.

2.2.3.2 Twenty-first Century Topographies

Kingston and surrounding communities remain prime locations for garrison communities (see PIOJ 2011). These communities are known to be economically distressed, characterised by 'high population density, unemployment' (PIOJ 2013, p. 362) and high levels of public and private poverty. As a result many residents are often unable to legitimately find the means to

live above a subsistence standard and their places of residence lack basic amenities and public service infrastructures that might be taken for granted in advanced economies (Henry-Lee 2005a).

Crime may be one response to these disadvantages if we are to follow the views of Robert Merton who introduced the notion of anomie or strain theory to locate the causes of crime in the normlessness or poor organisation of society, namely its culture and social structure (Henry and Einstadter 2006). Merton (1968) argued that structural blockages which young men in particular may experience in seeking to achieve conventional goals caused strain (see also Burton Jr and Cullen 1992). This strain predisposes especially males towards crime as an unconventional means to achieving conventional societal goals that are valorised by mainstream society (see Featherstone and Deflem 2003). This seems to correspond with the Jamaican context whereby approximately 30 per cent of youth in Jamaica are unattached to dominant institutions in that they are not involved in the formal labour market and are not attending school or participating in any skills training programme (PIOJ and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade 2009). Jamaica's high youth unemployment rate stands at 37.7 per cent (PIOJ 2013) and poses a structural blockage for young males that may well produce a strain in the sense that Merton describes.

Tenement Yards

Tenement yards in Jamaica share a similar profile to that of garrison communities (see Daynes 2012) and can be found in many such communities. Masouri (2009) describes them as small communal spaces for living and undertaking washing and recreational activities engaged in by several families. The Statistical Institute of Jamaica (2010, p.1022) defines it as a space in which 'a number of rented rooms [are located] in one premises, housing three or

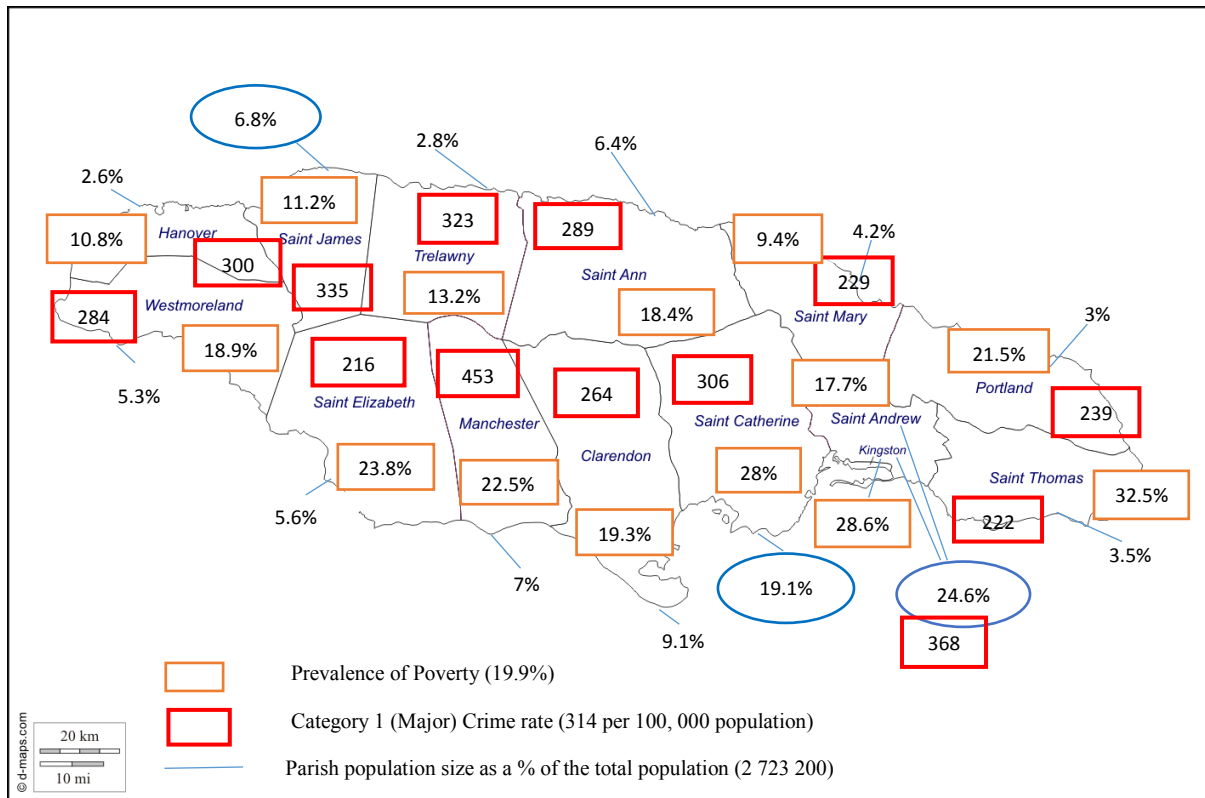
more households whereas the separate dwellings are not fully contained'. As such, tenement yards tend to reflect poor standards of living, are overcrowded and may well be located nearby or within squatter settlements. Squatter settlements or shanty towns are 'areas which have developed without legal claims to the land and or authorisation from authorities to build on the captured land. As a consequence of the illegal or semi-legal status of squatters, infrastructure and services are usually inadequate in these areas' (Srinivas 2015, n.pn.).

Such settlements and their inhabitants have in the past been portrayed negatively in regard to the challenges they are deemed to present for the efficient operation of the state (see Potter and Lloyd-Evans 1998), particularly in relation to public safety and economic development (McGee 1984). Troubled communities are often located within squatter settlements and because of their marginalised, poor and devalued nature are often identified as ghettos (see Paprocki and Dolan 2009).

Jamaican ghettos are typically comprised of garrison communities, which as previously stated are geographical spaces which in the past were heavily controlled or aligned politically, having community leaders known as 'dons' who act[ed] as gatekeepers (Moser and Holland 1997). As mentioned earlier, Jamaican politics continues to play an influential role in helping to shape the master identities of these communities. This is an observation which Henry-Lee (2007) acknowledges through her suggestion that politics remains a silent undercurrent of conflicts taking place within and between many of these deprived communities. There is therefore a fine line between what constitutes the ghetto and garrison and it would be fallacious to assume that all garrison communities in Jamaica are ghettos as the latter may characterise other marginalised communities. However what seems to unify these two types of communities is the concentration effect of poverty and crime. As shown in

Diagram 1, the demographic and crime concentration within the Jamaican context seems strongest in areas in and around Jamaica’s chief cities which are Kingston and Montego Bay.

Diagram 1: Map of Jamaica showing Population, Crime and Poverty Distributions across Parishes



Source: Modification of a map provided by D-maps.com using data obtained from the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica (2014) and the Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (2012)

Jamaica is divided into fourteen administrative sectors known as parishes (Gritzner 2004) (see Diagram 1). The capital city is Kingston, and Montego Bay which is the capital of Saint James, is the second city. Year ending 2013, 43.7 per cent of Jamaica’s total population of 2, 718 000 was living in Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine and these were also the top three parishes in which the largest number of murders, rapes, aggravated assaults, robberies, break-ins and larcenies were committed (PIOJ 2013). The high concentration of people and violent criminal activities in these locations maps closely onto parishes that are either home to or nearby troubled communities.

In some ways these geographical patterns seem to correspond with the observation made by Massey (1996), cited in Xiong (2015, p.42) that areas that are most deteriorated, even within the context of inner city poverty, seem to have much higher crime rates than more stable lower-class environments. However this observation was not a perfect match when applied to the Jamaican context, in which rural areas (23.2 per cent) continue to register lower levels of violent crime but have the highest rates of poverty (PIOJ 2012) (please also refer to Diagram 1).

It is therefore necessary to clarify that in Jamaica not all urban communities may be considered poor and troubled, and not all troubled communities are located in urban areas. This is notwithstanding that the established prototype is that troubled communities are often located in poor urban areas (Henry-Lee 2007) and the urban poor's involvement in crime, not just in Jamaica, but also in the rest of the Latin America and Caribbean, may be attributed to a number of factors which are not limited to geography. Amongst the factors identified by Ayres (1998) are their inability to transition from traditional to modern customs, proliferation of squatter settlements, substantial decline in urban expenditures and public services and untargeted social programmes. Such effects have disproportionately affected quality of individual and communal life and helped to shape perceptions of crime and violence as practical means of accomplishing mainstream goals (Ayres 1998).

Such structural challenges as outlined above support the notion of strain as a possible cause of crime. Merton's classic formulation has informed general strain theory (GST) which broadens the sources of crime to include a) blocked access to achieving desired goals b) loss of valued objects and c) the introduction of negative stimuli (Paternoster and Mazerolle 1994). Essentially crime and by extension criminal recidivism may be viewed as individual

adaptations to perceived strain (Farnworth and Leiber 1989; Agnew 2000). These correlations are supported by social disorganisation theory which does not limit the units of analysis to individuals. Social disorganisation theory explains how the lack of legitimate economic opportunities in isolated and impoverished communities or neighbourhoods supports a breakdown in traditional institutions of social control such as the family and the school (Gaines and Miller 2007). This breakdown leads to the substitution of these traditional institutions with deviant peers and gangs mainly because of their inability to provide immediate ways out of poverty and exert control over residents (Siegel 2012).

However the question of whether the impoverishment of certain neighbourhoods alone best explains the breakdown in traditional institutions of social control is raised by Wilson and Kelly (1982) who envisage this to also be the result of moral laxity and permissiveness. However, a combination of both theories seems to offer a more compelling explanation for the high number of organised criminal gangs in Jamaica. A gang threat assessment survey conducted in Jamaica in 2009 determined that there were over 200 criminal gangs in operation (Llewellyn 2011; Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica 2010). It is therefore obvious that some form of social breakdown has or is taking place within Jamaican society.

Wilson and Kelly (1982) assume that a type of moral crime prevention was needed to restore order and reduce deviance in situations where a breakdown in social control occurred as a result of moral laxity and permissiveness. These suggestions also highlight the need and importance of situational crime prevention (SCP) considerations. SCP is a 'set of methods for controlling behaviour in inconspicuous and invisible ways which help to reduce the occurrence of criminal events and guide conduct towards lawful outcomes' (Garland 2000, p.1). In the absence of these considerations, poor surveillance and generally ineffective SCP

strategies implicitly communicate the message that crime pays. It will be important to explore if poor surveillance played a part in the return to prison of offenders and Chapter 5 will address some of these issues.

Deprived communities are not necessarily bereft of stability or norms that generate predictable and positive relations. For example, within the Jamaican context the community 'don' may be viewed as a type of rule creator or moral entrepreneur whose significant influence over the years gradually made traditional forms of social control appear obsolete within garrison communities. Caribbean criminologists, like Harriott (2000) and Henry-Lee (2005a), have shown how the breakdown of traditional institutions of social control and the Jamaican state's non-involvement in the affairs of garrison residents supported the rise of the Jamaican don. As such the don may also be viewed as at the epicentre of the garrison subculture which in some sense remains vibrant not least because of the social value of badness- honour. Badness-honour is about gaining respect through often antisocial responses to perceived disrespect and it falls in the mix of motivations for committing violent crime in Jamaica (Gray 2003a). In short, the garrison culture seems to be part and parcel of the infamous Jamaican drugs, gun and don subcultures. All of these indications of social disorganisation are assessed in the next section of this chapter.

2.3 Jamaica's Deviant Subcultures

Deviant behaviours promoted through interactions with poor rolemodels may become ingrained into community life and passed on to younger generations who in turn may establish and transmit the norms and values of deviant subcultures within the community (see Sampson 2002). This type of socialisation reduces the likelihood and abilities of individuals to mature out of crime and it also helps to restrict opportunities for them to move out of these

troubled communities. As such, individuals who reside in these communities tend to be caught in a web whereby they may find it difficult to develop traditional social bonds and instead may continue to adhere to prevailing community values which support their criminal careers and exclusion from mainstream society (Gaines and Miller 2007). This process of cultural transmission seems to be the most applicable aspect of Shaw and McKay's (1942), cited in Wikström (2012, p.189) theory of social disorganisation when seeking to understand Jamaica's drugs, gun and don subcultures.

Cultural transmission theory assumes that in disadvantaged neighbourhoods behavioural patterns are developed based on the conventions and rules which help to make up the social world of residents and are transmitted through socialisation (Shepard 2012). Therefore cultural transmission is a process by which a 'differential system of values that support delinquent behaviour is passed on culturally often by adolescents currently living in the neighbourhood to more recent arrivals' (Shaw and Mckay 1969, cited in Humphrey and Schmallegger 2011, p.62). These assumptions also reflect ideas of differential association which emphasise the generational nature of cultural transmission and which seem applicable to the Jamaican context.

Leading differential association theorist, Sutherland (1939) cited in Vito and Maahs (2012, p.174) argues that individuals are exposed to various rolemodels throughout their lives who will transmit particular attitudes and values. Deviant rolemodels, like the Jamaican don, are therefore likely to transmit attitudes and values which are consistent with their behaviours (Sutherland 1939, cited in Vito and Maahs 2012, p.174). Through these types of interactions, individuals become delinquent because of the excess of definitions which they learn and which are favourable to law violation (Sutherland 1947, cited in Akers and Jennings 2009,

p.104). This transmission function of the Jamaican don and the type of cultural context in which this role is embedded merits further attention and is discussed next.

2.3.1 Don

The patron-clientilistic feature of Jamaican politics described earlier empowered garrison leaders or dons to use informal means of social control such as intimidation to guarantee politicians voter support in return for various benefits including immunity from state interference (Figueroa and Sives 2003). Patron-clientelism was also supported by the urban poor's employment of badness-honour values in their quest to mobilise votes for their chosen political leaders (see Gray 2003a). Badness-honour (see above) can thus be promoted as a form of defiance and a political tool used by political groups that were created and exploited by persons seeking to monopolise the emoluments and advantages of public office (see Figueroa and Sives 2003; Sives 2003). Gray (2003a) describes it as an antisocial and hardened type of defiance often exuded by the belligerent urban poor living in Jamaica (Gray 2003a).

Defiance is a form of resistance. Resistance may be described as open non-compliance directed towards a recognised authority which has encroached on or is in the process of encroaching on the freedoms of persons who in consequence believe that their human rights have been violated. Interestingly, narratives of resistance often equate poverty to passivity and demoralisation (Katz 1993). However the narratives of the urban poor in Jamaica seem to be stories of class-based and assertive solutions to experiences of injustice (Meeks 2000) and tenacity for self-preservation (Harriott 2000). This is reflected in the doctrine of survivalism which contains the perception held by urban inner city residents that crime is an 'incessant

and intense resistance against social, political and natural forces which threaten their very existence' (Harriott 2000, p.100-101; 2008).

Linked to this notion of crime as an element of survivalism is the use of illegal means by state representatives to control violent crime in situations where guilt is presumed and procedural law is perceived to be a barrier to effective justice (Harriott 2000,p.64). Therefore as with crime, so by extension criminal recidivism may be the urban inner city poor's response to what they perceive as state condoned violations and their unjust denial of meaningful citizenship. These justice gaps left open by the state have over the years been filled by the community don who, in addition to the traits previously described, is often viewed as a type of folk hero, who culturally transmits models of deviant behaviour that may form part of the identity and values of disempowered individuals who accordingly adapt to their challenging circumstances (Roberts 1990).

This symbiotic relationship between the urban poor and Jamaican politicians is evidenced in *The Making of a Jamaican Don*, where Cameron (2010) notes that through the mobilisation of votes and distribution of work, politicians provided the area leader (don) with contracts as a reward for their loyalty and support (see also Scott 2000). The immunity that these community leaders or dons enjoyed, legitimised the role of gunmen as enforcers in the political rivalry which characterised the 1970s and 1980s (Gray 1991) and 'jungle courts' (Harriott 2000). Jungle courts are hearings presided over by area dons who garrison community residents believe are community protectors (Harriott 2000). They form part of the informal criminal justice system which exists within the urban inner city (Harriott 2000). In these courts crimes are investigated, suspects tried and punished (Harriott 2000) for violations which may include physically abusing one's partner or fraudulently presenting

oneself as agents of the organised crime group who had been assigned to collect extortion fees (Harriott 2008). Within these disadvantaged communities, government functions related to policing, justice administration and welfare provisioning are usurped by organised crime gangs (Harriott 2008). This partly explains the refusal of urban inner city community residents to cooperate with police inquiries into violence between rival gangs despite the fact that gangs contribute to high incidences of crime and violence in many of these communities (Blake 2004).

Having access to these alternatives to official law enforcement partially explains why the misuse of force by state agents seems to heighten distrust between inner city community residents and the state police (World Bank 2004). This distrust stems in part from the suppression of crime policies which can be traced back to the now revoked Suppression of Crime Act of 1974 which empowered the police with extensive search and seizure powers without a warrant (Foglesong and Stone 2007). The legacy of such controversial state initiatives is the inner city poor's rejection of the legitimacy of officialdom through a demonstrated unwillingness to volunteer information or cooperate with the state police (see Fearon and Laitin 2005). However the inability of residents to sometimes distinguish between good and bad police officers may also account for the distrust between the Jamaican state police and inner city residents. However a more serious and not unrelated challenge for the state is not only the unwillingness of the urban poor to cooperate but their capacity to locate and use guns.

2.3.2 The Gun

Group conflict between males, youth and the poor involving gun warfare account for a majority of homicides in Jamaica (PIOJ 2012). The ease of access to firearms by organised

gangs continues to contribute to Jamaica's violent crime rate (see Calathes 1992; Leslie 2010). Initially, politicians were blamed for increasing such access (see Headley 1996; Moser and Holland 1997) because guns distributed amongst party supporters were believed to be the same guns which ended up being used for criminal purposes (Stephens and Stephens 1987).

The advent of the gun culture may be linked back to the political architecture of garrison communities whereby the integration of street gangs into the electoral process between 1962 and 1967 was believed to be the key factor which led to the accelerated institutionalisation of weapons within these areas (Figueroa and Sives 2003). In turn, this seemed to reinforce the social value of badness-honour amongst the urban inner city poor (Headley 1996; Figueroa and Sives 2003; Gray 2004). Whilst this honour sentiment may be represented under different labels it is likely to feature in other contemporary societies where there is a sizeable and much alienated underclass.

2.3.3 Drugs

The influence of adversarial politics on intergroup conflict in Jamaica has been linked to the development of partisan gangs which operated in low-income urban communities and engaged in armed conflict and the intimidation of others in order to influence their voting behaviour at election time (Moser and Holland 1997). Collier (2005) also suggests that an alliance was forged between drug and political dons in highly armed garrison communities whereby the political dons acted as go-betweens disbursing resources obtained from drug dons as part of the political patronage system (see also Miangot 2011). These gangs eventually became spatially distributed beyond the urban slums operating as part of criminal networks in different parts of the world including North America and Europe (Harriott 2000).

Therefore the drug trade (which was initially linked to these garrison communities) became increasingly organised and included politicians, members of the police force, businessmen and customs officers who worked as insiders (Chuck 1986). At the same time, it was believed that unemployed and underprivileged individuals served as pawns on behalf of drug barons who had power, the money and know-how to manage the business (Chuck 1986). Therefore it is believed that the internationalisation of these criminal networks was driven by a search for drug markets and supported by the illegal immigration of Jamaican criminals to North America and Europe (Harriott 2000). This partially explains the repatriation surge that now challenges the Jamaican penal system. However as was highlighted by Meeks (2000) internationalisation of criminal networks also signalled the weakening, if not the end, to patron-clientelism.

The drug and other types of gangs which emerged out of political rivalry and intimidation eventually grew increasingly independent of their political roots (Human Rights Watch 1999). As such, third generation gangs now resemble criminal enterprises that act as businesses having enough power to threaten national security (Harriott 2008; Llewellyn 2011). Consequently it has become increasingly difficult to examine contemporary experiences of the urban poor without acknowledging some of the enduring effects of Jamaica's political history during the 1970s had on present-day criminal activities. The negative impact on the well-being and identities of urban inner city residents in Jamaica is evident and well documented (see Moser and Holland 1997). And as Levy (1996) observes, the violence which became associated with political events stemming from the 1970s not only destroyed property and lives but inculcated and normalised a propensity for using violence to address group conflict.

As such, for the poor and vulnerable living within these communities crime is a real source of suffering (Young 1991). Their reality is one in which they continue to not only suffer from but to be identified as major contributors to the country's crime problem (Harriott 2004). This explains the renewed calls for the dismantling of political garrisons in Jamaica (Johnson 2010) following the 2010 Tivoli Garden armed incursion by the state which led to the deaths of 70 civilians and the arrest and extradition of Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, the 'don of all dons' who was wanted in the US on drug and gun trafficking charges (see Leslie 2010).

Since the incursion, the country's crime rate has been on the decline and crime displacement to rural areas seems to have increased largely due to an intensified police presence in key inner city localities. Indeed, crime in the Kingston Metropolitan Area remains a major concern because of the garrison sub-culture which permeates the locality and which seems to have transcended the physical boundaries of the garrison community and reached beyond. This has led Henry-Lee (2005a) to argue that in order to effectively dismantle political garrison constituencies in Jamaica sustained political will is needed on the part of the political and state establishment. Equally important is a strengthened role for civil society in helping the government to restore dignity and respect to persons living within these troubled communities (Levy 1996; Henry et al. 2012). This will help to ensure that they are not just dismantled or displaced but socially reorganised in order to provide their residents with more inclusive opportunities to lead crime-free and productive lives.

2.4 Conclusion

It is clearly evident that the cycle of crime in Jamaica is perpetuated in large part by the social and geographical characteristics of troubled communities. This poses a number of challenges

for offenders returning to these communities but in general for the socio-economic stability of the Jamaican state. As a result, the hope of enhancing and sustaining pro-social positive behaviours and attitudes in these kinds of environments seems somewhat implausible. This may be particularly true for offenders who are leaving prison and looking to resettle in the only place they have known as home but which is an area of endemic criminality. Clearly there is a need to understand these issues in more detail in order to understand what is required to foster and support the social reorganisation of troubled communities in Jamaica and the positive behavioural change of residents. The issues which plague these communities tell us that the only way to ensure a more stable and crime-free Jamaican society is to adopt a more balanced approach to social and economic development, one that seeks to reduce inequality, improve educational outcomes (see Francis et al. 2009) and improve guarantees of social inclusion. Chapter 3 will now examine how the key challenge of tackling social exclusion which was introduced briefly in this chapter may influence the reintegration process.

Chapter 3: From Exclusion to Helping Disadvantaged Offenders Lead Reintegrated Lives

3.0 Introduction

The social and economic complexities which Chapter 2 highlighted implied that it may be difficult for ex-prisoners, who have socially non-adaptive attitudes and are returning to troubled communities in Jamaica, to lead reintegrated lives. This pessimism is fuelled by the perceived immaturity of correctional policy and practice in Jamaica (Henry-Lee 2005b; Jones 2007), mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, and the belief held by many in the Jamaican public that ‘nothing works’ (see Farrall and Maruna 2004; Cullen et al. 2009) to rehabilitate serious offenders (Reid 2010). However, there is research that suggests it may be possible to secure the reintegration of serious offenders, as it is known that some approaches work for some individuals, whilst for others they only show promise (National Academic Press 2006).

It is largely unknown whether correctional programmes geared towards securing the positive behavioural change of serious offenders in Jamaica have been effective in assisting reintegration and reducing rates of recidivism. This area of research, as mentioned in Chapter 2, has been largely unexplored by researchers in the Caribbean. However the few studies which have been undertaken on related subjects have identified the poor conditions of imprisonment in Jamaica as a serious challenge to encouraging positive behavioural change (Hellerstein and Whitman 1990; Barnes 2004; Henry-Lee 2005b; Jones 2007; Morris 2008; Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour 2013). Due to this paucity of knowledge on the topic of offender reintegration in Jamaica the chapter draws heavily upon European and

US literature in seeking to explore the practicality of established strategies aimed at helping individuals who have been released from prison lead reintegrated lives in Jamaican society.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, correctional policies and practices in Jamaica seem more oriented towards punishment /cure approaches rather than towards the safeguarding and welfare of offenders upon release. Such an institutional orientation would seem unlikely to secure effective reintegration, especially given the current macroeconomic challenges which Jamaica faces and which reduces the social and economic opportunities conducive to positive and lasting change. That said, there is always the irreducible nature of human agency through which change in the face of adversity is not unknown. In short, the awareness, judgements and expectations of offenders regarding their own behavioural skills and capabilities play a pivotal role in successfully coping with environmental challenges and demands and will determine in significant part the persistence of desired behaviours and courses of action (Maddux 1995).

Social reintegration is a process of behavioural change which entails human agency whereby offenders seek to become connected to prosocial environments following imprisonment in order to allow familial and community settings to influence and support their legitimate behaviour (see White 2011, p.1). It is considered effective when these critical relationships and resources help to facilitate the reestablishment or development of social ties which enable offenders to enjoy the liberty of life and other inalienable freedoms without succumbing to earlier patterns of offending (White 2011, p.1). This reiterative process encompasses smaller positive behavioural changes such as primary desistance, which is here defined as sporadic crime free periods which offenders experience and ideally secondary desistance, that is,

sustained change from their ‘master’ identity to a non-criminal identity and lifestyle (see Farrall and Maruna 2004).

Resettlement also forms part of this broader change process and denotes the process of offenders accessing basic public and other social services upon release which enable them to stay out of prison and live within the community at a minimum, higher or same standard of living they enjoyed prior to imprisonment. This basic standard of living often entails finding food, clothes and suitable accommodation without the help of the state. Therefore due to the absence of official resettlement policy and practice in Jamaica (and as was explained in Chapter 1), resettlement within this context is not synonymous with reintegration but is part of an eclectic change process. It describes the environmental aspect of social reintegration whereby offenders migrate from prison back into society with the intention of settling temporarily or permanently in a former or new location. This part of the change process on its own does not readily capture the nuance and importance of the relational and agency features of offender change and this partly explains why the study is focused on understanding the barriers and facilitators of effective social reintegration. So far we have outlined something of the conceptual complexity of the social reintegration process and we now turn to aspects of applied policy in Jamaica and key developments in reintegration practice.

3.1 Key Developments in Reintegration Practice

The growing recognition that prisons do not achieve some of their most important stated objectives (Burnett and Maruna 2004; Cavadino and Dignan 2007; Chen and Shapiro 2007) was reinforced by the ‘nothing works’ emphasis of much research in the late 20th century. This era was marked by rehabilitative pessimism (see Hollin 1995; Mair and Burke 2013) about the purpose of prison (Hirst 1994) and a growing preference for ‘tough on crime’

measures (Crighton 2013). These measures are most obviously represented in the zero-tolerance approach to policing in Jamaica which is sometimes described as ‘paramilitarism’. Paramilitarism is an ‘ex-colonial variant of the watchman style of policing. It prioritises order maintenance’ above all other functions of the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) which is the state police, even if it means using excessive violence (Harriott 2000, p.80).

This style of policing may well impede the reintegration of persons who are likely to be amongst its target population, because of its procedural unfairness. It is also likely therefore that individuals leaving prison and hoping to lead reintegrated lives may never have the opportunity to resettle unhindered in their former communities. This is because paramilitarism which has become institutionalised over-time has contributed to the high number of extra-judicial killings taking place, often in troubled communities in Jamaica, and in the view of some may help to account for the declining growth rate in prison recidivism (see Jamaicans for Justice International Human Rights Clinic 2008; Vasciannie 2002).

Therefore crime prevention in Jamaica, which is the general goal of reintegration, tends to be police-focused. In such a context, it is possible that the objectives of the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica (DCSJ) have to some extent been side-lined as a priority in Jamaica’s national security agenda.

The DCSJ and the JCF are two departments which fall under the authority of the Ministry of National Security (MNS) Jamaica. The JCF has undergone several phases of modernisation (see MNS 2010; K’nife 2011) which is in keeping with the broad thrust towards public sector transformation and modernisation in Jamaica. In comparison, the DCSJ has in the view of some, remained relatively antiquated (Hellerstein and Whitman 1990; Henry-Lee 2005b; Jones 2007) whilst still expected to rehabilitate violent offenders with the aid of facilities,

some of which were once used to house plantation slaves (see Morris 2008). This in turn buttressed a sense of pessimism about the potential of rehabilitation services in Jamaica to positively change offenders (see Jones 2007). These debates surrounding the contested plausibility of rehabilitation in Jamaica support the ascendancy of a new discourse on community corrections or behavioural change interventions taking place within a community setting, a point we return to shortly.

While there remains much vexed debate on effective offender management in Jamaica, such concerns would seem to be long settled in countries such as England where the now familiar review of 231 interventions with offenders undertaken by Martinson (1974), cited in Cullen and Gilbert (2015, p.201) between 1945 and 1967 suggested that no particular intervention or combination of interventions can reliably transform lawbreakers into law-abiding citizens (see also Crighton 2008). This finding was built upon in the UK by the ‘what works’ movement which restored some legitimacy to the rehabilitative potential of the prison system (see McGuire and Priestly 1995; Gendreau 1996; Gendreau et al. 1996; Dowden and Andrews 1999). There are now multiple studies about the effectiveness of rehabilitation interventions which may have positive impacts and there is a well-embedded culture of research translation in the UK corrections system (Crow 2004). To date no similar attempts to systematise evidence-based interventions have been made in Jamaica. This may be due to a lack of government and academic research interest in offender management. As such, the hope of encouraging effective reintegration, given the existing institutional pessimism and relative inaction, would seem likely to depend overly on the vagaries and serendipity of human agency. This leads us then to a well-known question raised in the desistance literature by Maruna (2001) ‘how can ex-prisoners change and rebuild their own lives?’ it is to this

theme of what makes the individual more likely to move away from a life of crime, that we now turn.

3.1.1 Agency

Agency is the sum of the better qualities of people, which enable them to bring about life changes in their own lives and the lives of others through conscious actions. It is a fundamental principle of developmental life-course theories (Elder Jr et al. 2003; Piquero and Moffitt 2011) which treat the development of offending behaviour as an emergent process based on the assumption that the causes of crime are not reducible solely to the individual or the environment (Sampson and Laub 2005). This agentic perspective sees human agency as a force irrespective of existing social or structural constraints (Elder Jr et al. 2003; Maguire and Raynor 2006; Farrall et al. 2010).

The concept of agency assumes that ‘people are not just spectators of their behaviour nor are they simply products of them but they intentionally influence and contribute to their own life functioning and circumstances’ (Bandura 2006, p.164). Therefore the things that individuals value are those which shape their progress in life (Porter 2000) and the construction of their life trajectories are based on how they choose to exercise their free will (Bandura 1982; Elder Jr et al. 2003; Bandura 2006; Geldhof et al. 2010; Farrington 2011). Essentially, ways in which their identities are formed help to determine how individuals structure their lives and relate to their social environment (Bandura 2008). However as the number of exogenous problems mount then the capacities and potential that dwell within a notion of agency may become overwhelmed by multiple adversities (Burnett and McNeill 2005a). This suggests that whilst agency is extremely important it alone may not be sufficient to create the conditions needed for effective reintegration to occur, certainly so within the Jamaican

context. That said, much will depend upon the subjective disposition of the individual and their and others' capacity to write a new 'script', narrate a new identity for themselves away from crime (Maruna 2001). It is to this point that we turn next.

3.2.1.1 Narrative Theory

Narrative theory is one of the three broad theoretical perspectives identified by Maruna (1997) within the desistance literature (see McNeill 2006). Its foremost concern is the way in which narrative identities are reconstructed in order to support primary desistance (McIvor and Raynor 2007). It also stresses the importance of subjective changes in offenders' sense of self and identity (McNeill 2006), what Maruna (2001), cited in Laws and Ward (2011, p.79) describes as 'the restorying as one's life in order to accommodate changes involved with leading a crime-free lifestyle'. The consequence of this 'restorying' may be described as the 'redemptive script', and is central to offenders developing genuine prosocial identities (Kazemian and Maruna 2009) needed to sustain cessation from offending (McAdams 2013).

Redemption which is understood in a theological sense as absolution from past sins or errors through the making of a sacrifice or payment for the liberation of the sinner (Firestone 2008) is an important construct in the Christian faith. In this specific sense, ideas of redemption are not foreign to Jamaica which is predominantly a Christian country having one of the highest densities of churches per square kilometre in the world (Chambers 2008; Perkins 2010; Haynes 2014a). This might suggest that if these notions of redemption were being exercised with vigour then perhaps the prison recidivism and violent crime rates in Jamaica would be much lower. However Giordano et al. (2008) found no significant association between indices of religiosity and likelihood of achieving sustained desistance despite a possible connection between religion and offender redemption. Even so, Appleton (2010) suggests

that having a faith and associated membership of some denomination or sect may encourage involvement in support networks and altruistic activities which may then bring about needed changes in cognition and eventually behaviour.

Narrative theory also assumes that offenders react to stimuli based on self-perception and the interpretation of life events (Toch 1987, cited in Maruna (1997, p.9). Therefore whilst objective changes in the lives of offenders are useful to the change process equally important are their own assessments of the value of any within-individual changes (McNeill 2006) and motivation in helping to sustain them (Maguire and Raynor 2006). Self-discovery of agency is therefore an imperative for offenders seeking to overcome criminogenic pressures that may encourage criminal recidivism (Maruna 2001, in Weaver and McNeill 2007b, p.6) because it raises a consciousness of the type of commitment required to maintain new habits (Mulvey et al. 2004). Therefore respite from crime experienced through incarceration in Jamaica and other jurisdictions (Morris 2008), as well as cognitive transformation, may enable self-discovery whereby offenders are able to discern changes which have developed in part or whole through agentic experiences (Bahr et al. 2010).

Cognitive therapy, which is administered sparingly in Jamaican prisons, provides individuals with the opportunity to claim an alternative personal identity which is desirable and socially approved (Farrall and Maruna 2004). However Bahr et al. (2010) suggest that support networks may also provide the alternative identity needed to lead reintegrated lives. This is because they may help offenders develop new scripts for their future by enabling them to insulate themselves from environments which stimulate or support their deviance (Bahr et al. 2010). They also help in the accumulation of social capital which is needed to maintain approved and productive activities and relationships (Mulvey et al. 2004). These associations

according to social learning theory provide reinforcement of prosocial behaviours (Bahr et al. 2010).

Social learning theory is a revision of the theory of differential association and assumes that various motivations are learnt through association with significant others (Bahr et al. 2010). This seems true when examining the impact that growing up under the supervision of the Jamaican community don (an antisocial role that was introduced in Chapter 2) had on the behaviours of individuals living in disadvantaged communities. Therefore it is likely that many offenders even before imprisonment may have grown up in environments unsupportive of mainstream values and norms. As such it is unlikely that incarceration would lead to their correction (DeJong 1997) as they were never socially integrated to begin with and arguably imprisonment may have worsened the situation.

3.1.2 In Prison

Whilst prisons may keep persons suspected of having committed a crime under secure control (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2006b) it also results in other losses related to offenders' sense of responsibility, employability and family relations (Hudson 2003). Largely because of these and other harms which Sykes (2007) identifies, it is believed that the length of an offender's stay in prison partly determines the extent to which his or her reintegration within the wider community will be successful. This is because the longer people stay in prison the longer they are exposed to its harmful effects, which would then impair their abilities to lead reintegrated lives. A similar effect was observed in a comprehensive meta-analysis of fifty published recidivism studies, dating from 1958 to the 1990s which sought to determine whether or not imprisonment reduces criminal recidivism or criminal behaviour (Gendreau et al. 1999, cited in National Centre for Vocational Education

Research 2007, p.17). The fifty studies which involved 336,065 offenders who were mostly from the UK and North America, were scrutinised by Gendreau et al. (1999) who found 325 correlations between criminal recidivism and the duration of the time in prison, as well as, the serving of a prison sentence as opposed to a non-custodial disposal.

As was previously mentioned imprisonment may facilitate respite and in turn encourage positive behavioural change (Morris 2008), however based on the ‘what works’ literature it rarely happens (see Wellford 1975; Paternoster and Iovanni 1989; Sherman 1993), and may even further criminalise offenders (see Gross 1998; Dickson 1999). This helps us understand why previous studies (see Human Rights Watch and American Civil Liberties Union 1993; Vascianne 2002; Roth 2004) which highlight the harmful effects of a prison sentence have helped strengthen calls for criminal justice systems to make the best possible use of non-custodial sanctions thereby reserving imprisonment for the most serious and violent offenders (Hedderman 2008).

This is notwithstanding that where the administration of a prison sentence is necessary then ‘treatment completion’ is critical to securing the effective resettlement of offenders.

Treatment completion according to the extant literature is believed to be important especially in cases involving released offenders who suffer from mental or physical disease, or defects which may impede their successful resettlement within society (Committee of Ministers 2006). For example, European Prison rule 42.2 provides that if offenders are released before the completion of their medical treatment it is important that they are put in contact with medical services within the community by the prison medical practitioner, to allow offenders to continue treatment following release (Committee of Ministers 2006). This too takes place in Jamaican prisons but only to the extent that inmates may be conditionally and temporarily

released within the community with or without supervision in order to access medical services which are unavailable on the prison estate. In short, the type of referral service prescribed by European Prison rule 42.2 does not seem to exist in Jamaica.

Findings from previous research studies (see Bowen and Brown 2012; Davies and Beech 2012) suggest that correctional programme completion can result in lower rates of recidivism. Cartoni et al. (2006), cited in Casey et al. (2012, p.133) found that those offenders who completed a Canadian Correctional Services Violence Programme had lower rates of recidivism when compared to offenders who did not receive treatment. In comparison Hollin et al. (2004), cited in Goggin and Gendreau (2006, p.228) in their evaluation of the Pathfinders programme based in the UK, found that only 33.5 per cent of offenders who started a treatment programme actually completed it. However, the recidivism rates amongst those who did not complete the programme surpassed the group of offenders who did, by a wide margin (77.6% versus 57.9%) (Hollin et al. 2004, cited in Goggin and Gendreau 2006, p.228).

Again, based on the limited capacity of the DCSJ (see Henry-Lee 2005b), the department would seem unfitted to ensure treatment programmes are completed. As such, some of the health-related needs of prisoners in Jamaica are not being adequately addressed (Caballero et al. 2011; Reid 2011). Moreover, whilst a number of correctional programmes which are geared towards encouraging the moral, educational and vocational development of inmates do exist in Jamaican prisons, inmates are not required to participate in any of these available programmes. It therefore means that some inmates may choose to ignore such programmes for the duration of their sentence and that only those persons who are interested in positive behavioural change are likely to participate. This is good in one sense given that without the

cooperation and motivation of offenders then no intervention or combination of interventions will sustainably secure their reform (Rex 1999; Maguire and Raynor 2006). At the same time, those inmates who are allowed to not participate in programmes may experience respite from the conditions which led to their imprisonment (Morris 2008), but this may not be enough to secure the type of change needed to allow offenders to successfully negotiate the challenges they are likely to face in returning to the community. Later chapters will explore this issue further.

The existing research evidence on treatment completion also raises some important questions about the extent to which overseas governments who are repatriating Jamaican national offenders, some on the terms of early removal, are abiding by their own prison rules. Whether early removal schemes take into consideration the importance of treatment completion is unknown. However a previous research study undertaken by Caballero et al. (2011) found that the US does not communicate vital information to Jamaica about persons with mental disabilities in advance of their repatriation. As such this hinders their access to mental health treatment locally (Caballero et al. 2011). Therefore the sending home of repatriates seem to be largely based on conditions which may add to their difficulties resulting from deportee-related stigma (Headley 2006). As such it would not be surprising that reestablishing ties to Jamaican culture and society can be a major challenge to effective reintegration. However, whilst the extant literature suggests that treatment completion is important so is ensuring that correctional practices are desistance-supportive.

3.2.2.1 Desistance-Supportive Prison Experiences

As was mentioned earlier desistance is a 'process (which may be difficult and lengthy) by which people come to cease and sustain cessation of offending with or without intervention

by criminal justice agencies' (Maguire and Raynor 2006, p. 24). Therefore criminal justice policies and practices which seek to assist this behaviour are regarded as desistance-supportive. Desistance-supportive practices seek to 'diminish criminal reputations and identities, recognise the importance of positive relationships to the desistance process, reward offender efforts to change, respect individuality' (Weaver and McNeill 2007b, p.1) and enhance the staying power of personal reform (Maruna and Toch 2005). Ideas of crime desistance are relatively new to the Caribbean criminological discourse and so whilst these policies and practices may exist in Jamaica they are not necessarily labelled as such. However based on the various disadvantages that the urban poor in Jamaica face, the general correctional policy and legal environment in Jamaica seems largely unsupportive and exclusionary. This stands in some contrast to Farrall et al. (2010, p. 547) who postulate that crime desistance is really a journey 'from social exclusion towards inclusion'. Indeed, the relational aspect of correctional practice is known to encourage and support the desistance of offenders (Rex 1999), a theme to which we now turn.

Importance of Prisoner-Staff Relationships

Rex (1999) found that probation officers are able to motivate and assist moves towards law-abiding conduct by developing commitment in their probationers to desist from offending and to engender a sense of civic responsibility. Good relationships between practitioners and offenders is therefore recognised as central to changing behaviours and the social circumstances often associated with recidivism (Burnett and McNeill 2005). Such relationships are working alliances that acknowledge offenders' perspectives, life circumstances and efforts to change (Maruna 2007). Therefore offenders are supported through the willingness of correctional staff to model prosocial attitudes and behaviours. Maguire and Raynor (2006) also note that in order to foster change probation officers

involved in resettlement should understand their role as assisting the process of desistance by providing empathetic support to sustain motivation, responding to the individual circumstances of offenders and help offenders overcome social and practical life challenges.

Whilst these types of relationships are likely to exist in Jamaica they have not been the subject of sustained research or policy development. This may be partly due to the preoccupation of policy commentators upon the poor conditions of Jamaican prisons rather than upon what helps in the direct rehabilitation of offenders. The inattention to this area of practice could also be in part the result of a disinterest by policy and political voices in what some might deem ‘softer’ areas within the crime control discourse. However the extant literature seems to suggest that these are the very areas the Jamaican state should be examining in seeking to moderate its high violent crime rate. Harnessing and promoting good prison/staff relationships in Jamaica seems quite a practical option and would be in keeping with the DCSJ’s mission to ‘develop a cadre of professionals’ who are well-versed in good correctional practices (DCSJ 2015b). In short, greater attention could be given to these softer approaches and in so doing correctional staff would need to understand their roles as meaningful in seeking to encourage and support the positive behavioural change of offenders. Without such understanding there is likely to be conflict (see Barnes 2004), particularly where relationships are based on human rights abuses, mistrust and negative reinforcement by staff (see Ungar 2003; Souryal 2009). An example of such is the Armadale tragedy which involved gross neglect on the part of the Jamaican state to secure juveniles safely in detention. The Armadale juvenile correctional facility was destroyed by fire in 2009 and claimed the lives of seven female wards of the state and the injury of a number of other young persons (Assessing Armadale-Recommendations from Commission of Enquiry, 2010). As described in Chapter 2, abuse by the state and mistrust between officialdom and citizenry

has long been a feature of relationships between the urban poor in Jamaica and the state police. Later chapters will illustrate how participants described prisoner-staff relations in some of Jamaica's maximum security facilities and how these interactions may have impacted upon any behavioural change, intended or otherwise.

3.2.2.2 Jamaica's Need to Move On from Prison-Centred Reintegration

There are various offender management models used in the rehabilitation of offenders. Summarised findings from a comprehensive review of 30 meta-analytic reviews of international literature which was published between 1985 and 2001 revealed that there is an expected reduction in reconviction rates ranging from six to fifteen percentage points for some types of correctional interventions (McGuire 2002). However it was believed that better effects could be derived through suitable employment of risk-need-responsivity (RNR) approaches (see Raynor 2004), as outlined next.

Risk, Need and Responsivity/ Deficit Model

RNR has been shown to be effective in helping to reduce recidivism by up to 35 per cent (Andrews and Bonta 2010). It is one of the leading offender management models guiding the assessment and treatment of offenders in countries which seem to have embraced a more utilitarian approach to justifications of punishment. This model focuses on high risk offenders, targets the strongest dynamic risk factors for change and uses modalities capable of changing factors underlying criminal behaviour (Cullen and Gilbert 2015). It also largely identifies offenders' personal and situational characteristics which are criminogenic and uses this to inform the selection and implementation of appropriate correctional services (Taxman and Marlowe 2006).

Such an approach might be viewed as a more traditional and somewhat dated orientation not without its critics. For example, Raynor (2004) argues that the main issue with the RNR model is that, at its root, it is predicated on the deficit model which characterise offenders by deficiencies that are expected to be corrected in prison by everyone apart from offenders themselves. In such a model, offenders in prison tend to view themselves away from the situational constraints of both their personal circumstances and their disposition towards the capabilities and opportunities needed to achieve mainstream goals (Ward et al. 2009). This discourages their developing a sense of responsibility and self-efficacy (Burnett and McNeill 2005b) and frustrates perceptions and processes of human decision-making which may help to promote opportunities for change (Bleiker 2003).

It would appear that the DCSJ continues to retain this traditional rehabilitation model (see Jones 2007) which in other parts of the Western world seems to have been discredited (see Raynor 2004). Later chapters will engage with the perspectives of service providers on the challenges of making existing correctional practices, based in large part on this model, more supportive of desistance behaviour. From what we know about the challenges of modernising public services within the Caribbean region this failure to draw on lessons learnt in other jurisdictions may be attributable to a mix of policy inertia and the power of tradition (Mills 2002). It is also likely that in the offender management context, change may be difficult given the Jamaican state's fixation on employing 'tough on crime' measures which are police-led (Harriott 2000; Ungar 2003); also the lack of financial and other resources necessary to prompt and support required transformations is doubtless a factor too (see Polidano 1999).

Offender Responsibility Model

In contrast to the RNR approach, the Offender Responsibility (resettlement) Model (ORM) recognises that offenders have considerable needs and requires them to take responsibility for their own actions by setting clear resettlement goals and working on their self-motivation and problem-solving capabilities (Hucklesby and Wincup 2007). However this model has been criticised for underestimating the considerable difficulties offenders encounter after they are released (Maguire and Raynor 2006). Even so, evidence from previous evaluations (see Clancy et al. 2006) suggest that when compared to the deficit model, which portrays offenders as victims who are unable to help themselves, ORM offers a more promising basis for the resettlement of offenders (Maguire and Raynor 2006).

The focus on human agency in this chapter and the thesis more generally, draws some support from this model. It can be argued that the model insofar as it exists in Jamaica is likely to do so at an informal level. It does not seem to have been taken on as an official offender management policy. The strengths of this model come to further prominence in later chapters. We now turn to other approaches related to notions of offender responsibility, such as the Good Lives Model (GLM).

Good Lives Model

More contemporary offender management models such as GLM, were designed to improve the assessment and treatment of offenders and seemingly recast rehabilitation as a justification of formal punishment which was fit for purpose (see Langland et al. 2009; Robinson and Crow 2009; Carich et al. 2013). GLM, informed in part by narrative theory (as outlined earlier), provides an alternative to RNR based on positive, strengths-based and restorative components (Andrews et al. 2011). First proposed by Ward and Stewart (2003),

cited in Lindsay (2009, p.88). It also emphasises the importance of constructing a balanced prosocial identity in offenders.

This is achieved through using and developing internal capabilities such as skills, attitudes and beliefs and the promotion of exogenous conditions such as support for offenders and opportunities for development (Ward and Stewart 2003, in Lindsay 2009, p.88). Central to the model is the notion that ‘offenders are humans who are goal-oriented and live their lives according to their prioritised set of primary human goods -experiences, activities and states of beings - which are desired because they are perceived as increasing their sense of fulfilment and happiness’ (Willis et al. 2014, p. 60-61).

GLM also seems to be a state-obligated approach to rehabilitation through its recognition of the rights of offenders to be protected from the disproportionate disadvantage caused by the experience of punishment (see Hudson 2003; Robinson 2007; Weaver and McNeill 2010). Such a state-obligated approach to rehabilitation which views offenders as active participants in their own rehabilitation and reintegration seems to be lacking in contemporary Jamaica (see Henry-Lee 2005b; Jones 2007). Whilst rehabilitation elements are provided in sanctions to help the offenders refrain from further crime (Hudson 2003), research by Jones (2007) suggests that inmates are still largely treated as objects of intervention (Raynor 2004), again highlighting the weakness of Jamaica’s deficit rehabilitation model.

3.2.2.3 Prison Alternatives

Deportation is increasingly being accepted as a prison alternative all across the world and the home countries of offenders seem to be at the challenging end of this method of social control (Griffin 2009; Caballero et al. 2011). Whilst no comprehensive studies have been conducted

on the impact of deportation on policy and service development in the home countries of offenders, imaginably, it is likely to increase public sector strain. Anecdotal evidence suggests that within the Jamaican context the strain on public services may not be felt immediately as some involuntarily removed migrants (IRMs) may have access to remittances in the initial stages of their resettlement and some others may not be able to access basic public services due to them not having any documentation able to validate their identity as a Jamaican national (see Caballero et al. 2011). We also know based on work undertaken by Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne (2007) that the costs for Jamaica resulting from the deportations from the US in 2006 was approximately \$1.9 million JMD or roughly £10,556 in potential remittances for all IRMs. There was also a reduction in public safety due to an estimated five per cent increase in murders and reported cases of rape linked with criminal deportation (Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne 2007). Therefore the social and financial impact of mass deportation on home countries may be far-reaching.

The countries which send home foreign national offenders (FNOs) are in many cases seeking to ease prison overcrowding and minimise the strain on their own public finances. In 2004 it was reported that 8,937 FNOs were in UK prisons and that these offenders represented 168 countries, but over half were from six countries (Jamaica, Irish Republic, Nigeria, Pakistan, Turkey and India) (Prison Reform Trust 2004). Jamaicans were identified as the largest single group accounting for a quarter of the foreign national prison population (Prison Reform Trust 2004). Prior to this it was reported that it cost the UK government in 2002 an average of £37,500 per year to keep a prisoner and the average cost of a prison sentence imposed at a crown court was estimated to be £30,500 (Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) 2002). Today this equates to a grand total of roughly \$11.7 million JMD (respectively, \$ 6.5 million JMD and \$ 5.2 million JMD) for each Jamaican national that goes to trial, receives a sentence of

imprisonment and spends at least a year in a UK prison. These figures might help us to understand the keen interest of overseas governments to send home FNOs.

Usual references to prison alternatives often speak to non-custodial sanctions (UNODC 2006b; Sevdiren 2011) which are known to be suitable sentencing options especially for offenders with special needs related to drug addiction and mental ill-health (House of Commons, Home Affairs Committee 2005; Marzilli 2009). Non-custodial or community sentences help to ease prison overcrowding, cut public spending, divert low-level offenders away from the recidivism trap, and prevent offenders from being unnecessarily subjected to conditions which infringe their human rights (UNODC 2007). Prison alternatives in Jamaica include the combination order, curfew order, community service order, probation order, suspended sentence order, binding over order, monetary penalties, mediation order and absolute discharge.

There are also drug courts which rather than sentencing defendants with drug and alcohol problems to prison, mandate a treatment programme which may include case management within the community or hospitalisation. This is following the receipt of a social enquiry report prepared by a probation officer and results from an evaluation conducted by a psychiatrist (National Association of Drug Court Professionals 2014). It is difficult to estimate how well these methods have been used and to what extent they are effective due to the dearth of studies on social reintegration in Jamaica. Other alternatives such as electronic tagging and supervision in the community, for example as applied to serious offenders coming to the end of their prison sentences, were introduced relatively recently in Jamaica in 2007 as a pilot project (Jamaica Information Service, 2007a). Its uses are similar to those in the UK as described by Whitfield (2001, p. 24) who identifies ‘the use of curfew orders as a

sentence of the court, home detention curfews as an early release scheme from prison, restriction of liberty orders and bail as an alternative penalty for fine default and persistent offending, as four distinct phases of electronic monitoring (magic bracelet) in the UK’.

Electronic monitoring being a pilot project introduced in 2007 in Jamaica highlights the relative novelty of this correctional practice. For example, Jones and Newburn (2007, p. 48) note that ‘tagging was first discussed as a method for tracking psychiatric patients in the US in the 1960s with the first trials taking place in Massachusetts in 1967’. Thus policy transference of correctional practices within the Jamaican context seems comparatively slow and due largely to a blend of resource limitations and political apathy.

Tagging has been tested and its benefits proven (Whitfield 2001; Jones and Newburn 2007; Loumansky et al. 2008). Some of the advantages of electronic tagging/ monitoring include low cost for the government, for example, each bracelet used in the UK cost approximately £4000 annually when compared to £36,000 for a prison place (see Elliott and Quinn 2007). Also, the prison-community transition can be less complicated due to the flexibility afforded offenders who are tagged (Beck and Worden 2001). Also, it enhances the detection capabilities of the police (McCahill and Finn 2014) thereby reducing the stigmatisation of known offenders (Moore et al. 2013) and in general tagging has ‘the potential to keep offenders out of trouble and protect the public without the unsettling effects of imprisonment’ (Elliott and Quinn 2007, p. 435). However intended behavioural changes are unlikely to take effect if the conditions of release are overly intrusive and restrictive thereby creating a punitive experience that could be worse than being imprisoned (Roberts 2004).

3.1.3 At Reentry

Thus far we have seen that prison-centred corrections may help to build offender capacities for change but transformation depends, to some extent, on opportunities to exercise these capacities outside criminal justice institutions (Weaver and McNeill 2007a). Therefore it is possible that drivers of change which seem most effective in helping offenders to desist from crime are outside the ambit of the criminal justice system (see Maruna and Toch 2005). Some of the most discussed socio-economic drivers have been identified by social control theorists (McNeill 2006; King 2013c). They include a stable work history, strong marriage (Vito et al. 2005; Bahr et al. 2010), family connections (Mills and Codd 2007) and ties to educational programmes. These ideas form part of the sociogenic paradigm which is concerned with social meaning and contextualised experiences (Hammack and Cohler 2009) because it assumes that offending and non-offending behaviour develops out of social processes (Godwin 2008).

This recognition that prisons alone are unable to accomplish the reintegration aim of imprisonment builds support for increased emphasis to be placed on community-centred corrections before reentry. Visher and Travis (2003) define prisoner reentry as a process whereby offenders return to society following their release from prison. It may also be regarded as an ‘inevitable consequence of incarceration’ once inmates are able to stay alive in prison and are not on a mandatory life or death sentence (Travis and Visher 2005, p. 3). The term is rarely found in the Caribbean reintegration discourse but if found would likely connote a similar interpretation but limiting it to the act of leaving prison. The chapter now turns to an exploration of the social and other forms of interventions needed to develop and strengthen the all-important initial phase of resettlement.

3.2.3.1 Accommodation

Previous research has suggested that an association between offending and unstable accommodation exists whereby prisoners are more likely to be without satisfactory accommodation and those who lack stable accommodation are likely to recidivate (Crow 2001, cited in Crow 2006, p.18). In the UK an offender who has been imprisoned can lose their housing because rent arrears would have built up and this could lead to them being barred from housing benefits (Social Exclusion Unit 2002). This challenge is recognised by Griffiths et al. (2007) who found that a number of offenders were left with the only option of returning to the same troubled and marginalised communities which in some cases was the source of their initial problems. This resonates with the cycles of crime and poverty discussed in Chapter 2 which seem to characterise urban inner city communities in Jamaica.

3.2.3.2 Employment

Employment is a well-known turning point (Uggen 2000) and remains one of the most significant vehicles for quickening offender reintegration (Travis and Visser 2005). Whilst there is no causal link between unemployment and crime (Burns 1998), research studies consistently indicate that employment reduces the risk of recidivism (Kruttschnitt et al. 2000) whereby a stable work history helps offenders to construct prosocial identities that may help to displace their former deviant status (Opsal 2012). Bahr et al. (2010) examined the reentry of 51 parolees in the three year period following their release from prison in the US and found that persons who worked at least 40 hours a week were more likely than their counterparts to complete parole successfully.

Nevertheless a criminal record remains a major barrier to obtaining employment (Pager 2003). This is exacerbated in Jamaica by the country's high unemployment rate of 15.2 per

cent (Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2013). Indeed, many of those who enter Jamaica's correctional service may never have been employed in the regular labour market or gained opportunities to use newly acquired skills and capabilities obtained in prison. This lack of access to opportunities may cause various social and economic strains towards crime as discussed in Chapter 2. However, a more serious challenge for some other offenders is their low literacy levels, acquired before entering prison (see PIOJ 2014).

Education

Beard et al. (2003) found that if offenders within the US have a high school education, then their risk of returning to prison is reduced to 24 per cent. Additionally, the likelihood of relapsing drops to ten per cent if those individuals obtain at least two years of college education, four years will decrease the likelihood to almost six per cent and postgraduate degree holders had a zero per cent recidivism rate (Beard et al. 2003). This pathway may be less relevant to Jamaican males whose perceptions of the importance of education as a means of upward social mobility has been according to Figueroa (2004a) negatively shaped by male privileging. That is, male privileging in Jamaica helps to restrict women to the domestic sphere and informal economy and men to skilled labour that often does not require certification or training (see Figueroa 2004a, b; Cobbett and Younger 2012). As such, this serves to undermine the educational ambitions of some Caribbean men.

