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EXPLORING POLICY LINKAGES BETWEEN POVERTY, CRIME AND VIOLENCE: A LOOK AT THREE CARIBBEAN STATES

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Abstract

Crime and violence threaten individual safety and affect the social, economic and political life of a country and its citizens. As one of the most critical issues affecting Caribbean societies today, crime and violence have a significant impact on the achievement of development goals. Lower levels of life satisfaction, the erosion of social capital, intergenerational transmission of violence and higher mortality and morbidity rates are just some of the non-monetary costs of crime and violence. Direct monetary costs include medical, legal, policing, prisons, foster care and private security.

This discussion paper seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge on crime and violence through an exploration of the possible policy linkages between poverty, crime and violence, using data from Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. It does so against the backdrop of increasing concern for the impact of violence on the social and economic development and human welfare of Caribbean societies. In addition to the primary objective of exploring the policy and programming linkages between poverty reduction programming and that aimed at reducing crime and violence, the study includes an overview of crime and poverty statistics in the three countries under investigation as well as a review of literature which examines the crime, violence and poverty nexus. Finally the paper seeks to generate discussion regarding future research that could inform public policy in this sensitive area.

I. Introduction

"Through multiple channels, crime and violence threaten the welfare of Caribbean citizens. Beyond the direct effects on victims, crime and violence inflict widespread costs, generating a climate of fear for all citizens and diminishing economic growth".

In the report produced by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Latin America and Caribbean Region of the World Bank, it has been estimated that at 30 per 100, 000 population, the murder rates in the Caribbean region are higher than in any other region of the world. [1]

With estimated murder rates of approximately 30, 20, and 50 per 100,000 population in Trinidad and Tobago, Saint Lucia and Jamaica, respectively, these countries demonstrate this trend of both high and increasing levels of crime and violence.

The impact of crime and violence on the social, economic and political development of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean is well documented. Crime and violence result in the erosion of physical, human, social, financial and natural assets which are essential for human survival, individual and community well-being, social cohesion and economic growth. [2] Further, the costs of crime and violence may be identified in terms of direct and indirect costs and their economic and social multiplier effects. Among the direct costs, are those related to treating or preventing violence, be they applied to the policy services or the health sector; indirect costs include increased morbidity and mortality. The economic multiplier effects have been described as those which may result from the decreased accumulation of human capital, and the social multiplier effects as those which arise from the intergenerational transmission of violence and the increase in insecurity and fear.

Literature suggests that more often than not, crime and violence result in the diversion of national expenditure away from human development and welfare services to services focused on controlling and addressing the impact of crime and violence such as policing and the Judiciary. A comparative examination of expenditure on social welfare and national security in Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago suggests that the percentage of GDP spent on national security has increased steadily for all three countries over the past five years, while expenditure on social security and welfare remains fairly constant. It also suggests that far greater expenditure occurs in the area of national security than on social welfare.

The causes and risk factors for crime and violence have been the subject of much debate. Understanding the root causes of crime and violence present a challenge because causes are not only multiple in nature but are also mutually reinforcing.[3] The Durkheimian or modernization perspective links rising crime to the break-up of traditional normative social controls - such as the extended family, community ties, religious beliefs and ascribed status relations. The ecological model emphasizes economic and demographic changes over cultural and normative patterns. Thus, according to this model, industrialization creates more suitable targets and fewer and fewer guardians (Albuqurque and McElroy, 2007). The ecological model identifies four

[1] UNODC, World Bank 2007
[2] Moser 1999
[3] Moser 1999

different but integrated levels of violence causality: structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual.

The view that poverty is a major causal factor of crime and violence has been challenged by evidence which suggests that inequality and feelings of relative deprivation, more than poverty, are a significant influential factors for crime and violence.

The vulnerability of the Caribbean region to drug trafficking due to its location between drug-producing economies of the south and drug-consuming economies of the north means that in the Caribbean drug trafficking and its accompanying ills operate as added causal factors influencing crime and violence in the region.

High recidivism rates as well as increased deportations of convicted offenders from the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom coupled with ineffective systems and support structures for these deportees, though the subject of debate, are currently being viewed as contributory factors to rising crime rates in the Caribbean.

There would seem to be agreement among Caribbean scholars and practitioners alike, that not nearly enough is known about crime, violence and delinquency in the region, nor about its causality and that according to Harriott (2003), any suggestion that the only missing requirement is the political will to deal with the problem "grossly oversimplifies the reality."