Male Privileging

Male privileging refers to the special rights and status within society which men enjoy (see Reddock 2004). It is about the special rights of men and how these rights and other special privileges shape the ways in which men relate to women (see George 2012). These are acquired identities which are learned over time and across cultures (see Reddock 2004). The patriarchal nature of much of Jamaican society seems evidenced in research which suggests

that Jamaican women are less represented within the labour force when compared to their male counterparts (Adler 1997; Reynolds 1999; Ellis 2003; Safa 2010). This is irrespective of the fact that female headed-households are fairly high in this part of the world and Jamaican women tend to outnumber and outperform men in institutions of higher learning (Baker 1997). Given that women in Jamaica seem to be marginalised by the inferior rights and status that Jamaican society tends to assign to them, so it was important in this study to see how this influences the way they are treated in prison and how they respond to treatment provided, as compared to male prisoners. Later chapters will consider this issue.

Additionally if women tend to be the backbone of their families in Jamaica (see Henry-Lee 2005b) then it is difficult to see how these women can be enabled to transition smoothly from prison to the community. This is because it is likely that at least their immediate families would have been dismantled by their incarceration (see Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2003). The extant literature tends to examine the impact of the removal of fathers from their families by imprisonment (Hairston 1995; Ramirez-Barrett et al. 2006; Muth and Walker 2013) but often neglects how families are destabilised and reconfigured by the removal of mothers. This topic is considered in some detail later in this study and seeks to build on work initiated in Jamaica by Henry-Lee (2005b). In doing so, the thesis does not fail to listen to the voices of participants who are fathers.

3.2.3.3 Family Support

Theories of an age-graded approach to social control purport that the likelihood of crime desistance increases with certain lifestyle changes in adulthood (Clay-Warner 2014) related typically to marriage and parenthood (Savolainen 2009). This may result from an increase in social control derived from offenders making larger investments in conventional society and

opting to modify their routine activities (Clay-Warner 2014). Offenders also benefit from having active family support which can help to ameliorate the discomforts associated with being imprisoned (Mills 2005; Mills and Codd 2008; Visher and Travis 2011).

A caring and sustaining partner (Maruna 1997) may also provide offenders with the motivation to succeed, emotional support, and possibly financial assistance in addition to a place to stay upon release (Travis and Visher 2005). This explains the emphasis on offenders maintaining social ties to the family and community even whilst in prison. Research by Bales and Mears (2008) indicates that prison visitation can help reduce and/or delay criminal recidivism. However in order for families to play an effective role in the reintegration process they must have the relevant information and ability to learn how to properly cope with this task and subsequent set-backs (Codd 2007). Otherwise, their inability to do so may lead to emotional and financial burn-out for family members.

Studies have shown that females tend to desist earlier than males and engage in far less crime than men (see Steffensmeier and Allan 1996; Hearn 2010; Farrall et al. 2011). This finding seems to be validated by the Jamaican prison admission figures which show that 93.1 per cent of persons admitted to Jamaican adult correctional centres in 2013 were men (PIOJ 2014). In effect, for every 100,000 males within the wider Jamaican population approximately 231 end up in prison. Variably this may contribute to male absenteeism in the family. The nature of male absenteeism from family life within Jamaican society (see Otterbein 1965; Schlesinger 1968) may make reconnecting with and staying connected to family members during and following imprisonment more challenging. As women carry much of the responsibility for family and child rearing so it is likely that they have a greater stake in conformity and are

more disposed to desistance than men. Some of these gender differences will be explored in Chapter 5.

Stakes in Conformity

Stakes in conformity are the things that potential offenders value and risk giving up if they break the law (see Toby 1957, cited in Winfree Jr and Abadinsky 2009, p.78). Examples of this are emotional bonds to prosocial others, personal achievements and future plans (Agnew 2011). Toby's theory of delinquency and gang membership assumes that an individual is more predisposed to engage in criminality where there are weak social controls or stakes in conformity (Tibbetts and Hemmens 2009). Stakes in conformity within this context refer to individual commitments to maintaining conventional norms and values (Tibbetts and Hemmens 2009). However if the stakes in question are traditionally formulated and are not highly valued by potential offenders who may not be in search of socially approved identities then the deterrent effect of punishment is weakened (see Farrall and Maruna 2004; Weaver and McNeil 2007a).

The importance of belief or acceptance of societal norms and values is explained by Hirschi's (1969), cited in Esbensen (2010, p.18-19) social bond theory. Social bond theorists suggest that crime desistance is the result of the existence and strengthening of certain ties to society over time (Shoemaker 2013). Based on this theory even the most active offenders may desist over the life course when prosocial adult bonds are built and which in turn help deter them from previously deviant pathways (DeLisi 2005). Other factors Farrall et al. (2011) envisaged as 'hooks for change' were attachment or identification with other individuals and their desire for support, commitment or investment in conventional behaviour and involvement in mainstream activities such as higher learning and skills training (see also Hirschi 2002;

Esbensen 2010). However there is also the challenge of offenders being able to face their victims without causing conflict as we discuss next.

3.2.3.4 Preventing Victim-related Problems

Preventing victim-related problems whether at reentry into society following imprisonment or otherwise is central to the notion of Restorative Justice (RJ). This model of justice is primarily concerned with healing the harms caused to existing social relationships and restoring all individuals involved in a conflict to a state of wholeness (Pollock 2011) through employing techniques such as peace-making circles (Pranis et al. 2003) and video conferencing (Liebmann 2007). RJ is informed by the 'Basic Principles on the Use of Restorative Justice Programmes in Criminal Matters which was adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 2002 to denote any process in which victims of crimes committed along with offenders and other persons who were affected by the crime actively participate in the resolution of matters arising from the harm caused, usually with the help of a facilitator' (United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders 2006, p. 241). This may involve mediation, reconciliation and as was previously mentioned, circles and conferencing in seeking to achieve the reintegration of the offender and victim through programmes of reparation, restitution and/or community service (United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders 2006, p. 241).

Peace management initiatives are in operation in Jamaica (Henry-Lee 2007) but there are challenges in mainstreaming conflict management services. One such service is alternative dispute resolution (ADR). ADR in Jamaica encompasses mediation, deliberation, dialogue and facilitation services provided by the Dispute Resolution Foundation (DRF), a private

voluntary foundation in Jamaica (Ministry of Justice 2015a). However it seems to be underutilised as only cases in the civil jurisdiction are automatically referred to the DRF which is the only mediation referral agency in Jamaica (Lemard 2010). By comparison, RJ with its significant investment in preparation needed to manage conflict and its prioritisation of valuing and repairing relationships through empowering offenders and victims, has not yet become mainstream. Of note here is that, as Pollock (2011) suggests, these interventions typically emphasise the important and active role of community members in helping to resolve the issues which led to the criminal event or conflict. The chapter will next address related matters of facilitators and hindrances to effective reintegration within the community.

3.1.4 Within the Resettled Community

Obtaining the support of the community is pivotal in the reintegration process. Otherwise offenders will remain physically resettled but socially and emotionally unintegrated, a not uncommon event in this study as later chapters will demonstrate. The importance of developing positive community support was recognised in the British Columbia Crime Reduction Strategy which listed the creation of Community Support Teams as an outcome of expanding rehabilitation treatment of offenders through the private sector (Griffiths et al. 2007, p. 33). In this respect, McAlister (2009) highlights the significance of Community Relation Boards (CRBs) which seem similar to the Community Support Teams described by Griffiths et al. (2007) above.

The role of CRBs is to help the community and correctional institutions come together as partners in efforts to deal with the consequences of crime and incarceration (McAlister 2009). The need for this function is validated by the fact that some offenders discharged from prison may pose risks to their home community and hence local citizens will need reliable

information and assurances about the management of their resettlement. People from prison may also pose no risks but may nonetheless be seen in negative stereotyped ways and this too may need to be tackled by services such as CRB (McAlister 2009). This explains why the extant literature identifies antisocial delabeling/status-return/recognition ceremonies or redemption rituals (Scarpitti and McFarlane 1975; Travis 2005; Laws and Ward 2011) as ways in which negative mind-sets of community residents may be moderated in order to obtain their support.

3.2.4.1 Developing Positive Support through AntiSocial Delabeling

A US study based on a sample of 95,919 men and women adjudicated by the courts, established that persons who were formally labelled were significantly more likely to recidivate within two years when compared to those who were not labelled (Chirricos et al. 2007). Becker's (2008) classic theory of labelling argues that rule creators in ascribing a label may engender negative and unmerited stereotypes based on popular misconstructions. Those with the power to create such labels have been referred to as 'moral entrepreneurs' who typically are at the centre of rule creation and with a vested interest in ensuring that certain behaviours are proscribed (Watts et al. 2008). Labels give rise to what Goffman (2009b) identified as 'spoiled identities'.

Combating 'Massa [Master] Identities' with Reintegrative Shaming

Chapter 2 introduced some of the potential challenges faced by Jamaican ex-prisoners (and their communities too) in being stigmatised as criminogenic and how the stigma or labelling may become an over-riding identity that may impede behavioural change needed to lead a reintegrated lifestyle. This in turn highlights the importance of delabelling ceremonies in helping offenders develop their 'redemptive scripts' or new self-narratives essential to desist

from crime. Again, these ceremonies involve a respected member of society helping to reinstate offenders as law-abiding citizens through publicly announcing and certifying that they have changed (Meisenhelder 1982, cited in Maruna et al. 2004, p.275). This certification stage of desistance is more likely to occur if persons providing such witness represent official sources (Maruna and Toch 2005), which in the Jamaican case are likely to be ministers of religion and justices of the peace.

This process is closely aligned with reintegrative shaming practices such as circles of support which bring together community members and offenders in an event which evokes shame in offenders, whilst their reintegration needs are met by community members (McAlinden 2013). In some jurisdictions this is the preferred method used to manage sex offenders (McAlinden 2013). However in Jamaica it is being piloted and involves low-risk offenders and the use of various techniques to repair harms caused and promote values of mutual understanding, respect, hope, integrity, empowerment, interconnectedness and accountability (Durrant and Ward 2015). Despite some concerns about due process, accountability and legitimacy of the reintegrative shaming process (McAlinden 2013), the impact of RJ values and practices may have benefit for even the most dangerous offenders who at some point in their life course may return to a community which is likely to need support in reintegrating these individuals.

Special Challenge of the Buju Banton Syndrome

It was evidenced in Headley's (2006) study that a weak sense of belonging promulgated by the 'buju syndrome', which is a form of deportee-related stigma, makes it difficult for some involuntarily returned migrants (IRMs) or repatriates to peaceably reenter and resettle within their former communities. This difficulty was linked to metaphors within the lyrics of a

famous reggae song in Jamaica entitled *Deportees (Things Change)* (Myrie et al. 1993), which appears to support the dis-integrative shaming of IRMs. IRMs are discredited on the basis of strongly held and at times unfounded beliefs (see Headley et al. 2005; Headley 2006; Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne 2007; Charles 2010) that all deportees wasted a privileged opportunity to improve their economic and social status by migrating. Hence they are often cast as undeserving of any second chance of living a normal life which might entail being able to depend on their neighbours for support when they return to Jamaican society (see Appendix P for Lyrics).

This deportee-related ‘bujū’ stigma is a characteristic pattern of behaviour whereby the type and level of support provided to IRMs who return especially with little material wealth, is determined by the type of mutual friendships maintained while they and their families were overseas. As such the lyrics of the song seem to capture the prevailing attitude of locals towards individuals or families who failed to maintain social ties with their home communities following their emigration to an overseas jurisdiction in search of a better life. Therefore individuals who were able to send remittances (see Madjd-Sadjadi and Alleyne 2007) and ‘clothes barrels’ (see Moberg 2008; Crawford-Brown and Melrose 2013) to family and friends left-behind were those who were likely to receive reciprocal support following their return.

What seems less understood by the Jamaican public however is that not all IRMs are ‘deportees’ (see Headley 2006). This lack of understanding encourages the debasement of IRMs in general. Whilst both deportation and administrative removal are tools for immigration control, deportation is usually reserved for serious/violent foreign national offenders (FNOs) (Ashworth and Zedner 2014). In accordance with the Immigration Act

of 1971 a deportation order made in the UK sanctions a detention pending removal usually of FNOs over age 17 who have been convicted for an offence which is punishable with imprisonment or whose deportation is otherwise deemed by the Secretary of State to be conducive to the public good (Mitchell 2006). In comparison, the circumstances under which FNOs may become liable to administrative removal based on section 10 of the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, tend to be for less serious offences often related to failure to comply with conditions of leave to enter or remain in the UK, the use of deception to obtain leave to remain in the UK or being the spouse, civil partner and/or child under 18 of a FNO in respect of whom removal directions have been given (Mitchell 2006). In this latter case involving the partners and children of FNOs who may also be removed (even though they may not have been complicit), upon returning to Jamaica they too are likely to fall victim to deportee-related stigma even though they were not deported.

Headley (2006) has championed the cause for IRMs to be treated as citizens and challenges popular misunderstandings about Jamaicans who have been involuntarily removed from overseas jurisdictions (see also Barnes and Seepersad 2008). In their study, Headley et al. (2005) showed how deportations to Jamaica from the US between 1997 and 2003 were mainly for non-violent crimes. In addition these IRMs were at older ages which made them less likely than their younger counterparts to reengage in criminality when repatriated (Headley et al. 2005). This aspect of the age-crime relationship merits further attention as below.

Ontogenesis and the Age-crime Curve

The notion of an age-crime curve stems from a graphical depiction of age-crime relationships developed from extensive analyses of cross-sectional data on criminal careers (Loeber et al. 2015). It shows how crime declines sharply across the life span after rising steeply at the age

of 12, peaking in the late teenage years at about ages 16 and 18 and gradually declining in the remaining age distribution (Sampson and Laub 1995; Howell 2010). The peak remains even though it may be higher or lower at different periods and the peak age may vary by a couple of years (Walsh and Bolen 2012).

This age distribution of crime indicates when a youth population is likely to start engaging in offending and the age at which the largest proportion of this population engages in offending (Loeber 2012). As such, there seems to be general consensus within the criminological literature that in comparison to adult offenders proportionally more adolescents and young adults resort to violent behaviour (Payne 2007; Tremblay 2009), and account for greater involvement in conventional crimes such as robbery (Desroches 2002). These observations resonate with findings from Robotham's (2003) study which suggests that Jamaican youth aged 15 to 29 are at a high risk of engaging in criminality.

The age-crime curve also shows that participation in street crime is supposed to peak in late adolescence and disappear before the offender reaches age 30 (Maruna 2001; Shapland et al. 2012). However, whilst Jamaican youth are more likely to commit their first criminal offence within the 15 to 29 age cohort, the Robotham (2003) study also found that between the ages of 25 and 40 they may be committing a second or third offence. Examination of data gathered by the PIOJ (2013) revealed that a majority of persons arrested for murder, shooting and robbery in Jamaica in 2013 were aged between 16 and 30 years of age. This raises concerns about the number of juveniles in Jamaica who mature into career criminals. That said, involvement in crime as a juvenile is known to be a poor predictor of later adult offending because after age 30 individuals are likely to mature out of crime (Sampson and Laub 2001, cited in Ezell 2007, p.31).

Generative Commitments

It may also be that some older persons rather than maturing out of crime, have shifted to less visible criminal roles (Steffensmeier et al. 1989), and become more skilful at avoiding detection, or are spending more time in prison (Maruna 2001). This last group of individuals may also be those who would be least expected to engage in generative prosocial activities in the community. However the status of the Jamaican community don described in the previous chapter, offers some qualification to this supposition. The don, despite or because of any crime connections, is viewed as a hero and protector largely because of his/her generative commitments to the neighbourhood which is usually disadvantaged. Nonetheless, for some offenders involvement in generative community activities may help to support their desistance (Maruna 2001) and provide significant others in the locality some necessary validation of their reform (McNeill and Maruna 2008).

However at the root exists the fundamental matter of agency and an individual's capacity to persevere despite adversity. If individuals do not believe that they can produce desired effects by taking positive action (Bandura 2010), it is likely that all the above programmes and interventions could be of little impact. In which case, offenders may become locked into trajectories defined in significant part by the consequences of the choices they make (Elder Jr 1994; Bandura 2000; Sampson and Laub 2005). Hence, this is the reason that agency is given such prominence in later chapters but without eclipsing key institutional and structural features of crime and reintegration in Jamaica.

3.2 Conclusion

There is an increasing focus among practitioners and policy-makers on identifying programmes and strategies that help offenders successfully reintegrate into their communities without reoffending (Griffiths et al. 2007). The factors that drive offenders to reoffend are

complex and should not be understood solely in relation to the length of time spent in prison. Harsher prison treatment, overcrowding and the number of deaths in the facility of detention all help to increase the probability of offenders reoffending (Drago et al. 2009). A long held assumption is that prison environments are largely unsupportive of positive behavioural change (Banister et al. 1973). Hence there has been much focus across many jurisdictions on reintegration processes. For example, finding ways to manage or moderate ex-prisoner stigmatisation within the community; acknowledging the impact of the age curve – of growing-out of crime; the state making the most of non-custodial sentencing options; embracing the continuum of care approach; recognising the importance of human agency in the behavioural change process.

From such initiatives described in this chapter, relating to both Jamaica and wider afield, it can be seen that effective reintegration is not an issue that can be resolved by criminal justice institutions alone. Critical to the process are the roles, attitudes, activities, settings and relationships of individuals, families, communities and support services in civil society. Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 address these much neglected aspects of the Jamaican context and in so doing will draw upon key concepts, policies and insights outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. Next, we move to Chapter 4 which describes the methodology and methods employed in seeking to understand the social reintegration phenomenon in Jamaica through the views of offenders and those who seek to assist them.

Chapter 4: Doing Research on Reintegration Behind and Beyond the Prison Gate

4.0 Introduction

The voicelessness of some Jamaican ex-prisoners is very much a function of the social exclusion they experience in the community following imprisonment. These are typically individuals who identify themselves as belonging to socially disadvantaged and marginalised groups (Leslie 2008). As such, this research sought to understand their perspectives about life in Jamaica, before, during and after imprisonment and how this might generate insights in regard to what might impede or advance the reintegration process. This study therefore sought to address this topic by addressing the following key research questions:

- How are indigenous prison inmates (who had previous prison experiences) and those ex-prisoners returning to Jamaica from prisons elsewhere reintegrated?
- To what extent do ex-prisoners see prison influencing the quality of their reintegration experiences?
- How can correctional practices in Jamaica be made more effective?
- What are the challenges to making existing correctional practices in Jamaica more effective?

The agentic perspective which was described in the previous chapter informed the rationale for the study design which has generated a qualitative data corpus obtained from 55 inmates (41 men and 14 women) who were interviewed in three maximum security prisons because of their previous custodial experiences and experiences of reintegration which seemed to have been ineffective. Twenty-five of these inmates (18 men and 7 women) also participated in four focus group discussions that were conducted in the three facilities visited (Tower Street

Adult Correctional Centre (N=2), St. Catherine Adult Correctional Centre (N=1) and Fort Augusta Adult Correctional Centre (N=1).

Another 18 persons (16 men and 2 women) with comparable experiences of custody and reintegration were individually interviewed within the community and some of these participated in two focus groups. The first focus group held within the community consisted of seven male repatriates who were able to share their experiences of resettlement in Jamaica having had experiences of imprisonment in an overseas jurisdiction. The second group consisted of six female repatriates and the daughter of one of the women present (N=7). Overall, 73 offenders (57 men and 16 women) were interviewed individually, with 26 also opting to participate in focus group discussions, each group averaging seven persons.

In addition, data were obtained from interviews with 17 providers of aftercare support services for offenders in prison and for those who returned to the community (sampling will be discussed later; see also Appendix O for a breakdown of the research sample). Secondary sources were drawn from 2001-2013 Economic and Social Surveys of Jamaica (ESSJ), the 2010 Jamaica Survey of Living Conditions (JSLC), crime legislation and national security policy documents.

As an exploration of how Jamaican ex-prisoners become effectively reintegrated into Jamaican society, this chapter seeks to provide the rationale for the research design and the methods used to address the research questions. It sets out how the research proceeded from gaining access, identifying sampling techniques, through to data collection, preparation, interpretation and analysis. Justifications for the methods used to analyse and interpret the data are outlined in Sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4. In Section 4.5, the chapter goes on to discuss

the ethical issues and Section 4.6 addresses considerations of validity. The chapter then concludes with Section 4.7, which looks at key limitations of the study design.

4.1 Epistemological Considerations

The study draws on an interpretivist epistemological position which is underpinned by subjectivist ontology. Epistemology in this sense refers to people's knowledge, ideas and views of the world which are grounded in understanding the reality that people share (Rothe 2000). By dealing with the origin, nature and limits of human knowledge, epistemology also focuses on the relationship between the knower and the phenomenon that is being observed and how interpretation is influenced by the researcher's beliefs about the nature of knowledge (Klenke 2008). It is intimately about the way in which knowledge develops and is validated and disseminated within particular contexts (Collins 2010).

This interpretivist epistemological position adopted here supported a largely qualitative approach whereby the study of the reintegration phenomenon was based mainly on the interpretation and analysis of primary data via interviews and focus groups (Willig 2013). Interpretivism maintains that 'social reality is a product of its inhabitants who interpret the world they live in based on the meanings they produce and reproduce as an important part of their daily routines and interactions with others' (Blaikie 2010, p. 96). As such, rules for knowing do not necessarily guarantee that representations of reality are somehow 'objective', as assumed by positivism (Scheurich 2013). Positivism tends to underplay the social fact that 'truth' as such is complex and often contingent because it is based upon various and sometimes conflicting interpretations (Creswell 2007).

The key analytic driver within this epistemological position was social constructivism and was deployed to inform interpretation of the research data. Interactionist approaches are premised on the assumption that people act towards everything in their world therefore actions are based on perceptions which are co-constructed, interpreted and modified through ongoing social interactions (Blumer 1986). The study therefore focused on the interpretation of humans in social situations. Social constructivism assumes that social identities undergo constant revision and take shape and meaning through varied and sometimes complex social interactions. Understandings of the world are therefore based on subjective meanings of experiences which are often negotiated socially and historically (Creswell 2007). As a result it is accepted that the researcher's interpretation of participants' accounts are unavoidably constructions, a version of social reality rather than empirically proven 'truths' (Bryman 2008). Thus the analytic process was one of redescribing and reconstructing interpretative processes that were engaged in by participants, in essence lay accounts become translated into social scientific explanations of the phenomenon in question (Scott and Morrison 2006). Understanding this process fostered a realisation that as a researcher I may have brought my own assumptions to the research process which may have influenced how the data was understood and interpreted (Klenke 2008).

4.2 Rationale for the Method

To repeat, the study seeks to provide a snapshot of the reintegration phenomenon and other crime-related issues in Jamaica via the meanings ascribed to reintegration by adult Jamaican ex-prisoners and by a small selection of service providers. These understandings may be used to inform crime control policy and financial planning in the area of crime prevention.

There are limited extant qualitative research sources about reintegration in Jamaica. Most recent studies emanating from the Caribbean region are largely quantitative in nature (see Braithwaite and Harriott 2004; Ramdhanie 2007; Barnes and Seepersad 2008; Leslie 2008; Rhamdhan and Bissessar 2010). Whilst these studies were culturally relevant they did not constitute sources of rich descriptive data providing insight into the experiences and intentionality of Jamaican offenders. Nonetheless, secondary material derived from these sources and other government data served to supplement the primary data in this study.

Individual interviews were the primary data collection method employed because of its multiple advantages. It enabled the researcher to engage a hard-to-reach group, provide clarification where there was misunderstanding and show sensitivity to persons who had low literacy levels and found it difficult to relate their experiences (Brink and Wood 2011). It also allowed the researcher to verbally communicate to participants their rights insofar as these related to participation and to clarify any ambiguities regarding the aims of the study and the nature of the interview. The semi-structured method of interviewing was adopted for all interviews because of its many advantages to allow the researcher and interviewee to co-construct the encounter and seek out and establish mutual understandings of the matter at hand (Graham 2015).

Focus groups were utilised in the knowledge that the method may intimidate and suppress individual differences causing some participants to become withdrawn and sometimes refusing to participate in discussions (Connaway and Powell 2010). It was anticipated that it would be difficult to get participants together as a group within the prison setting because of the existence of prison gangs and their effect on individual participation and commentary, and the strict time schedule of prison life. However focus groups were conducted under

supervised conditions which in turn may have influenced individual and group interaction patterns. Nonetheless, the insights generated were plentiful and helped to tease out issues which are not always adequately addressed in the individual interviews (Connaway and Powell 2010).

Table 1: Rationale for Research Instruments Employed

Research Instruments X5	Purposes	Target Population
Individual interview schedule 1	To obtain ex-prisoner views on failed reintegration	prison recidivists/ex-prisoners in prison
Focus group interview guide 1	method triangulation	prison recidivists/ex-prisoners in prison
Individual interview schedule 2	To obtain ex-prisoner views on effective reintegration	ex-prisoners within the community
Focus group interview guide 2	To tease out other issues related to effective reintegration method triangulation	ex-prisoners within the community
Individual interview schedule 3	To tease out related issues affecting reintegration Ditto above and data triangulation	prison administrators (probation officers, correctional officers, prison superintendents) aftercare service providers (NGOs, FBOs and IDPs)

Semi-structured interview schedules one and two were the main research instruments. Both instruments were developed to be theme-centred and time-bound. The first interview schedule was administered to ex-prisoners who were inside prison and the second, to ex-prisoners within the community. Both these semi-structured instruments consisted of six

themes and multiple prompts. These prompts were designed to encourage more in-depth discussions on issues which addressed the key research questions. Each participant was asked about their background and first engagement in criminality. They were also asked to comment on the impact of imprisonment, their continued engagement or discontinuation in criminality, life after prison and hopes and expectations for the future (see Appendix I).

Key themes which were built into the semi-structured interview made it more manageable to track patterns in the responses. They also created reasonable boundaries beyond which marked digression was discouraged whilst allowing exploration and reflection. Generally, this theme-centred design ensured that there was consistency across interviews which assisted later analysis and comparisons. It soon became apparent during interviews that key differences resided around for example gender, prison culture and post-release cultural experiences.

The first focus group interview guide was used to steer group interviews with ex-prisoners who were back in prison once more and the second, to consult the opinions of ex-prisoners within the community (see Table 1 above). Both guides consisted of ten open-ended questions with each having two or more assigned prompts. These open-ended questions, like those asked in the semi-structured interviews, were formulated to canvass participants' experiences and views on life through the prison gate, dispositions towards recidivism, effects of imprisonment on the quality of life, and maintenance of crime-free lifestyles. Questions were often restated in order for offenders to better understand what exactly about their reintegration experiences they were being asked to share with the group.

The first and last questions asked in both focus groups were designed for distinct purposes. The first was an ice-breaker. Ice-breakers were mainly interwoven into the design to foster relaxed and open environments during discussions. Following the introduction and setting of ground rules ice-breakers were often posed. Final questions encouraged offenders to raise points they felt warranted attention or deserved further dialogue.

In seeking to triangulate perspectives, a third individual interview schedule was designed to obtain the views of service providers and key officials involved in delivering prison and reintegration policy. This schedule like other instruments was also theme-centred with prompts. However due to the range of organisations which volunteered to participate in the study, latitude was exercised in asking unplanned questions. This helped to tease out specific concerns related, for example, to the suitability of programme interventions and the challenges of multi-agency working. Standard questions asked during these sets of interviews, were clustered around the role of the prison or the aftercare institution, impact of interventions and challenges in implementing suitable programmes.

4.2.1 Access

All the research sites accessed were places in which the population of interest could be found. Therefore the investigations undertaken in the prison were unavoidably ones that occurred in a highly controlled environment. This was because inmates occupy a relatively powerless position where they are unable to provide complete voluntary consent because their interests (and participation) are determined by formal gatekeepers (Schutze and Sprouse 2014). Based on these and other restrictions a multi-tiered strategy of gaining approval was employed. The first step towards obtaining permission to commence fieldwork was to obtain ethical approval to undertake research in Jamaican prisons.

Table 2: Justifications for the Research Sites Accessed

Research Sites	Description	Purpose for Access
Within the community (outside prison)	<p>14 service providers</p> <p>Five troubled communities located in Kingston inner city areas</p> <p>One troubled community outside of Kingston</p> <p>A faith-based community in the Kingston and St. Andrew area</p>	<p>To reach the hard-to-reach population of ex-prisoners</p> <p>To engage with NGOs that provide aftercare services (see Table 5)</p> <p>To make comparisons between service user and provider perspectives</p> <p>To reach ex-prisoners and service providers in the community</p>
Inside Prison	<p>Maximum-security state prisons for men</p> <p>State prison for women</p> <p>Three service providers</p>	<p>To reach more easily, a larger population of ex-prisoners in prison, within the short timeframe</p> <p>To be able to compare perspectives</p>

The first step in the preparatory process was to commence negotiations with gatekeepers at the state prison level. This proved to be the most challenging but critical for addressing key research objectives. Gatekeepers are key people, vital intermediaries (Hammett et al. 2015), with whom the researcher must develop a relationship of trust and mutual respect (Lodico et al. 2010). Davies and Peters (2014) make a distinction between input and output gatekeeping. Input gatekeepers were found at the state level, these were persons with the ability to grant or deny access to research participants (Denscombe 2014). By contrast, output gatekeepers play influential roles in determining the direction and nature of research by applying organisational or politically motivated pressure which affects the way in which the research findings are interpreted or disseminated (Davies and Peters 2014).

4.2.1.1 Obtaining Access to State Prisons

Access to undertake individual and focus groups in three state prisons in Jamaica was granted in January 2013 by the Commissioner of Corrections. However formal approval for the study was granted by the Ministry of National Security (MNS) in December 2012. Paramount amongst the steps taken to gain the permissions of the MNS and the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica (DCSJ) was to ensure that the conditions for obtaining access which were outlined in the DCSJ's terms of reference (TOR) for researchers were met.

Ten months prior to the time fieldwork was expected to commence, a visitor application was completed and submitted to the DCSJ. This was done ahead of the timeframe of six weeks prior to the requested date of visit which was specified by the DCSJ. The research proposal, which included: methodology, research instruments, consent form and schedule of visits, were approved by the supervisors of the research. Following this, the research proposal along with the signed application was submitted to the DCSJ for review (see Appendix G).

4.3.1.2 Obtaining Access to Ex-prisoners within the Community

Whilst engaging with the DCSJ over access, ex-prisoners within the community were contacted and interviewed. This task was accomplished first for the pilot and later for the full roll-out of the project. By employing snow-ball and opportunistic sampling techniques, this task was accomplished. Results from the pilot study and sampling techniques employed are discussed later in the chapter. However entering into troubled communities proved somewhat challenging.

Ex-prisoners living in Troubled Communities

The social dynamics of troubled communities in Jamaica were introduced in Chapter 2. Five such communities were approached in search of Jamaican ex-prisoners living locally who might be willing to take part in the study. Access to these communities was assisted by a key sponsor, a family friend and an ex-offender who asked that his views of life after prison be excluded from the study. The sponsor's knowledge of the daily routines of known ex-prisoners was drawn upon for the sole purpose of identifying and contacting the target population.

A key sponsor or informant is a special category of research participant. As a result of their personal experiences they are able to represent the views, customs, values, attitudes and behaviour of a group or community (Tavakoli 2012). They can be respondents, sponsors or gatekeepers. Like gatekeepers, sponsors can extend or limit access to a research setting (Burgess 2003; Denscombe 2014). The sponsor helped to negotiate access to the five communities by vouching for the trustworthiness of the researcher as someone with no 'official' identity or agenda but rather as someone motivated to understand the social world from the perspective of the interviewee and to do so in conditions of strict confidentiality (see Denscombe 2014). This sponsor also knew the best places and times to reach potential research participants because of the cordial relations he maintained with persons living in these communities.

The first community visited was home to the informant and so identifying participants for the study was easier compared to subsequent communities where other local sponsors had to be identified by the main informant. These were persons who were able to help build trust amongst community residents, minimise suspicion and vouch for the trustworthiness of the informant and who in turn communicated confidence in the aims of the study. Ex-prisoners

within the community were therefore identified through their connections with various sponsors.

Visits during the day proved futile in connecting with participants and so the majority of those interviewed were either found at night-time at home or out in the locality. For reasons of safety and confidentiality, interviews were conducted in the main sponsor's car. The participant was invited to sit in the front passenger seat with the researcher sitting in the rear of the vehicle, behind the driver's seat, whilst the sponsor would wait outside the car until the interview was concluded. Interviews with other ex-prisoners in the community were conducted in monitored rooms located at a local university, where the researcher was temporarily based for the fieldwork. In two other cases, interviews were conducted at the homes of participants. However in all cases the researcher was accompanied by the main sponsor. All persons who were approached accepted the invitation to participate with the exception of two individuals who were on their way to work - and declined for this reason.

Access to Non-state Providers of Aftercare

Desk research led to the creation of a database of organisations involved in the formal reintegration process in Jamaica. This database consisted of contact details for organisations with a digital footprint. Other organisations were contacted by telephone. The telephone calls allowed the researcher to obtain the name and contact details of gatekeepers within these institutions. Electronic letters (see Appendix M) introducing the researcher and the purpose of the investigation were prepared and sent to key respondents following initial contact. These were persons who had already agreed by telephone to take part in the study.

4.2.2 Sampling

The research design was necessarily emergent and flexible. This was mainly due to uncertainties regarding access to state prisons and troubled communities, and fieldwork interruptions such as Hurricane Sandy which delayed fieldwork for approximately four weeks. The research objectives and challenges of access, time and resources therefore shaped the type and size of the sample. An opportunistic snowball sample (Holloway and Wheeler 2013) of 32 research participants in the community (23 male ex-prisoners and 7 females and the daughter of one of the women recruited) was identified with the assistance of sponsors (as identified above). By contrast, a purposive sample (Singh and Mangat 2013) of 55 imprisoned recidivists with previous imprisonment histories (41 males and 14 females) were identified (see Appendix O for a breakdown of the research sample).

Three maximum security prisons were visited (St. Catherine Adult Correctional Centre, Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre and Fort Augusta Adult Correctional Centre) and these were selected based on the intensity sampling technique. This technique involved the researcher identifying research sites where the phenomenon of interest was strongly represented (Chilisa and Preece 2005). There is one other maximum security facility in Jamaica, known as the Gun Court. This facility was excluded from the research design because it is a detention centre for persons in remand custody and hence does not include those sentenced to imprisonment. While these individuals were excluded from the study, there was an exception of one remand custody case which is mentioned later in the chapter and was included as a deviant but illuminating case.

4.2.2.1 Sample Selection and Researcher Identity- matters of bias

Within social science methods texts the insider/outsider permutations of the relationship between researchers, the researched and interview data is often identified as problematic. Insiders may have more credibility with gatekeepers and service users when compared to an outsider who has to build relationship and develop trust (Kara 2013). Outsiders have to spend more time learning about the agency that is being researched however the insider's expert knowledge and similar linguistic and cultural characteristics can help to inform the research project (Kara 2013). Additionally, outsiders can often bring a fresh and independent view to the research whilst insiders may remain devoted to a particular interpretation of events (Kara 2013). These are some key distinctions between the perspectives of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' that bear upon qualitative research and which were taken into account in this study.

My position as a researcher can be viewed as situational because of the multiple identities which I occupied in relation to my professional, socio-economic, gender and cultural background (Gunuratnam 2003, cited in Atfield et al. 2012, p. 72). Such complexities entail the researcher in constantly negotiating their 'self' during fieldwork (Smith and Narayan 2012). That said, the researcher's role as a PhD student undertaking research on the reintegration challenges of people from prison was from the commencement of fieldwork made explicit to participants in prison and the wider community, including correctional staff and service providers. Correctional staff were made aware through letters which were sent to each Prison Superintendent on behalf of the Commissioner of Corrections. Once these letters were received the Superintendents then gave the orders for correctional staff to supervise the activities of the researcher and assist in the identification of inmates who met the sample criteria.

Here, the researcher had a type of 'insider' status within the DCSJ'S head office that was gained through undertaking recent research at TSACC and FACC for a Masters dissertation (Leslie 2008, unpublished). However once fieldwork progressed beyond obtaining access then the researcher was not likely to be perceived as an 'insider' because correctional staff and offenders had no knowledge of the researcher's previous connections with DCSJ . Nonetheless, it is possible that there was some suspicion about my status and whether I was there in some covert role on behalf of DCSJ. Such suspicions are not unusual when researching close knit institutional groupings such as the police for example (Reiner and Newburn 2008, p. 356). Consequently, it became imperative to develop good relationships in order to gain the cooperation of prison staff in granting access to research participants. By building rapport and clarifying and reinforcing the nature of the investigation and my role as an independent researcher any initial mistrust or suspicion was moderated if not allayed.

A systematic procedure was used to determine persons who were fit or unfit to participate in the study based on the selection criteria set out in Table 3. This was shared with correctional staff who in collaboration with the researcher, examined inmate records and identified potential candidates accordingly. In essence this was a non-probability sampling method (Walker 2010), in which the correctional staff first located relevant inmate records (paper-based files) and then allowed the researcher to view the specific sections of the case file which confirmed that the potential participant met the criteria.

In one correctional centre the researcher was not permitted to scrutinise the case files and had to rely on correctional staff to apply the sample criteria to the inmate population and select accordingly. In the two male maximum security prisons visited, all inmates with a mental disability were detained on specific blocks. As such these individuals were not invited to

participate in the study. However there were two cases brought to my attention by staff; both were housed on blocks assigned to persons with known mental disabilities. The two for reasons that will be explained later did not suffer a mental disability and both agreed to be interviewed.

It is however important to note that various identities occupied by the researcher during the course of fieldwork may have affected the behaviour of the sample. This is because the researcher was initially perceived by some inmates as a potential advocate who might assist with obtaining commutation or making contact with their families. This perception encouraged participation but inmates soon lowered any such expectations after they were informed about the purpose of the study. Staff perceptions of the researcher as an outsider may have also influenced the deliberate selection of inmates who may have been expected to highlight the best aspects of the correctional service. As a result inmates who were perhaps indifferent or antagonistic towards the prison regime may have been excluded. However this did not seem to be evident, overtly at least, as inmates and staff appeared to share freely their opinions about the benefits of the correctional programmes and those aspects which needed improvement.

Inmates were given control over their participation through informed consent. However based on the nature of the research setting and the perceived power-differentials some may have also felt that they were expected to participate when selected by staff. This may explain initial reticence shown by some who may have provided situation appropriate responses or changed their usual behaviour because they knew that they were being observed by correctional staff. However steps to ensure that the rights of participants were respected were followed. Therefore all participants including those who were interviewed within the

community understood that they could withdraw from the interview at any time or choose to refuse participation without repercussions.

One inmate refused participation mainly because he was unconvinced that the researcher's role was independent of the police, corrections and courts. Another participant, a woman in prison, also refused to participate after she was informed that there were no incentives for her participating. However recruits generally showed a willingness to participate in an audio-recorded encounter. This was with the exception of one woman who agreed to be interviewed but refused to have the conversation audio-recorded.

4.2.2.2 Selection Criteria for Participants

As the research draws largely on a qualitative design, it was feasible to employ non-probability sampling techniques. Random sampling was impractical in this situation mainly because a comprehensive list of the population of interest did not exist. This was not least because of the 'dark' figure of crime in Jamaica and the absence of reliable databases to draw upon. In this sense the target populations were both hard-to-reach and/or hidden.

Table 3: Key Criteria for the Selection of Prisoners

Inclusion Criteria	Exclusion Criteria
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ex-prisoners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> first-time offenders
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ex-prisoners in prison 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> potential ex-prisoners in police lock-ups
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ex-prisoners without known mental disabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ex-prisoners with known mental disabilities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> adult ex-prisoners (16 years or older) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> child and youth offenders (below 16 years)

For the most part, only inmates having some expectation or experience of returning to Jamaican society, following imprisonment, were included in the study. Three of the 14 inmates identified at Fort Augusta Correctional Centre (FAACC), the only maximum security prison for females in Jamaica, were non-nationals. These three women described themselves as white Canadian, black Canadian and, mixed-race British. The third woman who lived in England but was of Jamaican and European descent was able to share her UK and Jamaican imprisonment experiences. All three women were convicted for drug-related crimes and were included in the sample as deviant cases. Generally, cost and time prohibitions resulted in the exclusion of other individuals such as children and persons with mental disabilities. First-time offenders were also excluded as the study aim was to select those with more than one experience of imprisonment in order to explore what had helped or failed vis-à-vis reintegration.

It is accepted, in terms of the age criterion for selection, that children should not be held to the same standards of criminal responsibility as adults (Steinberg and Scott 2003). This is mainly because they lack requisite emotional, mental and intellectual maturity (Illinois Coalition for the Fair Sentencing of Children 2008) needed to fully establish culpability (Penal Reform International 2013). This is notwithstanding that based on Section 63 of the Child Care and Protection Act 2004, a child 12 years and older, may be found guilty of an offence in Jamaica.

Thus due to the sensitivities and complexities with gaining access and parental permissions, children in prison and juvenile detention centres, below 16 years of age were excluded from this study. Therefore imprisoned ex-prisoners aged 16 years and older were invited to participate. This was despite researcher awareness that a child, according to Article 1 of the

United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, is any individual less than 18 years of age. This inclusion is also based on the fact that at the time of undertaking this research, Jamaica's age of consent was 16 years and the ESSJ showed children being admitted to adult institutions at 17 years of age. However none of the offenders that were selected were less than 20 years of age. Persons in police lock-ups and first-time offenders in remand custody were also excluded from the research mainly because of the presumption of innocence principle. This helps to explain why rearrest is a poor indicator of ineffective reintegration and recidivism. However there is no ideal measure of criminal recidivism. Consequently, individuals who did not receive more than a single prison sentence were not included.

Women and Men in Prison

Table 4: Age and Gender of Participants in Prison

Age category	Number of Males	Number of Females	Total
17 – 20	1	-	1
21 – 25	2	-	2
26 – 30	8	2	10
31 – 35	6	1	7
36 – 40	10	4	14
41 – 45	8	1	9
46+	6	6	12
Total	41	14	55

At the time of data collection there were 15 women (Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2013) with more than a single sentence being housed at FAACC; 14 of these women were interviewed. Of the 552 men with previous prison histories who were registered as inmates (PIOJ 2013), 41 were interviewed. Therefore in total 55 study participants with previous prison histories were interviewed in prison. A majority of these individuals were between 36 and 40 years of age. However when the age distributions of the male and female participants were compared, a majority of women were 46 years of age and older. Only three male participants were young people, defined here as between 17 to 25 years of age.

Table 5: Number of Prison Recidivists Interviewed by Offence Category, Gender and Adult Correctional Centre

Offence Category	Males (STCACC)	Males (TSACC)	Females (FAACC)	Total
Murder	-	2	-	2
Manslaughter	1	1	-	2
Felonious wounding	2	1	-	3
Sexual offences	-	2	-	2
Other offences against the person	-	-	-	-
Burglary	1	3	-	4
Robbery	7	4	-	11
Shooting with intent	1	3	-	4
Larceny	3	3	4	10
Larceny of motor vehicle	-	1	-	1
Forgery, fraud, embezzlement	2	1	1	4
Unlawful possession	3	-	-	3
Dangerous Drugs Act	-	-	9	9
Total	20	21	14	55

Notes (Table 5)

1. Offence categories were adopted from the Planning Institute of Jamaica's, Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, 2012
2. In cases where two or more prison sentences were imposed in the same court proceeding, the longer/longest prison sentence which corresponds with the more/most serious crime which is based on the principle of ordinal proportionality determined which offence category was most applicable to that case. The same principle was applied to cases where prison sentences were being served consecutively.

Twenty-one of the 41 men interviewed were housed at the Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre (TSACC) and the remaining 20 at the Saint Catherine Adult Correctional Centre (STCACC). A majority of male participants from each of these correctional centres were convicted for robbery whilst women were mainly convicted for drug-related crimes. Ten men and women were last convicted for larceny. This was the second most common conviction amongst both men and women with previous prison histories. One of the 41 men interviewed identified himself as a repatriate. This man was able to share prison histories in Jamaica and the US.

Focus Groups

Four focus groups were conducted in prison, one at STCACC (6 male inmates), two at TSACC (6 male inmates at each discussion) and one at FAACC (7 female inmates). All 25 who participated in focus group discussions were also interviewed individually. The focus group interview convened with seven women imprisoned at FAACC had in addition a female correctional officer who was invited to participate in the last half of the discussion to help with teasing out other issues which were especially related to staff-prisoner relations. Data from the four focus groups was contrasted with material from the 55 individual interviews in order to explore and promote analytic insights.

Women and Men in the Community

Identifying participants within the community with histories of offending who were actively involved in processes which helped them to terminate and sustain a discontinuance of offending behaviour (Weaver and McNeil 2007b), was an arduous task. This was not least due to the fact that many of those approached had successfully reshaped their lives largely by erasing their ex-prisoner identities through changing their names or building new lives in another place where their histories were unknown. These persons were predictably unwilling to take part in the study as they believed participation would jeopardise their new identities. As a result of these reservations and the hidden nature of this population, as was previously mentioned, a snowball sampling technique was deployed.

In two instances, participants 'going straight' disclosed that this still involved "necessary" violations of formal societal norms and values. These accounts of what might be termed 'false desisters' were information-rich adding to the range of perspectives on ineffective reintegration and potential sources of conflicting interpretations (Patton 1990). Whether other members of this sample were 'genuine desisters' and had once and for all terminated their criminal careers, was not within the scope of this study to determine. This was primarily because over a life course, a ten-year crime-free period is no guarantee that ongoing desistance has taken place (Farrington 1986, p. 201).

Table 6: Age and Gender of Persons Interviewed in the Community

Age category	Number of Males	Number of Females	Total
17 – 20	-	-	-
21 – 25	-	-	-
26 – 30	1	-	1
31 – 35	1	-	1
36 – 40	4	-	4
41 – 45	7	1	8
46+	3	1	4
Total	16	2	18

Eighteen ex-prisoners interviewed were living within the wider community. A majority were between 41 and 45 years of age (see Table 6 above). Only two of the 18 participants who were recruited to participate in semi-structured interviews held in the community were women. Both women were over 40 years old and identified themselves as repatriates. One was deported from the US and the second, from England. Both deportations were in relation to drug-related violations (see Table 7 below).

Table 7: Number of ex-prisoners in the community interviewed by the Offence for which they last received a prison sentence and Gender

Offence Category	Males	Females	Total
Murder	2	-	2
Manslaughter	1	-	1
Felonious wounding	2	-	2
Sexual offences	2	-	2
Other offences Against the Person	2	-	2
Shooting with intent	2	-	2
Forgery, fraud, embezzlement	1	-	1
Unlawful possession	1	-	1
Dangerous Drugs Act 1948	3	2	5
Total	16	2	18

A majority of persons who were interviewed in the community had prison histories related to drug-related convictions. Eleven (11) of the 16 men in the community who were individually interviewed were repatriates with prison histories both in Jamaica and overseas jurisdictions. One man was sentenced in Jamaica following his deportation from Canada. A second man was deported from England and the remaining nine (9) sent back by the US government.

Focus Groups

Two focus groups were held in the community in order to gain deeper insight into the factors that facilitate crime desistance. The first interview comprised six women with prison histories in overseas jurisdictions and the daughter of one of these women. One of these six women also volunteered to be interviewed individually. The second focus group comprised seven male repatriates, one of which was involuntarily removed from Canada and the remaining six

from the US. Data derived from these two focus groups helped in comparisons involving the reintegration experiences of repatriates and persons released from prison locally.

Providers of Aftercare Services

An opportunistic technique was used to invite 17 service providers (4 state and 13 nongovernmental organisations) to participate in the study. This technique involved using leads during interviews with ex-prisoners within the community to create a more inclusive database of providers of aftercare. Providers of aftercare are state and non-state organisations that assist in the reintegration of newly released persons. This technique was adopted because of the difficulties in locating an exhaustive list of all the agencies involved in the formal reintegration process in Jamaica. However the inclusion of service providers in the study helped to provide broader insights into the social milieu in which reintegration experiences were being shaped and performed.

Table 8: Details of Practitioners/ Providers

	Gender	Role	Type of organisation
1.	Male	Superintendent	Government
2.	Female	Probation Officer	Government
3.	Female	Senior Probation Officer	
4.	Female	Acting Corporal	
5.	Male	Corporal	
6.	Male	Corporal	
7.	Male	Superintendent	
8.	Male	Acting Corporal	Government
9.	Male	Acting Overseer	
10.	Female	Director	
11.	Male	Delivery Officer	IDA
12.	Female	Supervisor	FBO A

	Gender	Role	Type of organisation
13.	Male	Father	FBO B
14.	Female	Administrator	FBO C
15.	Male	Director	FBO D
16.	Male	Prison Ministry volunteer	FBO E
17.	Male	Prison Ministry volunteer	
18.	Male	Priest & Head	FBO F
19.	Female	Human Resource Officer	CBO
20.	Male	Chief	other NGO
21.	Female	Chief Executive Officer	other NGO
22.	Female	Social Worker	other NGO
23.	Male	Chief Executive Officer and Operations Director	other NGO
24.	Female	Operations Director	other NGO
25.	Male	Public Relations Officer	

Thirteen of the 17 service providers interviewed were nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), one international development agency (IDA), six faith-based organisations (FBOs), one community-based organisation (CBO) and five other NGOs. The remaining four were the three state prisons (STACC, TSACC and FAACC) and a central Ministry involved in the investigation. Though there were 17 interviews involving 17 service providers, as shown in Table 5 above, some 25 representatives participated in this phase of the study. This was because four agencies were represented by more than one person.

4.2.3 Gaining Continued Consent

Only persons who provided informed consent were included in the research. By signing the informed consent form (see Appendix H) ex-prisoners confirmed that they were aware that there would be no adverse consequences in refusing to participate in the study. They also

agreed that they understood that they would not gain personally through participation and that they could potentially experience some discomfort during the interview and could withdraw at any time. This was communicated both verbally and in writing.

At the start of each focus group or individual interview in and outside of prison, participants were informed of their right to refuse participation, respond to any of the questions asked, or request that the interview be discontinued where feelings of discomfort, stress or vulnerability were being experienced. Next the purpose of the study, the responsibilities of the researcher and rights of respondents, were reiterated and participants were then asked to read and sign the consent form.

This procedure was followed even when some participants insisted that they wanted to 'just get on' with the interview. In most instances, the statements contained in the informed consent form were read to participants, and in all cases they were able to at least scribble their initials on the consent form to signify consent. However those unable to write were also asked to verbally communicate their willingness to participate via the audio recorder.

By establishing a good researcher-participant relationship openness was encouraged. This was mainly accomplished through researcher efforts to build trust and rapport at the onset of each interaction. This sometimes meant commenting on the weather before commencing with the introductory script. Communication also became more open and comfortable through demonstrations of empathy. This mainly involved active listening and deliberate efforts to avoid using any tones or gestures that might appear condescending (Morse et al. 2008). All these steps were taken to build trust and rapport and encourage participants to address questions asked in a willing and open way.

Where overly succinct responses were provided to questions asked or a thought seemed to be abruptly terminated it was assumed that participants experienced discomfort. In such cases, self-disclosure of personal life challenges was sometimes used to display empathy and encourage engagement (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007). In other cases, self-disclosure was avoided and greater care was taken to maintain a professional boundary. These cases often involved individuals who did not seem to need any added encouragement and those who expressed desires to become socially or emotionally attached.

There were instances in which feelings of emotion were problematic, such as moments when the researcher became almost overwhelmed with desires to help participants given some of their tragic life experiences. This is notwithstanding that sharing emotional experiences are, at times, 'crucial clues in the research process' (Liebling 1999, p.164). However ethical and professional standards were maintained despite these emotions. Therefore by making a conscious effort to strike a balance between self-control and sensitivity research standards of respectful non-judgemental engagement were upheld.

4.3 Data Interpretation Following and During Analysis

A mix of interactionist approaches provided the basis for understanding the reintegration phenomenon in the early stages of analysis. Later on in the process however it became difficult to understand the underlying generative features which structure institutional life and how these features impact on individual behaviours and social relationships. As a result, a more adaptive technique was employed to expand data interpretation beyond the limits of particular interactionist positions. Interpretive rigour was therefore enhanced through the selective utilisation of adaptive theory.

Adaptive theory is a ‘middle-range synthetic approach which borrows from a number of theoretical approaches but provides a distinctive alternative to them’ (Layder 1998, p. 3). It involves drawing on middle-range criminological theories which are able to provide a better understanding of social life (Layder 1998). Middle-range perspectives like ‘critical realism’ therefore helped to fill some of the theoretical gaps which were identified. Critical realism is a perspective which portrays crime as a common phenomenon amongst disadvantaged individuals who violate the law because they see themselves as victims of society (see Walklate 2007).

This approach provided a more nuanced picture of the reintegration phenomenon by helping the researcher to build a more layered and hybridised approach to data and theory (Young 2005). This involved giving balanced weighting to both inductive and deductive approaches in a process of establishing the relationship between the research findings and formal theory (Bryman 2008). Analytic development was therefore based on constant interplays between the research data and theory (Blaikie 2010; Hewege and Perera 2013).

4.3.1 Preparing the Data Corpus

The conversion of a total of 91 audio recordings between 90 to 221 minutes into transcript format was achieved with the aid of Express Scribe Transcription Software. The transcripts ranged from 15 to 36 typed pages and were uploaded to the qualitative data analysis software, Atlas. ti 7 GmbH, for condensation. Background and demographic data such as age, sex, nationality and place of residence which was collected at the start of each ex-prisoner interview was also entered into Atlas. ti and Microsoft Excel but was used to guide questions asked later in the interview.

4.3.2 The Analytic Process

The process of developing codes which described segments of the data was not an end in itself. Instead, it set the stage for deeper reflections about meanings which were assigned to various aspects of the information gathered. From this process of coding proceeded other sub-coding approaches. Two or more labels were often applied to the same passage whilst other labels had to be further detailed into sub-codes. These researcher-generated codes of self-reported attitudes, values, beliefs, attributes, norms and emotions were complemented by In vivo coding which was employed to preserve participants' own words.

The first cycle of coding produced 470 codes. These codes were later revised and reduced based around the key research questions. Following this revision, these codes were clustered and then subsumed into themes and themes into networks to attain higher levels of abstraction. For example, identity formation and social exclusion were two major themes identified from the code clusters which evolved from this analytic process. A similar procedure was used to group 20 analytic memos and all 94 primary documents, 91 of which were verbatim records and the remaining three short hand notes. These clusters led to the development of four networks. Three of these networks depicted relations between the factors participants identified as a) hindering crime desistance, b) facilitating reintegration and c) barring effective reintegration. The fourth showed visually the relationship between the key methodological issues which were identified during the course of undertaking the study.

Analytic memoing and the development of comments were two ways in which emergent reflections were noted. Memos are explanatory and descriptive texts which are used to capture key ideas about methodology and the analytic process and which inform the report writing (Friese 2012). In comparison comments which are also analytic texts were attached to

objects such as codes, quotations or primary documents (Friese 2012). This process of documenting reflections helped in the detection of emerging and recurring patterns within the larger dataset. These steps were undertaken to achieve ‘interpretive intimacy and familiarity with each datum in the corpus’ (Miles et al. 2014, p. 275).

4.3.3 Drawing and Confirming Inferences

Research involving multi-level analyses can be complicated — whether it is determining the appropriate conceptual framework, deciding what type of data to collect or managing and interpreting the data. In which case, remaining focused and aware of the need to engage in different activities at various stages of the research process was critical. Pitfalls associated with imbalanced comparisons were offset by knowledge and understanding of the research process and with the help of guidance notes suggested by Miles et al. (2014).

Inferences were drawn and verified based on the advice of Miles et al. (2014) regarding the employment of a framework approach to thematic analysis. By building up an index of themes and central themes out of a group of codes which were identified in the interview transcripts, more sense was made of the data. Following this, the index of themes was represented in different matrix formats (Bryman 2008). Matrices and network views created in Atlas. ti 7 were some of the visual formats employed in seeking to provide better understandings of the rich qualitative data collected. Conceptual relationships within the data were also explored and were built through networks. Network views or actual diagrams created in Atlas. ti 7 showed the complex relations between quotations, codes and memos. However this was complemented with the use of matrices which coherently arranged the data. Used together, these visual aids allowed reasonable inferences to be drawn and this helped to theorise findings as outlined in later chapters.

Analytic syntheses were induced from major themes which were largely achieved by making mental notes of repetitions, figurative language, linguistic connectors and transitions (Bernard and Ryan 2010). Some effort was also made to give equal attention to outliers and rival explanations of emerging patterns of experiences. This was evidenced in the way that the qualitative data was at times quantified, in order to uncover key experiences and deviant cases which also represented the phenomenon. This method was also supported by textual and structural descriptions of reintegration (see Creswell 2007). These descriptions were then related to existing bodies of knowledge (Shenton 2004).

4.4 Ethical Issues

The first level of gatekeepers approached was Cardiff University School of Social Science's Research Ethics Committee (SREC). SREC authorisation was granted in February 2012 to commence fieldwork on condition that the researcher informed the Committee of any substantial changes with ethical implications for the investigation (see Appendix D). Based on this requirement, a research ethics monitoring form indicating that no substantial changes had been made to the research design was completed and sent to SREC in January 2013 (see Appendix E).

The research was therefore subjected to a formal process of ethics review which was guided by Cardiff University's Data Protection Policy and guidance notes, the Data Protection Act of 1998, and the DCSJ's terms of reference (TOR). These ethical considerations were made as part of the university's requirement and which sought to ensure that persons who could be inadvertently harmed by the research were protected and that a strategy which observed relevant legal and ethical obligations was in place.

4.4.1 Harm to Participants

Possible harms to participants were minimised through honouring rights to refuse to engage in interviews and limiting access to the research data to the researcher. This also involved being prepared to report any intentions to self-harm that might become evident during interviews. There were no such cases. Through the use of pseudonyms participant identities were also protected.

There were displays of emotional discomfort despite taking steps to carefully frame and pose questions in ways which seemed sensitive. This was often expressed in the form of tears, long pauses, the shaking of a lowered head, and the covering of the face. Following an emotional episode, participants were reminded that they were not being judged and that they had the right to refuse to respond to any of the questions asked. Some exercised this right. They were also reminded that they could request that the interview be discontinued. None did so. In many cases inmates expressed a preference to be outside their cells engaging in a conversation they believed was worthwhile. In all cases in which emotional discomfort was experienced, participants were given time to compose themselves (Hubbard et al. 2001).

4.4.2 Researcher Safety

The emotional effect of such events on the researcher was moderated through self-care strategies (see Campbell 2002; Norcross and Guy Jr 2007; Norcross and Drewes 2009; Scott 2010). These were based on prior risk analysis and reflections about researcher boundaries and identity made in the formative stages of the project. This was helpful in averting compassion fatigue (Figley 2002). Periods of self-reflection also helped to minimise personal health risk caused by entering a research situation unprepared (Peterson 2000). Therefore by relaxing with family and friends during fieldwork and sharing with colleagues tales from the

field at regular intervals (see Hubbard et al. 2001; Rager 2005; Hirabayashi 2000) also helped to further the reflective process (see Chilisa and Preece 2005) and relieve researcher fatigue. Together these techniques protected the researcher's personal health and relationships from the harmful effects of isolation and emotional stress which is often associated with fieldwork activities (see Okely 1996; Coffey 1999; MacClancy 2010).

Conducting interviews in troubled communities entailed risk of physical harm. Thus seeking the approval of community leaders through sponsors / informants was often enlisted to eliminate the possibility of being harmed physically upon entering particular neighbourhoods. The nature of the latest news reports on the state of social order within these communities, availability of a companion and clement weather, were key factors in determining whether it was a good day for a field visit. Prior to each community visit family members and friends were informed of the researcher's intentions and whereabouts. Additionally a responsible individual was identified to keep in touch with the researcher via mobile phone calls and text messaging.

4.4.2.1 Physical Safety in Prison

Prison is a high risk research environment mainly because of dangers arising from sudden unrests amongst inmates. Key safety precautions were taken which involved complying with the instructions of correctional staff regarding where to sit, and waiting to be accompanied by an officer in order to move to and from different points within the prison estates. Correctional officers stood guard during each interview. This was often at a distance but within the researcher's view. This distance was maintained at the researcher's request. This was based on the need to preserve confidentiality. It also helped to avoid participants becoming intimidated by the close proximity of correctional staff.

4.5 Qualitative Rigour

Ensuring consistency and credibility were central ways in which research rigour was enhanced. Credibility was ensured by combining strategies to promote confidence that, the phenomena under scrutiny, was accurately recorded. This relates to the truth value of qualitative data analysis and interpretation (O'Leary 2007). Truth value is relevant to any research tradition. This is because it establishes whether or not the researcher is confident that what has been generated was an authentic depiction of events (Krefting 1991).

4.5.1 Piloting

Piloting helped to improve rigour by ensuring that the questions asked during interviews were appropriate to the target population and captured key aspects of the reintegration phenomenon. The piloting of the interview schedules for offenders involved five individuals. Four of these were ex-prisoners in the process of rebuilding their lives within the community. The other participant was a recidivist who was in prison. After the fifth interview, there were no new observations emerging to allow any further changes to be made to the research design. Minor revisions were therefore made to research questions which appeared to be abstruse or unclear. For example, elaborating on the question related to 'previous prison sentences' required alteration to interview schedules one and two. Initially, the question was restricted to previous sentences within the same jurisdiction. This was later modified to capture prison sentences completed in other jurisdictions. Therefore all ex-prisoners were asked if they had been given any 'previous prison sentences by a home or overseas judicial authority'. These diverse imprisonment and reintegration experiences were later compared across sub-samples of ex-prisoners who were repatriates and those who were imprisoned and released locally.

Similar steps were taken to pilot the focus groups with persons in the community and minor alterations were made to these instruments. Such revisions mainly involved including additional prompts and combining questions which appeared to be similar. Therefore based on these few changes all the data obtained during the pilot study was included in the analysis. Final versions of all five research instruments have been included in the appendices (please see Appendices H-L).

4.5.2 Ensuring Credibility

In some sense, the researcher's background, qualifications and experiences (see Shenton 2004) played a key role in ensuring credibility. Additionally, previous research experience in the area made fieldwork more manageable. Being an insider or native to the cultural research setting was also advantageous in terms of gaining trust and overcoming some barriers related to the communication and interpretation of the local dialect which is known as Jamaican creole or patois.

As such the offender accounts which are used in Chapters 5, 6, and 7 have been translated alongside the verbatim record to allow non-native speakers of the dialect to understand what was being said whilst retaining the exact colloquialisms and terminologies which were narrated. This approach was premised on the verbatim principle which suggests that language is a direct reflection of the culture being studied (Yin 2015), which therefore entails keeping as close as possible to the verbatim record in order to minimise the introduction of researcher bias through translation (Hennink 2008).

However there were many aspects of Jamaican offender culture unknown to the (Jamaican) researcher. Thus behind the veil of culturally familiar responses was at times hidden sub-cultural values unfamiliar even to an interviewer who was a 'local'. Some of these instances were overcome by reflexivity. Reflexivity encouraged the moving away from hypotheses testing in the early phases of the research towards the researcher becoming more open to emergent observations. It also restricted expectancy effects. Expectancy effects occur in cases where, due to researcher selectivity, responses are shaped and observations made based on personal guesses or findings from previous studies (Russell Bernard 2006).

Debriefing sessions with supervisors, peer scrutiny of the research findings and keeping an aide-mémoire (Shenton 2004) were other strategies adopted to minimise misinterpretation in explorations of offenders' motives, identities and culture. The methodology was refined and the direction of research ideas were carved out at bi-weekly supervision meetings. Logistical details were documented in field notes, a research journal and fieldwork reports. Engaging in informal discussions at seminars and conferences helped to ensure that the research was not being driven by an over-determined conceptual framework. These results which were derived from these informal discussions were also documented in a research journal (Rager 2005).

4.5.3 Researcher Consistency and Triangulation

Consistency was sought throughout the research mainly by providing an audit trail. This was used frequently to assess the methodology in light of the multi-method strategy employed. This audit trail comprised reformulated research proposals, interview transcripts and an aide-mémoire. It also included a research journal, fieldwork reports, supervision reports, documented feedback from peers and output from Atlas. ti 7. Triangulation and member validation were also two trustworthiness tests conducted in seeking to enhance the dependability of the research findings. Together they served as a validation strategy and a

means of transcending the limits of each method (Flick 2006). Additionally disparate source materials and methods of data collection were employed to see if similar findings could be confirmed through each of these data sources.

Internal validity was established when conclusions derived from each of these data sources were compared and found to be similar. In addition experiences of inmates were also compared across prisons and contrasted with the experiences of service providers and ex-prisoners within the community. This allowed general descriptions of the reintegration phenomenon, which were more context-specific, to be distinguished from those which held true across sub-samples (see Denzin 1970). Meanings were then further assigned to shared life experiences and deviant cases. This was based on a process of revising, widening and confirming emerging patterns from different theoretical standpoints.

Accuracy of the data and related interpretations was subject to regular member checks during interviews. This involved the researcher verifying with participants the themes and patterns which were developing during interviews. Member checks also served to confirm whether the researcher's translations of participants' responses were accurate (Rager 2005). The employment of this method also allowed participants to clarify, add to, or further develop translations which were co-constructed.

4.6 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

This interdisciplinary criminological study of the prison recidivism and reintegration phenomena in Jamaica is the first of its kind to be undertaken particularly in a 'post-Dudus' context. It explores the micro and macro level social factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society and in so doing provides rarely glimpsed understandings of institutional and community life in this ebullient and challenged

social world. It also reaches beyond a one-sided aetiology of ineffective reintegration through generating an authentic voice of a hard-to-reach population of indigenous ex-prisoners and those sent home by overseas governments that allowed comparisons to be drawn between their experiences as well as, those of service providers. Detailed analysis of this original and rich qualitative data have led to modest inferences which can stimulate public debate on the subject, inform correctional policy and practice in Jamaica and expand the Caribbean criminological knowledge base.

Irrespective of the steps taken to ensure rigour, strong claims cannot be made about internal validity as would have been the case if this was a quantitative inquiry. However, as was stated earlier in the thesis, the objectives of this research could not be achieved by pursuing a largely quantitative design or reanalysing the statistical results of studies conducted in overseas jurisdictions (see Shover 1996; Zamble and Quinsey 2001; Farrington et al. 2006). There was also no intention to track changes in the characteristics of the relevant population as would have been required if a longitudinal design was deployed. Therefore in the absence of relevant and accessible data on the subject of reintegration in Jamaica, quantitative methods for tracing the development of criminal careers over time were not adopted (see Zamble and Porporino 1988; Burnett 1992; Gendreau et al. 1999; Ryan and Yang 2005).

As discussed in Chapter 1, the immediate aim of this research was to obtain exploratory insight into the complexity of the reintegration phenomenon from a non-probability sample of offenders. In keeping with this aim was the desire to uncover various ways in which this phenomenon was inextricably embedded culturally. In seeking research findings through this approach unavoidably limits generalisations to larger recidivist and desister populations.

The self-report method employed may also be brought into question because of issues related to memory decay, under-reporting and exaggeration (see Newburn 2007). Therefore it would be unwise to assume that the authenticity value of what was reported was unaffected not least because participants may have changed their behaviour because they knew that they were being observed and may have provided situation appropriate responses (see Hope 2005). In randomised experiments this is known as the Hawthorn effect (Wood and Ross-Kerr 2011) and in qualitative inquiries it is known as reactivity (Marquart 1986).

Notwithstanding these concerns, the method helped to advance better cultural understandings of the complexity of the reintegration phenomenon within Jamaican society. It is especially suitable in cases where there are significant time, access, data and cost prohibitions as in this field of study. Moreover the analytic process was not one of achieving correctness per se but was a meticulous process of redescribing and reconstructing interpretative processes that were engaged in by participants to allow their experiences, perceptions and lay accounts to become translated into social scientific explanations of the phenomenon in question.

Ultimately ‘if individuals define situations as real, they are real in their consequences’ (Merton and Sztompka 1996, p.183), therefore it is important that their voices are heard in rich detail.

4.6.1 Issues with Sampling Techniques Employed

Multi-method procedures were used to select various components of the sample. This was necessitated by the various situational contexts which prohibited the consistent application of any one sampling technique across all the sub-samples. One advantage of this was that it allowed the researcher to better access hard-to-reach populations. It also helped to maximise variation in perspectives. However in cases where snowball sampling was used to recruit ex-

prisoners within the community, it could be argued that these were individuals who were the most visible members of the targeted sub-population.

Furthermore, by seeking to represent a range of perspectives related to the reintegration phenomenon it could also be argued that the purposive sampling technique that was used to select the main sample, could have been more systematically applied. This is true but it should be noted that the same factors which militated against the drawing of a random sample did not allow a multi-stage or stratified maximum variation (see Patton 1990) sampling procedure to be adopted. The sample is unavoidably unrepresentative of the general research population. Therefore much care was taken to maintain awareness of potential sources of bias in seeking to analyse and report on key research findings. However women who were interviewed represented 93 per cent of the total female prison recidivism population. Even then much thought was given to drawing tentative conclusions from the results of this inclusive dataset.

Overall, opportunities to introduce researcher bias (when developing the research instruments, selecting participants and analysing and interpreting the data) were minimised through adopting a mixed methods reflexive approach (see Lawlor 2002; Creswell 2007). Therefore whilst I attempted to suspend any personal judgments about the social worlds of ex-prisoners in the study I was also conscious that the process and outcomes of the research might have been influenced by my identity as a young, black, female Jamaican-born student. The chapter will now consider briefly whether the relationship between participants and the researcher may have affected the analytic quality of the data.

Throughout this chapter I have in some sense challenged the dichotomisation of the ‘outsider versus insider’ binary. For example, being Jamaican meant that I could identify with many of the general cultural experiences of participants. By contrast I knew nothing of the experience of being an elderly male deportee forced to leave everything including his family in what was ‘his home country’ and return to a strange place which was the land of his birth. I therefore held both an outsider/insider status meaning that as the situation arose (in fieldwork and analysis) I sought to reflexively optimise either position to generate interpretive purchase. I will now comment further on relational aspects in terms of my gender and age and how this may have affected the richness and quality of the data:

4.6.1.1 Gender

Arguably, being a woman I believe made me particularly sensitive to the experiences and concerns of female participants. However, I was keen to explore male and female issues in relation to reintegration and Chapter 6 reveals the often different effects of incarceration upon men and women in the correctional system. In exploring these effects I was careful not to exclude men from topics that may be deemed in Caribbean culture to be traditionally female spheres of interest. An example of this was the fate of children. The highly gendered views of participants revealed some very different assumptions about responsibility for the care of children as later chapters indicate.

Overall, males seemed more willing to participate in the study and open up about their life stories from the onset of the interview. The men in the sample were serving much longer sentences than women and perhaps had come to the conclusion that their long-term incarceration left them little to hide in terms of their criminal status and associated stigma. By contrast, women appeared to be, initially at least, more reticent about sharing stories of their

lives and offending history. Most women were serving shorter sentences and some could pass off their absence from the community (and imprisonment) as a trip overseas. In this sense, women might see prison and its stigma as temporary and bounded and wish to minimise exposure of their criminal status to both themselves and outsiders such as a researcher. Some women expressed concerns about the researcher judging them without having shared their experiences and having been more fortunate than themselves in being able to make the right life choices. In such instances, being able to reassure these women in their local dialect that I was non-judgemental helped to dispel some of their reservations.

The willingness of men to speak more freely may also have had something to do with sexual identity in that I was often asked about my marital status and complimented on my appearance. The usual comments of male inmates ran along the lines that they were delighted to be sitting and talking to a “beautiful intelligent lady” rather than lying in their prison cells doing nothing. Their uninvited and unwarranted flattery placed the researcher in a delicate position of setting boundaries at the start of the interview and not being censorious or roughly rejecting when comments during the interview were sometimes inappropriate in seeking to move the discussion towards a more intimate engagement. Such events often spoke to the absence of females in their lives that they considered would have helped them desist from crime. The claim - “if I had someone like you in my life I would not have ended up in prison” was not uncommon in male prisoner interviews. Such matters of prosocial influences that promote reintegration are addressed in Chapter 7.

4.6.1.2 Age

Few inmates were at the start of their criminal careers and nearly all had been to prison on two or more occasions. However, the advantage of this from a research perspective was that

they were able to share their experiences as children, youth and adults and reflect on the trajectories that had over time led them to repeat offending. The age differences between the research in her twenties and many interviewees in the middle years and older did bear upon the research relationship. Participants often chose to position me in some filial context whereby they felt some desire to assist me in my ambitions as any older relative might. Male and female prisoners often said some variation of “...you could have been my daughter and so I want to see you do well”. Thus in some cases a generational effect seemed to encourage a more open and reflective participation by interviewees. Youth who had been to prison on more than one occasion were a minority in the sample and for that reason were interesting cases in which it was possible to draw upon a more recent cultural and social history familiar to both researcher and inmate. Such age-related aspects come to prominence next in Chapter 5, the first of four findings chapters, which considers issues of situational crime prevention with regard to matters of age, gender, social ties and communal resources.

4.7 Conclusion

To conclude, ensuring that the analysis and recommendations which derived from this study were based on an ethical and methodologically secure foundation involved maintaining a robust research audit trail, and which has been outlined in this chapter. Within the English-speaking Caribbean, reintegration is an intriguing yet neglected area of research interest. Therefore ambitions to pursue this interest should be based on an awareness that even a modest corpus of data possesses potential to provide useful insight into the phenomenon and the social contexts in which it is nested. It is hoped this will become evident in the findings chapters which now follow.

Chapter 5: Enablers of Ineffective Community reintegration

5.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the extent to which marginalisation may hinder effective social reintegration by drawing on interviews conducted with 73 adult offenders (55 in prison and 18 in the community) who reentered Jamaican society after a term of imprisonment. Social reintegration, as defined in Chapter 3, is a process of behavioural change whereby offenders seek to become connected to pro-social environments following imprisonment, in order to allow familial and community settings to influence and support their legitimate behaviour (see White 2011, p.1). It is considered effective when these critical relationships and resources help to facilitate the reestablishment or development of social ties which enable offenders to enjoy the liberty of life and other inalienable freedoms without succumbing to earlier patterns of offending. In contrast, it is deemed ineffective when these said resources and relationships do not foster positive behavioural change (White 2011, p.1).

Marginalisation is a shifting phenomenon which is linked to social status (Nelson and Prilleltensky 2010) and describes a situation in which the life prospects of individuals, groups and/or communities are diminished due to a weakening of social bonds between them and mainstream society (see HIV/AIDS Resources and Community Health 2015). This chapter is thus interested in whether participants' accounts of ineffective social reintegration can be reasonably attributed to marginalisation. In particular it is interested in whether this weakening or absence of requisite social bonds can fully explain the poor life chances that some offenders from this study experienced following their release from prison. This chapter will therefore address social exclusion and poverty as key themes.

5.1 Poverty Barrier

The majority of participants who were either imprisoned or discharged to the community identified poverty at the root of their reintegration challenges. In a number of ways there seemed to be an association between indigence (chronic poverty) and ineffective reintegration and indigence and criminal recidivism. However, as with attempts to link poverty and crime (see Chapter 2) these associations seemed quite complex. For example, at times it was unclear from accounts whether indigence was a root cause of ineffective reintegration, or a reinforcer. Similarly, we can note from Wilson's (1994) study, that some persons might become poor because they have turned to crime, whereas others (and bystanders) may be made both poor and criminal due to the ripple effect of the intersection of these two social forces. This chapter will now explore whether a similar effect can be observed within the Jamaican context with respect to prison recidivism.

Interestingly, a number of interviewees attributed their return to prison primarily to their indigence. This was also felt to dictate how they were dealt with by the Criminal Justice System (CJS). This included the challenges they faced securing counsel due to lack of funds, as well as the increased likelihood of coming to the attention of, and in their view being treated unjustly, by the authorities. These will now be discussed.

5.1.1 Challenges of Securing Counsel

As stated above, it became apparent that some offenders attributed their return to prison to their inability to afford legal representation. This was despite having opportunities to engage and consult with a lawyer through the Legal Aid Clinic (LAC). The LAC is a limited liability company under the Ministry of Justice in Jamaica. Its mandate is to provide legal services to individuals who, because of their poverty, are in danger of having their legal rights infringed

(see Ministry of Jamaica 2015b). However a number of offenders claimed that counsel was inaccessible due to their inability to pay the nominal fee required.

The Ministry of Justice does provide a 'small subvention' annually for the LAC to provide subsidised professional legal services to persons who need legal aid (see Ministry of Justice 2015b). However throughout the interviews it was suggested that the assistance offered through this service was inadequate, largely because of issues of access and cost. This is perhaps not surprising given suggestions that the government's annual contribution to the service is stated as 'small' (see Ministry of Justice 2015b, n.p.). The revised estimates for the period 2014-2015 taken from the annual national budget indicate that \$89,522 JMD or roughly £511 was budgeted for the LAC last year and only 68 per cent (£347. 48) was eventually approved (see Ministry of Finance 2016). It could be argued therefore, that similar to the challenge of accessing drug treatment services in Jamaica (discussed later in Chapter 6), those persons most in need of legal aid services were those who were excluded from it because of the nominal fee required to be paid before legal aid can be provided. Prison interviewee, Dada's comments lend support to this view. According to Dada in 2013 he was asked to pay a fee of some \$7000JMD, equivalent to approximately £50:

They say I must ...have \$7000 to give a legal aid lawyer to come and represent you and come and see you so something like that. So at the time I was there talking to the sergeant who in charge of the shift that I am coming on. I talk to more than one sergeant explain my matter to him and I say ok I am going to make a contact I don't hear a sound. Me dey dey til the Thursday morning me don't hear me name call the Tuesday run off nobody don't let me go nobody don't want talk to me the Wednesday nobody don't come and they don't release me they don't talk to me anything about anything. The Wednesday the same thing the Thursday I lie down in my cell little after I have breakfast drinking a cup of tea in my cell and when I finish I was sitting down there reading a psalms.

They said that I must ...have \$7000 to give to a legal aid lawyer in order for them to come and represent me. So at the time I was there talking to the sergeant who was in charge of the shift. I spoke to more than one sergeant in seeking to explain my case to them and one said 'ok I am going to make a contact' but I did not hear a sound. Until Thursday morning I did not hear my name call, Tuesday, nobody don't let me go nobody haven't spoken to me, Wednesday nobody came and they did not release me and nobody has released me. On Wednesday the same thing, Thursday I was lying in my cell and shortly after breakfast whilst drinking a cup of tea in my cell and reading a psalm from the bible. As soon as I completed reading the psalms and drinking a cup of water....I heard

As soon as I done read the psalms I drink a cup of water and I lying down I hear my name call they say I must ready to go to court I say for what? Them say the police man say him a go charge me with robbery with aggravation (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

my name call to suggest that I should get ready to go to court. I said 'for what?' them say the police man said he is going to charge you with robbery with aggravation (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

Dada had returned to prison on three occasions. Yet, despite his experience of the criminal justice process, Dada clearly expresses surprise at the way in which his right to counsel was ignored because of his inability to pay the nominal fee required to access legal aid services, and, as he claims, the unreliability of police officers to help him make contact with the LAC. A comparable challenge was identified in an earlier study conducted by Henry-Lee (2005b) who noted that women were often disqualified from receiving legal aid services mainly because they were often convicted of drug-related crimes, which the LAC was unwilling to accept.

Whilst women from this study charged with drug offences did not express similar concerns, some admitted that they did not even consider contacting the LAC because of their inability to pay the nominal fee required in order to access the service. Consequently, many of the women in this study excluded themselves from accessing this service. It therefore becomes extremely difficult for the LAC to reach such persons, despite some attempt to waive portions of the consultation and retainer fees for individuals who communicate their inability to pay (see Jamaica Information Service 2007b). This self-exclusion could help to explain why the practical details of securing counsel described by Henry-Lee (2005b) were not reflected in the accounts of these women. The implications of this are far reaching. Some individuals may be receiving a custodial sentence not on the basis of the crime committed but because they lack effective counsel. Such extracts suggest poor targeting of a policy that is supposed to provide financial assistance to those most in need. Marcia and Clements's interviews below provide further examples of the poor not being able to exercise their right to counsel because

of their lack of awareness about the possibility of receiving a fee waiver from the LAC and their inability to pay and/or access alternative legal aid services:

You see me it really rough me couldn't afford a lawyer if me could afford a lawyer me wouldn't come to prison thru me can't really afford a lawyer who could a really check whey fi find out the night whey them hold me whey them hold me pan (Clement, prison recidivist, Transcript 73)

The second one it was just one item and the judge could have fine me so according to she it is a group of we that's why. Me neva have no lawyer because most likely she would a just fine (Marcia, prison recidivist, Transcript 31)

You see, it was really rough I could not afford a lawyer if I could afford a lawyer I would not come to prison. But because I could not afford a lawyer therefore I could not check what that night what they held me, why they arrested me (Clement, prison recidivist, Transcript 73)

The second one [conviction] it was just one item and the judge could have fined me so according to her it was a group of us that is why. I did not have a lawyer otherwise I think she would have just given me a fine (Marcia, prison recidivist, Transcript 31)

Clement remarked that it was not until his court hearing that he knew what his charge was.

Clement believed that it was his inability to obtain information about the legal process,

coupled with him not being able to afford a lawyer that led to him being returned to prison.

Therefore it is possible that some participants went to prison because they were unaware of

their legal rights and the general legal process. Similarly, Marcia argues that her harsh

sentence was a result of not having a lawyer. Indeed, it was evident throughout the interview

that Marcia lacked legal advice about the possible outcomes of attending her court hearing

without a lawyer (i.e. as a litigant in person). However, similar to the accounts of other

women, this was a decision she made because of her inability to afford the services of a

lawyer.

In the UK defendants may opt to represent themselves in court. Those that choose to

represent themselves are, however, granted access to legal advice and the assistance of a

'McKenzie friend'. The 'McKenzie friend' helps defendants through the court proceedings by

undertaking various tasks including speaking on their behalf (Gov.uk 2015b). A form of

alternative legal assistance is provided in Jamaica through the Office of the Public Defender,

which has powers to make legal counsel available to aggrieved citizens. However this assistance is only provided where the issue involves a member of the public bringing complaints against the state, and the only recourse is via the court system (see Office of the Public Defender 2016). From the interviews, neither Marcia nor Clement seemed aware of this type of support. This suggests that their lack of awareness may have contributed to the infringement on their right to counsel, and their feelings of being subjected to an unfair trial. This is despite the fact that a defendant's right to a fair trial, and by extension, right to counsel is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Levesque 2006). This was itself approved by the United Nations General Assembly on December 10, 1948, and stipulates that these fundamental rights are to be universally protected (see UN 2015).

5.1.1.1 Arbitrary Arrest and Detention

The inaccessibility and/or ineffectiveness of public services providing support to ex-prisoners was viewed by some interviewees as reasons for their return to custody. This was made explicit in Dada's interview in which he states that he was held in custody for 13 days without being charged or put on a police identity parade. According to Dada this was before he was discovered by a judge, walking through the police lock-up where he was located, who was as startled as he was about the way in which his right to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention appeared to be infringed:

Anyway him say him dey dey a investigate me dey a central lock-up fi one week and 6 days detained don't charge or nothing at all. I see a judge a judge came there one day him call me and say what is it you are in the lock-up for I don't know you nuh mam them just take me up off the road I have been selling my goods out there they take me up and say me favour a man me look like a man whey hold him make some youth take away some money out of his pocket five youth little boy he said. So I don't see anything on his card no identification parade nothing at all this is stupidity (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

The police said they were undertaking their investigations during the time I was in lock-up for one week and 6 days without charge or anything. I saw a judge who came and called me to ask what is it I was being detained for. I said I don't know because they took me up off the road whilst I was selling my merchandise and said I look like a man who another man claimed held him to allow some youth take away some money out of his pocket. Five youth, little boy the man said. So the judge said I don't see anything on his card no identification parade nothing at all this is stupidity (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

In the UK a suspect can be held up to 14 days without a charge if arrested under the Terrorism Act 2000, and a maximum of four days if suspected of a serious crime (see Gov.uk 2015a). In comparison, citizens arrested pursuant to a warrant based on Section 22 of the Bail Act of 2000 in Jamaica should not be held in custody beyond 24 hours without being charged. If suspects are not charged or released within 24 hours then he/she or the individual's family should be allowed to contact a lawyer or the LAC.

Unfortunately for Dada, he was arrested without a warrant, having been identified as committing a crime; which he claims was a misunderstanding. His family, unaware of his whereabouts were therefore unable to assist him with making contact with LAC. Under Section 14 (2) (a) of the Jamaican Constitution detainees have the right to communicate with, and be visited by, a spouse, partner, or family member, and other specified persons of choice; a legal right that Dada believed he was denied. The exact reasons for this were unclear but Dada's inability to secure effective legal representation, for various reasons including his lack of financial resources, seemed to have played a major role.

Dada's case also illustrated how offenders may be arbitrarily arrested for reasons they may not understand and be held in custody for more than 24 hours. Again, this points to the infringement of Dada's right to be free from arbitrary arrest and detention, as stated in Article 9 of the UHDR and reflected in Section 3 (1) of the Jamaican Constitution which states that no citizen should be deprived of his/her liberty except on reasonable grounds and in accordance with due process established by law. Therefore these accounts help to start to understand the difficulties persons leaving prison are likely to experience when seeking to lead reintegrated lives within the community, particularly if they were living in poor inner city neighbourhoods prior to their imprisonment:

The system just corrupt against me thru me is a ex-prisoner yeah a repeati then yeah and them just dash me away you nuh ...yeah man people outta road say you a criminal as you come back a road police plan fi kill and say 'who?! a the boy that go a prison and come back fi the crime' him naah think say you go do a sentence fi the crime and him dey think fi set you up or kill you cause just few a the man them wha leave prison the system can't protect them as them reach road police kill them (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

The system just corrupt against me because I am an ex-prisoner yes a repeat offender ...as a result they just throw me away...yes...people in the community say you are a criminal as you return to the community police plan to kill and say 'who?! That is the boy that went to prison and came back to commit crime' He does not think that you have already done a sentence for the crime you committed. All he is thinking to do is to set you up or kill you because just few of those who leave prison the system is unable to protect because as soon as they are released the police will kill them (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

Weak social citizenship seems evidenced in the inability of some offenders to accumulate and sustain supportive social networks that can strengthen their sense of belonging (Rogaly et al. 1999). Their social exclusion and sense of stigma seemed explicitly linked to the fact that they expected to be treated negatively by the authorities. For example, they were more likely to be stopped by the police; and once in police custody denied access to legal services and perhaps even worse, treated inhumanely. Therefore the stigmatisation of former offenders also compounds their marginalisation and eventual exclusion. As James' interview clearly indicates, former offenders once identified as 'dangerous' by the police and significant others in the community may continue to be affected negatively by this label. James' interview also reveals something of the complex relationship between being identified as an ex-prisoner and being marginalised, especially for persons who lived in troubled communities prior to their incarceration. This point finds support in previous research (Headley 2006; Uggen and Manza 2006; Goffman 2009a), which shows how stigma associated with being a former criminal makes reestablishing and developing assistive social ties difficult. Before discussing this in more detail, it is necessary to first clarify the nature of the links deemed to exist between marginalisation and stigmatisation.

Stigmatisation as defined in Chapter 2 refers to a process whereby individuals, groups or

communities are deemed as deviant, disrespected, humiliated, labelled, and in extreme cases excluded from mainstream activities so much so that their exclusion may drive them to embrace criminal subcultures (Braithwaite 1995). Whilst marginalisation connotes the presence of stigmatisation, it is possible for one to exist without the other. However it is likely that persons who have been stigmatised are also marginalised. From the extant Jamaican crime literature, pronounced traits of marginalisation have been said to ‘weaken social bonds’ (Harriott 2000; Bank 2004; Fearon and Laitin 2005). Such traits seem evidenced in the sense of mistrust and lack of confidence in the integrity of the police, as James expressed. For James, it can be seen that, as a result of his stigmatisation and marginalisation, he considered himself to have been ‘thrown away’ by a corrupt system that deprived ex-prisoners (especially those who are recidivist) of their basic and fundamental right to life. This sense of mistrust and lack of confidence in the police and how this may further weaken the bonds between former offenders and mainstream society will now be discussed.

5.1.1.2 Deprivation of the Right to Life

Deprivation of the right to life through the use of brute force by the police continues to be a human rights challenge in Jamaica (Vasciannie 2002). This is despite its prohibition under Section 13 of Jamaica's Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (Constitutional Amendment) Act of 2011, which provides for the protection of the right to life and the right not to be deprived of it, except in the execution of a death sentence. Police violence was mentioned in Chapter 2, but to reiterate between 1990 and 2000 an average of 140 citizens per year were shot and killed by the police (Amnesty International 2001). At the end of October 2014, the police were blamed for the killing of 103 civilians, compared with 220 for the same period in 2013. The circumstances surrounding these killings suggested that these

civilians might have been executed extra-judicially (Amnesty International 2014). Therefore whilst the death penalty has fallen into disuse in Jamaica since 1988 (Amnesty International 2012) to some extent it is still maintained in crime control practices in the community. As highlighted in Chapter 2 this phenomenon may be linked, in part, to past strategies linked to the now revoked Suppression of Crime Act of 1974. This Act empowered the police with extensive search and seizure powers without a warrant (Foglesong and Stone 2007). For this chapter the relevance lies in how these powers, when used indiscriminately, may weaken an offender's sense of social citizenship, particularly those returning to troubled and disadvantaged communities where the hooks for positive change (see Chapter 3) are not sufficiently embedded to encourage and support such persons to leave their criminal careers behind, even if they wanted to.

5.1.2 Marginalised and Disadvantaged Communities

The key question put to all interviewees was - 'do you think the sentence you received was fair?' elicited a number of responses that pointed to the need for law enforcement agents to respect the legal rights of all persons, irrespective of their socio-economic or criminogenic backgrounds:

Right now you nuh from you born inna the ghetto...them pick you up off a the road anytime you nuh. You nuh know what dey gwaan inna the country yah?! Them take you up say them a go process you all month end some man nuh get process fi all months. All five months them dey process you fah (Ryan, prison recidivist, Transcript 54)

Right now, you know, as long as you were born in the ghetto...them pick you up off the road anytime....Don't you know what is going on in the country here?! They pick you up and say that they are going to process you even at the end of the month some men are not processed for all months. At times they take up to five months to do the processing (Ryan, prison recidivist, Transcript 54)

...fi them come kill the man them, normal thing miss! From as long as them know say you come from prison and them know say you use to shoot people and rob people and you come from prison like you have the intention fi do back things or people inna the area dey call you wha killer police (Popsicle, prison recidivist, Transcript 48)

...for them to come and kill the men that is a normal thing miss! As long as they know that you came from prison and they know that you were once in the business of shooting and robbing persons and you come from prison with similar intentions you have the intentions ...they will identify you as a killer of policemen (Popsicle, prison recidivist, Transcript 48)

If they don't kill you places like this won't miss you cause their friends are there in their uniform to make certain that you are right here. You understand? (Fletcher, prison recidivist, Transcript 58)

If they [the police] don't kill you places like this [prison] will not miss you because their friends are there in prison in their uniform to make certain that you are right here. You understand? (Fletcher, prison recidivist, Transcript 58)

Interviews with Fletcher, Popsicle and Ryan highlighted how some inner city community residents perceived themselves as being treated as second-class citizens (see also Uggen et al. 2004). For example, Popsicle observed how it was normal in his community for ex-prisoners to be labelled 'a killer of police-men', seemingly as a way to help the police find justifications for executing known offenders extra-judicially. Fletcher suggested that the police 'make it a point of their duty' to ensure that ex-prisoners are sent back to prison. Again, the use of deadly force, whether on the part of the state or by police officers who may have gone 'rogue', may be linked to previous police stratagems for the necessary suppression of crime by extra-judicial means (Foglesong and Stone 2007).

Arguably this poor police-civilian relationship could also be interpreted as akin to a 'prisoner's dilemma' as defined by game theory. This is a situation in which two persons who have a stake in the outcome of a decision, each choose to protect themselves and their interests (Schellenberg 1996). The dilemma arises because in seeking to make a decision the two individuals are limited to two options (cooperate or not) and are likely to be better off if they cooperated rather than sought narrow self-interest as a solution (Morrow 2013). Within the context of on-going conflict between the police and civilians in Jamaica, it may therefore be a matter of survivalism and/or self-preservation on the part of some police officers, in as much as they feel the need to 'kill or be killed'.

An Amnesty International (2001) report suggested that during the 1900s at least 112 Jamaican police officers were killed by civilians, in the line of duty. Such poor relationships between

the police and civilians (see Chapter 3) will arguably perpetuate the cycle of crime described in Chapter 2, as well as increase the vulnerabilities of ex-prisoners returning to prison. For example, some male interviewees revealed how they had reassumed their deviant identities or at the very least armed themselves in an attempt to protect themselves from the police and rival gang members:

...because of that a little gang war did start and me end up automatically have to have the weapon. You understand? Because how my community stay now... if you don't have a gun and you walk go down the street inna a enemy zone them a go shoot you being part of it or not and them see you being that you come from this community you understand? So me did automatically have to have it to defend me self and is so me have to make the decision to have it...? (Jason, Transcript 33)

It was a machete it was a machete like a knife because you know you walking in a surrounding like that in X there so and so forth. I have to have my protection because I am in a zone where. I have my protection (Fletcher, Transcript, 58)

...because of that gang warfare which started I ended up automatically having the weapon. Do you understand? Because of how my community is now... if you don't have a gun and you walk down the street into an enemy zone they are going to shoot you being part of it or not and they see you as one coming from a rival community. Do you understand? So I had to have it to defend myself and this is why I made the decision to have it...? (Jason, Transcript 33)

It was a machete it was a machete like a knife because you know when you walking in a surrounding like this in X there so and so forth. I have to have my protection because I am in a zone where. I have [to have] my protection (Fletcher, Transcript, 58)

Offending, or reengaging in crime in this way was described as a form of self-help. Such a notion was a frequent narrative thread running through accounts of their primary socialisation in disadvantaged and troubled communities. For example, Fletcher noted that in walking in nearby troubled neighbourhoods he had to ensure that he was armed and able to protect himself should he be attacked. Similar descriptions of what seemed to be 'community war zones' were evidenced in Jason's account, where illegally carrying a gun led to his most recent return to prison.

5.1.2.1 Deviant Subcultures Die Hard

Other male interviewees reported the need to seek protection from the local Jamaican don. To reiterate, the Jamaican don was traditionally a type of community leader within troubled

communities who offered social protection to residents and acted as judge in informal courts convened at the neighbourhood level (see Harriott 2000). However many of these offenders also reported that the perception of the don being a protector had shifted since the extradition of Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke, the ‘don of all dons’, as the following extracts suggest:

And you know say to be frank I don’t think it is better I think it is getting worse...yea that is out of it because even with Dudus that couldn’t gwaan in a fi him place him change that culture.. yea he was street savvy like raping and them thing no him nuh put up with them stuff dey (Gunter, prison recidivist, Transcript 17)

You know to be frank I don’t think [crime control in the community] is better I think it is getting worse...this is because even with Dudus things like rape would not have taken place because he changed that culture.. yes he was street savvy and would not tolerate rape and similar crimes (Gunter, prison recidivist, Transcript 17)

No them spread the crime them scatter the people them all over Jamaica you nuh destroy the whole ants nest you just wake up and kill couple ants so you inject Jamaica in a way whey negative. a a community right now whey a killer never dey you find one killer come in back and him start work pan the mind of the youth them bout dey and the gun them come in and thing so man tun shotta so him corrupt a clean place dey so while them should a use some intelligency fi deal with the thing get use back dudus help clean up the thing (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

The police has spread crime all over Jamaica through scattering the urban poor. They have not destroyed the nest [having extradited Dudus] instead they have awoken it through killing a few ants. As such communities that were once crime-free are now homes to killers who have been scattered and they will work on the minds of youths and import guns into these once stable communities that are increasingly being overtaken by young gangsters. Therefore a clean place is corrupted and the police should have some intelligence to address this issue with the assistance of Dudus (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

As wha we when dey say no don thing nuh round yah one time me would a say a the police them me would a give them the donship them want it give them it. Yeah give them it because them a run it down give them it see if them can proceed with it for so long you understand because anyway you check it you go haffi need don (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

There is no don culture around here. However there was a time I would a say it was the police that I would a give the donship to.... Yes I think they should get it because they seem to be running down the title [donship]any approach taken there is always going to be a need for a don (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

The above accounts suggest a weakening of the Jamaican don. This was attributed to the fact that the don’s business was no longer immune from state involvement. Consequently while these informal systems of criminal justice may still exist they seem to have evolved, in as much as the ‘donship’ or aspects of the don role may now be undertaken by those with the ability to influence youth and other persons to action. James’ account above suggests such a possibility and Ricardo’s extract suggests that even the police were seeking a form of

‘donship’ status in some localities. If this proves to be the case then the existing mistrust between the police and many inner city residents may be compounded by the corrupting influence of occupying such an illegitimate role (see Dempsey and Forst 2015) and would further subvert the aims of the Jamaican criminal justice system.

A worsening violent crime situation is evidently one outcome of the blurring of the lines between ‘who is a don and who is not’. We can infer this through Gunter’s identification of ‘rape’ as one of the crimes that would not have been accepted under the ‘traditional donship’ but was now more commonplace. James who lived in a troubled community also observed that there was a scattering of ‘killers’ all over the island. This was their way of avoiding police detection, which seemed to have improved following the extradition of Dudas Coke, ‘the don of all dons’. The strong police presence in the Kingston Metropolitan Area resulting from the incursion into the Tivoli Community (home of Dudas) is likely to have influenced this local exodus of criminals.

Dudas was considered by many offenders as being amongst the last set of dons who strived to maintain traditional ‘donship’ values. James’ observation may therefore also help to explain the observed patterns of crime displacement noted in Chapter 2, whereby there seemed to be a shifting concentration of major crimes away from chief cities (traditionally, major crimes were concentrated in the parishes of Kingston, St. James (capital cities) and neighbouring parishes) towards more rural areas in Jamaica. In fact, the crime-poverty map presented in Chapter 2 suggests that a majority of serious or category one crimes in 2014 were committed outside of these two cities, in the quasi-rural parish of Manchester. This corroborates suggestions of displacement but also directs attention to its transient nature.

Such displacement problematises the degarrisonisation process discussed in Chapter 2. Instead of promoting the social inclusion of ‘garrison residents’, there seems to be an emphasis on dismantling ‘garrison’ communities. The implications of this can be seen in James’ account where he asserts that the removal of the ‘don of all dons’ has meant that ‘killers have been scattered’ and as a result, they are now also likely to pass on their different and deviant system of values to youths living in neighbourhoods outside of these garrison environments.

Perhaps dismantling garrison communities may be an avenue through which residents, including those returning from prison, may begin to become integrated into mainstream norms and values. However the theory of differential association suggested that this is not a straightforward process given the type of cultural transmission that would have taken place since the 1970s when donship became encultured in Jamaica’s political system. Not only does the theory suggest, when applied to the Jamaican garrison community, that deviant subcultures ‘die hard’, but that it is extremely difficult for former deviants of these other subcultures to experience positive behavioural change, more so following imprisonment.

Differential Association

Notions of cultural transmission have been advanced in the work of Shaw and Mckay (1969), cited in Humphrey and Schmallegger (2011, p.62). Suffice to say that deviant values such as badness-honour (see Gray 2004) seem to be the main legacy of the traditional don. In a number of cases the male offenders interviewed who were located in troubled communities (prior to incarceration and at reentry) reported that the don was like a father figure to them. This did not seem strange as many described themselves as having lost a father or brother to imprisonment or murder.

The role of the don as a farther figure implicates notions of Caribbean male absenteeism (see Otterbein 1965; Schlesinger 1968) that were discussed in Chapter 3. Prison statistics also support this notion. For example, in 2013 women comprised 2.2 per cent (n=12) of the prison recidivism population in Jamaica and only 6.9 per cent (n=136) of total admissions to adult correctional institutions (see Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2013). A similar distribution can be seen in the adult admission figures for 2014, of which women comprised 3.3 per cent (N=28) of total admissions and men 96.7 per cent (N=810) (see PIOJ 2014). Consequently, Jamaican men are far more likely than women to be absent parents due to imprisonment.

Interestingly though the Jamaican don was able to meet some of the needs of these offenders who as youth reported that they desired a father figure in their lives. The bitterness from having lost a father was also used to account for their involvement in violence. In most cases, their father had been killed through gang warfare or the police. This fuelled their desire for revenge and fed a cycle of intergenerational violence, which in turn reduced their chances of social integration by reinforcing their marginalisation and weak sense of social citizenship.

These experiences and attitudes find some expression in the following extracts:

The fatherless...A the name that of the [criminal gang], fatherless, meaning we father them dead off...so we form the name fatherless because majority of we a Park man kill we father...Nuff gunman you understand? So a just them little thing dey. ...So just that really so everything come with fi do with poli-tricks (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

The fatherless...is the name of the [criminal gang], fatherless, meaning our fathers died...so we came up with the name fatherless because for majority of us men from Park (another gang) killed our fathers...A lot of gunmen. Do you understand? So these circumstances. ...they were linked to poli-tricks [politics] (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

No me father dead from 1993 mummy me father dead...yeah man that affect me nuff because it affect me. Me dey say me want kill back people fi me father when me a little youth me dey say Jah know star man kill me father..man kill him. Yah man me dey say man kill me father and me

No my father died since 1993 my father died...yes that affected me a lot because it affected me. I said I wanted to kill other people for my father when I was a little youth. I said Jah [God] knows men killed my father. Yes a man... I was saying a man killed my father and I

want kill him back man... (Popsicle, prison
recidivist, Transcript 48)

wanted to kill him in turn... (Popsicle, prison
recidivist, Transcript 48)

Popsicle and Ricardo thus reveal themselves as the hidden victims in garrison gang warfare involving their fathers. A desire for revenge and arguably a desire to belong led to the formation of the 'fatherless gang' and a continuation of garrison warfare. Consequently, in both interviews the lack of a father figure is used to explain their early involvement in gangs and gun crime. It was therefore not surprising when some of these male offenders reported that the transmission over time of deviant values, behaviours and attitudes by the Jamaican don informed and reinforced their identities. A number commented on how they had learnt to depend on criminality in order to adapt to, and deal with, the challenges presented by their current circumstances. In Tony's case however, this did not seem limited to youths living in troubled communities but extended to those living in neighbouring areas as well. This again highlights the potential of deviant values being transmitted to youths outside garrison communities. In such cases the notion of social reintegration becomes problematic. Clearly, the extent to which these offenders were familiar with mainstream norms and values would have been limited. This seemed evidenced in some offenders' reports of becoming involved in criminality from an early age with the assistance of the community don. The following account typified these experiences:

So we started coming together as kids in the community and we make a one pop gun to fire off the boys them who came here to rob, you understand what I mean. They had guns so it couldn't work so the one pop lick off all me finger because it neva make properly, so the person, the area leader in this community. He died now name Tom. He came to he got a gun a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver with some shots and we use that one gun to keep of the criminals dem who come in here to rob. It so happens that that's how we get involved in crime by defending ourselves and our assets then, and our community (Tony, repatriate, Transcript 5)

So we started coming together as kids in the community and we made a home-made gun to shoot after the boys who came here to rob. Do you understand what I mean? They had guns so it couldn't work so the home-made gun even shoot off one of my fingers because it was not made properly, so the person, the area leader in this community. He died now name Tom. He came to, he got a gun a .38 Smith and Wesson revolver with some shots and we used that one gun to keep off the criminals. Who came here to rob. It so happened that's how we got involved in crime, by defending ourselves and our assets then, and our community (Tony, repatriate, Transcript 5)

Tony shared his experience of growing up in a residential area located next to a troubled community. He described how he and other children felt compelled to make a home-made gun to defend themselves and their property from gun-men from the neighbouring area. He and his peers quickly recognised that the home-made gun was inadequate and instead were given a revolver by their community don. Other accounts also suggest that the don culture was closely intertwined with the practice of gun-keeping. For some of the offenders this meant that on being released from prison they were able to resettle in their former communities and continued to indulge in criminal activities associated with gun-keeping. They thus became reintegrated into the local (and often deviant) norms and cultures to which they were accustomed.

Whilst the lack of a father has been used to explain some histories of offending and related problems associated with social reintegration, for others the role of their mothers was seen to be critical to their relationship with gangs and the police. These interviewees reported that as children and youth they were less likely to be suspected of gun-keeping by the state police or rival war-lords if they were in the care of their mothers and/or were living in households full of women. Contrariwise, it also became apparent that the role of the mother as the main and often sole parent and breadwinner was in some cases invoked by respondents to explain their involvement in crime. It is therefore essential to explore aspects of the matriarchal nature of child caring responsibilities within these communities (both troubled and those neighbouring troubled communities). In most of the interviews with women offenders, they reported bearing the brunt of childcare responsibilities. Indeed, the majority of women in this study identified themselves as the head of and main breadwinners within their households. This is not surprising given that roughly 47.1 per cent of households in Jamaica are headed by females (PIOJ 2012).

Strain theory, Women and Prison Recidivism

Within the interviews with women it was suggested that it was the strain associated with being a single-parent mother and/or sole breadwinner within their households, which motivated them to engage in criminality. The following extract depicted this type of strain:

I didn't see any other way else out than to try and help my children them because I grow up very poor on poverty and I didn't want my children them to grow up like the way how I grow up and I wanted to finish school send my children them through high school and things like that so it push me was to do the drugs (Nanny, prison recidivist, Transcript 28)

This account exposes implicitly some of the weaknesses of strain theories that seem to focus overly on men (see for example Pryce 1979). For as Nanny explains above, in order to break the cycle of poverty and improve her children's school attendance and chance of a better life, she saw no alternative but to engage in criminality. Without legitimate employment crime was, she claimed, the only way she was able to find her children's school fees and daily subsistence. The possible cause of her ineffective reintegration may therefore be located within the structural blockages suggested by strain theory, and which predispose individuals towards unconventional means to achieve conventional goals (see Featherstone and Deflem 2003).

Some men also attributed their motivation to engage in criminality to the strain of child-care costs and allied responsibilities, which for them was largely the result of the economic responsibilities that the mothers of their children placed upon them. Stan explains:

You see the woman now how she stay me could a go a sea and come in and me get all a 100 grand for me pay and me give [her] half of it and little after [she] naah buy nothing fi you just more hairstyle more nail and a bling [she] dey bling and [she] a go tell people say boy me naah give [her] nothing no money fi buy nothing fi [her] pickney and them way dey (Stan, prison

The way the woman is I could go to sea and earn up to 100,000 JMD and give [her] half of it. Shortly following this she will only buy things for herself more hairstyles more nails and eye-catching jewellery. She will then tell people that I am not giving her any money for her [our] children. This is how she operates (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

recidivist, Transcript 69)

Stan claimed that he could give the mother of his child up to half of what he considered a good salary and she would use the money for beauty purposes and then pressure him for additional money in order to take care of their children. He also described how she would also then make him out to be an irresponsible father to persons within the community if he refused to give her more money. While such claims may have their basis in an indigenous masculinist culture and a matrifocal family system it was the case that respondents such as Stan promptly identified economic pressures as the key impetus to them engaging in criminality in order to attain a minimal standard of living.

The type of crime respondents engaged in was also likely to problematise the process and potential for effective social integration. For example, the benefit of being a gun-keeper was that it could allow some discharged prisoners to resettle back in their communities through continuing in this role. This role involved trusted individuals being nominated from within the community by a don or a gang leader and given the responsibility of safe keeping illegal firearms. As a result, some gun-keepers were able to publicly defy a don without expecting to be punished. They also earned immunity for themselves and their family members by diligently undertaking their duties.

Each gun-keeper had a safe place where firearms could be kept. This could be anything and anywhere but was often as simple as a hole in someone's backyard. The guns were valuable; they also required safe keeping due to their potential of being used to reopen closed criminal case files if found. The gun-keeper thus removed "hot" guns from circulation until police case files were believed closed or cold. Interestingly, the gun-keeper tended to be the only one with knowledge of the precise geographical location of hidden firearms and as a result would

not be harmed by the community don who needed to protect his assets. The following extracts from interviews with Pele and Stan attest to this point:

...No him can't just kill me so there is a lot of thing me hold me have over 27 gun fi them sit down pan so if you kill a man who have 27 gun fi you 27 gun me dey look pan say say nearly 9 10 million dollar. That is fi them own you understand? ..Yea me lock them me lock them in terms of when them done fire when them done do them work me clean them me bury them inna a hole whey deep can bury you and all three person...So me response fi them so if me dead them gun dey rot whey them dey...me nuh want when me dey bury them its two awe and when me gone some way you all gone somewhere and go and thief them me a go inna the problem me a go dead fi them or pay fi them...
(Pele, prison recidivist, Transcript 53)

...No he cannot just kill me that easily because there is a lot of things that belong to him that I hold. I have over 27 gun for them sitting down on so if you kill a man who has 27 gun belonging to you 27 gun you are looking at say nearly 9,10 million JMD. These are theirs, do you understand? ..Yes I lock them, I lock them in terms of when they have been fired when they have been used, I clean them and bury them in a deep hole that can bury up to three persons...So this is my responsibility then if I am dead then the guns will rot...which is why I do not want any witnesses around when I am burying them ...so that when I am gone the guns are stolen. This would cause me to be murdered or having to pay for them
(Pele, prison recidivist, Transcript 53)

Man give me gun fi lock and ray ray and keg of gunshot. Me bury it inna sand and them thing dey you understand? Me dey tell you the truth me fire gun but me neva kill nobody yet still but me just have me gun fi defend me area and defend myself you understand? (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

Men give me guns to lock as well as kegs of gunshot and I bury them into sand ...do you understand? I am telling you the truth I have fired guns before but I have never killed anyone. But I have my gun to defend my community and defend myself. Do you understand? (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

Being a gun-keeper would seem to ensure a safe and welcome return to a community. Indeed, as Pele suggests, it was in the best interest of community dons to ensure that their gun-keepers were kept alive. This role and relationship may be viewed as a form of reintegration – albeit one that involves criminality.

Badness-honour

Another argument is that those offenders, who reported involvement in criminality at an early age due to their marginalisation simply possessed values, attitudes and behaviours that were incompatible with law-abiding and productive citizens in Jamaican society upon release. Indeed there is clearly evidence to suggest that these men were excluded from mainstream norms values and attitudes from the outset. This has been described as ‘badness-honour’

within the literature (Gray 2004) and as an antisocial and hardened form of defiance (Gray 2003a), typically used to gain status and respect (Levy 1996) within parts of Jamaican society. This orientation was much evidenced in offender accounts, whereby a need for self-preservation was said at times to have led to resort to this type of defiance.

In addition to poor role modelling some offenders attributed their reasons for embracing deviant values to being “young and immature in thinking” (Transcript 34), easily swayed (Transcripts 38, 47, 64) and not having a “mind of their own” (Transcript 47). Therefore the reception which these offenders reported receiving from former friends following their release from prison was in many cases described as an undoing of their claim to be someone who was reformed. Indeed age and maturity are well known, albeit contested predictors of crime desistance (Piquero and Moffitt 2011). The following extracts represent, to varying degrees, the opinions of offenders who believed that the company they kept was a key cause of their undoing:

At the first place first thing was wrong me must stay far from company me wouldn't reach here at this moment... Me dey tell them say fi llow it and them a say them caan cut you and llow it like that (Denis, prison recidivist, Transcript 39)

In the first instance I was wrong I should have stayed away from [bad] company. I would not reach here at this moment...
(Denis, prison recidivist, Transcript 39)

Company is one of the things you been thru because more while you par with some company you understand do wrong things you understand and thru you dey par with them and them thing dey you nuh you haffi do the wrong things you understand? (Curry, prison recidivist, Transcript 40)

Company is one of the things [I] have been through because often times you spend time with company...that do wrong things. Do you understand? And because of spending time with them you end up doing the wrong things. Do you understand? (Curry, prison recidivist, Transcript 40)

Curry claims that by spending time with bad company he was led astray. He felt that his deviant behaviour was a result of his peer associations. In comparison Denis asserts that in being boosted up by his friends he decided to seek revenge for an assault against him. Both accounts reflect ideas of cultural transmission and differential association as discussed in Chapter 2.

Interestingly the value of badness-honour was also evidenced in the accounts of offenders who identified themselves as deported migrants and who were never located in troubled communities either before or following imprisonment, nor did they identify themselves as indigent. However these men reported learning badness-honour values through their lack of family attachment, derived from their 'barrel youth' experiences. Barrel children are dependants left-behind in the home country by their parents who have emigrated overseas but who contribute to the well-being of their children through sending remittances and (in earlier days) sending barrels of clothing, food items and other goods whilst ever hopeful that their children will be able to join them overseas (see Moberg 2008; Crawford-Brown and Melrose 2013). Indeed it is notable that in Jamaica unattached youth (persons aged 15-24 who are not in school, unemployed and/or not participating in any training courses) comprise approximately 30 per cent of the total youth population (United Nations Population Fund 2011).