A. Scope of the paper

The paper begins with definitions and categorization of crime, violence and poverty including a brief discussion of some of the key challenges with measurement. An analysis of crime trends for the period 1996 to 2006 and the incidence of poverty in the countries under review for a similar period is presented. The following section explores the literature which discusses the links between poverty, crime and violence and includes a discussion on the risk factors for crime and violence including the impact of inequality and relative deprivation on levels of crime and violence.

In examining the practical application of knowledge about the links between crime, violence, poverty and inequality at the policy and programme levels, the paper presents findings of a very preliminary study based on a self administered questionnaire. The primary respondents of the questionnaire were heads of poverty reduction programmes and/or permanent secretaries with responsibility for social development in the three countries under review. The paper concludes with recommendations for further research.

II. Definitions and measurement: trends and challenges in the Caribbean

A. Defining crime and violence

Crime and violence are related phenomena and definitions of these two issues often overlap. Beyond an emphasis on distinguishing between these two different, but related, issues, though important, this paper addresses crime and violence as concomitant issues and as issues bearing equal importance for Caribbean societies. Having established this approach, in defining crime and violence it is important to acknowledge that all violence is not treated as criminal, for example, some forms of domestic violence and, conversely, not all crime is violent[4].

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as:

> "The intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a higher likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation". [5]

This definition of violence incorporates an understanding of violence as both public and private; as including acts of neglect and as encompassing physical; psychological and sexual abuse. Extensive work has been done in Latin America and the Caribbean in terms of the categorization of violence. Violence can be political, institutional, economic and social[6]. Further, violence is defined according to its motivation, intentionality, victim or agent, according to whether it is interpersonal, collective or self directed and according to its geographic location. Buvinic, Morrison and Shifter distinguish between emotional and instrumental violence noting that while instrumental violence is used to intimidate and to ensure obedience, in the case of emotional violence, violence is an end in itself[7]. Urban gang-related violence as well as gender-based violence and violence against children are examples of specific types of violence.

Both the use of violence in the execution of criminal activity as well as the correlation between increased crime and increased levels of societal violence in particular gives credence to assessing these issues in tandem.

Definitions of crime vary significantly among countries. The joint report of the UNODC and the Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank notes that "even for what seems like an easily defined offense such as murder, definitions vary widely, and crimes like burglary, robbery and sexual offenses are defined very differently across jurisdictions".[8] As will be highlighted in the section to follow, this difference in definition coupled by differences in the categorization and measurement of crimes within the Caribbean region makes comparisons challenging. Statistics related to crimes against the person, specifically homicide rates, give the best indication of the violent crime situation in a country. As such, in spite of variations in definitions, and in the absence of victim surveys, a focus on these categories of crime facilitates a depiction of national situations of crime and violence.

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[4] Buvinic, Morrison, Shifter 1999
[5] World Health Organization. Report on Violence and Health, 2002
[6] Moser, 2004
[7] Buvinic, Morrison, Shifter 1999
[8] UNODC, World Bank 2007

UNODC definitions of certain types of crime, specifically the types of crime against a person, which will be used in this report, are given in the section below.

Box 1
Definitions of Crime

Intentional Homicide is death deliberately inflicted on a person by another person, including infanticide.
Assault is physical attack against the body of another person including battery but excluding indecent assault
Rape is sexual intercourse without valid consent.

Source: UNODC

B. Problems with measurement of crime and violence

In spite of the benefits of using crime statistics there are immediate difficulties, such as the underreporting of crime which is perhaps the most significant. Additionally, changes in ways of recording statistics by statistical agencies from one period to the next increases difficulty of longitudinal and comparative studies. Poor record keeping, as well as the differences in ways of recording among countries further complicate measurement and comparison. This is particularly evident in the lack of comparability in offence/offender classification processes across the region. Unrecorded increases in the population due to tourist arrivals, as well as tourist exposure to crime and violence, leads to distortions in crime ratios. Further, discrepancies also exist in some countries between public health and police records of homicides in particular.[9]

C. Poverty: Definitions and measurement

Poverty is broadly defined as insufficient resources for an adequate standard of living[10]. The definition and measurement of poverty remains a highly contentious issue[11]both because poverty is multi-dimensional, multifaceted and therefore complex, and also because it is both a relative and subjective phenomenon. These features make a universal definition of poverty difficult, and one that requires explanation and qualification depending on the socio-economic and ideological position of the evaluator. [12]

Based on notions of relative deprivation, income levels, basic needs and consumption, a variety of different approaches have been used to measure poverty.