What was interesting about the accounts of these men was that as 'barrel youth' they lacked supervision and thereby had more opportunity and time to engage in deviancy. Previous studies have also shown how children left behind as a result of migration are more likely to truant from school and become involved in gang membership (see Benfield 2009; Best-Cummings and Gilder 2011; Crawford-Brown and Melrose 2013). For some other offenders who identified themselves as deported migrants, it was the unmet expectation of joining their parents overseas within a specified period which they attributed to them dropping out of school before completing their studies. Dropping out of school added to the unstructured time which they had available to spend with friends and companions who might lead them astray. This in turn facilitated their attachment to deviant peers; an attachment that continued to

strengthen even after they eventually emigrated. The attachment some of these offenders described was intensified by the exaggerated sense of power that accompanied being identified as a 'Jamaican bad-man' or friends of some. One offender had this to say:

From a young age the Jamaican was always armed and dangerous right and the Americans knew that right but the young Americans now I guess you can say they very much similar to the Jamaican because they were starting to adopt a lot of those qualities also so that was their thing so. But I believe that my advantage came from the fact that I was Jamaicans were thinking more destructive (Brenton, repatriate, Transcript 15)

From a young age 'the Jamaican' was always armed and dangerous. Right? and the Americans knew that right but the young Americans now I guess you can say they very much similar to the Jamaican because they were starting to adopt a lot of those qualities also so that was their thing so. But I believe that my advantage came from the fact that I was [Jamaican] Jamaicans [at the time] were thinking more destructive (Brenton, repatriate, Transcript 15)

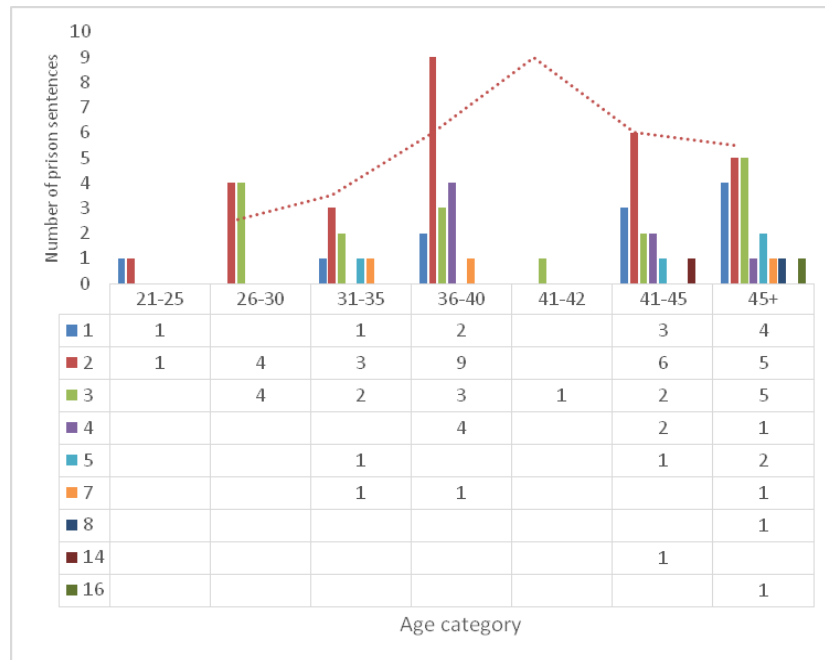
Brenton's account provided portrayals of how association with other Jamaican bad-men overseas boosted the reputation of his and other newly arrived Jamaican migrants. In one sense it seemed to reinforce their lack of attachment to parent(s), which started in Jamaica and arguably was intensified through their unsettled lives caused in part by travelling back and forth to Jamaica as an adolescent. Again, similarities can be drawn with differential association and the 'transmission of deviant attitudes and values due to exposure to deviant role models' (Sutherland 1939, cited in Vito and Maahs 2012, p.174).

Peer Pressure

By sitting idly on the streets and constantly seeking to prove one's self to be a 'bad-man' some offenders who grew up in troubled communities reported that deviant peers promoted and supported their criminal behaviours. Arguably, this would have been hard to grow out of, a supposition that seems to correspond with data presented in Figure 1 (below), which suggests that offenders may not have been maturing out of crime. For example, nearly 50 per cent (n=36) of offenders in this study were age 41 years or older. Despite the inadequacy of the statistical data in making judgements about maturation this finding seems to challenge previous research which has shown that over 85 per cent of criminal careers are likely to be

terminated by the time offenders reach the age of 28 (Blumstein and Cohen 1987). Clearly this was not the case for many respondents in this study and the reasons for this may vary.

Figure 1: Age category of offenders by times convicted



Analysis of respondents’ records suggested the onset of sentencing for a number of them may have been relatively late as the average age of first sentence reported was 25 years. Therefore whilst some offenders may have been involved in criminality at an early age as implied in many accounts, their activities may have gone undetected for some time before arrest and first sentence. Such an interpretation might fit with the notion of a dark figure of criminal recidivism in Jamaica i.e. a likely high level of undetected, unreported and unrecorded incidents of offending and reoffending (see Newburn 2007).

Routine Activities

Some participants cited their ability to engage in criminality without detection by the police as supporting their motivations to recidivate. Some reported that even when they were caught they were sometimes charged for offences other than their routine criminal activities, as indicated in the extracts below:

All the drugs me dey sell me neva get catch fi All the drugs that I was selling I was not caught

no drugs. Is murder me get lock up on. Cause all my doings and selling drugs I know when to elude the police when to carry it or drive with it and where to put it and who to give it to (Paul, repatriate, Transcript 3)

I get caught pan robbery I get caught pan shooting charge fi robbery charge fi shooting win the case feel so nice inna yourself. Keep on doing it because the fast money is so nice. So I just keep on trying to bat the perfect I can not to nuh get bite. never get bite with a gun yet never get bite pan a crime scene yet it feel so nice (Dillon, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

Done it the first time got through fine. Second time I got through like a sale of fish, third time got caught then I done it again got caught fine, then I got caught. You just get use to the money and where I had more children as well (Nathalee, prison recidivist, foreigner, Transcript 26)

for drugs. I got locked up for murder. Cause in all my doing and selling drugs I learnt when to elude the police when to carry it or drive with it and where to put it and who to give it to (Paul, repatriate, Transcript 3)

I got caught on robbery, I got caught on shooting, was charged for robbery, charged for shooting, won the case felt so nice with myself. Kept on doing it because the money was fast and it was nice. So I just kept on trying to bat perfect so not to get caught. Never got caught with a gun yet. Never! got caught on a crime scene yet it felt so nice (Dillon, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

Done it the first time got through fine. Second time I got through like a sale of fish, third time got caught then I done it again got caught fine, then I got caught. You just get use to the money and where I had more children as well (Nathalee, prison recidivist, foreigner, Transcript 26)

Paul, a repatriate, offers an account that seems to indicate that issues with detection were also a challenge for jurisdictions overseas. However the problems with detection and convictions, which these accounts expose, raise questions about the extent to which offender awareness of undetected, unreported or unrecorded criminal activity (i.e., the dark figure of offending and recidivism) encourages the behaviour and minimises the deterrent effect of the threat of conviction and imprisonment. The badness-honour attitude implicated in Dillion's account (above) suggests a sense of pride in escaping sentencing for his routine criminal activities. Seemingly, it also encouraged him to 'bat perfect', that is, to continue to engage in criminality without being caught.

Nathalie's account echoes the sentiment of other women in this study who admitted that having become 'accustomed to money' gained through transporting drugs without detection, that this motivated their continuing such activity; though poverty may have provided the initial impetus. This finding is not altogether surprising and draws support from an earlier

study undertaken in Jamaican prisons (see Leslie 2008). Women respondents who were mainly sentenced for violating the Dangerous Drugs Act of 1948 often described their decisions to offend as being impelled by dire circumstances of poverty, the need for immediate relief, and memories of the (short-lived) material gains already achieved through transporting drugs and escaping detection.

To repeat, the narrative structure of many accounts about motivations to offend included reference to low socio-economic status and some calculation based upon the risks of detection and conviction and their own (and others) evasion. Shah et al. (2012) also found that because of the economic situation of the poor it is difficult for them to focus on anything other than their short-term goals therefore they tend to make poor long-term decisions. For example, the clear association between recidivism and indigence can be noted in the following extracts:

There are times when (laughs) hungry and desperation and things reach you your mind say boy hear what happen now me a go just pick up a gun and me a go do this or do that desperation forces you to do certain things because as me say it nuh pretty fi a ex-inmate you can't get nuh work nobody nuh want employ you so you have only one other alternative stick to the crime (Gunter, prison recidivist, Transcript 17)

Fi you wants and needs is not like my own because me sure say you can find certain things you need you nuh but certain things you need you nuh you can't find it you nuh because some of the time me dey a me yard you nuh me nuh have a dime you nuh me nuh have a meal you nuh some of the time a people cane me end up cut a cane and like that fi the day (Dillion, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

There are times when (laughs) hungry and desperation and things reach you, your mind says 'boy hear what happen now I am just going to pick up a gun and I am going to do this or do that. Desperation forces you to do certain things because as I have said it not pretty for an ex-inmate you cannot get any work nobody does not want to employ you so your only option is crime (Gunter, prison recidivist, Transcript 17)

Your wants and needs is not like my own because I am sure that you can find certain things you need. Do you know? But there are certain things that I need. you cannot find it because some of the time I am at home and do not have a dime. Do you know? I do not have a meal you know some of the times I end up cutting people's cane as food for the day (Dillion, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

Direct and indirect references to desperation exposed the inability of these men to provide for their basic needs, which in this case was food. Dillion gives the example of not being able to find something to eat and being pushed to steal sugar cane from someone's field in order to

satisfy his hunger. Gunter shares a similar story of material desperation to justify his engagement in repeat offending. Interestingly, their descriptions of indigence do not appear to have led them to passivity and demoralisation, as argued by other research about the impact of poverty (Katz 1993). By contrast, their decision to resort to crime out of desperation could be partly understood as a form of resilience thereby giving credence to Gray's (2004) idea of the 'self-empowered' poor.

5.2 Need to Secure their Integration Not Reintegration

Many of the above interview extracts clearly highlight how some offenders were integrated back into communities that were already marginalised prior to their incarceration (see also Borzycki and Baldry 2003). It can therefore be assumed that they did not envisage themselves as sharing mainstream norms and values before they came into contact with the criminal justice system in that they were already socially excluded. According to Young (1971) such individuals are less amenable to control strategies because of their prior exclusion; thereby problematising the very notion of reintegration. Indeed Griffiths et al. (2007) urge caution in applying the construct of reintegration without consideration of whether offenders perceive themselves to be members of mainstream society, or not. The following account helps illuminate this point. It represents the views of respondents who were arguably amongst the most excluded and recidivating of the sample and lend support to the notion that their prime need is to be resocialised and integrated into mainstream societal norms and values, and not reintegrated:

You see during that period me do nine months for it me say to me self say when me dey go home me nuh know what me go do so far me only have one skill dey one skill dey whey me have is fi rob thief shoot and kill (Prento, prison recidivist and now lifer, Transcript 72)

During the period I did nine months for it. I said to myself, when I was going home I do not know what I will do? Thus far I have only one skill and that one skill that I have is to rob, thief, shoot and kill (Prento, prison recidivist and now lifer, Transcript 72)

Prento clearly did not share mainstream societal norms and values. He was also going to be

resettled back into his former community, where being able ‘to rob, thief, shoot and kill’ were skills that were not disregarded and arguably essential to survival in his context.

Consequently, ideal-type notions of resettlement and reintegration become tenuous. Of course, other jurisdictions face similar difficulties (see Piquero 2004; Griffiths et al. 2007; Kazemian and Maruna 2009) but within the Jamaican context the hindrances to effective social reintegration seem deeply embedded culturally. This signals the need for a form of broad intervention that might generate positive cultural transformation within troubled communities. As previously mentioned, degarrisonisation may start a process of cultural assimilation through displacement but this may not necessarily be in favour of mainstream society. This implies that given these and other complexities a multi-dimensional approach to generating social inclusion of citizens in marginalised communities might be better suited.

These accounts, as well as the role of the gun-keeper discussed in earlier sections, reinforce the distinction between resettlement and reintegration alluded to earlier in the thesis. To repeat, some offenders residing in troubled communities described experiences of resettlement – in that they were able to return to and have a place of abode in highly criminogenic communities which they knew (see Chapter 3) but this did not constitute reintegration into ‘mainstream’ Jamaican society. These and other challenges were partly related to their stigmatisation but, as was evidenced in James’ narrative, seemed compounded by their social exclusion over a long period of time. Accordingly, if these offenders were never integrated in mainstream societal activities to begin with, then one can understand why it would be easier for them to become resettled back into their former communities and their former lives.

Offenders in the study who were not located in troubled communities before and after their

imprisonment also experienced similar reintegration challenges but seemingly to a less extent than offenders who were affected by the stigma and lack of opportunities in a stigmatised community. However, all offenders reported the challenge of being stigmatised as a result of their status as an ex-prisoner, old criminal, gun-man, informer, bad-man, deportee and/or garrison resident. That said, offenders returning to troubled communities in many cases seemed less capable of escaping their deviant identities, which in many cases became a ‘master status’ (see discussion on labelling theory in Chapter 2). Suffice to say there were few offenders who lived in troubled communities who were able to manage their stigmatisation to the extent they engaged in more self-empowering and positive life opportunities. Their experiences will be explored further in Chapter 7.

These particular cases suggest that ineffective reintegration does not necessarily lead to criminal recidivism. In fact the majority of offenders reported wanting to resettle – find somewhere to live and not to reoffend. However, the very fact that many were returning to troubled communities, often without adequate assistance from the state or family proved overwhelming. The majority of offenders spoke about their inability to gain legitimate employment upon release due to their ex-prisoner identities. Despite wishing to be productive citizens the combination of stigma and poor opportunities, combined to weaken their social and economic citizenship (see Rogaly et al. 1999). This was a challenge faced by a number of offenders before imprisonment and when returning to troubled communities.

5.2.1 Exclusion of ‘Garrison Residents’ from Work Opportunities

A number of offenders attributed the difficulties they encountered in obtaining legitimate employment to their place of residence, often citing the stigma of garrison identities. This they believed was a major barrier to them penetrating the formal labour market even before and after they came into contact with the CJS. Levy (1996) also reported a similar finding in his study. There were some

exceptions. For example, Jason, living in a troubled community was able to find gainful employment but this was for a job that did not require a criminal background check. This meant that his conviction remained hidden. He also sought to disguise his home location knowing that this might lead to him being discriminated against:

In my community if you even go out and look a job you not getting it as long as you use that address because that area is stigmatised...So most of the youths them turn to crime and violence because them caan go nowhere and say that them come from [a troubled community]... I want to be frank with you when I [got the job] I did not give her that address I give her a next address of one of my relative. I give her like 21 First Street and that is like a residential housing scheme. So from she hear that she a go give me the job because me is from a good community but if me did just say 12 1/2 Queens street. Cause one of the time she come to me and say you know say somebody come tell me say a 12 1/2 Queens Street you come from and you a bad boy ...and me dey say "no man a who dey tell you them something dey? A me mother live over dey and sometime me go visit her" Just an excuse because me want the job. "Sometime me visit her that's why them say me come from the community" And she say "you know wha me check fi you you nuh you is a nice young man so me a go make you keep the job" And me was keeping the job up until. You understand?
(Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

In my community if you go out and look for a job you are not getting it provided that you use your home address which is in an area that is stigmatised...So most youths in the community turn to crime and violence because them cannot go anywhere and say that they come from [a troubled community]... I want to be frank with you when I [got the job] I did not provide my home address, I provided an address of one of my relatives. I gave her like 21 First Street and that is like a residential housing scheme. So when she heard that she was bound to give me the job because I live in a good community but if said 12 1/2 Queens street. On one occasion she came to me to say that somebody told her that I live at 12 1/2 Queens Street and that I am a bad boy ...and I said "no that is not true who told you that? It is my mother who lives over there and sometimes I go to visit her" But that was just an excuse because I wanted the job. I said to the supervisor "sometimes I visit her that is why persons would say I come from the community" And she said "ok because I favour you and you are a nice young man, so I am going to allow you to keep your job" And I was keeping the job until. Do you understand?
(Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

Jason explained that if he used his home address on his job applications he would be unable to obtain employment. He therefore used the address of a relative and went to great lengths to convince his supervisor that he only visited the troubled community (where he really lived) to see his mother. As a result, Jason was able to keep the job. Unfortunately, his background followed him, and he lost his job when gang members near his work place murdered a work colleague because he, and Jason were both identified as 'outsiders'. This type of stigmatisation (and lethal consequences) by location was a factor that offenders living in troubled communities frequently described. It was therefore assumed by most participants

that for someone to effectively reintegrate they had to leave their troubled communities altogether.

A number of offenders, not just those located in garrison or troubled communities, also attributed their inability to find legitimate employment to their low educational attainment. Fifty per cent of individuals admitted to correctional centres between 2007 and 2011 were identified as either poor or illiterate (PIOJ 2007- 2012). Within this study, this was a particular issue for the male offenders. For example, Table 9 shows that over 61 per cent of offenders (n=45) reported not having completed secondary/high school and another 2.7 per cent were unable to obtain primary education (n=6).

Table 9: Percentage Distribution of Level of Educational Attainment by Gender

Level of Education	Women (%)	Men (%)	Grand Total (%)
No formal education or skills training	-	5.5	5.5
Have not completed primary school	5.5	2.7	2.7
Graduated from primary school	-	1.4	1.4
Have not completed secondary/high school	9.6	52.1	61.6
Graduated from secondary/high school	-	1.4	1.4
Graduated from a skills training or other vocational or technical programme	-	-	
Have not completed college	-	-	
Graduated from college	-	2.7	2.7
Have not completed university	1.4	-	1.4
Graduated from university	-	2.7	2.7
Total	21.9	78.1	100

However, only men reported having no formal education or skills training. This again is not surprising as male academic underachievement in the English-speaking Caribbean (Kutnick et al. 1997; Figueroa 2000; Kutnick 2000; Figueroa 2004a) and Diaspora (Pryce 1979) has been well documented. For example, seemingly connected to Figueroa's (2004) 'male

privileging thesis', male offenders did not seem to see the importance of education in helping them achieve their life goals. In some cases involving women, their low educational attainment was attributed to early pregnancy that caused them to drop out of school. In fact 18 per cent of births in Jamaica occur to teenagers (United Nations Population Fund 2011).

Clearly, many factors hinder an offender's chances of effective reintegration. So far the impact of poverty, marginalisation and stigmatisation have been explored and their barriers to opportunity outlined from the perspectives of offenders. Their life time exposure to exclusionary structures and systems has been illustrated, particularly the negative consequences. The chapter concludes with a brief case study that captures many of these issues, but also relates to an instance of thwarted personal reform.

5.2.1.1 Case Study of a Reformed Career Gun-for-Hire

Renegade was a prison recidivist who in 2013 was being housed in a maximum security prison in Jamaica. This was his second time returning to prison. On both occasions Renegade was convicted on gun-related charges having pursued a career as a gun-for-hire. Interestingly, Renegade reported 'going straight' for some time, mainly owing to becoming a father, and being able to obtain gainful employment - first as a farmer rearing chickens in his own troubled community upon release, and then as a labourer in a rural town.

Renegade relocated to another city. This initially allowed him to be distanced from his past and to rebuild his life. Unexpectedly, his employer (a builder) had a friend who was a police officer who knew of Renegade's reputation. The employer being informed of his criminal background allowed Renegade to continue working on a construction site. However at the end of the working contract the employer refused to pay Renegade as the following extract shows:

One police come dey one time and see me you know that police is a repeat enemy...based upon the life me use to live. And him pull the man aside and him dey say "you know that man dey you nuh know him? you make him dey work a you yard?!" ...Two month and add me dey work fah and me naah get no pay that come up to 80 add thousand dollars and when him come from foreign him never decide fi pay me... People say me fi go a police station. When the thing did happen with the chicken and me go a police station go report it them say 'me a old gunman' a police station...Them dey pan fi him side because him have the money me is just a normal person. Back then that was all I can take honestly me believe inna God ..me naah lie me fall short, meaning me take matter inna me hand. That is why the second conviction come into place. Alright just for revenge (Renegade, Transcript 36)

One police came there one time and saw me. you know that police is a repeat enemy...based on the criminal lifestyle which I had.. And the police officer pulled the employer aside and said "don't you know this man? Why do you have him working in your yard?!" ...I worked for two months without pay. This amounted to about 80,000JMD and when the employer came from abroad he decided that he will not pay me... Persons advised me to report the incident to the police station.and I went to the police station to report it, the police said that 'I was an old gunman' ... They were on his side because this man has the money whilst I am just a normal person. Back then that was all I could take honestly I believe in God .I will not lie I have fallen short, meaning I have taken matters in my own hands. That is why the second conviction came into place. It was just for revenge (Renegade, Transcript 36)

The difficulty Renegade faced in developing a new identity was typical of many participants who reported living in troubled communities. Therefore it was not just being recognised as an 'old gun-man' which proved problematic, but being excluded from certain rights and opportunities that were available to 'normal' citizens. This helps us to further clarify the relationship between social exclusion and marginalisation whereby exclusion is an extreme form of marginalisation (see Shefer 2007; Nelson and Prilleltensky 2010; Horschelmann and van Blerk 2013). Young (2009) also describes it as the worst form of oppression as it allows the expulsion of a whole category of people from useful participation in social life. As such it poses a serious hindrance to effective social reintegration.

To repeat, Renegade's story highlights many of the arguments discussed earlier. For example, it demonstrates how negative group perceptions and stereotypes about offenders in general can tarnish the life prospects of some offenders and increase their exposure to human rights violations. Consequently it is extremely difficult for an offender to develop an identity as someone who is reformed (Maruna 2007) especially when the basis on which they are being

judged may be in relation to their home location, over which they have no control. As argued above, the only viable solution for someone to reintegrate is to relocate to a more stable community. However, even this could be mistaken for crime displacement and may even disrupt resettlement attempts.

Crime Displacement?

Some offenders interviewed who were originally located in troubled communities identified relocation as the only plausible solution for them to even attempt to lead integrated lives: “the main thing is to just change the community you come from. That is one of the easiest and the best way because you go amongst a set of people who don’t know anything about you or your background and you try to elevate from there” (Steven, Transcript 56). However the challenges in relocating to another community and securing a new identity was illustrated in both Renegade’s interview (above) and Tabatha’s interview (below).

Tabatha was a ‘police informer’. Whilst living in her original community she had provided the police with information about known local criminals, who later found out it was her. Based on the type of informal justice system that prevailed where she lived, Tabatha had to move away to avoid being punished by community dons for informing on criminals in her community. In doing so Tabatha experienced a form of spatial crime displacement (see Vellani 2006). If Tabatha remained in her original community she and her family risked being harmed or losing their lives. Therefore she decided to leave her troubled community. Indeed being uncooperative with the police (see Fearon and Laitin 2005) was identified as a characterisation of troubled communities in Chapter 2 therefore sharing information with the police about criminals in the neighbourhood violated community norms. This explains why Tabatha’s actions were met with hostility:

Where we use to live at Victoria Park before we Where we once lived at Victoria Park [troubled

house bun down. Why we house bun down in the first place a police cause it because if we see anything and tell them a them same one go tell them bad man friend and pass the house and see it bun down them say we a police informer... so when we go a Brigend when time we go dey.

Like because them neva know we them say them a go kill we off (Tabatha, Transcript 19)

community] before our house burnt down. Police is the reason why our house burnt down in the first place. If we saw anything and told the police they are the same ones who go and tell their bad- men who are also their friends. These friends pass our previous house and see that it is burnt down so they assume that we are police informers... so when we go to Brigend [new community] because they did not know us they must have assumed that we were going to kill them off (Tabatha, Transcript 19)

Tabatha did not know that her identity as an outsider in the troubled community, where she relocated, would have similar consequences to those she was hoping to avoid by leaving her original community. As her account explains, Tabatha's house was burnt down due to her being identified as an informer in her original community. While she was able to relocate to another community she was there perceived as an outsider. Her outsider identity raised suspicions about the circumstances regarding her relocation. Knowledge of her being a potential informer came to light and led to the killing of two of her sons by gun-men within the new community.

Tabatha's story tells us that in cases such as this, for social reintegration to work it must involve informer protection. This would also mean that steps are taken to minimise police corruption. However, at the root of Tabatha's story is the social exclusion of marginalised individuals and communities. Consequently, despite the difficulty that ex-prisoners face in escaping stigmatisation and marginalisation (which seem to be issues deeply embedded within Jamaican culture) it is evident more opportunities must be created to promote the social inclusion of ex-prisoners, as will be argued further in Chapter 6.

5.3 Conclusion

Despite the inconclusive nature of the relationship between crime and poverty (see Patterson 1991; Hsieh and Pugh 1993) a link between poverty and ineffective reintegration has been

illustrated throughout this chapter. While it remains in some cases a moot point as to whether persons become poor because they turn to crime (see Wilson (1994) or whether they were already poor, it was evident from this study that individuals typically described themselves as poor and lacking access to basic economic and social opportunities. This included accessing legal counsel. In such instances their recidivism and/or return to prison seemed inevitable. Indeed, interviewees often invoked marginalisation and/or stigmatisation as reasons to explain their engagement in criminality. In some cases it was a matter of continuing in a life of crime despite the risks of being caught.

What this chapter has sought to demonstrate are the key complexities involved in achieving effective social reintegration in Jamaica. The difficulties included extreme forms of marginalisation from the labour market and mainstream goals. Additionally, the deviant social networks associated with troubled communities reinforced the social exclusion of offenders located in these neighbourhoods.

The chapter has explored how the civil, social and political status bestowed upon offenders provides them with an inferior identity and membership within the Jamaican community. The result is that they are seen and treated as unequal with respect to the rights and duties that full citizenship normally endows (see Dwyer 2014; Marshall 1950). The life accounts examined in this chapter voiced poignantly the histories of people who, for various reasons, were hampered in their attempts at effective social reintegration. Chapter 6 will now examine how the prison environment itself may further such opportunities.

Chapter 6: ‘Back to Square One’: The Role of Prison

6.0 Introduction

Thus far we have seen that becoming effectively reintegrated into Jamaican society is an extremely complex process, due in part to the social exclusion of ex-prisoners, especially those located in troubled communities before and after their imprisonment. Drawing from the accounts of the full sample of adult offenders (n=73), this chapter will explore the impact that Jamaican prison establishments have upon the reintegration process and the consequences of this from the perspectives of inmates. To reiterate, the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica (DCSJ) is the government agency with responsibility for the ‘corrections’ of prisoners in Jamaica. Their vision and mission statements are presented below:

We are serving the needs of all our clients by creating and facilitating opportunities for their empowerment and rehabilitation, resulting in a more peaceful, caring and productive society.

**Vision Statement of the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica,
Official Website**

To contribute to the safety and protection of our society by keeping offenders secure and facilitating their rehabilitation and reintegration as law-abiding citizens, while developing a professional and committed staff

**Mission Statement of the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica,
Official Website**

Both statements describe providing opportunities to facilitate the reintegration and rehabilitation of prisoners. (Chapter 1 discussed how rehabilitation forms part of the reintegration process). Consequently, positive social reintegration is partly dependent on the effectiveness of prison rehabilitation, marked by inmates leaving prison with the intention to become law-abiding and productive citizens (see DCSJ Vision and Mission Statements).

The majority of offenders interviewed in this study were prison recidivists, having returned to prison on more than one occasion. Their accounts of prison life are therefore used to examine why, for them at least, prison failed in its mission and vision. Importantly it also explores the extent to which prison may have actually contributed to their ineffective rehabilitation. In particular this chapter considers prisoner-officer relationships, prison conditions, as well as the use, application and effectiveness of the correctional interventions within prison sentences served in Jamaica. It is towards the latter of these that we turn first.

6.1 Correctional Interventions

Improvements in Jamaican correctional service delivery have taken place since the 1990 Americas Watch Report, at which time the prison estate was described as gruesome and incapable of rehabilitating prisoners (see Hellerstein and Whitman 1990). These improvements have been noted in the most recent studies undertaken on Jamaican prisons (see Henry-Lee 2005b; Morris 2008) and were also evidenced in some of the inmate accounts in this study. For example, prisoners that had experienced the changes pointed to the availability of a number of rehabilitation programmes and suggested that the current state of correctional service delivery had improved since they were last in the system:

At the time it was more difficult for rehabilitation only work like them orderly work and you work at the kitchen and stuff a nuh much rehabilitation. After awhile the rehabilitation programme kind of step up and start work now (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

At the time it was more difficult for rehabilitation to take place because only work as an orderly or in the kitchen was available. Therefore much rehabilitation was not taking place. However after some time the rehabilitation programme kind of stepped up and started to work [better] now (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

Steven for example, who was serving his second prison sentence, recalls that during his first imprisonment there were limited opportunities for rehabilitation. His account specifically identifies kitchen staff duties and the orderly system as two of the more traditional correctional interventions, which in the past did not work well but had since changed. What is

important to this chapter is how these new opportunities facilitated the behavioural change of inmates. The orderly system will now be used as an example.

6.1.1 Orderly System

The orderly system involves selected inmates assuming responsibilities such as escorting other inmates around the prison estate, parcel delivery, welding, painting and cooking. Some offenders believed that this system was useful as it provided them with certain privileges, which were acquired through the income generated by these tasks, and gave them a sense of dignity. However while this led to positive behavioural changes in prison, this was not necessarily sustained post release:

Thru me know that that job will benefit me now, me get fi have a single cell, it cause me to have more privilege ... Yes I am glad they give me this privilege because in my first sentence you nuh me did get that privilege dey to you nuh, me was working like up here as a super orderly ...in charge of the rest of the other orderly (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

Because I know that that the job will benefit me, for example I will get my own cell. The job caused me to have more privilege... Yes I am glad that they gave me this privilege because in my first sentence I also received this privilege whereby I was also working up here as an orderly assisting the Superintendent.. and in charge of other orderlies (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

As the extract suggests, the instrumental changes made to their behaviours were to ensure that they gained certain privileges whilst in prison. This included having your own cell, which for Jason, was one of the main reasons he sought to become an orderly. Jason had gained similar privileges during a previous prison sentence, when he was also responsible for supervising other orderlies and providing assistance to prison superintendents. His behaviour in prison would seem to reflect temporary compliance rather than any significant behavioural change. In fact, from Jason's account it might be assumed that his compliance was his way of adjusting to the prison environment in order 'to survive', just as he had adjusted to his environment in the troubled community where he lived before and after imprisonment.

Consequently, as Jason's extract highlights participation in the orderly system provided opportunities for coping with the harsh prison regime. Similarly, for other inmates including women who participated in this programme, it enabled them to acquire additional food and essential goods that might normally be provided by family members during visits. This is suggested by Viv as follows:

Researcher: What are they selling? Me hear "sale out" "sale out"

Viv: A Xena dey sell...Hustle anything like carrot and irish [she gets it] Down a the stores the carrot that down a the kitchen fi cook...Yes beg and hustle it. Them and so I fi them livity you nuh because ...some time and nuh all of them have nobody dey visit them. Yes some people dey here long and them nuh have nobody dey visit them you nuh. You know that kind of a bit rough (Transcript 24)

Researcher: What are they selling? I hear "sale out" "sale out"

Viv: Xena is selling...She hustle anything like carrot and irish potato [she gets it] from the stores and the carrot from the kitchen for cooking...Yes she begs and hustle it. This is for her sustenance because ...at times some inmates do not have anyone to visit them. Yes some persons are here for a long time and do not have anyone to visit them. That is kind of rough (Transcript 24)

Viv went on to explain that it was the norm for inmates to 'hustle' on the prison estate to make money in order to sustain themselves during their incarceration and supplement their monthly allowance of personal items/toiletries given to them by the prison service. However, this form of 'hustling' was not restricted to those working in the kitchens, or as orderly, as Andrea's experience demonstrates:

Well me now me nuh work nowhere in the prison me work for myself but me jump round because fi sew something more while me go over the sewing to go beg a sew. ..But you see like me personal stuff them always make it the point of them duty to always make sure me have me toiletries and all them something dey but me hustle me money. Me naah go bother them fi money fi buy nothing and what have you so me hustle in here (Andrea, prison recidivist, Transcript 21)

Well I do not work here in the prison, I work for myself but I jump around in order to sew something. Sometimes I go over the sewing [department] to beg an opportunity to sew.... But like my personal stuff [staff] always make it a point of their duty to always ensure that we have toiletries ...but even so I still 'hustle' my money. I am not going to bother them [my family] for money in order to buy anything so I 'hustle' in here (Andrea, prison recidivist, Transcript 21)

Although Andrea did not work anywhere on the prison estate, she describes how the monthly allowance was not enough to survive. Rather than worry her family she took advantage of her interest in sewing and craft and sold the items she made. Alongside these descriptions of pragmatic adaptation (see also Chapter 2) a number of inmates from troubled communities

also spoke of prison offering a period of respite from gang-warfare. These sentiments were captured in the following account:

The purpose is was why him make me come yah so fah was to look into my life and change my life because if me did outside me could a dead (Dillon, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

The purpose is/was why he [God] made me come here [I believe] in order to look into my life and change my life because if I was on the outside I could have died (Dillon, prison recidivist, Transcript 51)

In contrast to Jason's and other accounts presented above, Dillion reflects upon the positive effect of his incapacitation in that it facilitated some introspection that might lead to change. Invoking a higher authority ('God's plan') as the source of his reflection, his account starts to imply how important internal debate and agency can be to facilitating behavioural change. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The means of survival adopted by these inmates were, in many cases, in violation of the prison rules. As such they could conceivably be viewed as a continuation of the deviant behaviours which brought them to prison in the first place. In this sense inmates like Andrea and Xena could be described as 'maladjusted' (see Clarke and Henry-Lee 2005) when in fact they were taking advantage of informal or improper opportunities to cope in the prison environment. However this can also be seen as a consequence of poor material support and not being adequately prepared to address the challenges they were likely to experience in the community upon release.

6.1.2 Drug Treatment and Counselling Programmes

As well as providing a respite from gang violence within their communities, prison also provided some inmates with respite from drug (typically cocaine) use. Similar findings have been reported by Morris' research (2008). However, in contrast to Morris (2008), this study argues that whilst the respite experienced by prisoners supported their compliance to prison

rules (i.e. the prohibition of drugs), in many cases this change was not sustained in the community, as these offenders returned to prison. This draws on notions of false desistance (as discussed in Chapter 3). For example, in the extracts below, Wilfred and Danny (like other respondents) describe how the break from drug use in prison was not sustained upon release:

...12 years without committing an offence you see me a rearrange me. Me dey calm me self and them way dey you understand? Sometime a just the drugs hurt, the drugs hurt you see what happen a just somebody coke me out. If you feel to say you can get a quick money for the fan you naah go leave it cause you no have no money you a go move towards the fan you understand? drugs man take way all me money and broke me have to reverse back to the boss a just so it go (Wilfred, prison recidivist, Transcript 44)

I am a low-risk considered to be a low-risk prisoner right and aaahm I have been here before but my crime has been simple larceny right cause I had a problem with drugs and it led me to do other things yea looking back now of course I have been here eleven months now of course I am cleaned up and everything I am a better person overall physically working out every day going church and so I am a better person physically mentally aaah psychologically spiritually...up there people they are more educated towards drugs because it affects almost every family or every other family in America so you know and there are more rehabilitation facilities there (Danny, repatriate, prison recidivist, drug abuser, Transcript 60)

...12 years without committing an offence do you see me? I am rearranging me. I am calming myself and so forth. Do you understand? Sometimes it is just the drugs that hurt, the drugs hurt. What happened to me was unfortunate, it was somebody who gave cocaine to me. Therefore If you feel as though you are able to get quick money for the fan (ventilator) you are not going to leave it because you know that you do not have any money you are going to move towards the fan (ventilator). Do you understand? Drugs man took away all my money and left me bankrupt therefore I had to revert to the boss (drugs don) that is just the way it is (Wilfred, prison recidivist, Transcript 44)

I am a low-risk, considered to be a low-risk prisoner right and ... I have been here before but my crime has been simple larceny right because I had a problem with drugs and it led me to do other things. yes looking back now of course I have been here eleven months now of course I am cleaned up and everything I am a better person overall physically working out every day, going to church and so I am a better person physically mentally... psychologically spiritually...up there [America] people they are more educated towards drugs because it affects almost every family or every other family in America so you know and there are more rehabilitation facilities there (Danny, repatriate, prison recidivist, drug abuser, Transcript 60)

Wilfred, as he noted ‘reverted to the boss’ – returning to drug use and offending in order to maintain his drug cravings on release. A comparable observation was reflected in the writings of Shover (1996) who identified five criminal identities that were commonly applied

to and by persistent thieves. These included ‘Dope fiend’ and ‘crackheads’. Such crude epithets describe little of the complexities of addiction but nonetheless ‘fit’ with the behaviour of Wilfred who appeared to be an unprofessional and persistent thief engaging in criminal activities in order to finance his drug habits. Wilfred was able to stay clean because he was unable to access cocaine in prison, but relapsed upon release because the causes of his addiction were untreated due to the absence of drug rehabilitation treatment programmes in Jamaican prisons.

Research in England has shown that problem drug users [like Danny and Wilfred] ‘are more likely to have had contact with the criminal justice system than have the general population’ (Duke 2009, p.14). It is thus unsurprising that inmates who are untreated drug users may be more likely than the rest of the prison population to relapse into drug use upon release and drug-related criminal behaviour. It also points to the need to better incorporate drug abuse treatment into the Jamaican justice system. As stated in Chapter 3 the only help which seemed to be available to offenders in Jamaica who were substance abusers was through the drug courts, which seek to combine treatment with judicial monitoring and sanctions.

Some offenders also mentioned being unable to afford psychotherapeutic treatment provided through residential and drug treatment and counselling centres. This was usually after offenders were taken in on a voluntary basis at the Assessment Detoxification and Early Rehabilitation Unit at the University Hospital of the West Indies (UHWI), where physicians concentrated on minimising withdrawal symptoms (see Davidson 2006). However, like the provision of legal aid services in Jamaica (discussed in Chapter 5), those individuals who may be most in need of this and similar services may be excluded because of their inability to pay the nominal fee of approximately \$3500JMD per week (roughly £22) (see Davidson

2006). This was not surprising because like the Legal Aid Clinic, drug treatment centres typically receive a small annual subvention from the government and face staff and other resource challenges (see Davidson 2006). Moreover as Tony suggests (below) treatment is received on a voluntary basis and unless offenders are willing to accept the assistance that is being offered, then treatment is unlikely to be effective:

I went to rehab, I went to [University Hospital of the West Indies] UWI. The first time I consented with my mom and we went to a place called X. I did my first rehab, a two months course. I stayed for only about two weeks and walked out (Tony, repatriate, prison recidivist, drug abuser, Transcript 60)

Later in his account, Tony explained that while he thought the treatment programme he attended was good, he did not like being controlled or disciplined for failing to show up at group therapy sessions on time. Tony's account therefore again highlights the critical role of human agency in bringing about positive behavioural change (Rex 1999; Maguire and Raynor 2006).

As was alluded to in Danny's extract, the absence of in-prison drug treatment programmes in Jamaica seemed to be a reflection of a general lack of awareness about the impact of drug abuse on families. Danny also believed that not being able to access appropriate treatment in Jamaican prisons was partly responsible for him not being able to sustain changes in his deviant behaviours. As such, Danny's observations (partly informed by previous imprisonment experiences in Jamaica and the USA) raise significant questions about the adequate investment of government resources for the rehabilitation of substance abusers.

The lack of drug rehabilitation provision in prisons may reflect government policy to invest the limited resources into drug treatment centres in the community. Based on the most recent compilation undertaken by the Caribbean Community Secretariat (2008) there are about 40

such centres in Jamaica, of which five are public sector operated services. Consequently, drug treatment services are available, though may not be accessible to those that are unable to pay the enrolment fees. Arguably prisoners like Wilfred, Danny and others should have been attending a residential and drug treatment and counselling centre as part of their sentence. It was therefore not surprising that Danny and Wilfred's rehabilitation seemed ineffective after they were sentenced without plans to address their drug addiction, which was stated as the reason why they committed crime in the first place. It is known that drug addiction is a chronic condition and successful recovery depends on available and appropriate treatment and rehabilitation over time (Gaines and Kremling 2013). However such treatment is usually lacking in prisons, which explains why a community sentence backed by robust family support is often the prescribed sanction for minor offenders who are drug users (Runciman 2008).

This of course highlights the contradictions between sentencing rules and rehabilitation. Faced with multiple drugs related but minor legal violations, magistrates may find it difficult to grant persons like Wilfred and Danny a non-custodial sentence (see Runciman 2008). By way of illustration, Danny had served five prison sentences in Jamaica but also reported a previous imprisonment experience in the USA, whilst Wilfred reported serving 16 prison sentences in Jamaica, mainly for simple larceny (the taking and carrying away of the unattended goods of another usually through using acts of violence) in order to fund his drug habit.

Both Wilfred and Danny were cocaine abusers. Their accounts suggest that cocaine was unavailable in the Jamaican prisons to which they were sent. The same appears not true for marijuana. A number of offenders who were being housed in all three maximum-security

prisons reported gaining access to marijuana or being able to trade it. Within the male estate, the relative ease at which some offenders were able to access marijuana meant that they could use it as a means of exchange to make money to help them survive in prison. In the account below for example, Pele claims receiving regular supplies of marijuana, often thrown over the prison walls:

Inna the morning a man do so a man who dey dey pan the ground just pick up me thing and buy touch it and him just carry me thing come give me and just give me ten bag a thing and you know say a it that because you get one pound a weed in here. One pound a weed a wha \$5000 or \$4000 a road. When we get it in here we make \$30,000 [restates with emphasis] (Pele, prison recidivist, Transcript 53)

In the morning a man, does this [respondent demonstrates the throwing over a wall] a man on the ground picks up my thing [marijuana package] and by the time he touches it he just carries it to me and gives me ten bags of the thing and you know that's it because to get one pound of marijuana in here. One pound of marijuana is about \$5000 or \$4000JMD outside. When we sell it in here we earn \$30,000JMD [restates with emphasis] (Pele, prison recidivist, Transcript 53)

Pele suggested that he obtained income from trading marijuana on the prison estate up to five times the street price. For other offenders, smoking marijuana was mainly for the purposes of keeping themselves contented and under control. This was particularly the case for some female inmates who reported in a focus group that the absence of professional counselling services to help them manage stresses associated with their incarceration caused them to resort to smoking marijuana. Using marijuana as a substitute for professional counselling was described by these women as 'holding a meditation'. Their frustration from lack of access to professional counselling services was reflected in a group discussion:

Me dey here and me never see a counsellor yet never see a counsellor yet. Dey nuh know if me alright them nuh know if me insane them nuh know if me dey think evil them nuh know if them nuh know me dey think fi do something them nuh know nothing at all. [overlapping voices] A first somebody ever sit down and talk to we. (Female inmates, Focus group discussion, Transcript 74)

Speaker 1: I have been here [before] and I have never seen a counsellor yet, never! They do not know if I am alright if I am insane, they do not know if I am thinking evil, they do not know if I am looking to do something, they nothing at all. [overlapping voices] Speaker 2: It (the focus group) is the first time somebody is sitting down to talk to us. (Female inmates, Focus group discussion, Transcript 74)

These women believed that gaining access to professional counselling services would help them better manage the separation from their families. However, most had never seen a professional counsellor during any of their prison sentences. In fact, aside from the occasional ‘encouragement’ provided by some correctional officers, most claimed that no attempt was made by professional staff to ‘sit and talk with them’. Again, these observations point to the largely deficit and punitive nature of rehabilitation in Jamaica. It also questions the reliability and frequency of risk assessments undertaken during the sentence and/or whether results from the assessment are actually used to inform what programmes inmates are allowed to take part.

6.1.3 Educational and Skills Training

The low literacy levels of some inmates meant that they valued opportunities to participate in educational programmes and interventions. Low literacy levels was also seen to be a barrier which many recognised that they had to overcome before seeking to obtain gainful employment upon release. Whilst literacy and skills training programmes were available in Jamaican prisons (like the work programmes discussed later in the chapter) they were, according to respondents, sporadic and inconsistent. Many of those interviewed commented on the fact that the manner in which classes were administered was incompatible with the prison routine and that there was no guarantee if or when a volunteer teacher would turn up to deliver a class.

Unable to rely on the educational support provided through the correctional service some offenders reported that to sit state recognised examinations such as the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate they had to prepare themselves to take the exam. Others like Xena

were put off from becoming involved in the programme. These two accounts reflected views from interviewees more broadly:

You know they have biology they have all these things but the class is mixed in with juveniles. Adults and juveniles cannot learn at the same pace ...And have teachers who are going to be here the days of the class. There need to be something better. People go into a routine and say they have class and say they have that class today and maybe class to or three days later and maybe not at all next week. The mind loses itself it gets fall off a track so (Ann-marie, foreigner, prison recidivist, Transcript 30)

You know they have biology they have all these things but the class is mixed in with juveniles. Adults and juveniles cannot learn at the same pace ...And have teachers who are going to be here the days of the class. There need to be something better. People go into a routine and say they have class and say they have that class today and maybe class to or three days later and maybe not at all next week. The mind loses itself it gets fall off a track so (Ann-marie, foreigner, prison recidivist, Transcript 30)

Me nuh learn nothing in yah because normally if you leave say you in your dormitory now and the time whey you fi come out and learn something...Me naah go have even hour fi catch back a class them a let we out 10 and by 11 we inna the dorm again by 430 we lock down again fi good fi morning so what time can you learn something...from 9-10 10-12 you caan learn nothing anybody say them learn something a lie them a tell (Xena, prison recidivist, Transcript 29)

I do not learn anything in here because normally after leaving the dormitory the time to attend classes seem small...I do not have even an hour to attend classes because we are released at 10am and by 11am we return to our dormitories again at 4.30pm we return to be locked down until morning. There is not sufficient time in which to learn... We are unable to learn from 9-10 am and 10am -12 noon (Xena, prison recidivist, Transcript 29)

Xena suggested that she was unable to learn in the short spaces of time assigned for formal learning compared to time spent being locked down. Ann-marie who was born in the Caribbean but was now a citizen of a country overseas pointed to a further problem of the education classes being run in her establishment. Within this establishment adult learners were being mixed with juveniles who at the time were housed in the same facility. This can be seen as poor classroom practice as it fails to take account of the different learning styles and needs of adults and young people (Tomei 2009). Whilst both sets of learners may benefit from some degree of facilitated self-directed learning and experimental techniques, how they use the information is likely to differ, as will their cognitive levels. Consequently it will be difficult to provide shared meaningful instruction (Tomei 2009, p. 21). Arguably, this practice of mixing juveniles and adult inmates also reflected the lack of classroom space,

teachers, and limited resources. It also resulted in large teacher to student ratios and poor class streaming. These arguments point to the need to strengthen this provision so that it can better empower inmates to lead reintegrated lives post release.

There were also opportunities for skills training (sewing, tailoring, baking, welding, farming, painting and music production). However a number of inmates commented on the hope which music production inspired by providing them with the motivation to prepare themselves for productive lives within the community. Chris, Ryan and Fletcher explain:

Soon me just a go build a one tune and just thru the one tune me a go live (Chris, prison recidivist, Transcript 50)

Soon I will be able to build a tune and [based on the earnings from building] this tune I will be able to live (Chris, prison recidivist, Transcript 50)

Sure. that's the reason why I find myself into the bands room cause pretty much I write very often I write songs often so differently than doing mason work cause mason work is always going to be done by me whether ... it happens that I have hit songs everywhere in the world I would still be dressing up in my hard boot and my overall to do what I want to do masonry and I will always be doing mason work doesnt matter. Whenever I am off this or that tour I know I will be doing [mason work] yea (Fletcher, prison recidivist, Transcript 58)

Sure. That's the reason why I find myself into the bands room because I pretty much write very often. I often write songs so other than doing mason work because mason work is always going to be done by me whether ...it happens that I have hit songs everywhere in the world I would still be dressing up in my hard boot and my overall to do what I want to do, masonry and I will always be doing mason work, it doesn't matter. Whenever I am off this or that tour I know I will be doing [mason work] yes (Fletcher, prison recidivist, Transcript 58)

Me nuh know you nuuh cause a whole heap a thing can gwaan you nuh, whole heap. Basically still me know say me a go further my talent inna the music still but if it work out as how me plan and me start make a little funds and thing me can donate some to them dey way dey but otherwise me nuh must dey work with them still (Ryan, prison recidivist, transcript 54)

I don't know because a lot of things can take place, a lot! The bottom line is that I know that I will further my talent in the music and if it works out as planned and start to make some money and that kind of thing then I will donate ... but otherwise I may not be working with them (Ryan, prison recidivist, transcript 54)

The above extracts suggest that despite their difficulties these particular interviewees had not lost hope, which is a key factor in motivating some inmates to participate in available rehabilitation programmes. Fletcher for example, seemed comforted by the possibility of

being able to choose between masonry and going on music tours, or both. In comparison Chris seemed convinced that if he was able to create an original sound this would generate earnings from which he would be able to live in the community. Similar accounts can be noted in a recent documentary film (Guerata 2011), which highlighted the power of music to help prisoners in Jamaica find contentment and to desire change through the hope which music inspired. The comments of Ryan, Fletcher and Chris also implicate the importance of human agency in the rehabilitative process. For example, they too praised programmes like the music classes for their ability to generate aspiration that became a source of their motivation to become a law-abiding and productive citizen.

6.1.4 Work Opportunities

Opportunities to work on the prison estate were also identified as a source of empowerment because it provided some inmates with privileges (see earlier extracts from Steven and Jason). However such opportunities were limited and were often linked to the orderly system that tended to be reserved for inmates who were well behaved and had a hard labour sentence. Therefore it was ambiguous as to whether these work opportunities were aimed at punishing inmates or assisting their rehabilitation. A number of respondents suggested that the hard labour sentence was something of an institutional myth in that it was still being administered by the courts but did not seem to exist in practice. Consequently, rehabilitation work programmes, where these existed, were typically used to assist with the training and rehabilitation of inmates and, to a lesser extent, help them meet the requirements of any hard labour sentences. However not every inmate who received a hard labour sentence was able to carry out their sentence due to the lack of work opportunities, as these tended to be reserved only for prisoners who showed promise of becoming rehabilitated:

Researcher: so what is the hard labour that you do inside here?

Researcher: How do you serve hard labour in prison?

Speaker 1: cause when you get hard labour or soft labour it nuh mean nothing
 Everybody: hard labour nuh mean nothing them just put that pan it (Male inmates, prison recidivists, Focus group discussion, Transcript 75)
 Speaker 3: a nuff prisoner want somethig fi do you cant get nothing' (Male inmates, prison recidivists, Focus group discussion, Transcript 75)

Speaker 1: when you get hard labour or soft labour it does not mean anything
 Everybody: hard labour does not mean anything they just put it on it [the sentence] (Male inmates, prison recidivists, Focus group discussion, Transcript 75)
 Speaker 3: a lot of prisoners want something to do and are unable to do anything (Male inmates, prison recidivists, Focus group discussion, Transcript 75)

These stories suggest some mismatch between the hard labour sentence administered by the courts and actual 'hard labour' (however defined). The reality was that many inmates were simply being held in cells because of the limited work and other opportunities to help in their social reintegration. For those opportunities that were available, many offenders felt that these were poorly designed. These inmates suggested that programmes, which included welding and computer programmes, seemed more geared towards the maintenance of the prison estate rather than their individual rehabilitation. The following accounts allude to this:

We have some rehabilitation areas, like the vocational areas down the welding shop they don't keep classes down there. They just keep it so that if the grill pop off they can just weld it back and so forth. Well they can get 20 or 30 inmates and teach them the skill so that when they go out them can make them self a better man. So some areas are here where they can generate rehabilitation but they don't really use it up (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

We have some rehabilitation areas, like the vocational areas down the welding shop they don't keep classes down there. They just keep it so that if the grill breaks off they are able to weld it back and so forth. Well they can get 20 or 30 inmates and teach them the skill so that when they go out they are able to make themselves better men. So some areas are here where they can generate rehabilitation but they don't really use it up (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

One of the main challenges we have in the institution is say for instance the welding shop it is a multimillion dollar facility and nobody is there doing anything it just open every day if a grill pop off inna the institution them just go weld it nobody naah try teach nobody fi weld or nothing like that so you have some areas whey them could a really open them up and teach because at the computer lab we take on to the computer and we formulate that class because it never just a gwaan you nuh, we the students from the previous class take on a form of class and take on a class schedule (male prison

One of the main challenges we have in the institution is that for instance the welding shop it is a multimillion dollar facility and nobody is there doing anything it is just open every day. If a grill breaks off in the institution then they just go and weld it nobody is trying to teach anybody to weld or nothing like that so you have some areas that could really be opened up in order to teach because at the computer lab we like the computer and we formed that class because it was not being run, we the students from the previous class took on the responsibility of developing the class and

recidivists, focus group discussion , Transcript
76)

designing the class schedule (male prison
recidivists, focus group discussion , Transcript
76)

These extracts once again raise questions about the real aims of these types of interventions in Jamaican prisons. Whilst it was evident that some attempt was being made to promote the rehabilitation of inmates there were also indications that certain correctional programmes needed to be better managed and developed in order to achieve this aim. That said, welding and information technology (IT) were both programmes that seemed to enhance the employability of inmates and could explain why many seemed drawn to these programmes. This was not surprising as finding stable and legitimate employment seemed to be at the forefront of the integrative needs of a number of inmates.

One argument could be to expand these work opportunities in order to generate revenue for the prison establishment. This would benefit the tax-payer and state economically, as in the case in Colorado in 2011, where a fish-farming programme staffed by inmates generated US \$57 million (£39.5m) (Russell 2011). Whilst the exploitation of prisoner labour by private businesses to cut costs and undersell their competitors based on labour costs alone raises a number of human rights concerns (see Bair 2007; Mays and Winfree 2008), with suitable safeguards in place this type of sentencing option might be worth exploring within the Jamaican context, particularly as there seems to be scope for it, given the willingness of inmates to work and the lack of work opportunities in the prison estate. Regardless, evidently the lack of work opportunities described by inmates in this study suggests notable inconsistencies between outdated sentencing rules (viz - hard labour) and correctional practice, and the need for such rules to be revised or abolished.

Similar arguments led to the abolition of indeterminate sentences for public protection (IPPs), which replaced the automatic life sentence for persistent violent offenders in England and Wales under Section 225 of the Criminal Justice Act of 2003 to protect the public from dangerous criminals (see Podmore 2012). Not only were IPPs considered to be unlawful because they led to the continued imprisonment of offenders after the expiration of their tariff but it was also deemed inappropriate because the prison service lacked the facilities necessary to evaluate the dangerousness or suitability of offenders for release (see Easton and Piper 2012; Gunn and Taylor 2014).

Within the Jamaican context the lack of relevant facilities needed to ensure that hard labour sentences can be implemented effectively renders them meaningless to inmates.

Consequently, the hard labour sentence in Jamaica seems most unlikely to accomplish its somewhat contrary aims of punishing and/or rehabilitating inmates. These and many of the other challenges discussed above, can also be linked to the restrictive prison environment in Jamaica.

The examples provided in the next sections of this chapter suggest that the prison itself was generally uncondusive to rehabilitation practices due to the archaic design of the buildings in which inmates were housed. In fact the architectural design of all three maximum security prisons included in this study can be described as unfit for purpose. For example Fort Augusta Correctional Centre (FAACC), one of the three prisons visited, was a military fort built in the 18th century by the British, later restructured to house male prisoners and is now the only maximum security facility providing correctional services for women serving prison sentences in Jamaica (see Henry-Lee 2005b; Morris 2008). The unfitness of existing prison structures for rehabilitation was particularly reflected in the substandard housing conditions

for inmates at Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre (TSACC) and Saint Catherine Adult Correctional Centre (SCACC). Therefore the chapter now turns to exploring standards of living in Jamaican prisons and how these may have led to ways of coping, which hindered the effective rehabilitation of inmates.

6.2 Poor Prison Conditions

The structural features and issues of overcrowding within Jamaican correctional centres were key factors determining the poor standard of living experienced by inmates interviewed. Data on the two male institutions included in this study show that in 2013 SCACC was certified to house 800 inmates and TSACC certified to house 650 inmates and were operating at 23.2 and 86.1 per cent above capacity respectively (see Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2014). However, prison overcrowding is a common challenge for prison services in various jurisdictions (see Simon 2014; Smith 2015). For example the recent prison population projections indicate that England and Wales has the highest imprisonment rate in Western Europe (148 per 100,000 population) and since 1993 the prison population has soared by over 40 000 and currently stands at 85,163 (Prison Reform Trust 2016). However whilst rising prison populations and overcrowding seem to be a common challenge for many prison services, experiences are likely to vary due to differences in crime control cultures. Consequently, its impact may not be felt in the same magnitude or receive a similar institutional and/public response.

The absence of a formal resettlement policy in Jamaica (already discussed in Chapter 1) suggests that tertiary crime prevention priorities (i.e. crime reduction actions on the part of the state which are focused on intervening in the lives of known offenders to prevent their future offending) are low on the Jamaican crime control agenda. However, pertinent to this

chapter is how in-prison resources geared towards helping prisoners to become law-abiding and productive citizens may be overstretched due to problems around overcrowding. Indeed, according to Drago et al. (2009) the extent of prison overcrowding during a prisoner's incarceration is associated with their probability of being rearrested upon release. Where overcrowding is high, prisoners are less likely to experience meaningful rehabilitation when resources are overstretched thereby making it difficult to create an environment that assists crime desistance. Morgan and Black Heart's accounts provide some evidence of this:

You nuh have no sponge fi sleep you sleep pan the cold place that's not the law. So if me come here and me grab a bag and me come here when time me go back out of road you see if me a go still deal with crime me a go hold up people me naah go grab no bag again because the system breed criminal and escalate them pan a higher level (Morgan, prison recidivist, Transcript 62)

...them yah a horrible conditions so anytime you go a road now the first thing me all come do is kick down your door cause me heart tough. ..me know me naah go any further than prison so at all times me just continue do it... (Black Heart, prison recidivist, Transcript 36)

You do not have any sponge to sleep on, you have to sleep on the cold place that is not the law. So if I come here and I grab a bag and I come here, when I return home if I decide to continue in crime, now I am going to accost persons I will not only grab their bags this time around because the system would have breed a criminal and cause me to become escalated (Morgan, prison recidivist, Transcript 62)

...these horrible conditions so when I return to society the first thing I will do is kick down your door because my heart is tough. .I know that I will not go any further than prison so at all times I will continue to do it... (Black Heart, prison recidivist, Transcript 36)

Both Black Heart and Morgan described experiences of hardening brought on by the poor conditions of prison and how this was likely to lead to an escalation in their criminal activities upon release. These suggestions were not surprising because previous research has consistently shown that each prison experience causes social, moral, economic and psychological setbacks for prisoners, their families and communities (See Petersilia 2001b; Parke and Clarke-Stewart 2003; Travis and Waul 2003; Mills and Codd 2007). Additionally the prison environment is long known for inducing a taste for criminality through hardening (Banister et al. 1973). Within the Jamaican context this bias towards continued involvement in deviance seemed supported not least by the limited bed spaces in Jamaica prisons.

6.2.1 Poor Hygiene and Limited Bed Spaces

According to some of the offenders interviewed the typical sleeping arrangement in Jamaican prisons are characterised by cells of three people, in which two of the prisoners would sleep on tarred concrete and cardboard boxes, or if fortunate, on sponges infested by bed bugs or in colloquial terms ‘chink’. These makeshift beds would be positioned across the cell in opposite directions with the third prisoner sleeping in a hammock hung from the ceiling of the cell. Whilst the idea of the hammock seemed inventive in that it helped to alleviate a crowded cell, inmates explained that it took much dexterity to sleep in these hammocks in order to avoid self-harm. The following extracts from male inmates Barnes and Nelly alluded to this:

Well you climb up pan the grill and set it a way and come through the two rope them. When you come through it you sit down and take time crawl until you lie down. But it have a thing ...every time it dey shake every 15 minutes you have to wake fi turn you can't just turn so you nuh you have to wake hold on pan it and turn so that you set in the position and lie down. If you drop asleep you drop asleep when you drop asleep you have to turn again every 15 minutes (Barnes, prison recidivist, Transcript 71)

You make the hammock outta the rice bag them you get all seven eight nine ten rice bag and store them together and lock down this yah end yah and lock down this yah end yah and shub two stick inna it six cord yah so and six cord yah so and tie it up..... yea because a bear wall in dey a bear concrete inna the cell a nuh like dey so a nuh like dey...: them say one of the string them bus and them something. if you go down inna the cell a tar like them bad road when car can't drive pan you nuh. That's why one of the man them clothes so black because some of the man them nuh have no sponge fi sleep pan. them sleep pan cardboard and them roll. that's why them bad colour so because them can't come out because a tar pan the ground in dey

Well you have to climb up on the grill and set it a certain way and come through with the two ropes. When you come through it you then sit down and take some time to crawl until you lie down. But it has a thing ...each time it shakes every 15 minutes you must wake in order to turn you cannot just turn ..you must wake up, hold on and turn so that you are set in the right position in order to lie down. If you fall asleep you fall asleep when you fall asleep you have to turn again every 15 minutes (Barnes, prison recidivist, Transcript 71)

You make the hammock out of the rice bag ..you can get seven, eight, nine or ten rice bags and put them together and lock down this end and lock down the other and push two sticks in it, six cords here and six cords there so and tie it together..... yes because the cell only consists of wall and concrete it is not like where we are sitting...: sometimes the strings burst. If you went into the cell you will see tar like that on bad roads that cars are unable to drive on. That is why the clothes of the men are so black, some do not have any sponge to sleep on. So they sleep and roll on cardboards. This explains why they are so dirty looking because they cannot come out because the tar on the ground

and white wash and chink and them something
dey (Nelly, prison recidivist, Transcript, 35)

and white wash and chink and those things
(Nelly, prison recidivist, Transcript, 35)

The above extracts describe the art and craft of designing and utilising make-shift hammocks, which were often used by inmates who would vandalise parts of the prison estate in seeking material to make them. The necessity of these acts seem evidenced in the account of Nelly, a male prison recidivist who suggested that, the same mixture of tar used in road making was also used to coat the ground of prison cells where inmates were expected to sleep. Such experiences suggest that it may be difficult to transform the mind-sets of inmates in this type of neglectful environment.

Even so, some inmates admitted that these arrangements represented improved prison conditions from a point when the number of prisoners held in a cell had reduced from five or more to three persons, although they still considered three excessive. This was not surprising as this number was in direct contravention of Section 9 (1) of the United Nation's Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners which advises that a prisoner should occupy by night a cell by himself and that only in extreme circumstances should temporary overcrowding be allowed. As a consequence inmates who were unable to sleep in a make-shift hammock and did not have a bed sponge, made every attempt to sleep on expanded cardboard boxes in seeking to avoid having their clothes dirtied and damaged by the tar on the cell floor. Nelly explained that some men would roll off their cardboards whilst sleeping and this explained why they looked so dirty whilst walking around the prison estate. As a result of this and the absence of sanitary facilities within the cells interviewees reported it was difficult to maintain basic hygiene and cleanliness.

Some men stated that because there were no toilets in their cells they were compelled to defecate on newspapers and urinate in plastic containers and other make-shift chamber pots

known as ‘piss gyals’. These ‘piss gyals’ were emptied on a daily basis after they were released from their cells. However some of these inmates reported being able to throw soiled newspapers through cell windows. The reality of not having toilets in their cells meant that at times prisoners had to defecate in their hands when no newspaper was available. This was remarked upon by Stan:

More time if you say you want ride a night time then you want ride a night time a damage thing that ... you haffi cream off inna your hand. A three man inna a dorm you nuh you haffi dey cream off yourself two of you pan the ground still and one inna the hammock so when that dey man want ride now a head and tail with turn fi him head turn up so and my head turn up so the urine thing down inna the corner down the side dey so (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

Often times if you decide that you want to ride at night then your ride at night can be damaging ... you have to cream off in your hands. There are three men in each cell so when creaming off, two persons on the ground and one in the hammock so when one man wants to ride, a head and tail position is always assumed his head turned up and my head turned down, and the urine container positioned in the corner right down the side like there (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

The account describes the practice of ‘slopping out’ which was abolished in the UK following the 1990 Woolf Inquiry into the Strangeways Prison Riot because it was viewed as inhumane and indecent (see Carrabine 2004; Newburn 2007). The continuation of these practices in Jamaica suggests that correctional practices remain harshly neglectful and some distance from the ideals contained in the vision and mission statements of the DCSJ. Furthermore, this type of punitive treatment is likely to weaken inmates’ sense of self-worth thereby making it difficult for them to become law-abiding and productive citizenship upon release.

6.2.1.1 Meeting the Reintegrative Needs of Female Inmates

Concerns about the poor sanitary conditions in Jamaican prisons were not however shared by women who were interviewed at FAAC. This may be related to the institution operating within its certified accommodation of 250 persons at the time the interviews were conducted. However some women described suffering from what they believed were discriminatory correctional practices, which succeeded in reinforcing their sense of marginalisation.

The interviewees were primarily concerned about the welfare and security of their children, which, unsurprisingly, they believed had worsened because of their incarceration. This seemed somewhat paradoxical given that a majority reported a willingness to engage in criminality in order to improve the well-being and life prospects of their children (see Chapter 5). This rationale for offending was often invoked by these women to explain their imprisonment. Many also reported being single-parent mothers and so upon being sentenced, their children (and other adult dependants) were often left in the care of relatives or close friends, many of whom were reportedly financially incapable of providing for their basic needs and in some instances were said to abuse those left with them. Tabatha shared her story of how she was saddened by the knowledge that her mother, who was the caregiver to both her children and other grandchildren, was struggling to find food for them to eat:

It would a be better for me because me mother sick she should a dey lay down and rest. She haffi dey puzzle and dey hustle. Some time me go a the phone box and call har she say "Tabatha a some pumpkin me dey cook you nuh with butter". When me hear me eye full a water, yea (Tabatha, prison recidivist, Transcript 19)

It would be better for me because my mother is sick she should be laying down and rest. She has to be solving puzzles and hustling. Sometimes I go to the phone box and call her she says "Tabatha I am cooking some pumpkin me with butter". When I hear these things I cry (Tabatha, prison recidivist, Transcript 19)

Threats to the wellbeing of their children and other dependants were described as a key challenge to the effective rehabilitation of many of the women interviewed. Most reported finding it extremely difficult being separated from their children and as mentioned earlier, the distress of separation from their families lead to continued marijuana use by some women. This problem was exacerbated by an apparent lack of early release opportunities for women in Jamaican prisons (which Viv and other women reported - below), despite in some cases being eligible for parole.

To become eligible for parole in Jamaica inmates must be serving a sentence of more than

twelve months (DCSJ 2015c). This was true for many of the women interviewed. Whilst drug-related sentences may vary substantially depending on the type of drugs trafficked as well as the discretion applied by the judge, a typical sentence for a first offence would be less than twelve months. This was true for women like Tabatha who served less than twelve months during her first sentence. Women’s involvement in drug related and other crime is outlined in Table 10 below.

Table 10: Interviewee Offence and Gender Category

Offence category	Men	Women	Total
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)
Offenders Interviewed (N=73)	57(78)	16 (22)	73 (100)
Murder	4 (7)		4 (5.5)
Manslaughter	3 (5.3)		3 (4.1)
felonious wounding	4 (7)		4 (5.5)
Assault	2 (3.5)		2 (2.7)
sexual offences	4 (7)		4 (5.5)
Robbery/with aggravation	12 (21.1)		12 (16.4)
Burglary	5 (8.8)		5 (6.8)
shooting with intent	2 (3.5)		2 (2.7)
unlawful possession of firearm/ammunition	7 (12.3)		7 (9.6)
Dangerous Drugs Act	4 (7)	11 (68.8)	15 (20.5)
forgery, fraud & embezzlement	3 (5.3)	1 (6.3)	4 (5.5)
immigration violation	1 (1.8)		1 (1.4)
Larceny	6 (10.5)	4 (25)	10 (13.7)

Source: demographic and offending data collected during interviews and cross-referenced with prison records where accessible

As shown in Table 10, women typically received convictions for violations of the Dangerous Drugs Act 1948 (68.8%) whilst men were largely sentenced for robbery/robbery with aggravation. This pattern remained unchanged even when the crimes of first-time offenders (n=11) and those returning to prison (n=62) were examined in relation to gender. Simple larceny was the second most common conviction (25%) amongst the women interviewed.

According to the Larceny Act of 1942, simple larceny in Jamaica is a felony punishable with imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding five years. These women were all

prison recidivists and so Section 60 (1) of the Larceny Act would have taken effect. It states that every person who commits an offence of simple larceny after having been previously convicted of a felony shall be liable to imprisonment with hard labour for any term not exceeding ten years. Hence, most would have been unlikely to receive a sentence of less than twelve months. However this was not always the case, as Sandra illustrates:

The whole seven a them is simple larceny...
Storelifting, yea shoplifting. Me get 5 year now
The first one I do three months, 2nd time me
think a what 6 months (Sandra, prison recidivist,
Transcript 22)

All seven convictions were for simple larceny...
Storelifting, yea shoplifting. For the last one I
received 5 years. The first one I did three
months, 2nd time I think it was 6 months
(Sandra, prison recidivist, Transcript 22)

Even though Sandra was a prison recidivist on her second conviction she received a sentence of six months, which would preclude early release. This helps to explain why many of the women interviewed felt that they were being excluded from opportunities for early release. Alternatives to prison or early release via eligibility for Home Detention Curfew (HDC) is quite a complicated and contested topic in the UK and is frequently being reviewed (Hudson and Jones 2016). However in seeking to assist inmates with the transition from prison to the community and reduce prison overcrowding a prisoner in the UK can be released up to 135 days earlier than expected in return for wearing an electronic tag whilst complying with a curfew condition (Haynes 2014b). Particularly in the case of Jamaica where there seems to be a number of resource challenges, electronic tagging shows much potential in reducing the daily cost of housing an inmate by 54 per cent (approximately £6 versus £13) (Jamaica Observer 2006). However as discussed in Chapter 1, the use of electronic tagging in Jamaica is not as advanced as it may be in the UK.

Again, women interviewees may have been excluded from this fairly new opportunity because inmates must be low risk and non-violent offenders and showing signs of rehabilitation in order to be considered for early release via electronic tagging. Whilst these

women were non-violent they were not deemed low-risk as they were all prison recidivists.

Their sense of being unfairly excluded from opportunities for early release via electronic monitoring is pointedly made by Viv:

I talk to an officer they are saying that they don't give drugs people a chance. Because if you get a bangle to go home, say they would cut off certain time off a we sentence and give us a bangle to go home until the time finish and you come back and them release you. You cannot fly on a plane with a bangle you cannot go nowhere your passport cease so wa you a go do? So I feel like they could look into that and help us because we are mothers (Viv, prison recidivist, Transcript 24)

I talk to an officer they are saying that they don't give persons with drug-related convictions a chance. Because if you get a bangle to go home, say they would cut off certain time off of our sentence and give us a bangle to go home until the time finish and you come back and they release you. You cannot fly on a plane with a bangle you cannot go nowhere, your passport cease so where are you going to do? So I feel like they could look into that and help us because we are mothers (Viv, prison recidivist, Transcript 24)

Viv argued that the correctional service could help women, particularly those who were single parents and heads of their households, maintain better contact with their families if provided with early release. However as noted above, a key challenge is that most would not have been eligible due to sentence length or level of risk. Moreover in the UK except for previous convictions received for possession of class A, B, or C drugs, all other drug offences are excluded from the test for HDC approval (see Haynes 2014b). What therefore seems surprising is the women's confusion as to why they were not eligible. This research suggests the need for more clarity about the criteria for selection in order for the correctional service to set transparent expectations about early release. It is also evident that the criteria as seen by women interviewees is considered overly stringent in excluding those individuals serving sentences of 12 months or less and who are willing to change and not a significant risk.

Several women interviewees had been convicted for major violations and were repeat offenders. Therefore it is not that surprising that they were serving prison sentences even though most were single parents and heads of their households. However prior prison sentences did not seem to deter these women from reengaging in criminality nor did it give

them opportunities to address the causes of their criminality. In all this the victims seem to be as much the children as those mothers who claimed to have resorted to crime as a route out of poverty. Indeed, this research points clearly to children as the too often hidden casualties of imprisonment. Corston (2007, p. 2) suggests that the social and emotional effects on the 18,000 children in the UK who are left behind each year by their mothers who are sent to prison is nothing less than catastrophic. Comparable data was not available for Jamaica. However this study shows how it was difficult for some women to pick up the pieces and restore relations with their children who might have been abused, neglected and/or left to fend for themselves. Notably, a majority of men interviewed did not articulate similar concerns about their offspring but instead seemed more focused on issues about their survival in prison.

6.2.2 Insecure Imprisonment and Deviant Identities

The need for some inmates to ‘constantly look over their shoulders’ and draw upon skills employed as a criminal in order to stay alive within the hostile prison environment impacted upon the scant opportunities for rehabilitation. The risks of being murdered or wounded were amongst the most serious threats to personal safety reported. Stan identified the risk of harm involving prisoners stabbing other prisoners for failing to take sides with prison warlords. He also commented on the code of silence that governed such actions and the limited prospects for recourse to the authorities:

When riot and hunger strike and when you see food come pan the table dey so and you stand up a you cell and you say yow no man to the chair you can’t go dey you just have to go back inna your cell hungry drink water. You dey laugh you think a joke if you go pan the chairman the next morning you suppose to get a dead man or a man of power stab you all inna you side or something. ..A man dey say boy him can’t go pan dey hungry strike what them a go pan

When riot and hunger strike and when you see food come on the table over there and you stand up at your cell and they say, ‘ hey no man to the chair!’ you cannot go there you just have to go back into your cell hungry and drink water. You are laughing? Do you think it is a joke? If you go on the chair, . the next morning you can guarantee that man will be dead or a man of power stab you all in your side or something. ..A man may say, ‘I am unable to go on the

because might be them have them have little crackers inna them cell fi eat and me no have no crackers or nothing and me naah get no visit round prison so him have to eat off a the tray some man dey make sure let you know say you can't eat off a the tray you haffi hold it (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

hungry strike' what are they going to do because perhaps they may have some [water] crackers in their cells to eat and I do not have any crackers or anything and I am not getting any visits around the prison so I have to eat off the tray. Other men will let you know that you cannot eat off the tray you must hold it (Stan, prison recidivist, Transcript 69)

Stan provides glimpses of the organisation of prison gangs in Jamaican prisons for men.

Other accounts suggested that the gangs were not always organised based on prisoner locations within the wider community. The following extract tells the story of an offender who experienced one of the largest prison riots. The riot took place following a public announcement that condoms were to be distributed in Jamaican prisons (see Barnes 2004):

Yah long long time 1998 when the place erupt and 1998 yeah man the place erupt me dey tell you man and me get a cut yah so one inna me back also but as wha me tell you say you have to help your self knife lass them thing dey dey yah (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

Yes long long time 1998 when the place erupted and 1998 yes the place erupted I am telling you ..and I got a cut here and one in my back also. But as I have told you ,you have to help yourself with a knife cutlass and things like that (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript 70)

As Ricardo suggests, as a result of this and other threats some inmates believed that the only way to ensure their safety in prison was to arm and defend themselves. This was also the solution identified by some other offenders who believed that the hostile reaction in response to the distribution of condoms in Jamaican prisons reflected the homophobic nature of Jamaican society which supported the social exclusion of stigmatised individuals in the prison estate and outside. An illustration of this can be found in the classification of homosexuals and other marginalised individuals in Jamaican prisons.

Sections 76, 77 and 79 of the Offences of the Person Act 1864 which was amended in 2010 outlaws acts of buggery and sodomy. As a result, known homosexuals in Jamaica may fall victim to hate crime with no clear legal support to discourage discriminatory and other harmful actions. This in turn seems to have informed the housing of prisoners who have been

identified as homosexuals on special blocks. It was even suggested that prison warlords used this system of classification to their advantage when seeking to eliminate rivals or claim additional turf on the prison estate. For example, one technique used was to accuse other gang members or informers of being homosexuals in the hope that they would be met with violent homophobic responses. Other inmates reported that this type of tactic was employed by prison warlords to seize the possessions of other prisoners who may then be beaten to death or might be transferred to the special block for their protection following labelling as a 'battie boy' (homosexual). This identity also exasperated their social exclusion and threat of harm upon release. The following account represented these perspectives:

Right now if me go outta road me goodly haffi kill about three four of them and right back here because that stigma it is like it dey pan me you understand say me a batty man inna prison me location a number one block you understand?

And a number one block me locate fi true because a over there me dey but I am not sexing no bottom I don't do those things..true me is a bad guy them just instigate fi me worst fi me look like the worst..... (Fred, prison recidivist, Transcript 43)

Right now if I go in the community I may have to kill about three or four of them and I will be right back here because that stigma it is like it is on me. Do you understand? They say I am a battie-man [homosexual] in prison my location is number one block. Do you understand? And it is number one block is my true location because I am over there but I am not sexing no bottom I don't do those things..because I am a bad guy they instigated for me to look worst, for me to look like the worst..... (Fred, prison recidivist, Transcript 43)

Fred explains that he was transferred to the special block because he was wrongfully but purposely accused of homosexuality by prison staff as he was perceived as a destabilising effect on other prisoners. His label remained with him upon release and Fred returned to prison because he assaulted neighbours who were harassing him about his sexuality. Fred's experience implied that there may be a need for correctional programmes and interventions to help inmates properly manage any prison-related stigma upon release. This is essential given that public attitudes towards homosexuals are unlikely to change anytime soon given the legislative backing which also reflects state condoned discriminatory practices which support the exclusion of these individuals.

6.3 Poor Inmate-Correctional Officer Relations

The importance of staff-prisoner relations to the reform process is widely reflected in the desistance literature (see Arnold et al. 2007; Liebling 2007; Wetzell 2014). Good staff – offender relations within probation is known to assist offenders make initial transitions towards primary desistance (King 2013a). In this study, according to the interviewees, the inmate-correctional staff relationships often involved corruption and misuse of power on the part of correctional officers, often for private gain.

This finding is perhaps not surprising given that in 2013, Jamaica ranked 83 out of 177 countries on the Corruption Perceptions Index where countries closer to 0 represent the least corrupt countries (CPI) (Transparency International 2014). That said, the forms of prison corruption involving correctional officers and inmates have a double impact in their potential to betray the trust of those in the Jamaican public who still have faith in the utilitarian purposes of imprisonment as well as to disappoint and frustrate the efforts of inmates who really desire change (Souryal 2009).

In a number of examples, the relationships between correctional officers and inmates seemed to reinforce the deviant identities of inmates. For example, mobile phones were accessible through female visitors who smuggled them in to the prison estate by hiding them in their body cavities. Alternatively some corrupt correctional officers were persuaded to take the phones into the prison in return for some gratuity. However the more commonly referenced case of misfeasance involved correctional officers overlooking the widespread use of make-shift hot plates used by some inmates to prepare their meals:

As me say them use a little hotplate and pot and do them thing..As me dey say certain things nuh legal here but sometimes warders look over certain things and say "make them gwaan" cause

As I have said they use a little hotplate and pot and do what they have to do..As I have said there are some things which are illegal here but sometimes warders look over them and say

a nuh like them a kill anybody or anything "make them gwaan" you nuh.Them get money from various place more time them people send money fi them, all different place. You understand a lot of ways them can get it because you have officers whey go there and collect it fi them and carry it come give them and get a little money from it. In other words traffic it for them so that them caan get them money. A the same thing with the phone because if me should a want a phone now me can get it me just pay 2000 dollars to certain and certain officers. I am not going to call any names (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

"allow them.. because it is not as if they are killing anybody or anything...allow them" ...They receive money from various places more time their people send money for them, from all different places. Do you understand? There are a lot of ways they can get it because you have officers that go there and collect it for them and carry it into the prison for them and then get a little money for doing this. In other words traffic it for them so that they can be remunerated. This is the same thing with the phone because if I should be in want of a phone now I can get it if I pay 2000 JMD to certain and certain officers. I am not going to call any names (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

Misfeasance involves the improper performance of a prison duty by a correctional officer, which may or may not be lawful (McCarthy (2002), cited in Gillespie 2004, p.125). Based on Jason's account this was clearly an issue with respect to the circulation of money on the prison estate. Inmates reported that visitors were required to purchase cashbooks that were then made available for them to make purchases in the prison tuck shop. However many found ways of accessing and using actual currency to purchase items from the prison tuck shop. Others described the relationship between themselves and correctional officers as one where they needed to maintain their 'bad-man' identities in order to gain the respect of officers and avoid being abused. This was evidenced in the following account:

When you see how the livity in prison the way how the warder deal with you the way even how the Super talk to you it make you haffi think and hold up your head and know say this place nowhere to because if you think you go get no right or if you think prison the system go make you be better you wrong. You have to make yourself better out of the system (Morgan, prison recidivist, Transcript 62)

When you see the life in prison, the way how the warder deal with you the way even how the Super talk to you it makes you think and hold up your head and know that this place is nowhere because if you think you are going to get any right or if you think the prison system is going to make you better. You are wrong. You have to make yourself better out of the system (Morgan, prison recidivist, Transcript 62)

It was evident that despite the formal sanitisation of the Jamaican correctional penal language (Jones 2007), small gains had been made in changing the perceptions of inmates about the

rehabilitation aim of their sentences and the motives of correctional staff. This was evidenced in inmates' interchangeable references to the newer reform elements and the old penal jargon, which included words like wardens, prison, or prisoner. This dichotomy was also reflected in the tensions between the expectations of inmates and how they perceived their needs being met by correctional officers:

Some officers aggressive some officers don't know how to deal with inmates them come call you "boy" "old prisoner" and all different kind of word. Them cuss up them bad word to you and all them something dey. And that shouldn't be so...A lot of inmates in fear of that because the rule book say if you find an inmate with something either you charge him or no charge him you not supposed to lick him fi wa lick him for a chip. So nuff inmates in here get abuse by warder physically and verbally (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

Some officers are aggressive some officers don't know how to deal with inmates they call you "boy" "old prisoner" and all different kinds of words. They cuss their curse words to you and all these things. And that should not be so...A lot of inmates in fear of that because the rule book says if you find an inmate with something either you charge him or do not charge him you are not supposed to lick him for a chip. So a lot of inmates in here get abuse by warders physically and verbally (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

If me never rehabilitate me wouldn't dey talk so me dey try show you a nuh everybody rehabilitate. A nuh warder rehabilitate we a we rehabilitate we self you nuhy warder only see to it supervision [when out dey so ram] you can't say you a go rehabilitate a man and you dey say oh man go suck your mother go do this and dig you round a back. A nuh rehabilitate that you a tell a man when them go a them yard and see you them fi bus a shot inna your head them nuh know how fi rehabilitate you a mostly prisoner rehabilitate themself because them want good and them want good recommendation (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript, 70)

If I was not rehabilitated I would not be talking so I am trying to show you that it is not everyone who will be rehabilitated. Warders do not rehabilitate us, we rehabilitate ourselves you nuh warders only see to our supervision [when out there is crowded] you cannot say you are going to rehabilitate a man and you are saying 'oh man go suck your mother!' [curse word] ... That is not rehabilitation that you tell a man when he is being released that when you see him on the road you are going to bus a shot in his head, they do not know how to rehabilitate you, largely prisoners rehabilitate themselves because they want good and they want a good recommendation (Ricardo, prison recidivist, Transcript, 70)

Ricardo suggested that because warders tended to be abusive their role seemed limited to the provision of physical supervision. This role was depicted as being somewhat distanced from a notion of warders/correctional officers assisting inmates to change and may help to explain why both Morgan and Ricardo believed that the onus was on them to make positive change happen. Few inmates reported benefiting from positive interactions with staff. Nonetheless,

there were conflicting accounts from inmates which introduced the possibility that abuse at the hands of correctional officers was not as bad as in times past. This suggestion was reflected in the following interview with Steven:

Well prior to first time I was here to now the interaction with officers and inmates change completely. One time you would find the officers would abuse inmates and so forth now it has gotten completely different. Right now if an officer catch you with a phone or illegal contraband one time they use to beat you now dey charge you and so forth dey deal with you like a human being more officially than before (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

Well prior to this, the first time, when I was here when compared to now, the interaction with officers and inmates has changed completely. One time you would find the officers would abuse inmates and so forth now it has gotten completely different. Right now if an officer catches you with a phone or illegal contraband one point in time they would beat you now they charge you and so forth they deal with you like a human being more officially than before (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

Steven was able to compare his earlier incarceration experiences to the present one and was of the opinion that officers were now treating inmates better. This seemed to suggest that previous warder-prisoner relations were far worse than they were at the time of this study. Steven's observation also seemed to support suggestions that some correctional officers were making conscious efforts to treat prisoners with respect and dignity and were deemed 'good' officers as a consequence.

It was reported that this more professionalised engagement by staff had a positive impact on the attitudes of some inmates who felt that they were more willing to conform to existing rules because of the respect they were being shown. An example was given of an ideal correctional officer, Mr Ben, who was described as compassionate, jovial and positive. However what Jason valued the most about Mr. Ben was how he seemed to demonstrate genuine concern for the well-being of inmates:

For instance we have an officer they work mostly on our section his name is Mr.Ben. ..That officer treat inmates with love and compassion if a me did a give promotion me would a give him promotion. That officer treat

For instance we have an officer that largely works on our section his name is Mr.Ben. ..That officer treats inmates with love and compassion if I were the one giving promotions I would give him a promotion. That officer treats inmates

inmate with love and compassion. Him is a man who will come pan the section and run him joke with them...me cannot find the word to say. Him will come and run a lot of joke with you and deal with you right and them something dey. Him like fi see inmate at peace. And make you feel good and encourage you and all them something him dey say look me want when you go out me want you turn from all the things you usually do and do the right thing and all them something dey. Never! Have something bad to say to an inmate when him come pan the section him always try fi say something good to inmates. The first thing when him lock down. When him lock down him a say inmates me want lockdown early cause me want come early come fly unnu up make hunnu get fi do what unnu dey do you nuh. Meanwhile a nuh every officer stay that way (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

with love and compassion. He is a man who will come on the section and run his jokes with them [us]. ..I cannot find the word to say. He will come and run a lot of joke with you and deal with you right and things like that. He likes to see inmates at peace. And make you feel good and encourage you and things like that. He will say 'Look I want when you go out I want you to turn from all the things you usually do and do the right thing' and all these things. Never! has something bad to say to an inmate when he comes on the section he always tries to say something good to inmates. The first thing when he locks us down. When he locks us down he says 'inmates I want to lockdown early because I want to come early to release you so that you can do what you want to do'. At the same time it is not every officer who is like this (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

The overall impression derived from these accounts was that the relational aspect of correctional practice was important in promoting the positive behavioural change of inmates needed for effective rehabilitation. A similar finding was reported in a study undertaken by Mwita (2000) who found that relationships between practitioners and offenders were central to influencing behaviours and social circumstances associated with recidivism. However the many accounts of inhumane treatment experienced at the hands of staff seemed to overshadow the less readily identified stories of officers who made conscious efforts to treat inmates with respect. The role of a good correctional officer was therefore understood by some offenders as encouraging them to become better individuals mainly through helping them to conform to prison rules.

6.4 Conclusion

A shared sentiment amongst respondents was that prison does not work for all offenders (National Academic Press 2006). Whilst some inmates were able to draw some comfort from

a largely punitive regime, the experiences of the majority suggested that the rehabilitation and reintegration aims of corrections in Jamaica were not being adequately achieved. This was particularly evidenced in accounts of inmates engaging in criminality during their imprisonment in many cases to cope with a neglectful and sometimes hostile prison environment. This evidently minimises the likelihood that they would become law-abiding citizens upon release and could therefore partly explain their return to prison.

A number of rehabilitation programmes and interventions encouraged the productivity of some inmates and these will be discussed further in Chapter 8. However issues related to access, limited resource, poor management and an overemphasis on compliance was shown to frustrate the efforts of those who demonstrated a willingness to change and for others discouraged their involvement in available programmes. A clear consequence of this is that some inmates will leave prison without the necessary skills and training needed to find employment and lead productive lives. Most will be unable to elude their past, and instead become further marginalised by their ex-prisoner and other prison-related labels. However there were some who endured similar adversities and reported being able to overcome, or at least moderate, their troubling legacy of being a prison inmate. Chapter 7 explores their experiences.

Chapter 7: Offender Attempts to Lead Reintegrated Lives – What Helps?

7.0 Introduction

In Chapter 6 offenders suggested that Jamaican prisons play a negligible but important role in assisting the rehabilitation of inmates and in some cases amplified their maladjustment.

Consequently, some offenders left prison without the skills necessary to lead productive and law-abiding lives post-release. However there were those who reported being able to better adjust within the community upon release and attempted to make changes to their lives. This chapter explores how these offenders were able to successfully manage their marginalisation by rejecting their labels - a key factor identified as a hindrance to effective reintegration (see Chapter 5). In doing so, this chapter draws on four key themes:

1. Maintaining a positive mind-set
2. Shame management
3. Encouraging prosocial family bonds
4. Internal Decision to Change

As in earlier chapters, the offenders' accounts are compared to findings in other cognate research about prison and post-prison experiences.

7.1 Maintaining a Positive Mind-Set

A number of offenders described how maintaining a positive mind-set about their incapacitation experience, and envisaging it as a challenge rather than a totalising negative experience, helped to sustain their journey of reform. Their attitudes can be compared with the action and maintenance stages of Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) behavioural change model in which a positive mind-set can assist offenders to recognise and plan for how they manage their marginalisation and related challenges in the community. Maintaining a positive mind-set clearly helped to sustain offender

motivations to change within this research, as can be seen in the interview data gathered from Ms Dantay and Oscar below:

An individual have to decide that you know what despite all the nonsense the quick sand the barbwire around me I am going to get something positive out of all of this (Ms. Dantay, repatriate, Transcript, 89)

An individual has to decide that ‘you know what? despite all the nonsense the quick sand the barbed wire around me I am going to get something positive out of all of this (Ms. Dantay, repatriate, Transcript, 89)

Nobody give you work whenever you walk people discriminate pan you “you go a prison” nuh care wha you go there pan and me no too have and even your friend disregard you like fi stay away from you and them way dey. So a just you have to just strong inna yourself and know say you have to try you see it (Oscar, prison recidivist, Transcript 73)

Nobody gives you work, where ever you go people discriminate against you " you went to prison" it doesn't matter what you went there for and I don't really have and even friends disregard you in terms of staying away from you and things like that. So it is up to a man to stay strong within himself and know that he has to try. Do you understand? (Oscar, prison recidivist, Transcript 73)

Ms. Dantay, was a repatriate who was leading a resettled life in the community. She was working with an organisation that was assisting with the reintegration of involuntarily removed migrants (IRMs) like herself. Oscar, in contrast was not resettled. This he attributed to the discrimination he experienced when he was last released from prison, which he also used to explain his prison recidivism. Consequently, while both interviewees adopted the same means of coping with their marginalisation only Ms. Dantay was able to stay out of prison. This discrepancy of outcome between the experiences of Oscar and Ms. Dantay raises obvious questions about the notion of a positive mind-set and the sufficiency of this alone for the reintegration process. It also serves as a reminder that ‘one size does not fit all’; therefore whilst some approaches to reform will work for some individuals, for others they will only, at best, show promise (National Academic Press 2006).

Crucially, what seemed to help Ms. Dantay was that she was engaged in active and meaningful employment. As mentioned in Chapter 3, employment is a critical turning point for many offenders seeking to rebuild their lives (Uggen 2000) and remains one of the most significant vehicles for quickening offender reintegration (Travis and Visher 2005). The

extant desistance literature has evidenced that a stable work history assists offenders to construct prosocial identities which also helps them to displace their former deviant identities (Opsal 2012; see also Kruttschnitt et al. 2000). Therefore when compared to other offenders who reported being unable to obtain employment following release, Ms. Dantay might have been better placed to maintain a positive mind-set and manage her marginalisation.

Ms. Dantay's ability to successfully manage her marginalisation may have also been helped by her giving back to her community in the form of helping IRMs (repatriates) lead resettled lives. This may also have facilitated the development of what McNeil and Maruna (2007, p. 225) describe as the 'redemptive self'. This describes a process in which offenders are able to reconstruct their narrative identities to support their primary desistance (McIvor and Raynor 2007). Consequently there seemed to be an association between generating a positive role/identity and maintaining a positive mind-set whereby the two seemed mutually reinforcing. Except that in Ms. Dantay's case she was adamant that maintaining a positive mind-set had to start in prison and it seems that this then motivated her to engage in what may be termed 'generativity', as is discussed next.

7.1.1 Generativity

Generativity is an individual instinct to show concern for and contribute to the general wellbeing of younger and older generations through the capability of transcending one's personal interests as the primary motivation (Erikson in Hutchison 2007). Based on the desistance literature generative commitments provide former offenders with a sense of purpose and meaning which allow them to redeem themselves from their past mistakes and attend to any deficits in their lives whilst legitimising their claims to having been rehabilitated (Maruna in McIvor and Raynor 2007). These generative commitments seemed

evidenced in Ms. Dantay's experiences of maintaining a positive mind-set as well as in the accounts of a number of offenders who reported developing a 'protagonist identity'. This protagonist identity was one in which offenders were so inspired by their own experiences that they were keen to discourage others from travelling deviant pathways. They also expressed much concern about safeguarding the well-being of other ex-prisoners who they believed were able to benefit from their own experiences. The following accounts denote aspects of this protagonist identity:

It was a joy to see a lot of guys was doing that. Sometimes it just take one person to say the right thing to them and get them thinking you know that is what you want to do when you see everybody. You have to ask yourself these questions "Is that going to beneficiary to me when I leave here?" You not staying here forever you going back out there. If you don't want to go back out there the same way you came in so make a little change whilst you are here because change is here. You know it is a place it is not as bad as people make it look you nuh. if you watch the movies that they put out there it does not give you the real justifications for those institutions you nuh and that's what they are institutions because a lot of people go in them and come back with degrees because they have those things, school and all that. So for those of us who wants it, it will benefit. Who don't, then nothing will happen (Barry, repatriate, Transcript, 87)

Second chances are being given away but you can't be thinking for yourself and expect to get help because if I only help Ben when Ben needs help who is going to help? Remember Ben never help a soul only Ben so now Ben needs help then me a go turn to Ben so we have to watch the culture and change some of the culture that cause us to be in the position that we are in (males repatriates, focus group discussion, Transcripts, 79)

It was a joy to see a lot of guys were doing that. Sometimes it just takes one person to say the right thing in order to get some persons to think you know that is what you want to do when you see everybody. You have to ask yourself these questions "Is that going to be of benefit to me when I leave here?" You not staying here forever you going back out there. If you don't want to go back out there the same way you came ...make a little change whilst you are here because change is here. You know it is a place it is not as bad as people make it look you nuh. if you watch the movies that they put out there it does not give you the real justifications for those institutions you nuh and that's what they are institutions because a lot of people go in them and come back with degrees because they have those things, school and all that. So for those of us who want it, it will benefit. Who don't, then nothing will happen (Barry, repatriate, Transcript, 87)

Second chances are being given away but you can't be thinking for yourself and expect to get help because if I only help Ben when Ben needs help who is going to help? Remember Ben never help a soul only Ben so now Ben needs help then I am going to turn to Ben so we have to watch the culture and change some of the culture that causes us to be in the position that we are in (males repatriates, focus group discussion, Transcripts, 79)

The sense of purpose resulting from generative commitments (McNeil and Maruna 2007, p. 225) also seemed evidenced in the above life accounts especially where Barry reported experiencing joy when he realised that other prisoners were benefiting from his counsel.

However the second narrative seems to allude to the building of social capital (see below) as an added purpose of becoming involved in generative activities. Focus group participants agreed that the network of relationships established within civic groups of which they were a part, improved their access to limited opportunities or second chances which they believed were available. According to these male respondents, individuals only thinking of themselves were deemed selfish and as a result were less likely to obtain help from their neighbours.

This suggestion seems to reflect understandings of social capital offered by Putnam in Davis and Bartkus (2010, p. 320) who defines it as ‘the features of social life such as networks, norms and trust which enable individuals to act together more effectively towards pursuing shared objectives’. Social capital as a key sociological concept remains a subject of ongoing debate (Hurlbert et al. 2001). However despite conceptual inconsistencies, one of its defining characteristics is that it creates opportunities for individuals to reduce their vulnerability and achieve greater social security (World Bank (2001), cited in Grootaert et al. 2002, p. 2).

The second extract also seems to allude to the importance of social capital to social reintegration. Social capital was seen as central to these offenders becoming empowered and better able to negotiate the shame of deportation within the community. However, it was not only those offenders who reported maintaining a positive mind-set and had generative commitments who were able to successfully manage the shame resulting from their stigmatisation. Some other offenders were still seeking to gain the acceptance of persons in their communities, such as ‘deportees’, whose experiences we explore next.

7.2 Shame Management

Few offenders reported gaining acceptance within their communities through seeking to

manage the shame resulting from them being stigmatised as a ‘deportee’. As explained in Chapter 2, in Jamaica a distinctive type of shame has become associated with being deported. This is partly due to something of a moral panic caused by media exaggeration of the impact of deportation on the crime rate locally in Jamaica (see Headley 2006). It also reflects misunderstandings about the differences between deportation and removal (see Chapter 3) and a sense that Jamaican deportees have forfeited coveted opportunities for upward social mobility in the countries they have left and deserve little sympathy (see Banton 1993). Whilst the intention of the Jamaican public’s response seems more closely aligned with reintegrative shaming, the outcomes of this response experienced by some offenders suggested otherwise.

Reintegrative shaming is a process which involves citizen participation in affirming and building offender commitments to the criminal law by helping them to become reconciled with the community (Braithwaite 1989; see also Braithwaite 1989, cited in Burfeind and Bartusch 2011, p.252). However in no instance did offenders report that the shame associated with their deportation had helped them to lead reintegrated lives. Consequently, the marginalisation which resulted from this shaming process lead some to cope by seeking to [re]build their social capital by eschewing community hand-outs of clothing and shoes. They were also careful not to ask neighbours for assistance whenever they encountered financial difficulty. Consequently, these offenders, through appearing to help others and not being seen as dependent or in need, believed they might gain the acceptance of neighbours and thereby function as others in their communities. Regal explains:

Me have to take care of them as a deportee .. me still have to give a man a shoes a shorts ..inna me community so them never really treat me with no disrespect thru how me know even though me know say everybody will talk about deportees ..like them forget that me a one but thru me nuh really beg nobody nothing so them nuh really have nothing much fi say about me (Regal, prison recidivist, Transcript 13)

I have to take care of them as a deportee.. I still have to give a man a shoes a shorts ..in my community so because of this they don’t really treat me with any disrespect because of what I know. Even though I know that everyone will talk about deportees ..like sometimes they forget that that I am one but because I don’t really beg anyone anything so they don’t really have anything much to say about me (Regal, prison

Regal and others like him reported being able to resettle in communities where they grew up as children. In these few cases, residents knew their family histories and were willing to empathise with their circumstances. In these instances the offenders / deportees were accepted as insiders if they were seen to take steps to curtail the disrespect associated with them being a 'deportee' through extending acts of kindness to community residents. This way of managing shame, whilst similar to the notion of 'giving back' described earlier, also differed in many ways.

For example, the acceptance offered by neighbours, whilst filling a relational void and helping to [re]establish social bonds between these offenders and the community, did not necessarily provide them with a sense of purpose and/or significance and/or a new self-portrayal, in contrast to those offenders involved in more generative activities. Regal offers an example of this. He made personal efforts to develop the relationship between himself and neighbours. As a result he was able to generate a new self-image in the eyes of others. Regal's experience demonstrated the importance of developing positive community support in order to gain the type of acceptance which was needed for him to lead an (almost) reintegrated life. Additionally the community acceptance which Regal gained might be considered the result of some interplay between reintegrative and disintegrative shaming (see Chapter 3) whereby Regal's eventual inclusion seemed to be the offshoot of his marginalisation.

Consequently, the shaming/dishonour resulting from his experience of the deportee-related stigma (see Chapter 3) propelled him to mitigate the negative effects of his marginalisation

through conscious efforts, such as acts of kindness. This enabled him to establish a relationship based on respect between himself and community residents. Interestingly, Regal's narrative also demonstrated how the process of reintegrative shaming may not necessarily be a one-off community driven event assuming the form of public redemption rituals or some delabeling ceremony (see Scarpitti and McFarlane 1975; Travis 2005; Laws and Ward 2011), but might also be quietly and privately achieved over time following the rejection of labels/deviant identities by stigmatised individuals. Consequently, despite the likelihood that deported migrants upon reentering Jamaican society were likely to be stigmatised and eventually marginalised because of their status, Regal's experience implies that they were still able to lead relatively 'normal' lives provided that they too made conscious efforts to reject their labels and take steps to [re]establish ties with residents of the communities in which they resettled.

However, Regal's suggestion that he still felt like an outsider despite seeming to have gained the acceptance of community residents, raises some questions about the predictability of ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society leading 'normal' or effectively reintegrated lives. As evidenced in the following perspectives, offenders who were able to stay out of prison and those who were prison recidivists shared the view that 'nothing adequately prepares' ex-prisoners for reentry:

No nothing adequately prepares you because as much as they say.. Look I took anger management programmes, I took social studies, I took what they call a reintegration programmes nothing prepares you because the bottom line is that if you don't try ... will say yea I will help you and by the time you get back on the road (Pirate's brother, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 5)

You can never really shed you know that experience...I think there is still always a little 1% as such and the 1% would have to be you

No nothing adequately prepares you because as much as they say.. Look I took anger management programmes, I took social studies, I took what they call reintegration programmes nothing prepares you because the bottom line is that if you don't try ... will say yes I will help you and by the time you get back on the road (Pirate's brother, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 5)

You can never really outlive you know that experience...I think there is still always a little 1% as such and the 1% would have to be, you

know just that experience you know aaahm where you going to take that experience aaahm directly whether people will aaahm use that aaahm against you and how you would react in order to that thing dey (King, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 16)

know, just that experience you knowwhere you going to take that experience...directly whether people will ...use that ...against you and how you would react in order ..to that thing (King, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 16)

No things will never be the same...because every single day things changing you understand so things will neva be the same (Andrea, prison recidivist, Transcript 21)

No things will never be the same...because each day things are changing. Do you understand? So things will never be the same (Andrea, prison recidivist, Transcript 21)

Andrea explains that ‘things are changing daily’. This statement aptly portrayed the fluidity of life for many offenders, which made each return to prison and reentry experience different. Therefore whilst inmates may be equipped with the skills needed to adjust to life in the community upon release they were still likely to face challenges in [re]establishing social ties in the community which might enable them to enjoy liberty and other inalienable freedoms without succumbing to earlier patterns of offending (White 2011, p.1).

Pirate’s brother also shared this sentiment through suggestions that he was involved in a number of rehabilitation programmes but was still not fully prepared to deal with the attitudes and behaviours of the Jamaican public. King, though voicing a similar opinion, makes an interesting point about his means of coping. His account suggests that it is not always the case that social reintegration is hindered by people applying labels to ex-prisoners but it is how they react to these labels. Thus in returning to Regal, we can see how he and others with experiences similar to his, refused to allow the negative label/stigma applied by others to become his master status/identity but instead found ways of changing people’s negative perceptions. Classic labelling theory suggests that when suspected offenders are labelled/stigmatised as outsiders then this process may lead to or amplify their deviance (Becker 1963). However if stigmatised individuals like Regal are able to reject their labels (‘deportee’ in Regal’s case) and obtain an insider identity and/or new self-portrayal

(somebody who is trustworthy, kind) then they might be able to lead more inclusive lives in the community (McNeil and Maruna 2007, p. 225) based on the accepting perceptions of local others.

The difficulties encountered when trying to reject the negative labels applied by others (i.e., completely erasing the ‘condemptive’ script) might explain why Regal and others like him considered themselves resettled but not fully reintegrated. What his account shows is how he was able to redefine how local others perceived him. Residents would discuss the ‘deportee situation’ in the company of Regal whilst failing to acknowledge that Regal himself was/is a ‘deportee’. Therefore Regal and others like him were to some extent able to gain the acceptance of persons living in their immediate communities, which in turn allowed them to function as relatively ‘normal’ citizens within their neighbourhoods. However outside their immediate localities these techniques did not necessarily curb the exclusion some reported to result from others’ knowledge about their ‘deportee’ identity.

Employer suspicions arising from significant gaps in employment histories, word of mouth and self-disclosure were ways in which some offenders who were IRMs reported that people learnt about their ‘deportee’ status. In comparison to IRMs, ex-prisoners released locally were less able to hide their criminal pasts partly due to the ease of access to their criminal records by the local police when making a criminal background check (see also Pager 2003) and more ‘local’ knowledge of their incarceration. Consequently, local ex-prisoners seemed less able than IRMs to successfully manage the marginalisation resulting from their ex-prisoner status.

As explained in Chapter 5, offenders like Tabatha and Renegade explored relocating to other

communities where their life stories were not known. However, through word of mouth and police knowledge (of Tabatha's informer status and Renegade's 'bad-man' identity), unfortunately their relocation was misconstrued by officials, and some local people, as a crime displacement activity. Consequently, both Renegade and Tabatha became victims of their own attempts to lead crime-free and productive lives post-release. By contrast, these difficulties were avoided by IRMs who refused to disclose their ex-prisoner status. This was aided by the fact that the criminal records obtained in overseas jurisdictions were, typically, not shared with the Jamaican government. Therefore when compared to local offenders they seemed better able to hide their stigmatised identities by withholding information about their overseas imprisonment, claiming to have chosen self-employment to avoid raising employer suspicion about significant employment gaps, being guarded towards community residents about their histories, and being careful not to ask them for assistance as this might signal some prior problems, such as imprisonment. These 'passing' strategies were deployed by IRMs to avoid disclosing their deportee status and the stigma it attracted (see Frable, Blackstone, Scherbbaum 1990, cited in Frame 2004, p. 9). 'Passing' or 'covering up' is the process by which 'stigmatised individuals seek to manage and reduce tensions in mixed social interactions through restricting visible failings most centrally associated with the stigma' (Goffman 1963, cited in MacDonald and Twine 2013, p. 208).

Under Section 14 (1) of the Jamaican Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) Act of 1988, a person whose conviction is spent is required to disclose the details of that conviction if applying for certain types of employment such as a medical practitioner, attorney-at-law, accountant, teacher, correctional service staff, military and police personnel, all public service occupations and those which are ban-related. Therefore many ex-prisoners might not be obligated by law to disclose their criminal records as most often described obtaining low skill

entry-level jobs (in the informal sector) that were not included under Part 1 and 2 of the First Schedule of the Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) Act. Deported migrants were more likely to penetrate the formal job market as a public servant, but the Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) Act does not make clear whether they were obligated to disclose sentences received in overseas jurisdictions. In the following account, Slimers shows how she was previously able to hide her deportee status by avoiding questions and managing information so as not to reveal her stigmatised identity to others:

To be honest to you I come to prison twice before and people never know that I was here. I don't tell people my business! I will say to my son because he is the eldest. If anyone ask for mum, mum is not there and stuff like that. When I go back people we say "Slimers you were off the island""(Slimers, prison recidivist, Transcript 23)

To be honest I came to prison twice before and people did not know that I was here. I don't tell people my business! I will say to my son because he is the eldest. If anyone ask for mum, [tell them mum is not there and stuff like that. When I go back people we say "Slimers you were off the island"(Slimers, prison recidivist, Transcript 23)

To reiterate, Slimers describes how she has been able to conceal her incarceration mainly because she does not 'share her business with her neighbours'. The advice she gives to her son about 'telling persons' that she was 'off the island' when in fact she was in prison, highlights her use of personal discretion to defend against stigmatising responses from the community (Goffman 2009a, p. 95). The ability of some offenders to do this suggests that the stigma associated with being an IRM may have been less visible than those of their counterparts. Therefore when compared to locals, the chances of IRMs becoming reintegrated into Jamaican society seemed higher because of their ability to, according to one offender, 'pass life quietly' (see Transcripts 87, 89). Indeed, IRMs were able to hide their potentially stigmatising identity and/or avoid drawing unnecessary attention to them and so seemed better placed to lead normal lives. However, despite this use of discretion, imprisonment and deportation still had some negative impact on the sense of self-regard reported by IRMs. In all cases in this study, IRMs were able to successfully manage their marginalisation largely because their ex-prisoner stigma was less visible than that of local offenders returning to the

community. That said, all IRMs, like many local ex-prisoners, seemed more concerned about the lack of opportunities needed to enhance their wellbeing post-release and less concerned relatively about the labels applied by others. In this sense, their attempts to manage stigma were motivated mainly by the need to secure certain opportunities, avoid discrimination and social exclusion, and not because they somehow wanted to feel 'better' about themselves as accepted citizens.

Nonetheless, in those cases where offenders did not necessarily seek to build relationships with their neighbours, they were still keen to secure a sense of esteem by not presenting to others as dependent or financially embarrassed. As Mark and Andy suggest in their accounts below, this was achieved by not asking neighbours for monetary assistance, a strategy that Regal employed. It suggests that whilst these offenders may have gained some acceptance in their communities, how neighbours saw them informed how they viewed themselves.

Therefore again, 'passing strategies' (Goffman in Twine and Gardener 2013) helped to gain the acceptance of neighbours and facilitated the resettlement of these offenders. Andy and Mark explain:

You caan go to him and tell him you dey beg him a dollar because the first thing him a go tell you is that you did dey a foreign... You haffi just sit down there and try a thing because a nuff youth me know get deport and come here and nuh have nothing. (Mark, first-time offender, Transcript 9)

...when you beg somebody and people will see you a do certain things them start take that as disadvantage and them cuss and sit down and chat you nuh like them a say...me nuh try fi do them thing dey me try embarrassing thing and disrespect we try fi keep it far outta we reach you understand? (Andy, prison recidivist, Transcript 18)

You cannot go to him and tell him you are begging him a dollar because the first thing him will tell you is that you were overseas... You have to just sit down there and try something on your own because a lot of youth I know get deported and come here and do not have anything. (Mark, first-time offender, Transcript 9)

..when you beg somebody and people see you doing certain things they will start taking disadvantage and they will quarrel and sit down and gossip about you. I do not try to do such things..things like embarrassment and disrespect we try to keep it far out of our reach. Do you understand? (Andy, prison recidivist, Transcript 18)

Both extracts provide contrasting depictions of what happened to deportees who did not seek

to gain the trust and respect of community residents through providing hand-outs and/or being careful not to seek the assistance of community members when they faced financial difficulties. Their shaming was disintegrative. For example, instead of affirming and building their commitment to the criminal law (through interactions which encouraged them to become reconciled with their communities) it seemingly supported their exclusion from these types of social interactions. As Andy explains, repatriates who ask locals for assistance, provide these communities with ammunition to use against them. They become the source of gossip and heightened disrespect. This negatively affects how they see themselves as well as reinforces their exclusion. Though Andy and Mark seemed able to cope within the community they did not seek a close relationship with local people. A fear of being disrespected by neighbours was used by these offenders to explain why they tended to depend on close family members for support instead.

7.3 Encouraging Prosocial Family Bonds

Offenders, mainly repatriates, reported asking for and receiving financial help from family members in the early stages of reentry. Similar findings were reported by Ramirez-Barrett et al. (2006). Their research found that men released from prison in the United States received financial support from extended family members in the form of money to cover their rent. Similarly, within this study, offenders who were repatriated reported receiving financial assistance from family members in the form of remittances. The following account epitomises these experiences:

Well when you release they give you lunch either taxi fare or bus fare to get from point A to point B ... but then once that went I had called my sister because most of my family lives in the States so I had to call them and beg 50 dollars beg this beg that you understand .. remittance is what I was living by then (Danny, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 60)

Well when you release they give you lunch either taxi fare or bus fare to get from point A to point B ... but then once that was depleted I called my sister because most of my family live in the States so I had to call them and beg 50 USD beg this beg that. Do you understand? ..remittance is what I was living by then (Danny, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 60)

Such experiences above suggest that the poor socio-economic background of a number of the families involved did not allow for the provision of on-going support. This was unlike the extended support which Nelson et al. (1999), cited in Tartaro and Levy (2013, p.128) observed. These transitory forms of support were viewed by a number of offenders as improving their immediate adjustment into the wider society, mainly by helping to alter their negative perceptions about life and supporting their motivations to change. The importance of reestablishing prosocial family ties to offender reintegration was evident in other ways. For some other offenders it was not about the financial support they received, but their new roles as fathers and husbands, which helped to support their change. Having a child and ‘a good woman’ (see Maruna 1997) were roles that some male offenders in this study reported as sustaining their motivation to change. Pirate’s brother, Andy and Regal explain:

I had my daughter one of the time I just didn’t feel like risking my life again
(Regal, prison recidivist, Transcript 13)

I had my daughter one of the times and I just didn’t feel like risking my life again
(Regal, prison recidivist, Transcript 13)

Yea because when you have a relationship still you nuh once two person love them one another and care fi them one another a nuh secret nuh dey dey and them thing dey it help you the because most time you nuh. ..when you nuh inna a relationship you go hang out with people and you know work of the devil have work for idle hands. So more time you have a relationship you go dey go in because she dey dey she will call you ‘whey you dey me round a me yard boring come’. Cause wha day me dey outta the gamble house and my girlfriend call me she dey say come round a yard cause she did dey cook (Andy, prison recidivist, Transcript 18)

Yes because when you have a relationship you know once two persons love each other and care for each other and there are no secrets ... it helps you because most time when you are not in a relationship you end up hanging out with people and you know the work of the devil who has work for idle hands. So often times when you have a relationship you will be off the road because she will call you ‘where are you? I am around the house bored, come’. Because one day I was at the gambling house and my girlfriend called me she was telling me to come to her house because she was cooking (Andy, prison recidivist, Transcript 18)

Yeah you can’t handle it until you actually stop looking, she found me [laughs]. That’s not really not what I was looking for somebody looking to take care of you. I can take care of myself but at the same time too. It’s nice to have to feel wanted and needed and somebody would say do for you as they would do for themselves. Also it is hard to find a wife... Oh my wife is one she is very thick headed but I love her to dead but she is like [laughs] I don’t know she just doesn’t take no shit ... Yea she keeps me grounded (Pirate’s brother, repatriate, prison recidivist,

Yeah you can’t handle it until you actually stop looking, she found me [laughs]. That’s not really not what I was looking for somebody looking to take care of you. I can take care of myself but at the same time too. It’s nice to have..to feel wanted and needed and somebody would let’s say do for you as they would do for themselves. Also it is hard to find a wife... Oh my wife is one she is very thick headed but I love her to dead but she is like [laughs] I don’t know she just doesn’t take no shit ... Yea she keeps me grounded (Pirate’s brother, repatriate, prison

Like Regal, the family and spousal attachments which Andy and Pirate's brother reported (see above), would seem to have diminished their willingness to engage in criminality or idle behaviour. This study suggests that not only did reconnecting with family help some offenders to cope financially, but that newly established relationships helped others to cope with stigma and/or exclusion in the community. These accounts would seem to support age-graded theories of social control, which argue that the likelihood of crime desistance increases with certain lifestyle changes in adulthood (Clay-Warner 2014) such as marriage (which Pirate's brother experienced) and parenthood (Savolainen 2009) (which seemingly made Regal unwilling to reengage in criminality and risk returning to prison). Their accounts also support arguments that claim that family connections are a socio-economic correlate of changes in criminal behaviour across the life course (Mills and Codd 2007).