A basic needs approach based on consumption, household expenditure or household income is the common approach used in the Caribbean with data derived from household budgetary surveys or surveys of living conditions.

One of the main benefits of this approach is that household surveys allow for "analytic comparisons of differences in opportunities, access and outcomes for the poor and non poor."[13]

[9] UNODC, World Bank 2007
[10] PAHO/WHO 1999
[11] Henry R, 2004
[12] ECLAC 1993
[13] Greene E, PAHO, WHO 1999

Literature also suggests that household surveys help to give an indication of what is needed to improve living conditions and human development[14].

In spite of the value of basic needs approaches, there are also inherent drawbacks. Ralph Henry argues that difficulties in the conduct of the survey of living conditions include the reliance of the surveys on the recall of expenditure of households. Additionally, interviewees may distort information because of mistrust of the process or the need to impress. Household surveys also rely on census data which for many countries of the Caribbean are often outdated.

Limited consideration of gender issues with respect to measuring urban poverty and identifying the urban poor as well as a lack of consensus on the distinctions between and definitions of urban and rural poverty represent further challenges. [15] The use of the household head as the focus of analysis, for example, does not take into account resource acquisition and distribution within the household. Further it does not take into account individual consumption or patterns of decision-making.[16]

In recent years definitions and measurements of poverty have been widened to include non-material deprivation and social differentiation.[17] These approaches have become particularly popular in relation to community level assessments of poverty and in the determination of local level needs. They engage more qualitative and subjective definitions of poverty, including the concepts of vulnerability, entitlement and social exclusion[18] and, as such, better facilitate the inclusion of a gender analysis. Levels of vulnerability are linked to asset ownership including ownership of physical, human, social and natural assets. According to this perspective, "the more assets individuals, households and communities can acquire and the better they manage them, the less vulnerable they are". The erosion of assets therefore results in greater insecurity and poverty.[19]

An appreciation of the challenges associated with defining and measuring poverty, crime and violence is critical to understanding the differences and gaps in the analysis and comparison of trends both within and among individual countries.

[14] Greene 1999
[15] Masika , R 1997
[16] Mondesire 1999
[17] Wratten; Satterthwaite in Urbanisation and Urban Poverty a Gender Analysis.
[18] R, Masika. In Urban Poverty a Gender Analysis.
[19] Moser 1999

III. Crime, violence and poverty in the Caribbean

A. An overview of the situation of crime, violence in the Caribbean: Key dimensions

Violent crime is on the increase in many countries of the Caribbean. With estimated murder rates of 30 per 100,000 population annually, murder rates in the Caribbean have been reported to be "higher than any other region of the world and have risen in recent years for many of the region's countries".[20] Police reports and victimization surveys, though imperfect, demonstrate that domestic and sexual violence is a prominent feature of the lives of many women and girls. Jamaica, Barbados and Trinidad and Tobago, for example, demonstrate a rate of rape above the unweighted average of 102 countries as outlined in the United Nations Crime Trends Survey 2002. Following global trends which demonstrate that the highest rates of homicide in the world occur among males who are three times more likely than females to be victims of homicide,[21] men, and young men in the Caribbean in particular, are at risk.

The pattern of violent crime, notably the increase in homicide for some countries in the region is seen to emerge after the mid–1980s.[22] This, according to Harriott (2002), represents a break in the traditional pattern of criminal offending in the Caribbean which took the form of property crime prior to the mid-1980s. It may be argued that the change in the pattern of violent crime post mid–80s, discussed above, parallels both the post structural adjustment era of economic depression in the region as well as the 1980s drug consumption boom in the United States.

Organized crime is also a key characteristic of crime and violence in the region as evidenced mainly through drug trafficking and through kidnapping, money laundering and corruption, to a lesser extent. With estimates of 40 per cent of cocaine entering Europe[23] and 12 per cent of the cocaine entering the United States[24] transiting through the Caribbean, in spite of recorded decreases in the flow of drugs through the region, the Caribbean remains a significant transshipment point to the drug consuming countries of the north. The demand for cocaine in Canada as well as demands for heroine and synthetic drugs, such as ecstasy, present additional opportunities for drug transshipment through the Caribbean.

In addition to its ability to impact on levels of violence, drug trafficking is accompanied by both the trade in and use of firearms to protect drug cargo. This trend impacts on the levels of gun violence, for example, 75.2 percent of all murders committed in Jamaica in 2006 involved the use of guns.[25] The trade also influences local drug use, gang violence, prostitution and property crime.[26]

The impact of criminal deportees on levels of crime in the region has been the subject of some debate. Increasing levels of crime are in some respects attributed to the learnt behaviour of these offenders who are seen as having honed skills in criminal behaviour in the United States,

[20] UNODC, World Bank 2007
[21] PAHO/WHO World report on violence and health
[22] Harriot 2000
[23] Europol, statement made at the Horizontal Drug Group (HDG) of the European Union, 10 January 2006 in UNODC World Bank Report entitled crime, violence and development trends.
[24] US. National Drug Intelligence Centre, 2005 in UNDOC , World bank
[25] Economic and Social Survey 2006.
[26] UNODC and World Bank.

Canada or the United Kingdom. Opposing views highlight that in reality very few deportees commit crimes upon return and, more than being threats to society, deportees are made vulnerable both by the absence of mechanisms and institutions to facilitate their integration as well as by discrimination.

The increased involvement of young people as both victims and perpetrators of violent crime including homicide is another disturbing feature of the profile of crime and violence in the region. While young men make up an increasing percentage of both victims and perpetrators of crime, the percentage of young women committing violent crimes in particular is considerably low.

It is estimated that young men in the 15 to 35 age group commit 80 per cent of the crime in the region.[27] The WHO report on violence also notes that youth homicides are highest in the Latin American and Caribbean region. In Jamaica alone 1086 young men and boys and 1733 young women and girls aged 0 to 24 years were victims of major crimes including murder, shooting, robbery, house breaking, rape and carnal abuse in 2006.[28] For the same period, 372 young men ages 12 to 24 committed murder and 346 young men in the same age group were involved in shootings, while 1332 young women aged 0 to 24 were victims of rape and carnal abuse. These trends clearly demonstrate the vulnerability of boys and girls to different forms of violent crime.

Child abuse and other forms of violence against children as well as children's exposure to violence in the region also cannot be overlooked. Children are the victims of physical, sexual and emotional abuse and neglect. There remain many challenges with the recording, reporting and understanding of the nature of child abuse which make a comprehensive understanding of child abuse in the region difficult.

B. Crime trends in three selected Caribbean countries

The following discussion of crime trends refers to three selected countries in the Caribbean. The three countries were selected based on their position within the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) classification for the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW). The three countries are Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica was identified as among those countries having an 'established' high level and pattern of armed crime; Trinidad and Tobago as being located among those countries with 'emerging' high levels of armed and organized criminality; and Saint Lucia for being among those countries identified as having 'indications of increased use and availability' of small arms.[29]

Data in figure 1 suggest that Jamaica continues to have, for the period 1996 to 2006, the highest homicide rate per 100,000 population, among the countries under review. The rate fluctuated around 40 per 100,000 from 1996 until 2004 when it began an upward trend to as high as over 60 per 100,000, tapering off to 50 per 100,000 in 2006. Harriott (2003) describes Jamaica, when compared to the other countries in the Western Hemisphere, as "an extraordinary case".

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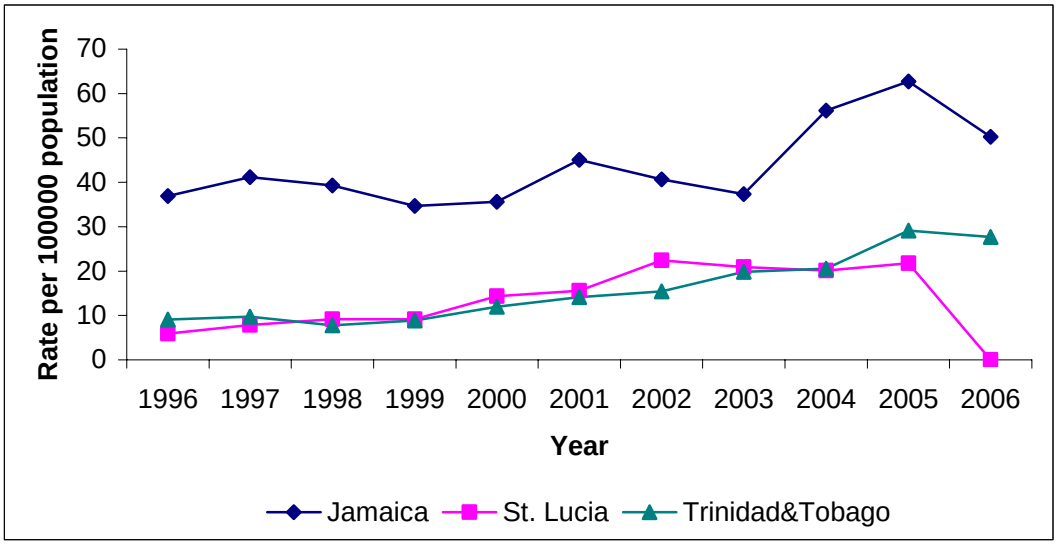
[27] In Youth at Risk UNDP 2000 from Gabriel and Bishop World Bank Report on Crime 1995.
[28] Social and Economic Survey Jamaica.
[29] A report on the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW) prepared by the CARICOM Regional Task Force on Crime and Security , 2002 as cited by the UNODC and World Bank Report 2007