The significant role that family played formed part of the experiences of offenders from this study who were seemingly unable to stay out of prison. Family connections were often cited as reasons to explain their desire to turn their lives around. These offenders, all of whom were interviewed in prison, expressed regret about their unlawful behaviour because of time lost incarcerated and consequential separation from their children and other dependants (see also Henry-Lee 2005b). However as previously mentioned for other offenders, their desire to change was also about having an opportunity to meet the expectations of family members by demonstrating that they could become positive role-models who their children and grandchildren could look up to. Steven, Sandra and Marcia explain:

It nuh really look good cause me come a prison when my children them was about 12, 13 at the time and now me come back again me have me grand-pickney them it nuh really look good so me a go come back again when me have great grand pickney me done with it because it nuh look pretty at all because it put you down too

It does not really look good because I came to prison when my children were about 12, 13 years of age at the time and now I have come back again. I have my grandchildren them. It does not really look good so I am going to come back again when I have my great grandchildren. I am finished with it because it does not look

much (Marcia, prison recidivist, Transcript 31)

pretty at all because it also put you down too much (Marcia, prison recidivist, Transcript 31)

Well when me look back pan me two grandson them growing up and them don't see them grandmother. Every time them hear say them grandmother dey a prison prison. Well me want go out there now and show them say me can stop come a prison fi that and focus on something else positive yea and support them and me daughter who did dey dey fi me and so (Sandra, prison recidivist, Transcript 22)

Well when I look back on my two grandsons and how they are growing up and how they don't see their grandmother. Every time they hear that their grandmother is in prison. Well I want to go out there now and show them that I can stop coming to prison and focus on something else positive yes and support them and my daughter who was there for me (Sandra, prison recidivist, prison recidivist, Transcript 22)

No when I go back to society you know and I reintegrate back in society now I got two kids a son and a daughter and that is when I decided that I would start to make some major change (Steven, Transcript 56)

No when I go back to society you know and I reintegrate back in society now I got two kids a son and a daughter and that is when I decided that I would start to make some major changes (Steven, prison recidivist, Transcript 56)

As with Regal, Steven described his motivation to change in the context of having children.

Both Sandra and Marcia felt that they were not setting good examples for their grandchildren.

Theories of behavioural change, specifically ideas of reinforcement which form part of B.F.

Skinner's (2011, 2012) landmark theory of deterministic behaviourism (which maintains that

attitudes, perceptions, emotions and actions are products of the environment) may help to

explain these motivations. Skinner (2011, 2012) assumes that what we do as individuals is

largely the function of the consequences of our behaviours and that these behaviours are

either demotivated by punishment or motivated by rewards. Rewards are essential to ensure

the repetition of prosocial behaviour, whilst punishment is expected to reduce the frequency

of an undesirable behaviour (see Ediger and Rao 2003; Bushman and Huesmann 2010;

Eysenck 2013). For example, the reinforcing stimulus in Marcia's case was gaining the

respect of her children and grandchildren through being able to desist from crime and stay out

of prison. Experiences of positive reinforcement were also evidenced in the accounts of male

offenders who were living in troubled communities and had returned to prison (see Chapter

5). The reinforcing stimulus for these men was the code of 'badness-honour' which lent

motivation to revert to earlier patterns of offending.

What is interesting about these two conflicting examples is that they share in highlighting the subjectivity of desirable behaviour and how the things that individuals value are those which shape their progress in life (Porter 2000). The male offenders who were located in troubled communities for example, valued being honoured for badness. Consequently one might understand why the punishment of imprisonment did not deter or reduce the frequency or engagement in criminality by these men. Whilst this behaviour was construed as undesirable/antisocial by mainstream society, for them it might have been a badge of approval within their milieu. In contrast Marcia was conforming to the expectations of society through her growing attachment to her family. This is evidenced in the way in which she valued their opinions and, eventually, desired to act in accordance with their prosocial expectations. These examples also imply that the things that motivate individuals might well differ, even when these individuals are located in a similar socio-economic context. Nonetheless, family related offender motivations to change, further emphasise the fundamental role that care-givers and family members can play in helping offenders to become reintegrated.

Overall, the offender interviews tended to suggest that the support provided by family often helped to ameliorate some of the stress associated with resettling in Jamaican society (see also Mills 2005; Mills and Codd 2008; Visher and Travis 2011). However, the impact of the various forms of support received may have had limited or minimal effect on the abilities of offenders to lead reintegrated lives. This was because the [re] establishing of family ties did not by itself offset other forms of marginalisation. Moreover, and as will be explored in the next section, unless offenders were willing and committed to change, then none of the ways of coping or sources of support described above seemed likely to make a decisive difference.

7.3 Internal Decision to Change

Some participants like Ms. Dantay recognised the importance of offenders initiating their own change in prison and not waiting until they were released. Consequently for them, the commencement of this type of change in prison provided some indication that they were more likely to lead crime-free lives upon release. However such change in prison is not always visible given it often involves internal reflection and incremental character changes over time (see McNeill 2006). Implicit in such change is the importance of self-discovery of agency (see Maruna 2001, cited in Weaver and McNeill 2007b, p.6). This was also described as another way of coping and maintaining a positive mind-set:

But nobody can't rehabilitate we a you haffi rehabilitate yourself. No because if you dey teach me something if you have a chart board for instance if me nuh want tell you the word me naah go learn the word you nuh but if me want fi learn the word me a go learn the word (Renegade, prison recidivist, Transcript 36)

But nobody cannot rehabilitate us we have to rehabilitate ourselves. No because if you are teaching me something, if you have a chalk board for instance if I do not want to tell you the word I am not going to learn the word but if I want to learn the word I am going to learn the word (Renegade, prison recidivist, Transcript 36)

You have to look into what you go through already and hard life you have to look towards the hard life ...change yourself yeah prison nuh change nobody prison makea you have to change yourself. Some body can give you a good little encouragement yes of course you nuh want take that (Red, prison recidivist, Transcript 41)

You have to look into what you have gone through already and, hard life, you have to look towards the hard life ...change yourself yes prison does not change anybody prison makeyou have to change yourself. Somebody can give you some good encouragement yes of course but maybe you do not want to take that (Red, prison recidivist, Transcript 41)

You see whey you dey inna the prison them have the computer class it left to your mind them have the computer class them have school them have football them have welding shop them have plumbing them have ray so you see fi a man come a prison and him nuh have no trade and him dey a time you have matches stick work it left to you whey you dey think pan fi have your self occupied to keep moving you can go a because me couldn't read you nuh me couldn't know certain thing you nuh cause me neva shame the only thing me use to do a kill people straight(Nigel, prison recidivist, Transcript 61)

You see when you are in prison, they have the computer class, therefore it is left to your mind, they have the computer class they have school they have football them have welding shop them have plumbing they have quite a few. so for a man to come to prison and him nuh have no trade and he is here, you have matches stick work therefore it is left to you and what you are thinking on in order to have your self occupied in order to keep you moving. It is because I was unable to read why I couldn't know certain things. Do you know? because I was not ashamed the only thing I was accustomed to doing is killing people (Nigel, prison recidivist, Transcript 61)

Positive action in the above accounts seemed linked to the notion of within-individual change during

the incarceration experience. This finds support in ideas of narrative theory, which assume that offenders react to stimuli based on self-perception and the interpretation of life events (Toch 1987, cited in Maruna 1997, p.9). Therefore whilst offenders may need to make objective changes in their lives they must also assess and internalise the significance and benefit of these changes in order for them to have any value (McNeill 2006).

Consequently this idea of ‘self-rehabilitation’ (which seems to reflect ideas of within-individual change) emphasises the importance of offenders drawing on their own capabilities in order to bring about change in their own lives and the lives of others through conscious actions. Actions like engaging in rehabilitation programmes were described by offenders as supporting the self-rehabilitation ambitions they had generated. Similarly, the respite in prison from hardships within the community, which some offenders reported that they experienced (see Chapter 5) and which Mr. Frank (former recidivist and now service provider) alludes to below, allowed some offenders to engage in a period of introspection, which they believed necessary for self-rehabilitation and for any other form of intervention to be meaningful. This involved reflecting on one’s self and past actions in order to judge one’s actions in seeking to determine what exactly needed changing:

So you have to accept that you first reflect look into your life, you have all the time to do that you know because it is a controlled environment so you look into the life that you live and if you are not happy with what you see then you are going to change something and once you utilise whatever is in there and whatever resources present itself to you (Mr. Frank, , former prison recidivist, Transcript, 89)

As me say now me supposed to look within me self and realise say it naah benefit me no way it just a push me down inna a hole you understand so since I am back here now I look within me self and see where me went wrong and them something dey and see say gun naah put you nowhere (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

So you have to accept that you have to first reflect, look into your life, you have all the time to do that you know because it is a controlled environment so you look into the life that you live and if you are not happy with what you see then you are going to change something and once you utilise whatever is in there and whatever resources present itself to you (Mr. Frank, , former prison recidivist, Transcript, 89)

As I have said I have to look within myself and realise that it is not benefiting me in any way it is just pushing me down into a hole. You understand? so since I am back here now I look within myself and see where me went wrong and those kinds of things and see that the gun is not putting me anywhere (Jason,

prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

Because it make you see things different and let you know that don't follow that stream again ... Sometimes you might be telling yourself that me shouldn't dey yah so me shouldn't dey yah so this shouldn't happen this shouldn't occur but how can you tell yourself that when there is something else is forcing you away and you try to grip you try to grip and you cannot grip but I think I will be gripping this time [laughs] (Fletcher, prison recidivists, Transcript 58)

Because it makes you see things differently and let you know that you should not follow that stream again ... Sometimes you might be telling yourself that I should not be here so I shouldn't be here so this shouldn't happen this shouldn't occur but how can you tell yourself that when there is something else forcing you away and you try to grip you try to grip and you cannot grip but I think I will be gripping this time [laughs] (Fletcher, prison recidivists, Transcript 58)

Sit down and look inna yourself tell yourself say you naah come back because prison hard and it rough" (male repatriates, focus group discussion, Transcript 79)

Sit down and look into yourself tell yourself that you are not coming back because prison hard and it rough (male repatriates, focus group discussion, Transcript 79)

For the above respondents, periods of introspection provided them with the opportunity to properly assess their problems and determine how they were going to address them. This can be likened to the 'contemplation stage' of Prochaska and DiClemente's five stages of behavioural change model. Before a person's behaviour can be modified they must first be willing to change (stage 1 precontemplation), become aware of the problem that exists (stage 2 contemplation) and intent on taking action to address the problem (stage 3 preparation) (Proschaska and DiClemente 1983). Importantly therefore, without offender motivation (and a readiness to change) interventions to assist their reform may not work (Rex 1999; Maguire and Raynor 2006). The above extracts seem to lend support to this perspective. Even Jason, who expressed his need to defend himself from the police and rival gang members (see Chapter Five, page 158), also recognised that being a gun-man was not helping him become a better man. Of course his comments (as with other respondents) could be the result of the expectant effect discussed in Chapter 4 in that Jason could have been saying what he believed the researcher wanted to hear. However it might be that persons like Jason who intended to change but did not take action to 're-story their life scripts' (Maruna 2001) might have been less likely to experience meaningful behaviour modification. Whilst this is a matter of speculation, this assumption would support the distinction between conformity and

compliance drawn out by some inmates in Chapter 6, whereby they suggested that the punitive prison regime secured their compliance and seemingly primary desistance but not their willing commitment to conformity (stage 4 and 5 of the behavioural change model). However Prochaska and DiClemente's (1983) model suggests that some persons may experience all four stages of change and still relapse/recidivate.

Therefore Jason may have in fact experienced some level of conformity in prison, but was unable to sustain it in the troubled community where he eventually resettled. This highlights the importance of desistance-supportive environments and activities in stage 4 of behavioural change model, which focuses on maintenance or the sustaining narrations of a new identity away from crime (Kazemian and Maruna 2009). The ways of coping described previously (asking for and accepting help provided by family, managing shame within the community and maintaining a positive mind-set) were therefore ways in which offenders sought to sustain (directly or indirectly) their identities as persons who were rehabilitated. However it did not mean that their new roles as father, responsible grandmother, shame manager, kind neighbour, activist etc. transformed societal expectations because as Renegade suggested in Chapter 5, 'Jamaican society does not accept an ex-prisoner'.

Consequently, whilst the majority of offenders recognised the importance of self-rehabilitation, not all were able to stay out of prison. From this it might be inferred that those who returned to prison were those who were either unchanged or like Jason were unable to cope legitimately with the social exclusion they experienced within the community. Therefore whilst self-motivation might be a necessary condition for effective reintegration to occur, accounts (see below) about finding faith suggest that it might not be sufficient.

Some offenders reported that they had no internal or external motivation to change or restore their life scripts until they discovered or rediscovered faith in God which induced feelings of efficacy, that is, a belief that they were capable of successfully changing and rebuilding their lives within the Jamaican context (see Bandura 2014). These feelings of efficacy in turn seemed to mobilise them to take steps towards accomplishing their new set of life goals. Self-motivation and self-efficacy therefore seemed mutually reinforcing. However it is important to note that, as the extant social cognitive literature suggests, it is possible to have strong beliefs in one's ability to accomplish a set task but very little motivation to do so (see Bandura 1993; Zimmerman 2000; Bandura and Locke 2003). In such a case an external stimulus might inspire the individual with feelings of efficacy to take positive action. James, Jason and Donna explain such an effect in relation to faith:

The other day somebody who help finance me inside yah reach inna a bad problem and me go down pan me knee and pray and ask him and say Friday cause you have a scripture you have a scripture a a psalms 118 must be verse 7 must be 'Lord take my part with them that help me therefore I will see my desire upon them that hate me' and me use it and by the other day a the person send things come give me back outta the big trouble me couldn't believe that it is just a miracle it is like a mountain (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

The whole of me family them turn against me. You understand? But God say when people forsake me him will never forsake me. And me can talk that with authority God neva forsake me. And him nuh make me short of nothing. Him done tell me nuh worry about the clothes you put on or what you eat tomorrow. So everyday me just pray to God provide for me today and everyday me pray the same prayer but you have to pray for the day what you inna. Pray for today that you inna. You understand? So that alone make me feel better you know (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

I wasn't getting any visit at the time because remember now me nuh know nobody inna England she start visit me in a winter now she bring me jacket coat and everything and leave

The other day somebody who helped to finance me inside here ended up in a bad problem and I went down on my knees and prayed and asked him and I said Father God you have a scripture you have a scripture a psalms 118 must be verse 7 must be 'Lord take my part with them that help me therefore I will see my desire upon them that hate me' and I used it and by the [next] day the person sent things for me.. the big trouble I could not believe that it is just a miracle it was like a mountain (James, prison recidivist, Transcript 37)

The whole of my family turned against me. Do you understand? But God said when people forsake me he will never forsake me. And I can speak that with authority God never forsake me! And he does not make me short of anything. He has said to me do not worry about the clothes you put on or what you eat tomorrow. So every day I just pray to God to provide for me today and every day I pray the same prayer but you have to pray for the day that you are in. Pray for today. Do you understand? So that alone makes me feel better you know (Jason, prison recidivist, Transcript 33)

I wasn't getting any visit at the time because remember now I did not know anyone in England. She started to visit me in winter now, she brought my jacket coat and everything and

all 20 GBP fi me and me dey say this little old lady. So til now me start look out fi har fi come yeah me and har start call the jail every week...me still meagre me still full a hatred being with her now kind of start..we start pray before she go away and then one day because everybody was worried you nuh what was wrong with me I was just loosing this weight I wasn't eating nothing and I was on suicide watch and then I said to her I said Lena I said you know the reason why I am losing weight? And she say you tell me and I start to tell her that I hate everybody and I cannot eat and I say you have this special girl when I go back to Jamaica I am gonna kill her yeah me say cause a she make me dey a prison a she make me know the people them so me a go me say and Lena say Donna kneel down here with me and every time I remember that I cry and she say Donna tell God about it and I kneel there with her and I started praying and she say repeat after me and say God please remove this lump from my throat this hatred inside of me and I don't know when it move but I know it left and I find myself eating and eating and getting fat you nuh putting on weight (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

left 20 GBP for me and I thought to myself this little old lady until I started to look out for her to come. She started to call the jail every week ..I was still meagre and full of hatred. Now being with her kind of start ...we start pray before she went away and then one day because everybody was worried ..what was wrong with me I was just losing this weight I wasn't eating nothing and I was on suicide watch and then I said to her I said Lena I said you know the reason why I am losing weight? And she said 'tell me' and I started to tell her that I hate everybody and I cannot eat and I said there is this special girl when I go back to Jamaica I am gonna kill her yeah me say because she caused me to be in prison a she introduced me to the drug traffickers so I am going to and Lena said 'Donna kneel down here with me' and every time I remember that I cry and she said 'Donna tell God about it and I kneeled there with her and I started praying and she said 'repeat after me and say God please remove this lump from my throat this hatred inside of me' and I don't know when it moved but I know it left and I found myself eating and eating and getting fat.. putting on weight (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

Donna gives the example of how during her incarceration in the UK she was not receiving prison visits because she knew no one. She describes how extremely demotivated she was because of her separation from her family, coupled with the trauma of being imprisoned in an overseas jurisdiction. She also expressed her hatred for the individual who she claimed deceptively arranged for her to traffic drugs but then also arranged for her to be caught at the airport in order to allow other female drug carriers possessing larger quantities to make it across the UK border undetected. Her account of some redemptive religious awakening points to the importance of external stimuli in generating feelings of self-efficacy.

Jason and James tell similar stories which highlight the subtle distinction between motivation (desire for change) and self-efficacy (belief in self and one's capacities) stimulated by a new found faith in God prompted by in-prison faith-based interventions of some kind. Their belief

seemed to provide them with a type of confidence needed to pursue an alternative future and inner strength to face some of their post-release challenges. Of relevance here is not a deity as such but the importance of the self-narrative of redemption and renewal. Indeed, it became clear that within this, such respondents believed they would be guided by God along appropriate paths and protected on their transformative journey to a better life:

Anything you are going to do trust God first I know it won't be easy because some persons financially it's not gonna be there but just trust God and ask him to direct you. ... [gets emotional] ask for help you nuh and don't just take any and any help because persons will act as if they are going to help you and you find out that you will end up back in the situation cause not everybody will be genuine fine take God with you. And from you take Christ with you you know then all things will be possible (Sarah, prison recidivist, Transcript 27)

Anything you are going to do trust God first I know it won't be easy because some persons financially it's not going be there but just trust God and ask him to direct you. ... [gets emotional] ask for help ..and don't just take any and any help because persons will act as if they are going to help you later you find out that you will end up back in the situation because not everybody will be genuine ..fine take God with you. And from you take Christ with you, you know then all things will be possible (Sarah, prison recidivist, Transcript 27)

Me just believe inna father God you nuh and me say father God you naah give me more than what me can bear you nuh and thing so me leave everything inna your hand. a God me put me trust inna baby me hope and pray and read me bible everyday me beg father God do take me out of this good father God. me dey beg father God to take me safely reach back out to me family and me five pickney (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

I believe in father God and I have said father God you are not giving me more than what I can bear ..so I leave everything into your hand. A God I put my trust in baby I hope and pray and read my bible every day I beg father God to take me out of this good father God. I am begging father God to take me safely so that I can reach back out to my family and my five children (Dada, prison recidivist, Transcript 55)

Nobody can't tell me nothing about no crime you hear what me say fi do nothing again whey me nuh want do unless a me want do it and me reach the stage whey as me tell you say me turn me life to God whey me can wait patiently pan God and trust God for anything and even though I am not rich or anything I ask him for him always come through for me (Donna, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 14)

Nobody can't tell me anything about no crime. Do you hear me? When anybody says I am to do anything that I do not want to unless I want to do it. Because as I have said I am at the stage where I have turned my life to God and I can wait patiently on God and trust God for anything and even though I am not rich or anything I can ask him for he always comes through for me (Donna, repatriate, prison recidivist, Transcript 14)

Belief in their abilities to trust, turn their life around, and overcome peer pressure were all motivations to change described in the above accounts. In all these examples, the power of having faith in God played a significant role, perhaps not surprisingly in a country whose culture and history is so closely infused with Christian and biblical belief (see Chapter 3).

Donna provides a notable example of faith-based change in which her redemptive self (McAdams 2013) was able to forgive both others and herself and to develop a new and positive self-perception about offending which also influenced her relationship with an offending son:

...my big son when I came back to Jamaica he was in a gang and then I said maybe it is my fault because I wasn't there for him and so he did have a court case and I went to the court the first time you know I got him off and everything but then like there months after the police call me and say Donna I have your son here and I say to them no not this time no matter what I went through or what happen or I think it is my fault I say to the police anything him do lock him up! He was in for like 9 months to a year almost a year in jail and I didn't look for him and when he came back out him went straight into the church you know and change his life and everything. He has been working three and a half years now since he came out you know different person come out the gang everything because I think if I did uphold with him and go look for him at the jail house him wouldn't change because him would a know say him a go have somebody to come there every time him get inna problem (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

...my big son when I came back to Jamaica he was in a gang and then I said maybe it is my fault because I wasn't there for him and so he did have a court case and I went to the court hearing the first time. You know I got him off and everything but then like three months after the police called me to say 'Donna I have your son here' and I say to them 'no not this time'. No matter what I went through or what happen or I think it is my fault I say to the police anything he did lock him up! He was in for like 9 months to a year almost a year in jail and I didn't look for him and when he came back out he went straight into the church...and changed his life and everything. He has been working three and a half years now since he came out, he was a different person having come out of the gang and everything. Because I think if I kept on spoiling him and continue looking for him at the jail house he wouldn't change because he would believe that he would have somebody to come there each time he gets into trouble (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

Here, Donna tells the story of how one of her sons, during her time incarcerated overseas, joined a criminal gang and was often arrested which she believed was due to her being a bad mother. However, her new faith based motivation and efficacy helped extinguish her son's deviant career. Such religiously inspired events are not without parallel elsewhere, for example, Hunter (2015) found that conversion to religion prompted white-collar offenders in the UK to recognise and renounce the transgressions in their past.

However what seemed striking about Donna's accounts above was how she was able to symbolically resist the labels applied by others due, in her view, to her new found ability to forgive. She also expressed concern about persons who sought to manage their

marginalisation by hiding their stigmatising past and suggested, by implication, that in so doing they would be delayed on the positive behavioural change spectrum. For Donna, faith in God allowed her to embrace her old identity as an important component of her new self-portrayal rather than replacing or denying it. Implicit in her account was the suggestion that ‘it is not what people think about you that matters but what you think about you’. Donna felt that people could only define her identity if she allowed them to do so. The larger concern for many offenders like Donna and Regal was the discriminatory practices, and not the negative labelling which they experienced (even after having developed new self-portrayals), which troubled them. Both Bob and Donna’s experiences help to elucidate this point:

Because I am not afraid of my past and I don’t let it determine my future I am not afraid to say what I have been through or what I have done so I am always talking about myself (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

Because I am not afraid of my past and I don’t let it determine my future I am not afraid to say what I have been through or what I have done so I am always talking about myself (Donna, repatriate, first-time offender, Transcript 14)

In starting off I myself was deported so I don’t see why I should hide that because that is behind me (Bob, Service Provider, repatriate, Transcript, 84)

In starting off I myself was deported so I don’t see why I should hide that because that is behind me (Bob, Service Provider, repatriate, Transcript, 84)

Bob explains that the consequences of his past actions were behind him therefore he did not see why it affected his current or future actions. Indeed, not many people knew that Bob was deported because, as was the case with other IRMs, his stigma was not visible. Therefore unless Bob disclosed this ‘spoiled identity’ (Goffman 2009b) it was unlikely to come to light. Moreover, Bob was now the head of a faith-based community that was voluntarily insulated from mainstream Jamaican society and therefore unlikely to be affected by the social exclusion that other offenders experienced.

Donna’s extract reveals that in order for her to put the past behind, the conscious letting go of deeply held feelings of revenge, bitterness, resentment and self-condemnation were vital. This would seem to suggest the important role of forgiveness for self and others (and from

others too) in the desistance process (see Calverley 2010). Calverley (2010) describes the association between forgiveness and restorative justice (RJ) and the emphasis within this on the importance of victim forgiveness (see Strang 2001; Strang and Sherman 2003; Verbin 2010). Interestingly, there is less focus in these theories on the importance of self-forgiveness (see Snow 1993) which Donna's narrative (above) highlighted and for that reason it is possible that RJ fails to encompass fully the dynamics of redemption and reintegration that appear in some of the extracts discussed in this chapter.

More generally, It is important to remember however that whilst self-motivation, including the religiously inspired, may have encouraged the participation of some offenders in correctional programmes, in turn these programmes seemed to have helped to make the desired life circumstances of offenders appear attainable (Farrall and Calverley 2006). As such, self-rehabilitation is important but so are in-prison and community-based programmes and interventions that enhance the staying power of personal reform by supporting and drawing on the strengths of individuals (see Maruna and Toch 2005). This is the essence of desistance-supportive experiences; an idea, process and framework advanced by Weaver and McNeill (2007b:1) and one that is considered further in the concluding discussion in Chapter 9.

7.4 Conclusion

Self-rehabilitation, [re] establishing ties with family, successfully managing the shame associated with being an ex-prisoner and maintaining a positive mind-set were the key factors which some offenders identified as prompting and supporting their attempts to lead [re] integrated lives. Most important would seem to be offender awareness of the power of human agency arising from various in-prison experiences. Therefore prison mattered to the extent that some offenders gained an opportunity to look within themselves, consider their actions,

contemplate their situation and in turn this helped inform behaviour modification.

Whether offenders had to separately go through contemplation, determination and action stages of behavioural change before they experienced behaviour modification was unclear. This was because some of the accounts about the process of inward introspection indicated that the contemplation (stage 2) and determination (stage 3) stages of behavioural change (Prochaska and DiClemente 1983; see also Midwinter and Dickson 2015, p. 136) were sometimes iterative and overlapping but by no means predictive of smooth transition in the community or durable individual change. Those persons who managed to stay out of prison seemed to be those who were either able to cope with the various challenges they experienced in the community post-release and/or experienced genuine change. Others (such as Jason) may have experienced genuine change but were still unprepared to deal with the discrimination they suffered in the community and were likely to return to crime as a consequence. Some (such as Black Heart) may not have experienced any meaningful change in prison and were therefore likely to return to previous patterns of offending upon release because of a profound disinterest in finding ways of coping with a stigmatised life in the community. Consequently, human agency was seen to be a critical if variable factor in initiating offender attempts to lead [re] integrated lives.

Belief held by individuals that they can produce desired changes by taking positive action which in turn impels them to persevere in the face of adversity can be a powerful source of motivation and resilience (Bandura 2010). Some offenders were more likely to experience positive behavioural change and achieve positive and concrete developments in continuing in their new behaviours even with little or no support because they believed in their own capabilities. Yet for some offenders, reasons to act (motivation) outside of belief in their own

capabilities (self-efficacy) did not seem to produce the desired behavioural response and/or secure their effective social reintegration. The next chapter will examine the views of professionals on how existing correctional programmes and interventions were able to support the positive behavioural changes some offenders in this chapter identified as necessary steps to them becoming effectively reintegrated into Jamaica society.

Chapter 8: In Search of the Silver Bullet: Provider Experiences

8.0 Introduction

Chapter 7 revealed how personal agency on the part of some offenders led to positive changes in their own behaviours and how they were treated with more acceptance by individuals within the community whose perceptions seemed to matter. The findings suggest that without experiencing critical changes (self-discovery leading to within-individual change and changes in identity), offenders are unlikely to optimise opportunities for positive reintegration. By drawing on the perspectives of 17 professionals who provide a range of in-prison and post-release care services in Jamaica, government documents and other secondary sources, this chapter explores the extent to which correctional interventions are able to support positive behavioural change, thereby assisting offender attempts to lead reintegrated lives upon release. The influence of correctional interventions on the abilities of offenders to lead [re] integrated lives post-release is affected by the availability of human and financial resources in prison and we now turn to the perspectives of key informants in the secure estate to examine the opportunities and challenges in the Jamaican context.

8.1 Human and Financial Resource Challenges in Prison

Inmates who are being prepared for parole or unconditional release have available to them a range of in-prison aftercare provisions. These are detailed in Table 11. Parolees are supervised by Probation Aftercare Officers and other individuals who are released unconditionally are left unsupervised. Both groups of individuals have access to post-release care provided by nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) as will be discussed in Section 8.2. However the state continues to be a key player in the development and implementation of in-

prison services aimed at protecting the social and economic wellbeing of offenders when they are released. Table 11 helps to clarify the role of the state in assisting offender attempts to lead reintegrated lives.

Table 11: Providers of Reintegration Services Interviewed

	Type of organisation	Gender of persons (s) interviewed	Interviewee roles	Types of Aftercare Provision
1.	Government (prison C for women) [Transcript 80]	M	Superintendent	letters of recommendation; rehabilitation grant; electronic tagging
2.	Government (prison A for men) [Transcript 81]	F	Probation Officer	letters of recommendation; rehabilitation grant; electronic tagging; transfer to low-risk prison; counselling sessions
		F	Senior Probation Officer	
		F	Acting Corporal	
		M	Corporal	
		M	Corporal	
3.	Government (prison B for men) [Transcript 82]	M	Acting Superintendent	letters of recommendation; rehabilitation grant; electronic tagging; transfer to low-risk facility; work release programme
		M	Acting Corporal	
		M	Acting Overseer	
4.	Government (Ministry Z) [Transcript 96-not verbatim]	F	Director***	Restorative Justice when it becomes mainstream
		M	Public Relations Officer*****	

***declined an audio-recorded interview

There was general consensus amongst state-employed professionals that various forms of aftercare support were available to ex-prisoners both inside prison and within the community. For example, as shown in Table 11 above, inmates seeking to make the transition from prison to the community were able to request from prison Superintendents letters of recommendation to present to their prospective employers upon release. Similarly, other

individuals who might have been hoping to gain their footing within the community through starting a small business were able to obtain a rehabilitation grant with the assistance of their probation officer whose responsibility it is to prepare and submit such applications to the head office of the Department of Correctional Services (DCSJ) for approval.

Table 11 also suggests the forms of support available in each of three maximum security prisons visited in this study varied, thereby pointing to possible inconsistencies in service delivery. For example, counselling services were available in prisons A and B for men but not in prison C for women. Indeed, women respondents (see Chapter 6) spoke of their inability to access counselling services. Also, a Work Release Programme (WRP) was available in prison B but not in the other two facilities despite all three having the same prison classification.

All three facilities were government run maximum security prisons and supposedly reserved for the most violent and dangerous law violators in Jamaica. These are the only prisons of this type in Jamaica. Each prison was run by a Superintendent. These were usually individuals with a minimum of 30 years of experience working in the public service, usually gained working their way up the ranks of the correctional service. This provides some indication of the seniority of some of the research participants and their ability to comment on the effectiveness of existing programmes and interventions from the perspective of organisational leaders with lengthy direct experience.

The eleven interviewees in Table 11 were asked to comment on the range and adequacy of provision. All felt that because of serious resource challenges it would be unlikely that an adequate supply of support services would be found in the short to medium-term. For

example staff in prison A commented on the shortage of correctional officers within the department and how this meant that some inmates who needed counselling may not have access to provision because of the unavailability of an officer to escort and supervise those wishing to attend sessions. This coupled with the limited time inmates had available to use the bathroom, eat and take care of their personal needs on a daily basis made accessing counselling services in prison A difficult. One probation officer explains:

We should have enough so that there are officers here morning and afternoon also when we speak to the inmates in here because of time constraints with them being let out to use the bathroom and eat and all that we don't really get a lot of time to interact with them and sometime you have people who come in front of you who have genuine needs and need some serious counselling that we are unable to so that leaves me to now suggest a very odd topic which is group therapy but that also leads to short staff on the side of the correctional officer because we would need them to supervise us so there would need to be staffing at both ends (also included in the interview was a Senior Probation Officer, Corporal x 2, Acting Corporal, Male Prison A, Transcript 81)

As can be noted above, it would seem that time restrictions in Prison A was less of a challenge than the staff shortages because of the possibility of the probation officer being able to reach more inmates via a group therapy option. However, again, this was dependent on available correctional officers to escort and supervise inmates attending the sessions. It is a general prison rule that all inmates entering administrative and other offices on the prison estate are escorted by a correctional officer, with the exception of those inmates who were orderlies and had to some extent gained the trust of senior prison staff. However due to staff shortages some of the responsibilities of correctional officers were being delegated to orderlies. This was observed when conducting research interviews where, in the absence of a correctional officer, an orderly was asked by administrative staff to escort inmates from their cells to the interview location.

Counselling services were being offered on an individual basis in both prison A and B.

However the absence of counselling in prison C for women suggests that this service was

unequally distributed across each facility. However what seems to be also important here is that whilst the (above) probation officer felt that the provision of individualised counselling service might have been good correctional practice it did not include all inmates who might have genuinely needed the service, due as we have seen primarily to prison staff shortages.

Additionally the prison regime, in terms of when and how prisoners were locked down and released from their cells, was largely determined by the availability of prison staff. Therefore cases in which correctional officers were available to escort and supervise inmates who were able to attend counselling sessions were also affected by the general staff shortages. This also meant that staff usually had very little time in which to undertake such duties. This affected the quality and length of counselling sessions offered as the probation officer suggested that inmates who were able to access the service did not always have sufficient time in which to communicate their genuine needs and receive the level of intervention needed to eventually transform their attitudes and behaviours.

Counselling, particularly cognitive or therapeutic (see Sun 2013, p. 218) is regarded by clinicians and researchers as amongst the most promising interventions for reducing deviant behaviour particularly amongst drug-involved offenders (Kinlock and Gordon 2006).

However its positive impacts may have less traction in the Jamaican prison context given the staff and time constraints mentioned above. On the DCSJ's website counselling is listed as one of the seven key roles of the probation officer in Jamaica. This was in addition to their functions of supervising offenders who received a probation, supervision or community service order and assessing offenders' psycho-social and socio economic conditions at the request of the courts. For example offenders in respect of whom a community service order is in force are required to report to their appointed probation and aftercare officer to notify any changes in address and obtain instructions on the schedule for undertaking work in the

community. Probation officers were also responsible for interviewing and recommending inmates for home leave, weekend release, rehabilitation grants and parole. This wide set of functions seem to suggest that probation officers play an instrumental role in helping to facilitate the reintegration of inmates. However their services were also available to all persons in the community in need of assistance including adults and children physically, emotionally and sexually abused (see DCSJ 2015a). Probation services were therefore not restricted to inmates, ex-prisoners and their families despite it (Community Probation Services) being an arm of the DCSJ (a department of the Ministry of National Security (MNS)).

The job description of probation aftercare officers in Jamaica would seem to point to potential stresses in the existing social protection system whereby their functions appear overly stretched between demands in the community and the secure estate. In short, probation officers were being tasked with responsibilities unrelated to the correctional service such as providing probationary care to parents requesting help to manage challenging children and helping to address child-related cases of abuse (see DCSJ 2015a, n.p). Their apparent blend of probation and child and family social work suggests not only demands in excess of capacity but also raises questions about functional coherence and clarity of occupational purpose. However, insofar as community based interventions promote crime desistance, particularly in children and young people at risk of offending, then we may assume some functional congruence between probation in the prison and the community. Here, we consider briefly the key insights on desistance work with young people.

The key to encouraging youth desistance from offending based on the extant literature lies in minimal criminal justice intervention and maximum diversion (McAra and McVie 2007).

Similar findings derive from studies into the restorative justice (RJ) process of family group conferencing, as an effective intervention for young first-time offenders (McGarrell and Hipple 2007). The principle of *doli incapax* helps to drive these efforts. It suggests that understanding children and the nature of childhood is worthy of special consideration and troubled childhoods are deserving of appropriate criminal law responses (Arthur 2015).

Upholding the principle of *doli incapax* within the Jamaican context seemed to be negatively affected by irregularities in existing laws which are likely to influence how the Jamaican criminal justice system treats juveniles. For example under Section 63 of the Child Care and Protection Act 2004, a child twelve years and older, may be found guilty of an offence. Therefore the age of criminal responsibility is 12 years of age in Jamaica but the age of legal consent for sexual activities is 16 years old (see McGregor 2014). Whilst these age limits are known to vary from country to country (Coyle 2005), a child is defined under Section 2(1) of the Jamaican Child Pornography (Prevention) Act 2009 as any person under the age of eighteen years.

Another discrepancy is evidenced in Section 69 of the Offences Against the Person Act 1864 (amended 2010) where child stealing is considered to be the forceful and fraudulent taking away or detention of children under the age of fourteen years. Essentially inconsistent definitions of 'a child' adopted by the Jamaican criminal justice system might make it difficult to protect the rights and life chances of juvenile delinquents. This is especially a serious concern in relation to children who might fall foul of the law following the migration or imprisonment of their parents (see Chapter 5). This is not least because after each encounter with the criminal justice system it becomes more difficult for individuals to lead prosocial lives because they are usually labelled negatively with antisocial identities which

some might embrace (see Solomon 1999; Elsner 2006). Whilst for others (see Chapter 7) their labels might limit their life prospects because of visible stigmas, which seemed to have led to their social exclusion. Generally, the crime producing effects of each encounter with the criminal justice system causes social, moral, economic and psychological setbacks for offenders, their families and communities. Therefore any effort to divert individuals away from the jails, courts and prisons (even those who are ex-prisoners and are seeking ways of sustaining their personal reform) is of value to the positive reintegration process in Jamaica. The importance of this seemed recognised by the government whereby it was intended that this service, Restorative Justice (RJ), would be offered through Central Ministry Z that had responsibility for the development and implementation of the RJ programme.

8.1.1 Mainstreaming Restorative Justice

RJ within a criminal justice framework if mainstreamed and properly resourced has the potential to transform the way in which justice treats serious offenders and victims whilst seeking to repair the harm caused to existing relationships (Shapland et al. 2011). However because of resource challenges the realisation of this potential within the Jamaican context would seem to be hindered. RJ in Jamaica was described as embryonic having only officially started in 2004 as a pilot study. It was reported by the Director within Central Ministry Z that since RJ's inception, buy-in was obtained from a number of troubled communities perhaps because of the ease of access to the service which respondents believed was due to the absence of a service charge. Consequently, the project already had a case overload although relevant legislation was not yet in place to allow Ministry Z to accept cases. However the impact of financial constraints on the pilot was already evidenced whereby persons who worked on the project had to be volunteers. In many cases these were Justices of the Peace who lived within the targeted communities.

According to the director within Ministry Z this was the strategy adopted in order to cut the transportation costs of volunteers who in some cases had to be provided a small stipend. Therefore the financial resource challenges which the RJ pilot project experienced might have led to limited reach and impact and may similarly affect the effectiveness of the service when it is mainstreamed. This and other useful forms of support did not seem to be addressing the needs of known offenders as intended because of financial and human resource constraints. This might in turn have a knock-on effect within the Jamaica public service whereby key functions of social work and probation appear to overlap and the workload of the latter seems particularly heavy. Perhaps, this helps us to better understand the limited options available to inmates and ex-prisoners due to the Jamaican social protection system being already under strain.

Thus it is likely that inmates are leaving prison unprepared (as suggested in Chapter 6) or with their 'genuine needs' (changes in their way of thinking, self-efficacy and eventually attitudes and behaviours) unmet and thereby unlikely to cope within the community upon release. This might also suggest that the viable options available for these individuals to lead productive lives upon release (an aim of corrections in Jamaica) were likely to be limited. Consequently this might explain why some offenders from this study continued to lead alienated and marginalised lives upon release whilst others reverted to earlier patterns of offending. It is known that treatment programmes that do not target the criminogenic needs of inmates are likely to be counterproductive to efficiency and effectiveness (Beckett 2012). This suggest that efforts to identify and provide special services and controls for repeat offenders in correctional settings might not be a mainstream practice in Jamaica as the existing prison literature (Travis and Edwards 2015) seems to assume. Within the Jamaican

context it did not appear as though efforts were being made to focus correctional resources on those inmates most in need of specially targeted services. Again, this deficit seemed linked to claims of significant resource challenges that respondents reported experiencing, and which also seemed to affect the criteria used to assess the eligibility of inmates wishing to participate in work release programmes (WRP). This will now be discussed.

8.1.2 Ineligibility to the Work Release Programme (WRP)

The Interview with an Acting Superintendent in prison B suggested that there may be a ‘hard to meet eligibility criteria’ operating for the WRP scheme whereby those selected to participate were persons who required little or no supervision and did not pose a significant threat to public safety. Electronic tagging is still a novelty in Jamaica and so this option might not have been available to persons who might have qualified for the programme but still needed some form of oversight and supervision. However, such prisoners might not be considered for entry into the WRP given insufficient prison staff to supervise the custodial population let alone those released within the community requiring supervision. This might help us understand the justification for any stringent eligibility criteria for entry into the WRP. This was commented on by the Acting Superintendent:

You can’t put the thing too high that people can’t fit into it and that is what is the problem. A lot of inmates are interested to go over there but they make the criteria so hard (Acting Superintendent, Male Prison B, Transcript 82)

The Acting Superintendent held the view that WRP eligibility criteria were excessive and excluded inmates who might have genuinely needed this type of support in seeking to make the transition to life in the community. To summarise, the WRP entailed low-risk offenders nearing their sentences being granted early release with very limited supervision to live in a half-way house which then afforded them the freedom of movement to and from their places of work. In the UK these half-way houses are sometimes referred to as resettlement prisons

and are intended to help offenders redevelop their sense of social responsibility, reestablish social ties to the wider community and rebuild their self-confidence (Ministry of Justice, Her Majesty Prison Service 2015). However whilst a similar facility was located adjacent to prison B what might have been a productive half-way house was left unoccupied. The Acting Superintendent explained its non-utilisation in the context of exclusionary eligibility criteria for entry into the programme.

The Acting Superintendent also felt that the WRP criteria were impractical. He explained that for inmates to be considered for entry they were first required to secure employment in surrounding locations, have 12 months remaining on their sentences and being of ‘exemplary’ behaviour having participated in at least one rehabilitation programme. The problem here was that (as suggested in Chapter 6 and 7) not all inmates who were willing to participate in a particular correctional programme had the opportunity to do so. Additionally, the Acting Superintendent highlighted that it was difficult for persons without a criminal record living within the community to find legitimate employment and much less so for inmates who were expected to do the same from prison in order to qualify for entry into WRP.

This matter of eligibility criteria was noted by the Superintendent from prison C who highlighted the lack of enabling policy and legislation to protect the rights of ex-prisoners, but instead reinforced their social exclusion from work and other mainstream activities. The Superintendent explains:

At the moment there no real programme of reintegration sad to say... The mere fact is that they [the government] are not employing offenders right and you can’t identify any programmes that are out there for somebody who is just leaving an institution, a person might be here for 10, 15 years and going home what are they going home to? And once they get to the expiration of their sentence we have no other option but to put them through

the gate whether they have a dwelling yes or no (Superintendent, 33 years of correctional service experience, Prison C, Transcript 80)

The Superintendent suggests that the government's unwillingness to employ an individual with a criminal record or provide programmes that might help ex-prisoners better make the transition from prison to the community were indications that the criminal justice environment was unsupportive of persons who had completed their prison sentences.

8.1.2.1 Expungement Option

Related to employment chances is the notion of expungement. This is the process of clearing a criminal record of arrests or convictions from public view (see Frost et al. 2009) based on certain provisions within the Jamaican Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) Act of 1988. Similar systems exist in the UK, Canada and Australia and are accessible to ex-prisoners who meet specific conditions (see Frost et al. 2009; Maruna and LeBel 2010). However, similar to the case of the WRP where gaining entry into the programme was difficult, having one's criminal record expunged in Jamaica seemed a distant prospect for many ex-prisoners seeking to build new self-portrayals.

In order to qualify for expungement in Jamaica two essential conditions must be satisfied: 1) the offence in question must be one which attracts a non-custodial sentence or sentence of imprisonment not exceeding five years; and 2) The person in question must not have had any other convictions during a specified period of time referred to as the 'rehabilitation period' (Ministry of Justice 2016). The period in which ex-prisoners are considered fully rehabilitated in Jamaica varies according to the sentence imposed by the court and ranges from a minimum of three years free of convictions for non-custodial sentences to a maximum of ten years for custodial sentences; an application can then be made for expungement (Ministry of Justice 2016).

For example, an individual 18 years or older who has received a non-custodial sentence must wait three years before being considered fully rehabilitated and therefore eligible for expungement. This opportunity is not available to individuals who have been convicted of three or more indictable offences arising out of more than one incident; and summary offences any of which involved an offence under the Dangerous Drugs Act 1948 (with but a few exceptions involving smoking/possession of marijuana where the sentence imposed on conviction of the offence is a fine not exceeding \$1000 JMD or £6) (see Section 10 /20A of the Criminal Records (Rehabilitation of Offenders) (Amendment) Act, 2014). Therefore despite the provisions made under Section 31 of the principal Act to protect some ex-prisoners from employment discrimination many individuals might not be able to benefit from this provision because of stringent criteria. Consequently, the effectiveness of the WRP and expungement option put in place by the Jamaican state to secure the effective rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders remains much in question. The next section examines Jamaica's rehabilitation grant scheme and explores the views of key respondents about its expected impact on the wellbeing of ex-prisoners.

8.1.3 Social Protection through the Rehabilitation Grant Scheme

The rehabilitation grant is a state regulated mechanism used to facilitate the resettlement of inmates leaving Jamaican prisons. Within the UK, prisoners are also able to receive a discharge grant to help them with securing accommodation provided that they are eligible at the time of their release (Ministry of Justice, Her Majesty Prison Service, 2015). Imaginably, given the Jamaican government's high debt burden and limited fiscal capacity, obtaining a rehabilitation grant could not have been a universally accessible opportunity; this much seemed evident from the following account:

That programme is hardly funded by government because now there is no money...in the budget allocated for that so ... I did a rehab grant recently

for an ex-prisoner and nothing (Senior Probation Officer, Male Prison,
Transcript 81)

The senior probation officer who was in her early 60's having had more than 30 years of experience working in the correctional service expressed frustration about being unable to access the grant system on behalf of interested inmates. This she blamed on a lack of public funding. The respondent further suggested that a majority of the applications she submitted in a particular year were unsuccessful. Her interview included reference to inmates released without basic necessities such as shoes on their feet and this she said contravened correctional policy. Indeed, covering the costs of basic necessities such as meals, clothes, shoes, bus fare etc. for those leaving prison was one of the aims of the rehabilitation grant. However based on this senior probation officer's account this aim was not being met and in her view this violated basic rights to an adequate standard of living, as enshrined in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The effect of this would be particularly hard for those inmates abandoned by their families during imprisonment and having no other means of support other than a rehabilitation grant. These persons were unlikely to access state welfare services and benefits immediately upon release without being able to present valid national identification. Such identification or its renewal requires a nominal fee which may deter those with little or no personal resource. As the same respondent suggests in the following account, not even the necessary subsistence rights or adequate clothing and basic conditions of care seemed available through the rehabilitation grant which was a type of prerelease state provision:

They don't place emphasis on things for inmate for example we are supposed to give them clothes and shoes when they are going and I mean the Ministry of National Security don't send any money to the Department to buy shoes you know (Senior Probation Officer, Male Prison, Transcript 81)

In the officer's view, adequate funds were not being made available by the Ministry of

National Security to allow DCSJ staff to carry-out their responsibilities effectively. However not all prison staff shared the senior probation officer's view about the inaccessibility of the rehabilitation grant scheme. The experience of a younger probation officer was that when she submitted applications/recommendations for inmates to receive the grant they were usually successful. However her concern was that most offenders did not know about the service and claimed that these missed opportunities were the failings of prison staff responsible for informing inmates about the grant and other provisions. She therefore made a personal effort to inform inmates who were to be released about available forms of assistance, which might facilitate their resettlement. She explains:

What we try to do... I don't know for every officer ...but what I try to do because we speak to them when they are about to be released so if the inmate expresses to me that him not going to have a job and he needs some assistance with certain things then I personally recommend it to most persons to who I speak and I have been fortunate last year. I did quite a number of rehabilitation grants and everybody got ... (Probation Officer, Male Prison, Transcript 81)

All the applications which this officer reported submitting were successful. This variation in experience between these two officials might reflect differences in case management styles and performances. Importantly, it would seem to highlight a lack of consistency in approach to rehabilitation grants that, for whatever reason, appears to be to the detriment of those leaving prison. Similarly, an interview with a delivery officer from an international development agency recognised that there was a need to increase the awareness of involuntary removed migrants (IRMs) about opportunities that were available to them upon returning to Jamaica. The officer, whose responsibility it was to manage local projects funded by the UK government aimed at facilitating the reintegration and return of foreign national offenders to Jamaica, explains:

We were very conscious of reintegration back here in Jamaica as opposed to up in the X and in X, the detention centres in particular the last trip and we have tried to change that and we have produced a DVD..... I guess you probably saw the coming home guide which is a booklet advising people on what to do when they get back here (Delivery Officer, IDA, Transcript 91)

Awareness campaigns assumed the form of information pamphlets, putting a directory of NGOs providing post-release services on public websites and making available booklets/coming home guides and more recently a 'going home' Digital Video Disc providing advice on what involuntary removed migrants (IRMs) may do upon reentering Jamaican society. These forms of assistance according to some professionals were intended to better help IRMs manage the culture shock which they might experience. Culture shock may be understood within this context as the sudden immersion in a nonspecific state of insecurity whereby foreigners or outsiders in the situation are uncertain about what is expected of them or what they are able to expect from others (Pedersen 1994). Therefore in cases like the rehabilitation grant scheme where support is available but is not being accessed then it might be reasonable to think that the lack of awareness of offenders might be blocking their opportunities to seek reintegrated lives.

In general there seemed to be some agreement that rehabilitation grants were useful when they were accessible and staff recognised their role in raising inmate awareness about their availability. Nonetheless there was a prevailing view that financial and human resource constraints negatively affected the extent to which they were able undertake their responsibilities effectively. They also believed that these constraints were linked to broader resource and policy challenges related to the under-prioritisation of [ex]-prisoner assistance.

8.1.4 [ex]-Prisoner Assistance Not a Priority

Claims about the under-prioritisation of [ex]-prisoner assistance were not unanticipated. This was because work undertaken by United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) (2006a) on alternatives to incarceration in countries around the world suggested that governments do not typically place high priority on assisting prisoners, particularly in the area of post-release care. This is often due to factors related to a lack of resources and prison

overcrowding (UNODC 2006a). However some prison staff believed that within the Jamaican context the relatively small departmental budget allocation was part of the issue. As one prison official noted:

Fighting crime and they (government) invest a lot of money in crime ...and I think they mostly concentrate on the police and enough emphasis is not being placed on those who were caught found guilty and sent to prison. I think if more money was being channelled to the prison system they would have better facilities for rehabilitation recidivism would be going down
(Group interview: Probation Officer, Senior Probation Officer, Corporal x 2, Acting Corporal, Male Prison, Transcript 81)

Senior prison staff explained that efforts to reduce Jamaica's high crime rate seemed to support the ongoing focus on building the capacity of the criminal justice system and mainly policing. The inadequate attention given to other parts of the criminal justice system, particularly prisons, was in the view of respondents to the detriment of correctional service delivery in ensuring offenders left prison reformed. There were also some suggestions that the prison recidivism rate was not decreasing because of this inattention to the role played by the correctional service in crime prevention and the need to build its capacity so that the department could become more effective.

The average growth rate in the recurrent budget over a ten-year period for the prison service for the fiscal year 2004/05 to 2013/14 was 10 per cent whilst that of the police was 13.1 per cent (Planning Institute of Jamaica (PIOJ) 2004-2014). These figures seem to suggest that the government is spending more on policing given that in the fiscal year ending 2014 significantly more of the recurrent national security budget was spent on policing (\$29,571,019 JMD or approximately £173,947) relative to the correctional service (\$4,937,975 JMD or approximately £29,047). The government spending less on the correctional service than it does on policing might to some extent explain the budgetary constraints of the DCSJ which again largely determine the way in which prison staff undertake their responsibilities.

Despite budget increases overall, the day to day occupational world was perceived by key officials as much stressed by funding constraints:

Budgetary constraints .. so that amount of recruiting is not being done and as such the staffing is always in limbo (Acting Superintendent, Acting Overseer, Acting Corporal, Transcript 82)

Such perspectives also seem to coincide with earlier suggestions made in Chapter 6 about the possibility of correctional officers being overworked and underpaid. As a result some seemed demotivated according to senior prison staff:

They keep on adding programmes with the same amount of staff so the staff are overworked and underpaid and demotivated ... and the point to make we cannot say whenever a police say brings an inmate we cannot say we can't take him because we full up we can't turn him back on that ground we must find space (Acting Superintendent, Acting Overseer, Acting Corporal, Transcript 82)

A major concern of these respondents was that new rehabilitation programmes were constantly being added to the prison regime without any changes in the cadre of correctional officers. This led to overwork and in turn led to their demotivation. The inability of officers to reject new incoming cases in order to ease existing pressures meant that prison staff were forced to make what progress they could out of a stressed situation. They believed that they were not responsible for what they deemed to be a substandard service that did not adequately support the positive behavioural change of inmates (see also Jones 2007).

Providers also identified the space in which rehabilitative programmes operated as restrictive. This was largely attributed to the poor lay-out of the adult correctional centres. A number of staff across all three maximum security prisons agreed that the centres were not built for modern offender management purposes and this made expanding useful correctional programmes problematic. For some the very architecture of the buildings invoked the historical punitiveness of the service and restricted its current utility:

I think the programmes are here but the facility in terms of we don't have a prison for that purpose what we have here are places that were not built for prison. We need for example this place was a slave holding area and it was transformed into a prison ...right now inmates are willing to be active but the programmes are here but we can't implement it because there is no space (Acting Superintendent, Acting Overseer, Acting Corporal, Transcript 82)

Staff felt that the prison design created an inappropriate environment in which to rehabilitate individuals who were likely to be the most violent and dangerous offenders within Jamaican society. The design was outdated and buildings needed upgrading. Consequently, whilst inmates might have been willing to become active participants in their rehabilitation some of the programmes were inaccessible to them because limited space prevented programme take-up.

Indeed, it might be argued that an unsuitable prison environment is in contravention of the United Nations (UN) Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, which clearly identifies the necessity for a conducive prison environment in which inmates are able to experience positive behavioural change. Unless the period of imprisonment is used to ensure, as far as possible, that offenders returning to society are not only willing but able to lead law-abiding and self-supporting lives then it cannot be said that society is protected from crime (UNODC 2006a).

8.1.4.1 Correctional Input Undervalued

The lack of correctional reform might have influenced the likelihood that inmates left prison unreformed and senior prison staff felt there was not much they were able to do to change the situation. This was largely because in their view prison staff were denied opportunities to participate in important strategic decisions taken by MNS affecting the correctional service. One Superintendent gave the example of a decision to build a new correctional facility that

was needed for the relocation of prisoners in the facility he managed. The Superintendent explains that decisions about the lay-out of the new facility were made centrally without his knowledge or input:

Frankly speaking I have not been involved in any way in the new place that they are going to go I don't even know what it looks like right now because I was never invited to have a look or a say in the whole retrofitting of that place..... I would imagine so that I mean as Superintendent here and if I am the person slated to go there then you know one would have thought that I would be one of the ideal persons to have gone there and to make suggestions as to what we would really need to bear in mind given that I have been here with them for four years and I sort of sensitive of some of the needs of the inmates (Superintendent, X Prison, 33 years of correctional service experience, Transcript 80)

The Superintendent explains that given his seniority and knowledge of the needs of inmates he would have expected that the central ministry (MNS) would have consulted him on details regarding the new facility. These claims about the undervaluation of DCSJ staff input also seem evidenced in recent government policy entitled - New Approach: National Security Policy (NSP) for Jamaica. The NSP, established in the Jamaican Parliament in April 2014, identifies six key actions to be adopted across all areas of society that impact on public safety and security (Government of Jamaica 2015). The work of corrections might therefore be viewed as highly relevant to four of the six key action areas identified by that policy. However the DCSJ was absent in the list of responsible agencies. Action 5 which 'focuses on at-risk individuals and communities' could be viewed as being directly relevant to community reintegration of vulnerable ex-prisoners and as such the DCSJ could have been expected to be listed as one of the implementing agencies, but was not.

A similar observation of possible policy undervaluation might be noted in regard to the drafting of Vision 2030, the government's roadmap for making Jamaica the 'place of choice to live work, raise families and do business by 2030' (PIOJ 2009). For example, National Outcome 3, 'effective social protection' defines the need to mitigate vulnerabilities that may

leave Jamaicans at risk as integral to the Vision (PIOJ 2009:77). The section goes further to offer a list of vulnerable groups which included the poor, children, youth-at-risk, the elderly, persons with disabilities, persons impacted by HIV/AIDs and women. Whilst it is acknowledged by the PIOJ that this list is not exhaustive, it might have been expected for the document to pay attention to the needs of ex-prisoners within the broader context of providing a more enabling environment in which these individuals are able to lead productive and crime-free lives. This would also apply in relation to their children who (as Chapter 5 highlighted) are often the hidden victims of their parents' incarceration. Such undervaluation of the correctional service was perceived to be at the root of many of the human and financial challenges faced by the DCSJ and also those experienced by some nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) providing aftercare services in the community. It is towards the role of the NGOs that we now turn.

8.2 Fragmentation in the Care Provided by NGOs

NGOs generally play an instrumental role in the provision of essential services to individuals who are most in need in society (Hilton et al. 2012; Claeys 2014). This stems from the charge made by neoliberalism since the 1980s for the state to be 'rolled back' in the delivery of public goods and services and greater reliance placed on markets through public private partnerships and privatisation to increase its efficiency and effectiveness (Weiss 2012). This relaxation in government restrictions has been evidenced in developing countries where NGOs often have the mission of reaching under-served communities or disadvantaged groups and are usually in the vanguard in dealing with sensitive and at times politically charged issues (Smith 2009). Despite increasing awareness about the importance of NGOs in developing countries the literature on the roles they play in the social reintegration of ex-offenders is sparse, and particularly so in Jamaica.

NGOs are ‘task-oriented, not-for-profit, usually voluntary citizens’ groups organised on a local, national or international level to address issues in support of the public good.’ (United Nations Department of Public Information 2004, cited in Boli 2006, p. 335). A further distinction can be made between indigenous NGOs that usually develop in relation to local needs e.g. National Organisation for Deported Migrants and those of an international nature operating in more than one country that assist with setting up and/or supporting NGOs in developing countries e.g. United Nations Development Programme (Coppola 2010; Bloodgood and Peter 2013). There are generally a variety of organisations that may be grouped together under this banner and they tend to differ in the functions they undertake (Lewis and Kanji 2009; Freeman 2012). They may focus on empowerment and social justice, humanitarian relief and charity or/and small-scale local development (Korten in Freeman 2012, p. 5). All three categories can be found in Jamaica but those listed in Table 12 (below) are mainly focused on humanitarian relief and charity.

In Nigeria the National NGO Coalition on Prison Reform is involved in the provision of medical and legal assistance to prisoners and in the training of prisoners and officers on their human rights (Okafor 2006). NGOs in Bangkok work with ex-prisoners to help them obtain identity cards so that they are able to establish eligibility for anti-retroviral therapy (Human Rights Watch 2007). The same can be said in the case of Jamaica, as partly evidenced in Table 12, whereby local NGOs provide offenders with similar forms of post-release assistance. They are the sole providers of treatment, services and support to offenders after they are released from prisons locally or returning from abroad. Their main funding source is international donations but some like NGO D in Table 12 also rely on local philanthropy and income-generating activities.

Faith-based NGOs conduct church services on the prison estate, distribute basic food items amongst the prison population (Superintendent, Transcript 80). Charity organisations also provide food and other supplies to the prisons (Leslie, 2008) and international donor agencies (IDAs) fund rehabilitation interventions in and outside of prison (Delivery Officer, Transcript 91). However some of the NGOs listed in Table 12 did not see their primary roles as directly related to helping ex-prisoners become [re]-integrated but in the course of delivering social welfare have assisted this process. Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) A, B, C, D, E, F provide good examples of this. However work undertaken by NGOs A, B, D, E mainly target ex-prisoners particularly those who are IRMs. Forms of assistance offered include helping IRMs find accommodation, employment and make contact with their family members locally.

Table 12: Nongovernmental Providers of Reintegration Services Interviewed

	Type of organisation	Gender of persons (s) interviewed	Their Role (s)	Welfare/Aftercare Provision
1.	IDA [Transcript 91]	M	Delivery Officer	funding local projects
2.	FBO A (Christian) [Transcript 86]	F	Supervisor	hostel accommodation; farming opportunities; counselling; medical care; referral services; prayer
3.	FBO B (Christian) [Transcript 93]	M	Father	Advocacy; referral services; work opportunities
4.	FBO C (Christian) [Transcript 94]	F	Administrator	work therapy programme (for drug & alcohol users)
5.	FBO D (Christian) [Transcript 88]	M	Director	counselling; prayer; healing; food and hygiene packages; medical care; referral service; assistance with accessing basic social services;

				conflict resolution; financial loans; remedial programme
6.	FBO E (Christian)	M	Prison Ministry volunteer	prayer; healing
	[Transcript 85]	M	Prison Ministry volunteer	
7.	FBO F (Rastafari)	M	Priest & Head	resettlement in an isolated community; spiritual renewal; farming opportunities
	[Transcript 84]			
8.	Community-based Organisation (troubled rural/urban community)	F	Human Resource Officer	skills training; conflict resolution; remedial programme; after school programme; easy access to the services of a Justice of the Peace
	[Transcript 92]			
9.	NGO A	M	Chief	transportation service; referral services; assistance with accessing basic social services; advocacy; information service; airport reception service
	[Transcript 87]			
10.	NGO B	F	CEO	emergency accommodation; assistance with accessing basic social services; skills training and development; referral services; advocacy; job creation; public education & sensitisation
	[Transcript 90]			
11.	NGO C	F	Social Worker	hostel accommodation; referral services; help with finding family members; counselling; assistance with accessing basic social services
	[Transcript 95]			
12.	NGO D [Transcript 83]	M	CEO & Operations Director	agricultural work opportunities; counselling; referral services; assistance with accessing basic social services; public education & sensitisation
		M	Administrator	
13.	NGO E [Transcript 89]	F	Operations Director	counselling; referral services; assistance with accessing basic social services; airport reception service
		M	Public Relations Officer	

As shown above, an array of welfare services provided by a range of NGOs (international development agency, community based organisation, faith-based organisations and other types of NGOs) were available to ex-prisoners (locals and deported migrants). Except for

prayer offered by the prison Chaplaincy and opportunities for farming in select prisons, all the services offered by the thirteen NGOs were not offered by the correctional service. Therefore these NGOs were in a sense performing public functions left unaddressed by the correctional service. This is not surprising as NGOs tend to promote some level of welfare for citizens and are generally known to address gaps left open by the state (Okome 2013; Grech 2015).

In general NGOs providing post-release services did not report coordinating with the correctional service to ensure complementarity of activities. This was with the exception of the IDA and a few NGOs who made referrals to government agencies. Activities undertaken in the community were therefore not linked in any way to the correctional service. This does not reflect the experience of, for example, Germany where NGOs are directly working with the prison service to offer advice and help to ex-prisoners and prisoners who are preparing for release as well as helping in the training of volunteer social workers (Hagemann 2008). Nonetheless a complementary approach was evidenced in a small number of cases where NGOs reported working collaboratively as the following accounts allude:

We work with JEMMA (another NGO) who supply the tools in whatever way that will keep the farm. So they give us rice to feed the farmers presently. We also work with the Mendez Saints help us with care of kids and any other supplies we might need. For instance they set up their irrigation unit for our farm we now begin. They give...the tanks and pumps for the irrigation (CEO & Operations Director, NGO D, Transcript 83)

We have to liaise with a number of other organisations for referral purposes you know Ministry of Labour and Social Security MLSS mainly we have a working relationship with Jamaica AIDS Support because some of our clients are HIV positive we also we are going to be working with the NCDA (CEO, NGO B, Transcript 90)

The report of the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and Operations Director seemed surprising regards cooperation with another NGO as it is often the case that NGOs are competing for funding (Cannon 1996) and as we shall see later in this section, this can cause difficulties

over coordination within the NGO sector (Dierks 2001; Lorgen 2002; Koch 2007). The CEO and Operations Director explained that his organisation had received support from other NGOs in the form of tools and food items to assist the farmers working with him. These were men who left prison and were now taking steps to lead positive lives within the community.

A similar comment was made in the second account (above) where the CEO highlighted the importance of liaising with other organisations when making referrals. Both comments suggested that some agencies were able to accomplish more by working with other NGOs than on their own. The extant literature suggests that this type of joined-up working offers the advantage of improving efficiency, easily identifying the needs of vulnerable individuals and focusing resources when seeking to avoid duplication (see Gasper 2010, cited in Wainwright 2012, p. 254). For the most part, however, provisions within the community did not seem to flow seamlessly or form part of an integrated reintegration service delivery system. This might have been because Jamaica does not have an official resettlement policy or delivery plan (see Chapter 1) to guide, promote and support a more coordinated approach to the social reintegration of ex-prisoners. However the Jamaica Reducing Reoffending Action Plan (JRRAP, 2008) which was developed by criminologists in Jamaica brought some coherence to some of these efforts which were geared towards reducing the rate of recidivism among local offenders and IRMs and establishing emergency safety nets to receive IRMs immediately on their return (Reynolds-Baker 2014). A Delivery Officer in an IDA organisation explains:

So the programme here is the complicated part of it.... it is aproject and aaah it is called the Reintegration and the Rehabilitation Programme , the Jamaican criminologists have [come up with a] parallel if you like it the JRRAP Programme so we are well into phase two aaahm to tell you that the programmeit is due to finish at the end of this financial year March somewhere there it is more of a consolidation we are trying to focus on

sustainability to keep the projects going beyond the end of the funding to see what works what doesn't work (Delivery Officer, IDA, Transcript 91)

JRRAP has parallels to the UK's Reducing Reoffending Action Plan. It offers an integrated approach designed to promote nationally the reintegration and rehabilitation of deported persons and local offenders (Jamaica Information Service 2009). However the sustainability of JRRAP was questioned by the interviewee mainly because of funding issues. The Delivery Officer explains that JRRAP was in its second phase but due to finish at the end of the financial year. It aims to evidence what works in providing aid to local organisations and consolidating existing projects and helping them to become sustainable so that they were able to continue operating once funding ends. A key outcome of JRRAP was that official development assistance (ODA) was made available to local NGOs to support the reintegration of IRMs into Jamaican society and help them avoid reverting to earlier patterns of offending. The Delivery Officer explains:

It is not an easy process to encourage people to return to Jamaica we prefer they came back willing or with the intentions to stay legal over here and to make a real change in their lives and to get back to Jamaica and to properly get back into society. So I suppose if we had a mission statement I would be saying to you we are very keen to seeing a very responsible, safe and transparent process where we encourage people to come back to Jamaica and we empower and support the Jamaican government and various NGOs with projects and everything else that goes with supporting them when they are back. If we don't do that they obviously the temptation to reoffend becomes more becomes more apparent in one way or another. I certainly don't want to pick up the newspaper here and read that returnees have become more of a problem for the Jamaican government (Delivery Officer, IDA, Transcript 91)

Helping Jamaicans who had offended in the UK return to Jamaican society and make real changes in their lives was one of the key objectives of this IDA. This was being achieved through financial and other forms of support given by the Jamaican government and various NGOs in a manner that aimed to be safe, responsible and transparent. As the Delivery Officer suggests this was with the hope that through empowering local agencies his organisation might be better able to both reach and help discourage IRMs from reoffending. The factors

that cause ex-prisoners to recidivate are of course complicated and challenging, however it has been argued in this and other studies (Willmot 2003; Mills and Codd 2008) that a lack of social support experienced by ex-prisoners can be a major barrier to their desisting in crime. Some respondents suggested that NGOs were competing for the limited funding available and how this might negatively affect the level of care they could offer to meet the complex needs of IRMs. The following account captures some of these concerns:

You will find organisations having those notions like they own these people and they don't want you talking to them and even some of them can't even provide the services that these people need and refuse to place a call over there to say help this person out. So that is where we had to come in to say no that is not going to work if you have what the man needs I am calling you and you assist him. You know but don't worry about if he was over here or over there he is just trying to reintegrate. I think everybody should work together. I don't think everybody should be doing the same thing either. I think everybody can do pieces of the thing (Chief, NGO A, Transcript 87)

The Chief suggests that some NGOs were behaving as though they 'owned' the people they served. However such claims might reflect the way some NGOs seek to demonstrate their reach and impact in a highly competitive funding environment. This in turn might explain the difficulty in coordinating programmatic work in this area because coordination implies a loss of sovereignty to which many NGOs are reluctant to agree (Ferris 2005). This difficulty seemed evidenced in the Chief's account where he explains that at times some NGOs were reluctant to ask another agency for assistance even though they were unable to address all the reintegrative needs of their clients. Again, this might be constructed as NGOs unwilling to share their cases thereby weakening their 'market' share which in turn might jeopardise their funding opportunities.

The Chief makes the point that this type of behaviour was not helping clients who needed all available support to overcome the trauma associated with being deported. In essence, there seemed several cases of NGOs providing aftercare services within the community who were working in silos, especially those (see Table 12 - NGOs A, B, C,D, E) that were specially

targeting deportees/IRMs. The term silo or silo working describes highly vertical structures where agencies work within their field and do little to work laterally with organisations in related spheres (Eisenstadt 2011). Silo working makes for easier visibility and accounting for performance-based activities (Driver 2014) but unhelpful where service users experience fragmented public services (Eisenstadt 2011). A similar situation was observed in Jamaica whereby some NGOs seemed more focused on their own mandates and less concerned on improving the well-being of IRMs. As the following account suggests this provided the impetus for the formation of the National Organisation for Deported Migrants, which was created by deported migrants to represent their own interests and promote better social inclusion. This was something the Chief felt that organisations that were, in his view, more interested in capturing funding and market share were not doing properly. He explains:

Part of the problem was when we first came back a lot of people, there are organisations, don't get me wrong there were other organisations prior to us, which we associated ourselves with thinking that it was for the best only to realise that stigma was within those organisations also that those organisations marginalised you, didn't actually listen to you; they made decisions for you without your input. So it was necessary for us to regroup and form the organisation so that we had a voice (Chief, other NGO, Transcript 87)

The Chief believed that NGOs were not listening to the concerns of IRMs nor did they invite these individuals to participate in important decision-making processes that concerned their well-being. IRM concerns reflected the negative community attitudes which some FBOs believed excluded ex-prisoners and were therefore counter-productive to work that was being undertaken for example by the church. A cleric explains:

These men deserve a second chance, they need forgiveness, an opportunity to fulfil their God-given potential. They need to be freed from within by confidence and capacity building....The Church needs to focus on the tenets of the Beatitudes (in the Bible): Jesus' love for the poor, the underdog, the outcast, the public sinner; then perhaps the stigma and discrimination faced by this vulnerable group may reduce. The Church still has moral persuasion in the world (Priest, Christian-based FBO, Transcript 93)

The importance of second chances and forgiveness (highlighted in Chapter 7) was reiterated in the above account. The respondent acknowledged that the stigmatisation and discrimination of ex-prisoners, whom he considered to be a vulnerable group, was a key factor explaining why some might continue to live condemned lives and were therefore unable to fulfil their 'God-given' potential. The account pointed to the importance of human agency through references about ex-prisoners needing 'to be free through confidence and capacity-building'. This seems to resonate with other suggestions made in the motivation literature (Rex 1999) and, by offenders in Chapter 6 that unless they were willing to accept available support and use it as a stepping stone instead of a means of survival then professionals were unable to help them make effective changes to their lives. Such assumptions invoked the importance of human agency emphasised in earlier chapters.

8.3 Personal Agency

To reiterate, agency is the sum of the positive qualities of people, which enable them to bring about changes in their own lives and the lives of others through conscious actions (see Chapter 3). Particularly within the contexts which follow, agency may also be understood as the subjective dispositions of individuals and their capacity to write a new 'script' and narrate a new identity for themselves away from crime (Maruna 2001).

There were two ways in which NGO professionals believed a lack of agency served as a hindrance to the effective reintegration of ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society. First, some ex-prisoners were unwilling to accept available forms of support and this seemed related to their own negative attitudes. Secondly, there were others who became dependent on the available support so much so, they were no longer interested in living productive lives. Both scenarios might be seen as advantageous whereby offenders in the first might have been demonstrating their self-reliance through refusing help and in the second, might have been

leading crime-free albeit less productive lives. However both conditions were clearly hindrances to them becoming effectively [re] integrated into Jamaican society (according to respondents) and therefore revealed how the effectiveness of aftercare programmes and interventions were partly dependent on offender motivations. One Christian NGO Administrator explains:

Of course, a person has to want to be involved ...for it to make a difference in their life (Administrator, Christian-based, FBO, Transcript 94)

The Administrator suggests that persons had to want to become actively involved in interventions in order for these to positively impact upon their lives. The unwillingness on the part of some IRMs to let go of the past and move on by actively participating in available programmes whilst becoming more acclimatised to Jamaican society was identified as a serious barrier to these individuals becoming reintegrated. The example was given of particular IRMs who did not accept available forms of support and were believed to be constantly searching for ways to illegally reenter overseas jurisdictions:

It starts from the mind-set of the individuals that's really the root of it. What are they thinking? And how do they process that thinking for reintegration? ...the vast majority come down with the intention of going back as soon as possible (Operations Director and Public Relations Officer, NGO, Transcript 89)

Usually the mind-set they come with they come and want go back a America so they try not to fit in into their situation and you can see them they stand out you nuh (Human Resource Officer, CBO, Transcript 92)

The Operations Director above suggests that at the root of success stories of reintegration are transformed mind-sets of offenders. This corresponds with suggestions made in Chapter 7 by ex-prisoners in respect of the importance in maintaining a positive mind-set when rebuilding their lives in the community and to avoid seeing multiple challenges as a totalising negative experience in which crime becomes the only option. For example, a study by King (2013b, p.101) provides examples of desistance and the importance of positive attitudes but notes that structural changes and support can be critical in helping individuals act upon their decisions

to desist (e.g. the need for accommodation and employment). Nonetheless, the Operations Director (above) asserts that an ‘unchanged mind’ poses a serious barrier to IRMs leading reintegrated lives even in situations where structural changes have been made; without an ‘unchanged mind’ a decision to desist is deemed by the respondent as unlikely to be made or acted upon.

This might partly explain why next to larceny offences, illegal entry/overstay/reentry was the second most common reason Jamaicans were removed from overseas jurisdictions and returned home in 2013 (see PIOJ 2014). According to the Human Resource Officer some IRMs were constantly searching for ways to return to their former lifestyles which also meant that some were not taking the steps needed to readjust to Jamaican society and properly manage their relocation and associated status of IRM with its negative connotations. Consequently the stigmatisation and marginalisation of some IRMs might be said to be partly the result of their ‘unchanged mind’. Such a disposition has implications for public safety. For example, as Lemert (1972, p. 67) observes, secondary deviance is the result of unsuccessful containment of processes that create, sustain or intensify stigma. It may be assumed therefore that repetition of deviance is the result of stigma poorly managed (see Chapter 7) and this might have stemmed from the unwillingness of IRMs to accept their circumstances and change their mind-set. This seemed to be a prevailing view held by a number of respondents:

I have to talk people out of going into hotels or places where they have had to pay money. Go into the hostel it is free you don't have to pay any money save that money...people who come down bypass the transportation that we provide to take the advice of some friends going to some boarding house or some lodgement that they have to be paying bills. And in two three months the little money that they come back with finishes and they have to call us now to come rescue them and bring them to the hostel.... If you deem it to be filthy clean it up don't complain to anybody because nobody didn't have to provide a place for you (Chief, other NGO, Deportee, Transcript 87)

Again it will come down to unlearn to learn and to relearn it will come down to that fact. Aaahm first of all whatever culture they are coming from they have to now recognise that it does not exist here. So if they adapt the culture in that community I think that is a better way forward for them (CEO & Operations Director, other NGO Transcript 83)

Again, the CEO and Operations Director highlighted the importance of IRMs being willing to adapt to the community culture in which they were resettled in order to lead close to everyday lives. Adaptation according to this respondent was a continuous process of ‘unlearning in order to learn and relearn’. Therefore without the willingness of offenders to unlearn their old habits they might not be able to adapt to a new future. Again, this highlights the importance of motivation and other internal changes that offenders must experience in order to be able to lead changed lives which the extant literature (Rex 1999; Maguire and Raynor 2006) and previous chapters emphasise.

The Chief (above) explains that some IRMs were unwilling to accept the help which was available. The example was given of accommodation and transportation from the airport upon reentry into Jamaican society. He explains that IRMs instead of saving their money by accepting the support which was available instead rented hotel rooms and/or hired their own private transportation. The problem here was that some who did this were soon living beyond their means and would later seek NGO support after they had exhausted their financial reserves. Such comments reveal how some professionals viewed the social worth of their clients and were critical of those they deemed unwilling to be proactive in their own reform. Whilst these perspectives did not necessarily lead to a refusal of service they indicate something of the expectations of such NGOs and reveal their version of the preferred client orientation.

The general welfare approach seemed to be non-obligatory whereby the rights of ex-prisoners to be protected from the disproportionate disadvantage caused by the experiences of being imprisoned seemed largely unrecognised (see Hudson 2003; Robinson 2007; Weaver and McNeill 2010). This is likely to affect the good practitioner/client relationship needed to positively change behaviour and discourage the social circumstances often associated with recidivism (Burnett and McNeill 2005a). The literature also suggests that the judgemental attitudes of professionals where they seem to assign guilt or blame may cause clients to be guarded in their interactions (Wonnacott et al. 2014). Needless to say that at times it seemed necessary for professionals to make some type of judgement in order to take steps to challenge unacceptable or unhealthy behaviours. Concerns about ex-prisoners becoming welfare dependent provide an example of this. The CEO and Operations Director suggests that some ex-prisoners needed to ‘unlearn’ their institutionalisation and become more independent but believed this to be hindered by the manner in which some faith-based organisations delivered basic welfare:

But I can in Kingston go down to the Salvation Army gates and they go give me food at twelve o'clock. I can go down at Father at 9 o'clock and I can get a cup of tea. I can go to Webster Memorial at twelve o'clock and if I am good enough I get food from there I get food from the Salvation Army and from cross roads and they know and they know the trail so those who don't have the mind to get up and go this is where the problem is. Right so you see because I say right you see them lock up for three four five years and it comes like almost a ritual (CEO & Operations Director, other NGO, Transcript 83)

According to this respondent support was available to assist vulnerable individuals meet their basic needs on a daily basis whereby some ex-prisoners were able to obtain three meals each day from three different NGOs and as a result might not feel compelled to find work and become self-sufficient. Such client dispositions towards dependency were considered to hinder their social reintegration. Other NGOs shared similar perspectives and this affected their approach whereby they were averse to offering extended forms of support to the same individuals as this might impair self-sufficiency. This short term ‘self-help’ ethos (autonomy,

self-sufficiency and moral responsibility) fits closely with a narrow utilitarian welfare orientation which involves professionals separating the deserving from the undeserving (Wilkinson 2011). Therefore with but a few exceptions, facilities targeting IRMs generally provided temporary support and accommodation. Another CEO explains:

I think the fact that we have a hostel that offers emergency shelter for 30 days and it allows them to find their footing find their relatives and aaahm just come to terms with the fact that I am home (CEO, other NGO, Transcript 90)

The issue with a self-help ethos is that professionals run the risk of stigmatising those who they deem to be undeserving (Wilkinson 2011). However not all persons who may be deemed undeserving/poor/incapable are the way they are because they chose this way of living nor are they all feckless and indolent as might have once been purported by the Poor Law of an earlier era (Kirby 2000, p. 246). Whether Jamaican welfare agencies have achieved full acceptance of this awareness is not clear as the ‘laziness’ or ‘dependency’ causation of poverty remains much reflected in the underlying operating assumptions of their targeting an appropriate clientele (see Benfield 2007). What can be noted from this study however is that some restrictions NGOs placed on the length of support offered seemed largely determined by the amount of funding they had available. This confirms suggestions made in the literature that funding largely dictates the extent to which NGOs are able to provide meaningful forms of assistance (Freeman 2012) and within this context, support able to help offenders sustain positive behavioural changes and develop identities needed to lead reintegrated lives.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter has explored provider views about the extent to which correctional programmes and interventions were able to support positive behavioural changes that could help offenders lead reintegrated lives. It explored a range of in-prison and aftercare services that were

available. The effectiveness of aftercare services offered by the state were considered by respondents to be greatly affected by human and resource limitations linked not least to the Jamaican government's fiscal reserves and competing policy priorities in the criminal justice system. The consequent under-prioritisation of [ex]-prisoner assistance was cited as a major barrier to correctional reform i.e. to make the service more fit for purpose. Even so, prison staff were able to identify areas in which the service might be more effective within existing resource and policy constraints. The example was given of the need for MNS to employ a more participatory approach to making decisions affecting the DCSJ.

The reintegration services provided by NGOs within the community seem more supportive than those available in prison. This was despite some of the obvious disadvantages of NGOs not working together. What might be described as a more inclusionary approach adopted by some FBOs was deemed to discourage the self-sufficiency of some ex-prisoners who might remain contented with surviving on the basic food and other means of support, which these NGOs provide. This was considered counterproductive by some professionals who believed that this approach might undermine the self-efficacy needed to take meaningful steps towards leading effectively reintegrated lives. In this sense, a welfare ethic of self-help and conditional support was believed to be essential to complement or stimulate the important role played by human agency in effectively managing their stigmatisation and marginalisation post-release. However without durable and supportive policies and programmes, a majority of prison and NGO staff believed that accomplishing these aims might be difficult even for the most motivated ex-prisoner.

Chapter 9: ‘Redemption Songs’— Unearthing Landscapes

9.0 Introduction

The study set out to explore the micro and macro-level social factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society. It addresses a much neglected area of criminological interest by providing enhanced insight into the aetiologies of ineffective reintegration by revealing some of the colour and complexity of community and prison life in a vibrant but challenged Caribbean culture. It also identifies areas for capacity building, policy development and awareness-raising necessary for discouraging the criminal recidivism of ex-prisoners. Additionally, it recognises that the Western criminological literature on social reintegration, specifically in the context of Jamaica, does not address several important questions. Consequently the research sought to address four key areas of enquiry:

- How are indigenous prison inmates (who had previous prison experiences) and those ex-prisoners returning to Jamaica from prisons elsewhere reintegrated?
- To what extent do ex-prisoners see prison influencing the quality of their reintegration experiences?
- How can correctional practices in Jamaica be made more effective?
- What are the challenges to making existing correctional practices in Jamaica more effective?

In responding to these research questions, the thesis has argued that individuals leaving prison and returning to mainstream Jamaican society are confronted with a range of economic, social and personal challenges, which minimise the likelihood of them leading reintegrated lives. For offenders, particularly those coming from and returning to troubled communities, the cycle of release and reimprisonment is difficult to break due to their marginalised status and the embedded disadvantages this brings (see also Petersilia 2001) including hostility and exclusion from a number of quarters. Indeed, ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society remain 'less than the average citizen' and do not share in some of the basic rights that Jamaican citizens enjoy (see also Uggan et al. 2004).

Consequently, offenders from this study who gained some level of acceptance within the community seemed to have been those who found ways to narrate a new identity for themselves away from crime (Maruna 2001) through following various pathways which seem interwoven and complex. However, within this thesis it has been argued that those who desist are not necessarily reintegrated. For example, the thesis considers those public sentiments and cultural barriers related to the belief that people leaving prison are unable to change (i.e., they are incorrigible), as well as structural impediments such as the lack of investment in treatment and insufficient services and support during incarceration and post-release, all of which cast the notion of 'effective' social reintegration as something of an ideal than a current reality. In addressing these themes the thesis presented data not to draw some ironic (and unhelpful) contrast between policy and practice but importantly to highlight how ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society might be better reintegrated.

9.1 [Re] integrating into Jamaican Society

The key empirical findings in Chapters 5 to 8 address community integration, the role of prisons, offender attempts to lead integrated lives, and the roles and impacts of service providers. The policy implications of the findings across these chapters return frequently to the matter of human agency in the reintegration process. Here, various theories, such as Maruna's (2001) notion of redemption, were used to help analyse offender and service provider narratives about the behavioural change process. For example, Maruna (2001) suggests that patterns of criminal involvement change over the course of individuals' lives based on the stories they are able to develop to make sense of their criminal past, assert convincingly their reform and maintain a crime-free lifestyle (see also Maruna 2001, cited in Sundt 2010, p.574-575). Such matters were considered in response to the following research questions which configured the study and which are accompanied by a brief summary of key findings and reflections.

Research Question 1- How are indigenous prison inmates (who had previous prison experiences) and those ex-prisoners returning to Jamaica from prisons elsewhere reintegrated?

All respondents (offenders and service providers) felt that offenders leaving prison and returning to Jamaican society are ineffectively [re] integrated. The reasons given for this were social exclusion, lack of personal agency, lack of family support, NGOs failing to provide the best possible care, and inadequate in-prison provisions:

Inadequate in-prison provisions:

All indigenous prison inmates and correctional staff felt that opportunities for ex-prisoners to become effectively reintegrated were negatively affected (reduced/delayed) by the inadequate

provision of in-prison services, support and treatment. However some inmates were able to show how correctional service delivery in Jamaica had improved since the 1990 Americas Watch Report, at which time the prison estate was described as gruesome and incapable of rehabilitating prisoners (see Hellerstein and Whitman 1990). For example the number of inmates assigned to each cell had reduced, traditional correctional interventions seemed better managed and more rehabilitation programmes were now being offered. However the majority of inmates suggested that whilst these and other forms of support, treatment and services received in prison appeared likely to prompt and support their positive behavioural change, in many cases these were ineffective. This was largely due to:

- Inadequate monthly allowance of personal items/toiletries;
- Unavailability of drug rehabilitation treatment programmes;
- Professional counselling services (available for men) unavailable for women in the prison estate
- Significant delays in orderlies receiving pledged remuneration from the state for tasks completed;
- Sporadic and inconsistent way in which, for example, the education and skills training programmes were administered;
- Insufficient scaling up of interventions like the music programme which are viewed positively by offenders.
- Insufficient staff;
- Failure to review and moderate the eligibility criteria for inmates gaining entry into the work release programme;
- Problematic physical infrastructure in which to operate rehabilitation programmes.
- Threats to the safety of male inmates and juveniles.

Irrefutably, the conditions of prisons in Jamaica are poor. This was made apparent in vivid illustrations of prisoners' sleeping conditions and 'slop-out' processes described in Chapter 6. The poor quality and accessibility of services received in prison was also commented on by a number of respondents. Most described poor access to basic services including counselling, limited staff and resource shortages and poor infrastructure. The roles that gangs played in prisons were also noted. Indeed, the research included participants who remembered an infamous 1997 prison riot. This is considered one of the worst prison riots in Jamaican history, resulting in the killing of 14 inmates and the injury of 50 others (Barnes (2004). Offenders' accounts about this infamous event provide valuable insights from an inmate perspective into the causes and illustrate the importance of implementing anti-gang strategies in Jamaican prisons. Partly as a consequence of these multiple inadequacies, all indigenous inmates and correctional staff felt that offenders left Jamaican prisons without the requisite skills needed to lead productive and law-abiding lives within the community.

NGOs not providing the best possible care:

The prevailing paradigm that NGOs are increasingly compensating for inadequate government provision in the social welfare and other sectors (Cannon 1996), was repeatedly commented upon by respondents in this study. As outlined in Chapter 8 the majority of professionals agreed that the contribution of international and indigenous NGOs to the administrative aspect of the reintegration process was invaluable particularly as it concerned the treatment of drug offenders, provision of reception services for involuntary removed migrants (IRMs), the donation of rehabilitation grants to eligible individuals and the provision of basic food and other items to prisoners and those that had been released. However this study highlights how, despite such efforts, there remain gaps in providing

service users with the best possible care. This can be attributed to a combination of factors, namely:

- Lack of inter-agency working;
- Working in silos;
- Some faith-based organisations providing a service model that was deemed by some as indirectly encouraging the dependency of ex-prisoners;
- Performing tasks based on a narrow utilitarian welfare orientation; and
- Lack of funding.

These findings seem consistent with previous research that suggests smaller NGOs are not always properly positioned to provide sustainable, consistent and quality care. This has been attributed to a lack of permanent structures, an overreliance on a small cadre of permanent workers, small budgets, and unsystematic relationships with the public sector (Polyzoidis 2016). The need for the state to play a more regulatory role in ensuring that NGOs can be held accountable and work within the parameters of a national frameworks and laws in seeking to help protect the rights of its citizens was evident. In the absence of this strategic state function and the lack of clear resettlement policy to guide programming, the delivery of aftercare services provided by some NGOs was considered by some respondents to be inefficient and ineffective.

Lack of family support:

A lack of family support was also identified as a hindrance to some offenders becoming reintegrated. Few offenders reported receiving meaningful forms of support from family and friends when seeking to become resettled in the community. In some cases family members were disadvantaged and did not have the wherewithal to help their relatives. Others refused to help as a way of ostracising those who had brought shame to the family. Others reported not

having the support of their relatives before going to prison and therefore did not expect that they would lend support upon release.

Previous research in this area has found that maintaining family ties during a period of incarceration is a strong predictor of their reduced recidivism. Increased importance is put on prison establishments to help facilitate this (Codd, 2007; Mills and Codd 2007). Within this study (see Chapter 7) those offenders with family ties, bonds of marriage, and parenthood appeared to enjoy a strengthened motivation to lead reintegrated lives (see also Maruna 1997). These relational aspects can be seen as stakes in conformity, and something that offenders risked losing if they broke the law again (Toby 1957, cited in Winfree Jr and Abadinsky 2009, p. 78). However for others in this study, it was these strong family bonds that were used to explain their offending. For example, there were women interviewees who prized their relationship with their children but were willing to risk this by engaging in criminality so that they could (potentially) give their children a better life. In such cases the notion of ‘stakes in conformity’ seems to have encouraged rather than discouraged criminality. A number of factors could account for this including the supposition made by Shah et al. (2012) that the poor, due to their economic situations, find it difficult to focus on anything other than their short-term goals and consequently they tend to make bad long-term decisions. It could also be that engagement in criminality forms part of the efforts of some ‘to resist social, political and natural forces which threaten their existence’ (Harriott 2000, p.100-101).

Personal agency:

In a number of instances, offenders felt that it was the lack of personal agency which led to the ineffective reintegration of offenders. A majority of offenders agreed that without a sense

of agency and capacity to change, no particular intervention or combination of interventions could transform them into law-abiding citizens. This theme was explored in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 but with the proviso that a lack of personal agency does not adequately explain cases of ineffective reintegration in Jamaica as structural barriers can significantly limit the life chances of even the most motivated offenders. Therefore it should not be assumed that those persons who reoffend or/and return to prison lack motivation to change.

In terms of personal agency, some offenders were able to manage their marginalisation and reject their labels/stigmas as ‘ex-prisoner’, ‘criminal’ and/or ‘deportee’ through:

- Maintaining a positive mind-set;
- Finding ways to manage their shame;
- Asking for and receiving help from family members; and
- Making an internal decision to change.

Consequently, underlying all attempts to lead reintegrated lives was their motivation to change. Such findings enjoy congruence with the research undertaken by Maruna (2001) who also highlights the importance of human agency in acquiring a new identity and self-portrayal in the process of change. Maruna (2001) cited in Laws and Ward (2011, p. 79) presents the idea of the redemptive script, which is described as the consequence of stigmatised individuals ‘restorying’ their lives in order to accommodate the changes necessary for them to lead crime-free lives. Within this research, the redemptive script was often linked to the capacity with which a stigmatised individual actively rejected labels assigned to him or her and in so doing was able to prevent these becoming their ‘master identity’ (Gove 1985; Bernburg 2010).

Cultural parallels may be drawn with this understanding of redemption and the lyrical construction offered by Hawkins and Marley (1980) in the world renowned Redemption Song (see Appendix L for the complete song):

Old pirates, yes, they rob I, Sold I to the merchant ships,
Minutes after they took I From the bottomless pit...

Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever have,
Redemption songs,
Redemption songs.

Emancipate yourself from mental slavery,
None but our self can free our minds.
Have no fear for atomic energy,
'Cause none of them can stop the time...

Lyrics from Redemption Song, Songwriters: Edwin Hawkins and Bob Marley

Edwin Hawkin and Bob Marley's (1980) above exposition on 'redemption', of being 'robbed' then 'rescued' provides a befitting analogy of the oscillations between captivity and liberty which some desisters experience. Redemption as portrayed in the third stanza is an agentic process that reverberate ideas of self-cure. The affinity of the lyrics to notions of the redemptive script advanced by narrative theory seems at least implicit. Yet as Chapter 3 in its discussion of narrative theory notes, the drivers of change reach well beyond the ambit of individual capabilities. Hence, this study recognises the important interactions between the micro, familial and structural factors in bringing about positive behavioural change and effective reintegration. This finding is broadly in line with Weaver's (2015) research, which demonstrates how structural, agentic and individual-in-relation factors are deserving of careful consideration in their inter-linked effects. Without this broader appreciation one runs the risk of portraying desisters as over or under-socialised (Weaver 2015), or as seen in Chapter 7, highly dependent on others' portrayal of themselves.

Few offenders interviewed in this study felt that without experiencing forgiveness then the redemption needed to become reintegrated was unlikely to be attainable. This process entailed moving, over time, to a point beyond self-condemnation and ‘putting the past behind’ them. The process involved offenders formulating a new identity and being able to maintain focus on achieving positive life goals. Such an identity was also able to withstand the exclusionary effects of social condemnation, debasement, derision and stigmatisation.

Social Exclusion:

All respondents concurred that social exclusion resulting from stigma and labelling was a major factor accounting for the ineffective reintegration of offenders. Such perspectives explored in earlier chapters found support, for example, in Farrall et al. (2010), who suggest that desistance is a journey from exclusion to inclusion. As the work of Goffman (2009b) implies, some ex-prisoners were constantly striving to adjust their social identities because of the social rejection which they experienced or anticipated. This was captured poignantly in Renegade’s perception (Chapter 5) of the Jamaican public’s attitude and behaviours towards ex-prisoners: *‘what many people do many people judge but society don’t accept a [ex] prisoner’*. Renegade provided a compelling story of a ‘would-be-desister’ thwarted, in his view, by societal judgement and exclusion.

Renegade describes what Goffman (2009b) refers to as stigma of character traits. Implicit in his account is the suggestion that ex-prisoners are often viewed by society as life-long criminals destined to act out an eternally tragic moral flaw. This helps us to understand normative ideas in Jamaican culture about the incorrigibility and abnormality of career criminals. However Renegade’s story was not unique amongst the sample in highlighting how such views may result in deviancy amplification or the inability of ‘would-be desisters’ to abstain from reengaging in serious criminal activity despite experiencing positive

behavioural change. This further supports the idea that desistance is a journey and/or process of successes and failures and not an event (Maguire and Raynor 2006). Otherwise, one could claim that if Renegade had been truly reformed he would not have relapsed.

The stigma associated with a group and/or locality identity was also evident in the accounts of those participants living in troubled communities. Antisocial attitudes and behaviours like badness-honour or poverty mentalities were reported as being transmitted inter-generationally and thereby could negatively affect entire families. A similar 'group' effect was reported in the accounts of some of those who were deported and who blamed their engagement in serious criminality on wanting to uphold their Jamaican 'bad-man' reputations overseas.

Chapter 3 provided a detailed discussion on labelling theory (see Newburn 2007; Abenius 2011) to explore how citizens become known as deviants or outsiders and how they might respond to their labels. Labelling theory also explains how spoiled identities (Goffman 2009) can become master identities. Both theories were useful in furthering understandings of the Jamaican 'badness-honour' tradition often found in troubled communities.

Goffman (2009b) assumed that those labelled 'abnormal' make adjustments in order to meet societal expectations. Within this research however, this seemed to be undermined by the notion of badness-honour (see Chapters 5). The Badness-honour tradition offers an example of how adjustments made by deviants are at times geared towards circumventing moral controls. In a number of cases male offenders reported returning to the values and norms (such as badness-honour) of deviant groups because in doing so they gained a greater sense of acceptance and belonging compared to 'normal society'. This points to the relevance of subcultural theories to criminal recidivism in Jamaica (see Williams 2013). Subcultural theorists suggest that deviance is the result of outsiders gaining a sense of belonging to a

social group whose value and norms differ from mainstream society (Williams 2013).

Therefore, as this study noted frequently, it is not always the case that stigmatised offenders returning to the community seek to make adjustments to their identities in order to meet mainstream societal expectations.

This thesis also finds support in Goffman's idea of role engulfment (described earlier as the master identity), whereby the spoiled identity becomes the superseding role that stigmatised individuals assume (Henry and Einstadter 2006, p. 223). These ideas are also reflected in the prophetic aspect of labelling theory (Llewellyn et al. 2008). Becker in Hoffmann (2011, p. 171) described this as the master status whereby individuals who are portrayed as 'weak willed' begin to see themselves as others see them and therefore act on this basis. Within this thesis the often cruel treatment and victimisation of homosexuals in prison exposed the destructive aspect of labelling and shaming. Shaming refers to 'all processes of expressing disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and/or condemnation by others who become aware of the shaming' (Braithwaite 1989, p.100). Shaming that does not lead to the reintegration of persons being shamed is regarded as stigmatisation by Braithwaite (1989) who argues that recidivism can often be the result of stigmatisation and that it leads those stigmatised to associate with persons with whom they can identify. These associations Braithwaite (1989) suggests, lead to the strengthening of criminal subcultures, as was mooted in Chapter 5 when discussing the intergenerational transmission of deviant cultures.

However, in this study it was not always the case that those persons who returned to prison can somehow be considered 'weak willed' and accepting of assigned labels; some offenders actively sought out deviant labels in seeking to gain acceptance and admiration. In many such

instances it was in response to a form of societal unacceptance or injustice. Arguably, these findings better reflect Levy's (1996) work on outcries of respect, which have been used to unravel some of the root causes of crime in troubled and marginalised communities within Jamaican society.

Research Question 2 - To what extent do ex-prisoners see prison influencing the quality of their reintegration experiences?

Turning now to the second research question - the extent to which prison influenced the quality of the reintegration experience. As a facilitator of effective reintegration prison exposed offenders to rehabilitation interventions which some believed assisted positive behavioural change. However, offenders believed that the effectiveness of these interventions were dependent on their willingness to participate in programmes and make the most of the assistance available. Nonetheless, the prison's influence in reinforcing the deviant identities of some offenders, prompting the maladjustment of others, and leading to the stigmatisation of all who entered and left its gates, was invoked variously by all respondents. A key theme from this research therefore is that the prison sentence, as currently implemented, is much more likely to do harm than good in helping offenders become effectively [re] integrated. In relation to the indigenous inmates this seemed to be related to the largely deficit model which the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica (DCSJ) have in operation. Offenders spoke of its disregard for the importance of personal agency and punitive practices. Three major themes emerged from the analysis:

- Self-rehabilitation
- Assistive role of prison
- Stigmatisation and a spoiled identity

Self-rehabilitation:

The majority of inmates felt that they held responsibility for their own rehabilitation. Indeed most believed that without having ‘a changed mind’ no intervention could positively impact upon their behaviour. Moreover they felt that they could not depend on the negligible forms of support, treatment and services that were available in and outside of prison.

Prison can play a more assistive role:

Despite the overwhelming importance given to self-rehabilitation, many inmates agreed that prison had an important role to play in strengthening their sense of agency in prompting their positive behavioural change through:

- Professionalised engagement by correctional staff;
- Periods of respite from gang-warfare and other hardships within the community;
- Exposure to behaviour modification programmes.

However as shown in Chapters 7 and 8, offenders had to be willing to accept and make the most of the available assistance and support in order for it to have a positive impact. This finds support in research that stresses the importance of motivation in helping to make correctional interventions work (see Farrall in Hunter 2015).

Perhaps surprisingly, correctional staff and offenders conceded that whilst correctional practices in Jamaica were largely punitive there were some aspects of the service that were helpful. This offers some challenge to decades of research which highlights the poor conditions of Jamaican prisons (see Hellerstein and Whitman 1990) but fails to identify (and arguably examine) aspects of the service which prisoners themselves deem useful (see The Death Penalty Project 2011). These observations also suggest that the Jamaican prison

literature may be stuck in the ‘nothing works’ sentiment (see Chapter 2) and fails to examine policies and practices that do work, and what lessons can be learnt from them.

Even the most motivated offender is affected by a ‘spoiled identity’:

The negative influence that going to prison has on the reintegration experience in relation to stigmatisation and subsequent exclusion is overwhelming and was recognised by all respondents. The stigmas of IRMs were more invisible when compared to their local counterparts, especially in terms of them not having a criminal record in Jamaica. This may possibly explain why this group of offenders were typically those who reported finding ways of managing their marginalisation. However in some cases the large gaps in their employment histories gave away their identities and so they too were affected by social exclusion. In many other cases involving those offenders coming from and returning to troubled communities, being imprisoned amplified their marginalisation.

Research Question 3- How can existing correctional practices in Jamaica be made more effective?

The findings suggest that capacity development can make correctional practices in Jamaica more effective and this can be achieved through better managing for development results (MfDR); a strengthened partnership and coordinated approach; a more enabling and protective policy and legislative environment and making correctional practices more desistance-supportive. These will now be discussed:

Making correctional practices more desistance-supportive:

Correctional practices that promote crime desistance might be more effective than those which are punitive. This finding is based on offender suggestions made in Chapter 6 that prison played an assistive role in prompting and supporting their positive behavioural change

whilst the punitive and corrupt practices served only to reinforce their deviant identities. A key recommendation of this research would therefore be to incorporate more desistance-supportive correctional policies and practices. According to Weaver and McNeill (2007b) and Maruna and Toch (2005), these would involve developing and promoting interventions that:

- Respect individuality:-
- Promote positive relationships:-
- Curtail criminal reputations and identities:-
- Acknowledge and reward offender efforts to change

The above may for example, be considered in relation to those who take on the responsibilities of a prison orderly. Becoming an orderly was portrayed, by both offenders and correctional staff, as a form of reward given that orderlies enjoyed certain privileges. However suggestions that these privileges were unevenly distributed pointed to the need to better formalise and make consistent the access to this reward system. Indeed, this research has suggested that in the absence of formalised approaches to utilise and monitor a reward system, the prison is likely to facilitate (unintentionally) practices that allow corruption and by extension reinforce participants' deviant identities.

- Finally, change would also need – staying power. That is, in order to build on the successes of the correctional service in promoting the personal reform of inmates the entire criminal justice system needs to be desistance-supportive. This would help ex-prisoners sustain the change they experienced in prison despite the difficulties they encounter within the community.

More enabling and protective policy and legislative environment:

The social exclusion of ex-prisoners clearly reflected a lack of a more enabling and protective, policy and legislative environment. Whilst current legislation offered protection to

ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society the scope of support needed widening. This finding is supported by the numerous references made relating to the limited opportunities for gainful employment upon release. For example, this research has commented on how the exclusion of ex-prisoners from public sector employment opportunities was unfair and in conflict with the rehabilitation and reintegration aims of correctional policies (see Chapters 5 and 8).

This type of exclusion was attributed to the lack of enforcement in relation to Section 31 (1) of the Criminal Records Act (1988) which outlaws the dismissal or exclusion of any person from any office, profession, occupation or employment because of a spent or expunged conviction which is known or suspected and which did not meet the mandatory disclosure requirement under any law. Under Section 14 (1) mandatory disclosure is required if persons are seeking to become a member of a professional body related to, for example, teaching, nursing, midwifery, practicing law, becoming a chartered accountant. Likewise, disclosure is required when seeking to be appointed to any office of public employment such as the civil service, hospitals, higher educational institutions, security service organisations and also when seeking to engage in any business related to firearms dealing, stockbroking and dealing in bonds and other securities.

A number of offenders from this study did not have an issue with disclosing their past conviction if it could be guaranteed that they would be able to continue in their position or it would not be used against them when considering their applications. For example, Jason wanted a job as a gas attendant and felt that he had to change his address on his job application in order to better his chances of being employed. This was because his address would suggest to an employer that he was from a community deemed likely to have residents

with convictions and he believed employers wanted to avoid hiring such persons. Therefore whilst employers are prohibited by Section 31(1) of the Criminal Records Act (1988) from using information about disclosed convictions or any failure to disclose such information as suitable grounds to dismiss, exclude or prejudice ex-prisoners in Jamaica, it is the lack of enforcement of the Act that ex-prisoners reported supported their exclusion.

Lessons from other countries, however suggest that Jamaica could do more to assist former prisoners find employment. Turkey provides an example whereby the Labour Law obliges companies that employ more than 50 staff to include a fixed percentage of ex-prisoners among their staff (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) 2006, p. 7). In the event that relevant employers fail to fulfil this obligation they are required to pay a fine to the local Ministry of Labour and Social Security (UNODC 2006a, p.7).

A strengthened partnership and coordinated approach:

It was evidenced in Chapter 8 that a wide range of governmental and NGO agencies are involved in the reintegration process within Jamaica. While NGOs play a crucial role, the research highlighted the need for a more coordinated approach between the sector and also with relevant state services. This would reduce duplication of activities and help to coordinate and harmonise the provision available to ex-prisoners. Indeed, the professionals interviewed all spoke of the benefits of becoming a more joined-up service, in which agencies worked together in order to safeguard the best possible developmental outcome of interventions instead of working in silos.

Better Managing for Development Results (MfDR) in Correctional Practice:

Overall the findings suggest that the process of reintegrating into Jamaican society is punitive, fragmented and complex. Arguably, this can be attributed to the absence of any

effective resettlement/ reintegration policy guiding programmes in this area. The lack of mature and reliable databases on the prisoner population was for example noted during fieldwork. In such a context, Managing for Development Results (MfDR) would assist in taking steps to sustain improvements in the life of citizens including ex-prisoners through focusing on the long-term impacts of interventions, evaluating outcomes and using this information to inform decision-making (Benfield 2016). Adoption of such an approach within the prison service implies that the mechanisms for reporting, accounting and verifying the performances of the DCSJ require challenge and transformation.

Research Question 4 - What are some of the challenges involved in making existing correctional practices more effective?

This section looks at some of the broader resource and policy challenges that may impede effective change. All respondents recognised the need to improve the quality and the ways in which correctional services in Jamaica were delivered. The following themes emerged from the analysis of potential barriers to improving the service:

Lack of human and financial resources:

The majority of respondents believed that the effectiveness of correctional services was greatly affected by human and resource challenges linked to broader issues related to the Jamaican government's limited fiscal resource and competing priorities. Therefore without more significant investment in treatment services and support then the quality of service delivery is unlikely to change markedly.

Some prison staff felt that the under-prioritisation of prisoner assistance was evidenced in the limited resources made available to the DCSJ to undertake its work. This they believed

negatively affected their output in terms of undertaking even simple tasks such as escorting inmates around the prison estate. For many this was evidenced through the non-participatory approach to decision-making adopted by the central ministry, whereby senior prison staff reported being denied opportunities to participate in important strategic decisions, which affected the service. Thus, despite the existing resource and policy constraints there was a sense that the service could be made more effective. This research identified two ways in which this might be achieved. Firstly, if the central ministry adopted a more participatory approach to making decisions which affected the DCSJ and secondly if prison management ensured that the manner in which rehabilitation interventions were administered was compatible with the prison routine and designed to target not just the problems and deficits of offenders but also their strengths (see Chapter 3).

These suggestions support earlier arguments calling for a strengthened and coordinated approach to the support offered to ex-prisoners, as outlined above. This thesis therefore points to the importance of incorporating a bottom up decision making process, in which the design and implementation of any correctional intervention reflects the views of persons working on the ground and their clients. Putting stakeholders more in control of the policy setting process enables them to be part of the decisions to enact changes that will directly affect them.

Punitive responses:

Any efforts to make the service more effective are clearly hampered by unchanged punitive practices but specifically the poor conditions in which rehabilitation is expected to take place. Many inmates admitted to breaking the prison rules because of poor prison conditions. Indeed, conditions of Jamaican prisons were described as unbearably poor to the extent that it

led to a loss of freedom, failed to prepare inmates adequately for discharge, separated men and women from their families, allowed the physical insecurity of men and juveniles, promoted the further spoiling of identities of the already marginalised. Yet for many offenders, especially those coming from and returning to troubled communities, the harsh prison regime was not a deterrent because they faced comparable or perhaps worse challenges within the community. Consequently, the means of survival adopted by these offenders in prison was viewed as a continuation of the deviant behaviours that brought them to prison in the first place. Prison life was often portrayed in the data as the continuation of life scripts of survivalism. Survivalism was a response described by a number of offenders, as a type of resilience and way of life (see also Harriott 2000).

Consequently, a number of offenders described their behaviour and response to life in prison in the same way as they had behaved and responded all their lives – they were surviving. Their behaviour in prison can thus be viewed as a functional adaptation to a dangerous environment, a desire to carry on surviving, the only option being to ‘live or die trying’. This response is reinforced by a self-belief: ‘we poor but nuh poverty’ – we are materially poor but are not helpless (Moser and Holland 1997). Survivalism was seen as a way of life both in prison and outside – and crime and offending became part of this cycle. In such cases a new approach is needed to break the cycle of release and reimprisonment.

9.2 Recommendations for Future Research

Whilst this study has succeeded in identifying issues and arguments that have been absent from studies on reintegration in Jamaica, it has also highlighted further areas for future research. These include the following:

Influence of arrest and sentencing practices on the reintegration experience

Jamaica has the highest homicide rates in the Caribbean but the lowest incarceration rate (see Chapter 1). The findings suggest that the lack of police detection and uncertainty of conviction help to account for this discrepancy. However it would be important to examine this in more detail with special attention given to how sentencing practices in Jamaica help to explain this pattern. Due to time and resource constraints the policy and practice context of the thesis was limited to the prison and post-release experience.

However it was recognised that the effectiveness of social reintegration depends on what happens at arrest, in court, in prison, in the community and in-between. All of these areas were touched on but a more in-depth analysis of the role of the judiciary and the police on the quality of the reintegration experience is warranted with gender being an essential variable in the analysis in order to better assess the extent to which the criminal justice system serves men and women fairly and addresses gender biases that may have limited its effectiveness. Similarly, finding effective ways of diverting minor offenders and low-risk persons with short prison sentences to complete away from the prison system would self-evidently be valuable. Indeed, as noted in this thesis, despite marked improvements in correctional service delivery in Jamaica, the prison system is likely to be doing more harm than good in terms of rehabilitating offenders. Therefore a prison sentence should only be used as a last resort.

Comparative studies could also be undertaken into the use and role of imprisonment/resettlement services in other Caribbean countries like Saint Kitts which has one of the lowest homicide rates in the world and one of the highest incarceration rates in the Caribbean.

Challenges faced by IRMs

The scale of the social reintegration phenomenon is extensive and multifaceted. Therefore to generate achievable policy strategies in regard to the effective reintegration of IRMs, more detailed understanding of the challenges they face in prisons and removal centres overseas needs to be undertaken. The current study focused mainly on the challenges they faced reentering Jamaican society and those that IRMs believed impacted on their opportunities to lead productive and crime-free lives. Future research into the social reintegration of IRMs could focus more on the support services and treatments made available to them in overseas jurisdictions as foreign national offenders and the extent to which these prepare them to tackle the challenges they are likely to encounter once repatriated.

Tracer Studies

Offenders who were included in this study were at various stages of their life course and reintegration experiences. For example, some were inmates, some had been recently released, while others had been discharged from prison for two or more years. A study which delves further into the role of prison could look more closely at the potential impact of the education and skills training programmes using a tracer study methodology. The tracer study could follow programme participants/inmates for two years after being released to find out what they are doing with the training they received in prison. Whilst the current study was able to explore the impact of particular rehabilitation interventions based on the perception of inmates and staff, some participants and schemes might have been missed because of the sampling technique used and its aims.

Impact of Incarceration on Jamaican Men and their Children

The current study identified the plight of children of prisoners as the hidden victims of incarceration. A crucial area for further investigation is to examine how the removal of men

from their families (locals and IRMs) impacts on the well-being of the households they have left. This would allow some comparisons to be drawn with original work undertaken by Henry-Lee (2005) on the effects of prison on women and their children. Additionally there is scant research, if any, on the impact of incarceration on sex offenders and their families. Such investigations would help to better highlight some of the gender and crime-specific concerns of reintegrating into Jamaican society.

Longitudinal Study

This study's modest contribution to a slender empirical base on Jamaican prison research cannot hope to address the many knowledge gaps concerning the in-prison and post-release challenges facing offenders returning to Jamaican society, particularly youths. One avenue of further study would be to examine longitudinally the factors that lead Jamaican youth who have committed serious crimes to continue to engage in criminality or desist from crime. This would help to establish causal relationships, track changes in the youth offender population over time and provide clear direction on where intervention is needed.

9.3 Conclusion

This research has explored key social and criminological factors that influence the opportunities for ex-prisoners to become effectively reintegrated into Jamaican society. As illustrated through an original qualitative database, offender punishment seemed to continue within the community due largely to the exclusion that the majority of offenders reported experiencing as a result of being labelled. Indeed all offenders believed that their ex-prisoner identities in some way or the other, led to, or reinforced their marginalisation. The imperative for more and better research into the causes of criminal recidivism in Jamaica and for more and better reintegration policies and practices seems hard to refute given the chronic and resistant problems reported here by prisoners, prison staff and service providers in the

community. It is hoped that this doctoral study may make some useful contribution in understanding better the intertwined nature of those issues in prison and in the community that seem to encourage a return to crime and to impede a new redemptive script for those who wish to desist and lead a constructive life; a life that so many of us take for granted.

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Appendix A: Application for Ethical Approval

Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the Reintegration of Jamaican Ex-prisoners

Project Proposal

Submitted to:

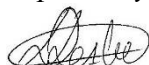
The Research Ethics Committee

School of Social Sciences

Cardiff University

January 13 2012

Prepared by:



Dacia Leslie

PhD Student (Socio-legal pathway)

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BACKGROUND

Crime concerns and the quality of justice within the Caribbean region have been central issues of public debate within the last two decades. The problem is perhaps most deeply perceived in Jamaica having been in the past identified as the murder capital of the world¹ after 1674 persons were murdered in 2005². This number is horrendous for a country with a population size of less than 2.7 million people when compared to El Salvador which at the time had a similar homicide rate with a population size of 6.2 million. The country has nonetheless experienced a reduction in the general crime rate in recent times, due to enhanced crime fighting measures but even so the major crime³ and murder rates remain high at 409 per 100 000 of the population and 53 per 100 000⁴, respectively (See Figure 1 below).

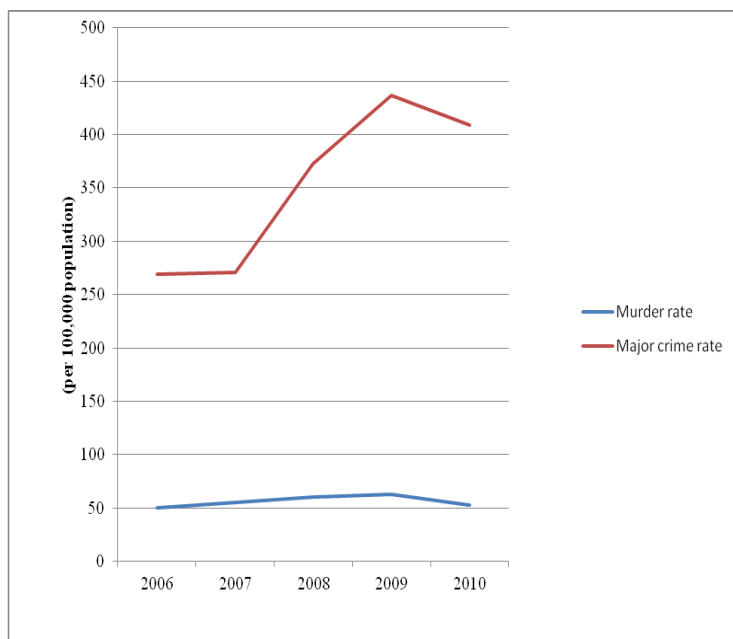


Figure 1: Murder Rate and Major Crime Rates in Jamaica, 2006-2010⁵

Numerous explanations have been offered to explain criminality and the high rates of violent crime (class struggles, poverty, economic deprivation, vestiges of the plantation society, marginalisation and alienation of the urban poor, style of policing, culture of badness-honour, an unresponsive criminal justice system, growth in organised crime and political clientelism). In this regard, the exceptional contributions of Caribbean scholars such as Kenneth Pryce,

¹ See BBC Caribbean News. Jamaica 'murder capital of the world', January 3 2006

² See PIOJ. 2010. Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica. Kingston: Planning Institute of Jamaica, pg 24.5

³ Murder, shooting, rape, carnal abuse, robbery, larceny and breaking

⁴ *ibid*, pg 24.1

⁵ Developed with figures supplied in the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica for the years specified

Don Robotham, Horace Levy, Mark Figueroa, Anthony Harriott, Bernard Headley, Aldrie Henry-Lee and Obika Gray should not be overlooked. However a paucity of knowledge on tertiary crime prevention within the Caribbean context remains. This is understandably so as it perhaps was never politically expedient to prioritise the well-being of prisoners at the expense of primary preventative measures to assure public safety. However if it is understood that crime is a complex phenomenon and requires a multi-pronged approach to obtain sustainable reductions then properly managing the programmes and policies geared towards successful rehabilitation and reentry should be seen as vital for the prevention of future crimes. This does not preclude the need to greatly consider issues of health at the micro level (psychopathy, psychological disorders, mental illnesses) but such are simply outside the ambits of this paper. In upcoming months, a team of experts from the University of the West Indies, Mona under the leadership of Forensic Psychiatrist, Clayton Sewell will explore the psychiatric morbidity of prison populations in Jamaica and Turks & Caicos Islands. This research will contribute greatly to our knowledge and understanding of the penal system in Jamaica, and as such stimulate a debate on the suitability of policy responses to structural problems that may give rise to repeat criminality. The overriding aim would be to then draw on international good practices on 'what works', to suggest how tertiary crime control in this developing country may become more effective.

What do we know about tertiary crime prevention and the revolving door syndrome or what is otherwise known as recidivism⁶ in the Caribbean? Very little; though the research on this behaviour, in other parts of the world such as the United States of America, United Kingdom (Hudson et al. 2009; Clancy et al. 2006; Maguire and Raynor 2006; Burnett 2004; Farrall 2002; Farrington 1994) and Canada is extensive. However as indicated by several Caribbean academics (Pryce 2007; Barnes 2004) crime within the region is unique and so findings and explanations drawn from studies that are not culturally relevant may not always obtain locally. The phenomenon's idiosyncrasies are in part derived from the region's rich cultural-historical tradition part embedded in the plantation society and economy. Based on

⁶ Conviction for any offence after having previously served a sentence. This is also the working definition used by Brathwaite and Harriott (2004). It is important to note however that elsewhere in the literature the nominal definition of recidivism which is difficult to measure involves the reversion to criminal behaviour by someone who has already gone through the correctional system. Therefore in criminal justice systems where there are good data management and monitoring systems recidivism can also be measured by rearrest, reconviction, reincarceration or self-reported relapse. In other operationalisations of the concept whether the same type of crime is repeated, the length of follow up period are also important considerations.

information available only two baseline studies have been undertaken in the Caribbean⁷. Findings from both studies suggest that there is a direct relationship between recidivism rates and punitiveness. Therefore reoffending and reconviction rates are likely to be high where there is a high degree of punitiveness as well as a strong tendency to stigmatise the offender. Again whilst a reduction in Jamaica's crime rate has been achieved, there is a 14.8 per cent growth rate in incidence of recidivism⁸. Does this therefore mean that criminal justice methods have become more punitive? There has been a 48 per cent change in the number of persons who were arrested and charged in 2010 but that year also recorded a 25.5 growth rate in new adult custodial cases. If prisons are to remain squalid and anachronistic as part of the deterrent effect then what explains the emphasis on corrective approaches to rehabilitation in this country? Furthermore if only inhumane treatment is provided in what is sometimes perceived as merely holding places, then why do previous inmates return? Perhaps the conditions in, and treatment offered by the prison services in Jamaica are weak deterrents, rehabilitation was unsuccessful, there were too many barriers to reintegration, the newly released was never integrated into society to begin with, or those who are reconvicted are not rational thinkers. The study will attempt to answer some of these questions by exploring predictors of recidivism using a structural approach which treats offenders as products of society.

The debates on the number of Jamaicans incarcerated in the United Kingdom have been ongoing. One report highlights that Jamaican women represent more than half the prison population in one establishment⁹. There are also plans for the British government to deport a number of these Jamaicans¹⁰. This move of course is in keeping with problems common to perhaps all countries around the world (prison overcrowding, tax burden). In 2003 it was costing the British government £25 million annually to keep foreign national, female drug couriers in prison - a figure which is incomparable to the £5 million in donor aid given to Jamaica by the Department for International Development¹¹. There are even suggestions that Jamaicans are being deported without their consensus and this is in contravention of the

⁷ See Farley Brathwaite and Anthony Harriott. 2004. Repeat Criminal Offending in Barbados. In Anthony Harriott, Farley Brathwaite and Scot Wortley (eds.) *Crime and Criminal Justice in the Caribbean*. Kingston: Arawak Publications. Pg 35 and Ian K. Ramdhanie. 2007. Prison Recidivism in Trinidad and Tobago: A Baseline Study. In Ramesh Deosaran (ed.) *Crime Delinquency and Justice. A Caribbean Reader*. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, pg 368

⁸ Calculated using the 2009 and 2010 figures supplied in the Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica, pg 24.16

⁹ See *Rethinking Crime and Punishment: The Report*. Esmée Fairbairn Foundation, 2004, pg 7

¹⁰ Over 700 Jamaicans Facing Deportation as UK Prison Population Declines. <http://ffbj.org/wordpress/?p=77>

¹¹ DFID is a United Kingdom Government Department

prisoner transfer agreements between the United Kingdom and Jamaica¹². It would be interesting therefore to explore this further and understand the corrective experiences of Jamaicans awaiting deportation and what they perceive as barriers to their reintegration. Examining the types of capacity-building that has taken place within Jamaica's correctional services as a direct result of the increased use of deportation as crime control on the part of the United Kingdom, will also prove useful in the general analysis.

The seminal work of Barnes and Seepersaad (2008) examined deportation trends for selected Caribbean countries¹³ from the United States of America and the United Kingdom and found that increasing crime rates in Jamaica were directly impacted by the increasing number of deportees in the general population. Prior to this study there was widespread public outcry of the number of Jamaicans that were being deported though they spent most of their lives in the sending countries and therefore were likely to face many difficulties reentering society. Bernard Headley was then given the task of analysing data provided by the United States Department of Homeland Security's Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement. The study, Deported Volume 1 Entry and Exit Findings Jamaicans Returned Home from the US between 1997 and 2003, revealed that deportees from the United States could not to be held accountable for the high rates of violent crime in Jamaica based on a number of demographic and other factors. Whether a similar dataset for the United Kingdom would generate similar results, is also of interest. More important than this is an examination of the deportation policy and practice of England & Wales and how these have changed over time particularly vis-à-vis Jamaicans.

Observing human rights values and international standards is a critical area in which Jamaica has been found wanting. This is evidenced where an inconsistency in sentencing has resulted in the unfair treatment of offenders¹⁴. This also puts strain on the prison system which has been described in several human rights reports (2010 Human Rights Report; Jamaica¹⁵; Americas Watch Report 1990¹⁶; Human Rights Watch Global Report on Prisons 1993) as providing inhumane treatment under harsh and squalid conditions. The situation which then emerges is one that contradicts the correctional philosophy that guides correctional officers

¹² Jamaican Government opposes Britain's proposal. http://go-jamaica.com/news/read_article.php?id=24061

¹³ Antigua and Barbuda, Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

¹⁴ Ministry of Justice. 2007. Jamaicans want sentencing changes. Government of Jamaica. <http://www.moj.gov.jm/jasentencingchanges>

¹⁵ Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour, 2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices

¹⁶ Prison conditions in Jamaica

and probationers in Jamaica. To illustrate this point, Tower Street, one of Jamaica's largest correctional facilities, remains operational at 96.3 per cent above its ideal capacity and juveniles continue to be housed in adult correctional centres¹⁷. In 2009, seven female wards of the state who were juveniles were burnt to death in a fire which took place at the Armadale Juvenile Correctional Center. This was said to have occurred mainly as a result of negligence¹⁸. This then gives credence to the postulation that the correctional element of prison services in Jamaica, as envisaged by Jones (2007) is more symbolism than it is in its actual functions. However, to fully understand the shortfalls of any penal system it should not be divorced from the general criminal justice system as there are other factors at play such as the political climate, how the criminal justice system is managed and the country's policy and legislative framework.

PURPOSE OF STUDY

The study is timely given the zeitgeist (spirit of the times) towards good governance principles globally. It is one marked by: changes in political leadership, an even stronger focus on further reducing crime levels and levels of corruption, a slight shift in the theoretical landscape and the convergence of international normative values around human rights protection. It will contribute to the intellectual ferment on rethinking crime and punishment whilst highlighting some of the challenges faced by small island developing states (SIDS) within the Caribbean region.

Research Questions:-

Given the above, the study seeks to find answers to the following questions:

1. How is recidivism affected by the type of penal control in Jamaica?
2. How has the British government's deportation policy and practice changed in response to the overrepresentation of Jamaicans in UK prisons?
3. What can be done to improve the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners at home and those awaiting deportation from the United Kingdom?

Aim:-

To analyse relevant policies and practices that bear upon the effective reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners to Jamaican society.

¹⁷ See Economic and Social Surveys of Jamaica, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010

¹⁸ See Tyrone Reid. Armadale Payout. The Jamaica Gleaner, Sunday February 6 2011

Specific Objectives:-

- a) A comparative exploration of the associations of recidivism amongst reoffenders incarcerated in Jamaica and those awaiting deportation from the United Kingdom;
- b) exploring how the quality of life beyond the prison gate is affected by the incarcerated experience;
- c) an examination of international good practices on what has worked elsewhere and how they may be suited to the local context; and
- d) assessing the roles of key stakeholders (e.g. ex-inmates, Department of Correctional Services Jamaica, Ministry of National Security, FPWP Hibiscus Jamaica Limited, Ministry of Justice, Department for International Development)

Desired Outcome:-

Analysis and theoretical development stemming from the study will be used to inform Jamaican public policy

METHODOLOGY

The study will be undertaken over a three year period using a mixed method comparative design that will deploy both qualitative and statistical analyses. The first year (October 2011-September 2012) will involve the collection and analysis of secondary data and review of existing literature, policy documents and reports. This initial phase of the study will help to address aspects of research question 1 and objective c.

Primary data collection which is expected to commence in September 2012 with approvals from the Department of Correctional Services in Jamaica and the Ministry of Justice, UK, will involve the administration of two surveys using semi-structured questionnaires. One survey will be administered to male and female reoffenders incarcerated in Jamaica and the other survey will be administered to Jamaican male and female reoffenders awaiting deportation in the United Kingdom. This will in part address objectives a and b. In-depth interviews which will be conducted with key administrators in Jamaica and England & Wales will also help to provide answers to all the research questions, but is particularly important for assessing the roles of key stakeholders (objective 1d). At least two focus group discussions consisting of newly released persons will be conducted in Jamaica, hopefully

with the help of the Female Prisoner's Welfare Project-Hibiscus Jamaica¹⁹.

Data entry and analysis will commence in July 2013, using the appropriate statistical and qualitative research software in order to arrive at key findings from which recommendations will be informed. The final paper is to be presented in September 2014. All survey instruments will be piloted.

Method of Sampling

Participants for the focus group discussions will be identified using the snowball sampling technique. Help will be sought from FPWP Hibiscus Jamaica Limited to contact the initial set of participants and thereafter referrals will be accepted from these individuals. All persons identified will be included in the study on the conditions that they have met the selection criterion and having heard and understood what the study is about, indicate a willingness to participate. The selection criterion is- any adult who has served a sentence whether in Jamaica or the United Kingdom and has reentered society no less than one year. Whilst this method may protract the study, deportees and ex-prisoners are a hard to reach population primarily because of stigmatisation and so this method seemed most suitable.

High-level officials from the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica and the UK Border Agency will be identified to participate in face-to face interviews. For this purpose an interview schedule will be used and recorded using a digital recorder.

Participants for both surveys will be selected purposively and administered a semi-structured questionnaire. Based on information available in the *Economic and Social Survey of Jamaica 2010*, the size of the adult reoffender population in Jamaica is 526, of which males account for 95 per cent of this number. The survey will therefore be administered to a purposive sample of 50 adult male reoffenders and 10 adult female reoffenders. A comparison group of first-time offenders will also be drawn, thereby bringing the targeted number of respondents to 110 persons. This number is subject to change pending further discussions with supervisors.

The decision to interview Jamaicans awaiting deportation from the United Kingdom will

¹⁹ A project established in 1993 to support the resettlement of Jamaican migrant women who have been deported.

depend on the identification of reoffenders amongst this group. The Justice Statistics Analytical Services, Ministry of Justice, UK is presently undertaking this investigation and has indicated that a report will be supplied within 20 working days.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Recruitment Procedures

The project will include adults who are illiterate and others with low literacy levels and so it is only appropriate to undertake face-to face interviews with the aid of a semi-structured questionnaire. An important inclusion criterion for research participants are that they are serving a second or more sentence in prison and therefore are likely to be involved in or have been involved in illegal activities. As a result there may be a reluctance to share sensitive information. In this case, building trust with the respondents through reassurances that the information provided will be kept confidential and that they will remain anonymous is absolutely important. Where socially sensitive questions are being asked projective techniques will be used to minimise the provision of socially acceptable answers that are untruthful or represent half-truths.

Consent Procedures

Inmates who are mentally unfit will not be included in this study. All research participants will be asked to sign a written informed consent which will outline what the study is about, its purpose, the rights of respondents and the responsibilities of the researcher. This will also be verbally communicated in a way that is understandable to the participant. Therefore only persons who have indicated a willingness to participate in the study, through signing the consent form after being briefed, will be included in this study (See proforma for further details).

Possible Harm to Participants

There are no foreseeable risks for persons who indicate their willingness to participate in this study. If at any point participants believe that the question(s) posed will cause them to experience a detriment to their interests then they may choose to withdraw from the research or refuse to answer a question at any given time. Participants will be made aware of this through the consent procedures. Again, projective techniques will be used to ask sensitive questions to minimise any feelings of discomfort that may arise.

Data Management and Protection

Information gleaned from participants will be kept confidential. Confidentiality will be

protected through properly managing and protecting the data. Throughout the interview participants will remain nameless and information will be collected using an interview schedule for the in-depth interviews and administered semi-structured questionnaires for the surveys. Additionally, where permission has been granted, interviews will be recorded using a digital recorder. Access to this information will be restricted to the researcher. However where the services of an assistant moderator is sought, to help with conducting the focus group discussions, that person will not be required to transcribe the recordings and will submit the raw data (long and short hand notes and recordings) to the researcher at the end of each session. The anonymised data from the questionnaires will be coded and entered into SPSS for data analysis. Narrative analysis will be used to analyse data from in-depth interviews and where necessary suitable qualitative analysis software will also be used. Pseudonyms to protect identity will be allocated where case studies are drawn from any of the discussions or interviews. Any instance in which non-anonymity is useful, (interviews with high-level officials), permission will be sought from such persons to include their names and positions in the final paper. These procedures are in keeping with the principles outlined in Cardiff University's Data Protection Policy and guidance notes.

Researcher Safety

At the time of implementing this project, the student would have completed the workshop 'Staying Safe when Doing Field Research: the Need for Preparation and Planning' which is offered by the Graduate College in June each year.

Ethics Approval

I hereby seek approval from the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee for undertaking this study. Pending this approval, the project proposal along with the capture tools will be submitted to the Department of Correctional Services and the Ministry of National Security Ethics Committee. Should there be a need to undertake face-to-face interviews in prisons or immigration removal centers within the UK then approval will also be sought from the National Offender Management Service.

FUNDING

Funding for this project and return airfare to Jamaica is provided by the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom. Any hidden costs outside the provisions of the CSCUK will be borne by the student.

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Appendix B: Social Science Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University (SREC/835)–Ethical Concerns

Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Director Professor Malcolm Williams
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd
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2nd February 2012

Our ref: SREC/835

Dacia Leslie
PhD Programme
SOCSI

Dear Dacia

Your project entitled "*Criminal recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners*" was reviewed by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University at its meeting on 1st February 2012.

In order that the Committee can reach a decision on your application, can you please arrange as soon as possible to address the following:

- Please explain your systematic procedure for determining who is or is not fit to participate in your research.

If you have any queries on the above, please contact me.

Please use the SREC's project reference number above in any future correspondence.

Yours sincerely

Professor Tom Horlick-Jones
Chair of the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: E Renton
Supervisors: K Hudson
A Pithouse

Appendix C: Social Science Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University (SREC/835)–Ethical Concerns Addressed

Dacia L. Leslie

House 15, Talybont South, Trotman Dickinson Place, CF 14 3UU

██████████ Email: dacials1@gmail.com

2 February 2012

Application Reference: SREC/835

Project Title: “Criminal recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners”

Research Ethics Committee
School of Social Sciences
Cardiff University

Dear: Professor Horlick-Jones:

RE: Systematic procedure for determining who is or not fit to participate in the study

Thank you for seeking clarification on the method of selecting research participants for the named project. Please see below:

Inclusion criteria

- Adult offenders who are serving a second or more conviction
- Adult, prison recidivists who have been deported from the United Kingdom within the last two years

Exclusion criteria

- First time adult offenders
- Offenders in police lock-ups
- Offenders awaiting trial
- Offenders who are of unsound mind

Procedure for determining if the inclusion and exclusion criteria have been satisfied

- **Administrative records:** A list of names and addresses will be randomly selected and generated using the Department of Correctional Services Jamaica’s administrative records and databases to identify prison recidivists who are also recent deportees. As it is expected that each newly released person would have undergone at least one psychiatric evaluation as part of their Risk Needs Assessment, during their time imprisoned or upon returning to Jamaica, the administrative records will also state the mental capacity of each person. Persons identified as mentally incapable in the administrative reports will not be included in the listing that will be used to contact potential research participants, who are outside of prison, for interviews and focus group discussions.
- **Correctional classification system:** The results of the initial Risk Needs Assessment are used in the determination of how inmates are classified in Jamaica. Therefore in theory, offenders are housed based on the: severity of offence, prior convictions and other personal

characteristics such as: mental capacity, HIV/AIDS status, sexual orientation, and whether they have attained 18 years. Identifying the target inmate population with the assistance of Correctional Officers will therefore be much easier when compared to a situation in which there was no form of classification. For example, the researcher would not undertake fieldwork in any of the juvenile correctional facilities as adult prison recidivists are the units of analysis. Where there are exceptions in practice, (e.g. juvenile housed in an adult correctional facility or an inmate who is mentally incapable housed with others of sound mind) the informal reports of Correctional Officers will help to determine whether respondents satisfy the criteria for selection.

- **Assistance from Correctional Officers:** There will be a reliance of Correctional Officers to escort the researcher to sections of the different facilities housing the target inmate population. A proportion of inmates from each section, of each facility, will be interviewed. This proportion will be worked out when further details of the inmate classification system are obtained. Correctional Officers will escort each inmate who has been conveniently selected, to the secure interview area. Selected inmates whilst in their cells would have been provided an overview of the study, its purpose, benefits and disadvantages before being given the opportunity to indicate their willingness to participate. The secure area will be set up by Correctional Officers who will monitor the interview from a distance; allowing them (Correctional Officers) to respond quickly to any unexpected eventualities, but strategically positioned so that they are not: seen by the inmate (to limit the Hawthorne effect) or able to hear what is being discussed (for confidentiality purposes). Before the start of the interview, the inmate will be briefed and given an opportunity to ask any questions. Once all questions have been answered, inmates are willing to participate then they will be required to sign the informed consent form.

My previous work involving Jamaican prisons involved a similar procedure. The likelihood of becoming the victim of any unfortunate circumstances will be minimised by building on existing skills as a trained researcher by attending any relevant workshops offered by the Graduate College.

I do hope this addresses any existing concerns of the Research Ethics Committee. However I am more than happy to provide any further clarification should the need arise.

Regards



Dacia Leslie

Appendix D: Social Science Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University (SREC/835) –Ethical Approval Granted

Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Director Professor Malcolm Williams
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd
Cyfarwyddwr Yr Athro Malcolm Williams



Cardiff University
Glamorgan Building
King Edward VII Avenue
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Fax Ffacs +44(0)29 2087 4175
www.cardiff.ac.uk/
Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adelod Morgannwg
Rhodfa Brenin Edward VII
Caerdydd CF10 3WT
Cymru Y Deyrnas Gyfunol

8th February 2012

Our ref: SREC/835

Dacia Leslie
PhD Programme
SOCSI

Dear Dacia

Your project entitled "*Criminal recidivism in the Carribean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners*" has now been approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University at its meeting on 1st February 2012 and you can now commence the project.

Please note that since your project involves data collection abroad you may need approval from a competent body in the relevant jurisdiction.

If you make any substantial changes with ethical implications to the project as it progresses you need to inform the SREC about the nature of these changes. Such changes could be: 1) changes in the type of participants recruited (e.g. inclusion of a group of potentially vulnerable participants), 2) changes to questionnaires, interview guides etc. (e.g. including new questions on sensitive issues), 3) changes to the way data are handled (e.g. sharing of non-anonymised data with other researchers).

All ongoing projects will be monitored every 12 months and it is a condition of continued approval that you complete the monitoring form.

Please inform the SREC when the project has ended.

Please use the SREC's project reference number above in any future correspondence.

Yours sincerely

Professor Tom Horlick-Jones
Chair of the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: E Renton
Supervisors: A Pithouse
K Hudson

Cardiff University is a registered charity, no. 1136855
Mae Prifysgol Caerdydd yn eiddau gofrestrdedig, rhif 1136855

Appendix E: Social Science Research Ethics Committee of Cardiff University(SREC/835) –Ethics Monitoring

**CARDIFF SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE**

RESEARCH ETHICS MONITORING

You are the lead researcher on a project that is registered with the SOCSI School Research Ethics Committee as still ongoing.

Please answer the questions below, then return this form to **Deborah Watkins, Research and Graduate Studies Administrator (WatkinsD2@cardiff.ac.uk / Extension: 79051 / Room 0.23 Glamorgan Building) by Friday, 18th January 2013.**

SREC Reference No:	SREC\835
Title of Project:	Criminal recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners
Lead Researcher:	Dacia Latoya Leslie

1.	Is the project still ongoing ? Yes
	If No:- N/A
	a. Why was the project ended? N/A
	b. Will the project result in any publication or other research output ? Yes (Please specify)
	If Yes:- Other Research Outputs: Tentatively on the 21st of March 2013, I will be presenting on some emerging findings from this work at a seminar to be organised by the Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social & Economic Studies (SALISES), University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica. Another presentation will be made at the Centre for Crime, Law and Justice's last seminar. Future Publication: Upon completing the research I intend to write several journal articles and develop a manuscript for publication.
	a. Have any changes been made to the approved project plan? No substantial changes with ethical implications have been made to the approved project plan.
	b. Have these changes been communicated to the SREC? N/A
	c. Please describe the changes: N/A

	d. Please describe the reason(s) for these changes: N/A
2.	Have any ethical issues arisen during the project that were not noted at the time of the application, and which you would now wish to declare ? Not at this time.

Appendix F: Application to Gain Access to Jamaican Prisons

DACIA L. LESLIE

Tel: [REDACTED]

Email: dacialsl@gmail.com

January 31, 2011

Lieutenant Colonel Sean Prendergast
Commissioner of Corrections
The Department of Correctional Services
5-7 King Street
Kingston
Jamaica

Dear Sir:

Re: Study on Improving the Reintegration of Jamaican-Ex-prisoners--Request Letter

Further to my letter dated October 20 2011, I hereby seek your approval to undertake interviews with repeat offenders at: the Tower Street, Fort Augusta and St. Catherine Adult Correctional Centres. My name is Dacia Leslie and I am a Commonwealth Scholarship recipient, having been nominated by Jamaica through the Ministry of Finance to be trained in the United Kingdom, based on an agreement that on my return I will use the newly acquired knowledge and skills to contribute to national development. I have a keen interest in correctional management having undertaken research on *The Relationship between Poverty and Recidivism at the Tower Street and Fort Augusta Correctional Facilities in Jamaica*, as a postgraduate student at SALISES, University of the West Indies, Mona, with the approval of Major Richard Reese (retired).

Along with this letter, I have included all the relevant documents for your perusal. The study will strike a balance between theory and practice in order to satisfy two requirements; mainly that of demonstrating a mastery of the conceptual framework within which the identified problem is to be situated, but also being adequately practical so that findings and recommendations can be used to inform public policy. I am aware that the process for obtaining access can be very lengthy and difficult but in good faith I submit this proposal with the hope that it will be reviewed favourably. The study, if approved will be a precursor to a baseline study on prison recidivism and perhaps a National Correctional Policy.

It is my hope that the Jamaican leg of the fieldwork will commence in September 2012 therefore I am also hopeful that I will receive the results of this application before the end of July 2012, so that I can put the necessary plans into place to come to Jamaica, should approval be granted. The raw data collected will not be distributed or shared with anyone but will be analysed using the relevant software (SPSS, Atlas ti.) mainly for the purpose of fulfilling the requirements of a Doctor of Philosophy in Criminology.

I look forward to hearing from you Lieutenant Colonel Sean Prendergast and I welcome any opportunity to further discuss my request.

Respectfully,

Dacia Leslie

✚ The benefits this research will have to the department

✚ The ability for Reports to be submitted to the Department

AGREEMENT WITH RESEARCHERS/INTERVIEWERS/FILM MAKERS

4. Once a proposal has been approved, a written agreement between the Department and the researchers shall be drawn up. This proposal shall comply with governing legislations and shall include and be acknowledged by Researchers to:

- A. Respect the legislative and policy provisions for the protection of the confidentiality of information and the privacy of staff, offenders and ex-offenders. This shall include adherence to the appropriate legislation.

- B. Abide by all rules and regulations of the correctional service applicable to volunteers, visitors or staff.

- C. A recognition that permission to conduct research may be withdrawn at anytime for violations of the rules and regulations or unapproved deviations from the original proposal, or may be temporarily suspended for operational reasons.

- D. an acknowledgement that, other than the report submitted for publication, no further release of data collected shall be made without the permission of the Department and/or the Ministry of National Security.

- E. a stipulation that all reports shall make appropriate acknowledgement and include a statement of the disclaimer that opinions and conclusions do not necessarily represent those of the Department and/or the Ministry of National Security.

- F. The Department of correctional services reserves the right to request a report of findings especially where there are relevant to reviews of correctional programmes.

5. It is imperative that confirmation be received from the Department of Correctional Services before your research is confirmed with your institutions/organizations.

6. Upon receiving permission, Superintendents shall inform Researchers of the applicable rules and regulations of the correctional institutions. Which includes: No staff member/inmate shall be offered privileges in exchange for their participation

UPON RECEIVING PERMISSION, AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN YOU AND THE

DEPARTMENT MUST BE

SIGNED.

** The Department's Research Officer will also monitor research activities to ensure compliance with the policy *and will aid where necessary*. The Research Officer will remain connected to ensure the dissemination and application of research findings as appropriate.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT AND EXTERNAL RESEARCHER(S)


I Dacia Leslie of 207 Keswick Meadows, Portmore agree to:
JAMAICA

1. Respect all legislative and policy provisions for the protection of the confidentiality of information and the privacy of staff, inmates and wards.
2. To abide by all applicable rules and regulations of the Department of Correctional service (D.C.S.), including those disguised to ensure my safety.
3. To recognize and accept that permission to conduct research may be withdrawn at anytime for violation of the said rules and regulations or approved deviation from the original proposal or may be suspended for operational reasons.
4. That report will **only** be used for said purpose and no further release of data collected shall be made without the permission of the Commissioner of Corrections.
5. That all reports shall include a statement and disclaimer that opinion and conclusion do not necessarily represent those of the Department.
6. That all reports resulting from research findings shall be reviewed by the Department prior to publications/releases in order to ensure considerations established for the contract have been met and the legislation has been respected.

7. The Department of Correctional Services shall receive a copy of the Research Report.


I understand and accept all above clauses:

Researcher/Interviewer/Film Maker

Doris Lohr 

Date 17/01/2013

Instructor of Programmes (lecturers)

16th Jan 2013 

DR KIRSTY HUDSON

Appendix G: Application to Gain Access to Jamaican Prisons Approved



TELEPHONE: 906-2421
FAX: 906-5098

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL SECURITY
NCB TOWERS
NORTH TOWER
2 OXFORD ROAD
KINGSTON 5
JAMAICA

December 18, 2012

Lieutenant Colonel G.S. Prendergast
Commissioner of Corrections (Assigned)
Department of Correctional Services
5-7 King Street
Kingston

Dear Lieutenant Colonel Prendergast,

Re: Review Proposal – Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean Improving the Reintegration of Jamaican Ex-prisoner

The resubmission of the above captioned proposal has clarified outstanding issues raised and the Ministry of National Security offers no objection for the research to be conducted.

The research should contribute to the Department of Correctional Services' mandate in strengthening its service delivery. It is expected that all courtesies and appropriate procedures will be carried out and extended to Ms. Leslie.

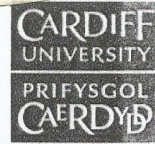
Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'K. Clarke-Davis'.

Karen Clarke-Davis (Mrs.)
Chief Technical Director (Acting)

Appendix H: Informed Consent Form

Participant Identification Number for this study:



CONSENT FORM

Short Title of Project: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Name of Researcher: Dacia Leslie

Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and ask questions, and have had these answered satisfactorily.

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my legal or other rights being affected.

3. I understand that in giving my consent that the results of the study might be published in academic journals or reports, on condition that no individual will be identifiable in any such work.

4. I consent to the interview being audio recorded.

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Interviewee

Date

Signature

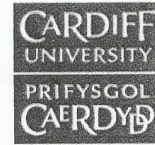
Researcher

Date

Signature

When completed, 1 copy for interviewee signed by both parties; 1 copy for researcher site file;

Participant Information Sheet



Study on Improving the Reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Invitation

You are being invited to take part in this focus group discussion. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take your time to read the following information carefully. Taking part in this study is entirely voluntary and will not affect your rights in any way.

Purpose of the study

This study is being done as part of my course of study at Cardiff University and is independent of the police, corrections and courts. I would like to explore your views and experiences of life in and outside of prison. As the only investigator, I will be the one moderating the discussion.

Why me?

The study seeks to explore factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners to Jamaican society. A greater understanding of barriers to reintegrating into mainstream society will provide insight on how to better tackle the recidivism problem. Your experiences in and outside of prison is therefore a vital part of the information needed to identify factors which inhibit and facilitate successful reintegration.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you do agree to participate in the discussion, you are still free to withdraw from this study at any time and without giving reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect you in any way. With your approval, any data collected prior to your decision to withdraw from the study, may still be included in the research.

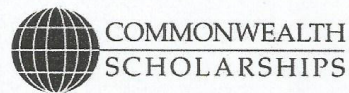
What will happen to me if I take part?

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to sign the consent form and guide the discussion using a semi-structured format. It is important that you answer all questions honestly and to the best of your ability and that the opinions of others are respected. The discussion should last for approximately two hours. No-one other than my self will listen to or see a copy of what you tell me.

If you agree, the discussion will be digitally recorded but all the information you give will be kept strictly confidential, and recordings will be destroyed after the research is completed. We are also going to ask your permission to take pictures of the venue while the discussion is in progression. Information supplied will be analysed and a report generated on the main findings arising from the study, but you will not be identified in this and I guarantee that everything you say will remain confidential.

What if I have any concerns?

Please feel free to ask me any questions before or during the interview. Also if you would like to contact me regarding the findings of this study, I can be reached via email at Cardiff University on +44(0) 29 2087 6217 extension 74436 or by email at LeslieDL@cardiff.ac.uk.



Appendix I: Interview Guide for Offenders in Prison and in the Community

Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean:
Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Interview Guide

CONFIDENTIAL

Personal Information

Suggested Introduction: I am a Research Student from Cardiff University. As part of the requirements for fulfilling a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Criminology, I am examining micro and macro level social factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners to Jamaican society. Your full cooperation will be appreciated. Feel free to express your views and be assured that all information provided will be kept confidential, as all results will be presented in an anonymous format.

INTERVIEW#.....	INTERVIEWER.....
DATE OF INTERVIEW.....	CORRECTIONAL CENTER.....
TIME INTERVIEW STARTED.....	TIME INTERVIEW COMPLETED.....

Instructions: Please try as best as possible to share with me your thoughts on life during and after prison. All questions asked, are aimed at obtaining an understanding of some of the reasons why people commit crime after being imprisoned.

-
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. What was is your age on your last birthday?
.....
....</p> <p>2. What is your sex?
(1) Female
(2) Male</p> <p>3. What is your marital status?
(1) Single
(1) Divorced
(2) Separated
(3) Married
(4) Widowed
(5) Common-law union
(6) Other.....</p> | <p>4. What is your ethnic group?
(1) Black Jamaican
(2) White Jamaican
(3) Mixed
(4) Indian
(5) Other
.....</p> <p>5. What is your religion?
(1) Christian
(2) Rastafarian
(3) Atheist
(4) Other
.....</p> <p>6. What is your country of birth?
(1) Jamaica
(2) United States of America
(3) United Kingdom</p> |
|---|---|

- (4) Canada
 - (5) Other.....
7. Country of Nationality
- (1) Jamaica
 - (2) United States of America
 - (3) United Kingdom
 - (4) Canada
 - (5) Other.....
8. Where did you live, before being convicted?
- (1) Rural
 - (2) Urban area (not garrison community or ghetto)
 - (3) Garrison/ghetto community
 - (4) Other.....
9. How many times have you received a conviction from a Jamaican judge?
-
10. How many convictions have you received outside of Jamaica?
-
11. What was your **main occupational status** before your last conviction?
-
-
12. Before your last conviction, on average what was your monthly income \$JMD?
- (1) Main occupation
 -
 - (2) Secondary occupation
 -
 - (3) Remittances.....
- Total.....
13. What offences have you been convicted for, starting with this present conviction?
- (1)
 - (2)
 - (3)
 - (4)
 - (5)
 - (6)
- (7)
 - (8)
 - (9)
 - (10)
14. What was the length (years/months) of your last two sentences, including the present sentence?
- (1)
 - (2)
15. How many years/months of your sentence have you completed?.....
-
16. How old were you when you were first convicted?
-
17. What was your age on receiving your last conviction?.....
-
18. How were you detected/arrested?
- (1) caught in the criminal act by the police
 - (2) caught in the criminal act by others who then reported the crime
 - (3) turned myself into the police
 - (4) the victim reported me to the police
 - (5) Other.....
 -
 -
 -
 -
19. How would you describe the family structure, you were a part of, before your last conviction?
- (1) mother, father, sister or/ and brother (nuclear family structure)
 - (2) mother and child/children (female-headed household)
 - (3) mother, grandparent (s) and child/children (extended family household)
 - (4) father and child/children (male-headed household)
 - (5) father, mother, grandparent (s) and child/children (extended family household)
 - (6) Other.....
 -

.....
.....
.....

programme
(8) Other.....

20. How many children do you have below 18 years of age?.....

.....
.....
.....

21. How far did you go in school?
- (1) Have no formal education or skills training
 - (2) Graduated from primary school
 - (3) Graduated from secondary/high school
 - (4) Graduated from college
 - (5) Graduated from university with a diploma or lower
 - (6) Graduated from university with a degree higher
 - (7) Completed a skills training/vocational technical

22. Have you or anybody in your household benefited from PATH, Outdoor Poor Relief, Food Stamp, Public Assistance? (1) yes (2) no

23. Were you involved in any criminal gang activities during your life-course of engaging in criminality? (1) yes (2) no

Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean:
Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners
Interview Guide

Topic	Suggested Stimuli/Question
Engagement in crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you first become involved in crime? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. What were some of the reasons for engaging in a criminal lifestyle? • How long did you engage in crime before being caught? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ii. What was life like for you at this point in time? • Did you ever think that you would be caught? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> iii. How did this make you feel? iv. Why didn't it stop you from offending?
Impact of prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did you feel when you were convicted? • Did you expect a custodial sentence? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. How did this make you feel? • Why do you think you received a custodial sentence? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ii. Do you think it was fair? iii. Was it appropriate for the crime? • What was prison like? (routine/conditions) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> iv. How were you treated by staff? v. How were you treated by other inmates? • Did you receive any help in prison? (resettlement/offence related) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> vi. Did your prison experience or the help received in prison prepare you for release? • What impact did your imprisonment have on your family? •
Release	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Explain what happened when you were released <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Were you met by family and/or friends? ii. Were you given support, advice or help? • How did your family members, friends, community, church treat you when you were released? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> iii. How did this make you feel? iv. Is it what you expected? • How easy was it to get back into your normal life activities? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> v. Did you receive any form of support from any organisation or individual?

Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What has stopped you from reoffending? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. How important is this to you? • What circumstances could increase the likelihood of you engaging in crime again? • What could be done to help you stop offending or stay crime free? • Is there enough help and support for people leaving prison to help them stop offending? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ii. What more can be done? • Do you have any hopes and expectations for the future? • Do you have any regrets? • Do you think age has influenced your criminal life-style
This completes Your Interview. Thank You for Your Time!	

Appendix J: Focus Group Guide for Offenders in Prison

Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean:
Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Discussion Guide

Topic	Suggested Stimuli/Question
Engagement in crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why do you think persons who are newly released are able to maintain crime-free lifestyles and others are unable to do the same? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Are persons who maintain crime-free lifestyles any different from persons who engage in repeat criminality? ii. Is enough being done to encourage persons to maintain crime-free lifestyles? • Who do you consider most-at-risk of re-offending after leaving prison and why?
Impact of prison	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How does imprisonment affect an individual's life? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Does it change anything about the individual? ii. Does it change an individual's outlook on life? iii. Does it prepare persons for life through the prison gate? iv. How does it affect family life?
Release and Reintegration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How has living as ex-prisoners affected your involvement in community life? • Do you think that ex-prisoners are able to return to normal life activities? Why or why not? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i. Is successful reintegration into Jamaican society possible? ii. How does culture affect the reintegration process? iii. How do ex-prisoners change and rebuild their lives? iv. What is your view on the help and support available to ex-prisoners returning to Jamaican society? v. What programmes seem to be best suited to help ex-prisoners reintegrate into Jamaican society? • What do you think would be an important turning point in the life of a newly released person who decides to embrace and maintain a crime-free lifestyle? • Is there anything else anyone would like to share about life outside or inside prison?
This completes Your Interview. Thank You for Your Time!	

Appendix K: Focus Group Discussion Guide for Offenders within the Community

Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Focus Group Discussions [Research Instrument]

Tuesday, 18th December 2012 & Thursday 20th December 2012

Conference Room 1, SALISES, UWI (Mona)

Welcome and Introductions

Good afternoon everyone and welcome to this focus group session. First, let me thank you for your interest in participating in this research. My name is Dacia Leslie and I will be your moderator today. I will be assisted by Andrew Walcott who will take notes during the session.

Before we start I would like to thank Professor Brian Meeks, Director of SALISES for use of the venue and Mr. Glen Powell, President of NODM, for all his support in making this discussion possible. Today we are here to discuss the views and experiences of newly released persons regarding life in and outside of prison.

The main aim of the study is to explore factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners to Jamaican society. It is hoped that the results of the research will support evidence-based decision-making for improved policies and programmes geared towards facilitating the successful reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners.

House Rules

Refreshments will be provided after the session however tea and water are available throughout.

Handwritten notes on a piece of paper:
Dacia Leslie
Monday, 18/12/12

Bathrooms are located downstairs towards the end of the corridor. Should you need any assistance finding the restroom the security guard at the entrance of the building is able to direct you.

We request that all cell phones be set to vibrate or turned off, and that you avoid taking calls during the session. If you must take a call please leave the room quietly. However, your full participation is vital to the success of this research.

Ground Rules for the Focus Group

As emphasised in the Consent Form everything that we will discuss in this session will be kept confidential. We appreciate if each of you would feel free to share your opinions with us even if they are different from others in the group. Our goal is not to achieve consensus but to gain an understanding of all opinions.

The contribution of each person is important to the success of this session. We want to be respectful and to hear what everyone is saying. That is why it is important for one person to speak at a time. If you disagree with something someone says you may indicate that in a courteous way.

It is very important to emphasise that everyone who wishes to speak must first be acknowledged by the moderator.

Informed Consent Process

Please take some time to read the Informed Consent Form, which you have each received. I am just going to highlight a few things in the form. One your participation today is completely voluntary. Two we are asking your permission to record the session so that I am able to represent your views accurately. Three, I am also asking your permission for Andrew to take pictures of the venue whilst the discussion is in progression. Has everyone read and understood the consent

form? I wish now for you to indicate your willingness to participate in this study by signing the Form. Has everyone so indicate? Thank you for deciding to participate in this study. At this point does anyone have any questions before the discussion begins?

Opening Question

[Should indicate attitude towards life through the prison-gate]

1. We are going to go around the group and I am going to ask each of you to introduce yourself and tell us what for you is most significant about being released from prison.

Introductory Questions

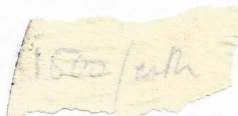
[Should indicate knowledge and attitude towards re-offending]

2. Why do you think some newly released persons are able to maintain a crime-free lifestyle and others seem unable to do the same?

Possible prompts: Are persons who are able to maintain a crime-free lifestyle any different from a person who engages in repeat criminality?
Is enough being done to encourage persons to maintain crime-free lifestyles? *

3. Who do you consider most-at-risk of re-offending after leaving prison and why?

Possible prompts: What about young persons?
What about persons involuntarily removed?



What about persons who were unemployed before being convicted?

Key Questions

[Should indicate knowledge, attitude, stigma and discrimination]

4. How does imprisonment affect an individual's life?

Possible prompts: Does it change anything about the individual?

Does it change an individual's outlook on life?

Does it prepare persons for life through the prison-gate?

How does it affect family life?

Does it affect culture?

✓ 5. How do you think society in general feels about persons who have been involuntarily returned to Jamaica?

Possible prompts: What of the non-governmental organizations with the mandate to facilitate the resettlement and reintegration of persons involuntarily returned home?

What of the governments of the sending countries?

What of the Jamaican Government?

Resettlement programs?

✓ 6. How has the migrant experience (both leaving Jamaica and returning to Jamaica) affected your quality of life?

Possible prompts: What about those persons left-behind? (e.g. children, spouse, parents)

What of your livelihood (means of supporting ones existence)?

What of your sense of belonging (feeling of being accepted within a particular group)?

What of your physical and mental health?

What of your education?

What of your recreation and leisure time?

- 2 ✓ 7. How has living as a "deportee" affected your involvement in your family, community, faith-based organization or the affairs of the country?

Possible prompts: Are deported migrants being encouraged to participate in processes of decision-making that affect them?

- ✓ 8. Do you believe that persons who have been released from prison can return to normal life activities? Why?

Possible prompt: Is successful reintegration into Jamaican society possible?

How does culture affect the reintegration process?

How do newly released persons reform and rebuild their lives after prison?

What is your view on the help and support available to persons involuntarily returned home?

Possible prompt: What programmes are best suited to assist newly released persons reintegrate into Jamaican society?

9. What is an important turning point in the life of a newly released person who decides to embrace and maintain a crime-free lifestyle?

Possible prompt: Is it a conscious decision?

After such a decision is made are there circumstances in which such a person could re-engage in criminality again?

10. Is there anything else anyone would like to share about life outside or inside of prison?

5

People have an obligation to society

We have come to the end of our discussion so at this time I would like to thank you once again for participating in this study. Refreshments are now available.

Appendix L: Individual and Group Interview Guide for Providers in Prison



Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean:
Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Interview Guide

1. How has prison helped persons who are about to be released?
2. What is the perceived impact of these forms of assistance (if any)?
3. What have been some of the challenges with providing assistance?
4. What other organisations do you work with in seeking to fulfil your mandate?
5. Who is considered by your organisation as most-at-risk of reoffending after leaving prison? Why?
6. What is your position regarding persons who have been released from prison locally or deported?
7. How can your organisation help to reduce stigma and discrimination shown towards ex-prisoners?
8. How does imprisonment affect an individual's life?
9. Are persons released from prison able to return to normal lifestyles within their communities? Why or why not?
10. What do you think are some of the barriers to effective reintegration?
11. Do you think that the government should play a leading role in the reintegration process in Jamaica? Why or why not?
12. What are your general views about ex-prisoners?

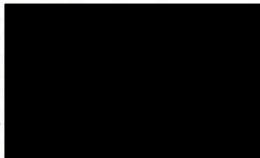
Appendix M: Letter of Invitation-Community Providers

Cardiff School of Social Sciences
Director Professor Malcolm Williams
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol Caerdydd
Cyfarwyddwr Yr Athro Malcolm Williams



7th November 2012

Cardiff University Reference: SREC/835



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Re: Letter of Invitation

I am pleased to invite you to participate in the study entitled *Criminal recidivism in the Caribbean: Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners*. The research seeks to explore and compare factors that contribute to criminal recidivism (repeat criminality) amongst Jamaican ex-offenders in Jamaica and the United Kingdom. The overarching aim of the comparative design is to analyse micro and macro level social factors that bear upon the effective reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners to Jamaican society.

The Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom, in partnership with Cardiff University and the Government of Jamaica acting through the Ministry of Finance, has provided funding for this research. Through this work, my hope as the Principal Investigator is to better characterise the recidivism and desistance phenomena in Jamaica and support evidence-based decision-making for improved programmes, policies and services that will further help in the resettlement of ex-prisoners.

[REDACTED] was selected because of the perceived impact it has had on the lives of persons released from prison, including those who have been deported. Through a face-to-face interview with you or a suitable representative, I would be happy to learn more about the organisation's role in facilitating the successful reintegration of ex-prisoners. This interview should last for no more than sixty minutes.

If you have any queries or concerns, please feel free to contact me by **telephone on (876) 250-3581 or via email at dacials1@gmail.com**. I look forward to your response and hope that you will be happy to share prior options used by your organisation to help ex-prisoners rebuild their lives.

Yours sincerely

Dacia Leslie
D.Phil. Candidate, School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University

Appendix N: Individual and Group Interview Guide for Providers within the community

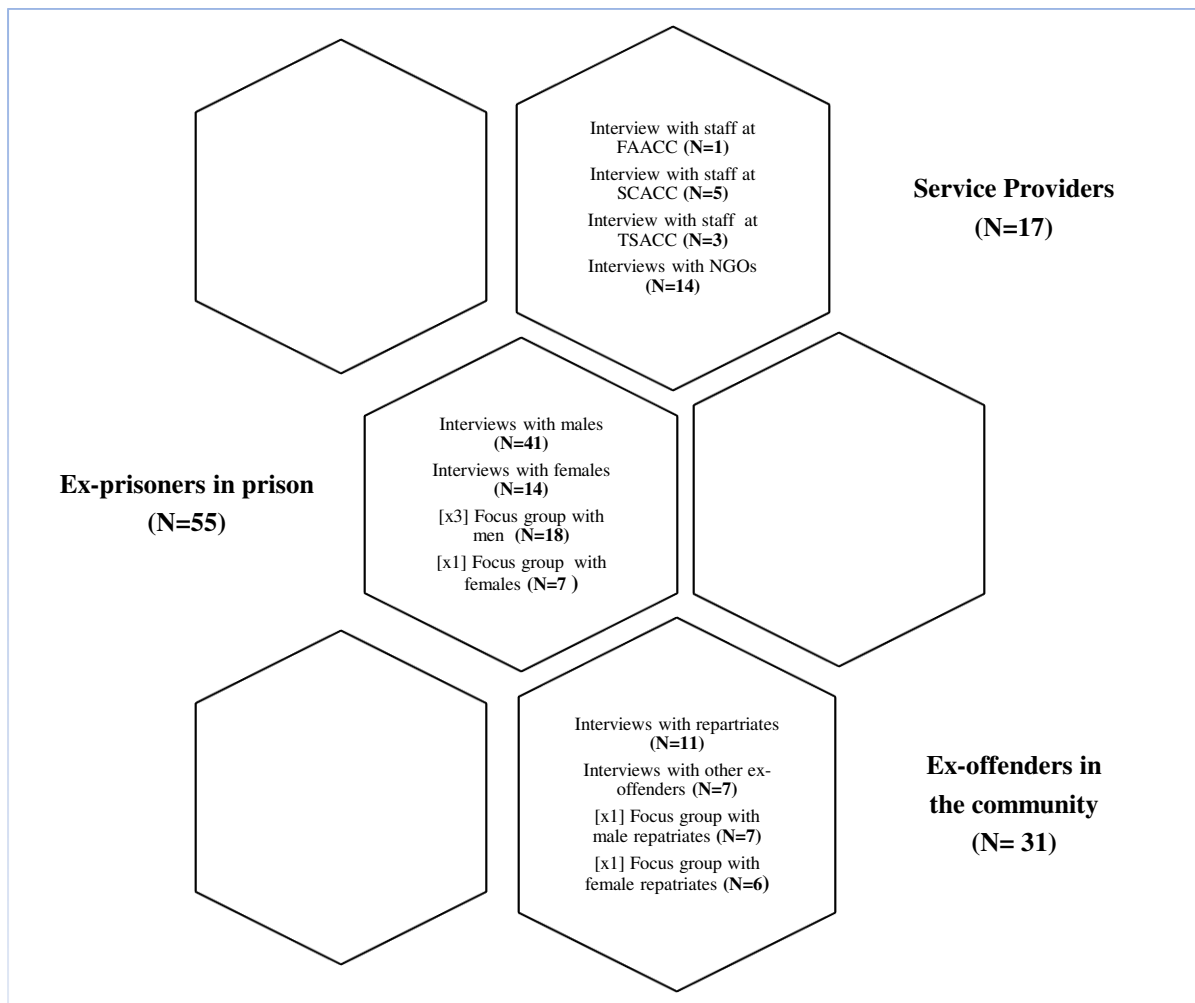


Criminal Recidivism in the Caribbean:
Improving the reintegration of Jamaican ex-prisoners

Interview Guide

1. How has your organisation reached persons who have been released from prison?
(Whether they have been released from prison locally or were deported)
2. What is the perceived impact of these programmes (if any)?
3. What have been some of the challenges of implementing these programmes?
4. What other organisations do you work with in seeking to fulfil your mandate?
5. Who is considered by your organisation as most-at-risk of reoffending after leaving prison? Why?
6. What is your organisation's position regarding persons who have been released from prison locally or deported?
7. How can your organisation help to reduce stigma and discrimination shown towards ex-prisoners?
8. How does imprisonment affect an individual's life?
9. Are persons released from prison able to return to normal lifestyles within their communities? Why or why not?
10. What do you think are some of the barriers to effective reintegration?
11. How have persons known to your organisation rebuilt their lives after leaving prison?
12. Do you think that NGOs should play a leading role in the reintegration process in Jamaica? Why

Appendix O: Components of the General Sample



Notes

1. Perspectives of 17 organisations are represented in the investigation and a total of 29 individuals were involved in this component of the inquiry.
2. In all three adult correctional centres, persons who were interviewed became participants of focus groups
3. A female correctional officer was invited to join the last half of the focus group interview with female recidivists. The discussion therefore started with 7 female recidivists and ended with 8 participants.
4. Interviews were conducted with 41 ex-prisoners in prison but only 40 were prison recidivists

Appendix P: Lyrics of Deportees (Things Change)

Yes, well, tek dis from Gargamel,
uddawise known as Buju
Anytime yuh go foreign neva yuh
don't trust t'ings behind yuh
'Ca wicked t'ings will tek yuh
Watch mi nuh!

Chorus

T'ings change, now unno see sey life hard
Yuh neva used to spen' no money come a yard
Yuh wretch you, yuh spen' di whole a it abroad
Squander yuh money now yuh livin' like dog
Boy get deport come dung inna one pants
Bruk an' have no money
but mi nuh response
No abiding city, wan pressure fi mi ranch
An' when 'im dey a foreign 'im did important
But 'im neva did a look back, neva did a
glance
Neva know 'im would a tumble ova like an
avalanche
Mama dung inna di hole, an' 'im don't buy her
a lamp
Not a line, not a letter, nor a fifty cent stamp
Him father want a shoes an' cannot go to
When mi hear di bwoy get, yuh know mi
Send 'im back
Uncle Sam, cause 'im deh dey an' a wrong

Chorus

One drop inna di snow from about seventy-
nine
Neva get di chance cause it wasn't my time
An' mi hear yuh dey a foreign an' commit di

most crime

An' mek a bag a money when mi couldn't mek
a dime
(re)membra one time gon how yuh used to brag
Benz an' Lexus a wey yuh did have
Clarks and Bally whey yuh got in a bag
Clothes a yuh no wear still have on nametag
Now yuh crash up, now yuh mash up, yuh
neva did a plan
Yuh neva bid a check fi lay a foundation, mi
holla

Chorus

Back together again, mi baby fren'
Dust off yuh clothes, an' start from scratch
again
Back together again, mi baby fren'
Dust off yuh clothes, an' start, nuh true

Caught up in di world of di rich and di famous
Golden livity it haffe luxurious
Have all di girls in di world in a surplus
Massage yuh shoulder, bump some a bust
Request yuh coffee an' she pour it from a
thermos
Cool an' kick back an' just a watch delirious
Now yuh sorry, yuh neva (re)membra
Di almighty one in yuh days of splend

Copyright: Lyrics © Universal Music
Publishing Group

Songwriters: Myrie, Mark Anthony / Germain,
Donovan / Charles, Von Wayne S. / Kelly, Dav

Appendix Q: Lyrics of Redemption Song

Old pirates, yes, they rob I,
Sold I to the merchant ships,
Minutes after they took I
From the bottomless pit.

But my 'and was made strong
By the 'and of the Almighty.
We forward in this generation
triumphantly.

Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever have,
Redemption songs,
Redemption songs.

Emancipate yourself from mental slavery,
None but our self can free our minds.
Have no fear for atomic energy,
'Cause none of them can stop the time.
How long shall they kill our prophets,
While we stand aside and look?
Some say it's just a part of it,
We've got to fulfil de book.

Won't you help to sing
These songs of freedom?

'Cause all I ever have,
Redemption songs,
Redemption songs,
Redemption songs.

Emancipate yourself from mental slavery,
None but our self can free our mind.
Have no fear for atomic energy,
'Cause none of them can stop the time.
How long shall dey kill our prophets,
While we stand aside and look?
Some say it's just a part of it,
We've got to fulfill de book.

Won't you help to sing,
These songs of freedom?
'Cause all I ever had,
Redemption songs.
All I ever had,
Redemption songs
These songs of freedom
Songs of freedom

Songwriters
Hawkins, Edwin / Marley, Bob

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