Trinidad and Tobago displayed a steady and relatively low (in comparison to Jamaica) homicide rate of under 10 per 100,000 population, then from 2000 it too began an upward climb resulting in 30 per 100,000 population in 2006. For Saint Lucia, a similar pattern to that of Trinidad and Tobago obtained, with the homicide rate beginning at a relative low, below 10 per 100,000, with a noticeable increase in 2000 but leveling off a little lower than that of Trinidad and Tobago at 20 per 100,000 until 2005. Unfortunately national data was unavailable for the period after 2005.

Harriot (2003) observes that Jamaican society is slowly growing accustomed to and accepting of higher thresholds of tolerance of crime. This notion of tolerance for high threshold levels is a phenomenon to examine as increasing homicide rates are observed in the other countries under review as well.

Figure 1
Rate of Homicide for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago, 1996-2006



Source: Jamaica – Economic & Social Survey, PIOJ; Saint Lucia – National Statistics Office; Trinidad and Tobago – Central Statistical Office and Economist Intelligence Unit.

Figure 2 presents data on the incidence of gender-based violence for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago for the period under review. Gender-based violence has been defined by the United Nations as " any act of violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life".[30]

The United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) argues that gender-based violence both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims. In its discussion of gender-based violence, the UNFPA proposes that such violence encompasses a wide range of human rights violations, including: sexual abuse of children, rape, domestic violence, sexual assault and harassment, trafficking of

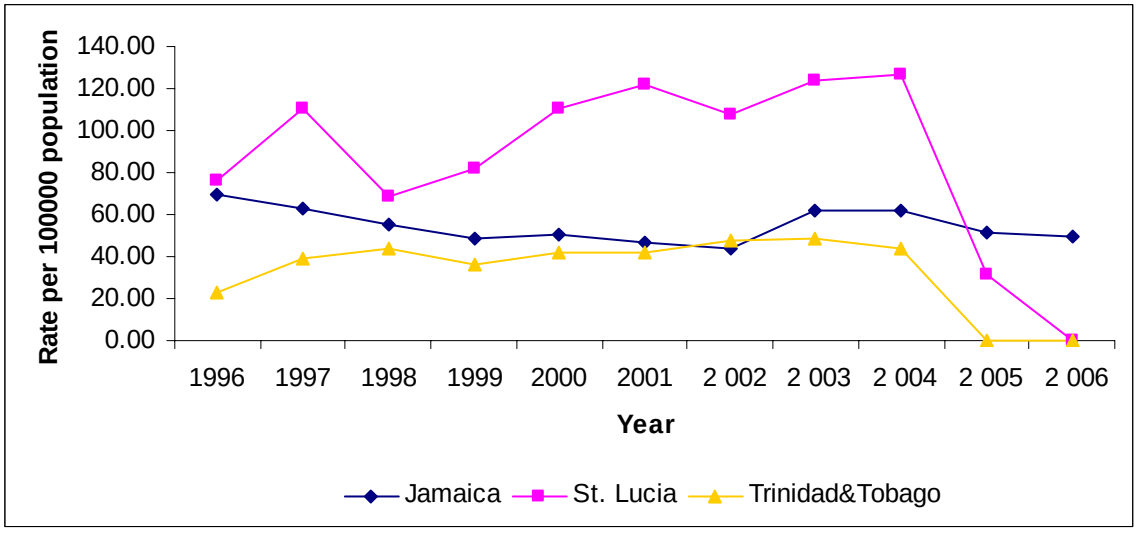
[30]In paragraph 113 of the Platform for Action, arising out of the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing China 4-15 September 1995, the different types of violence are described. In paragraph 112, Governments agreed that violence against women was “an obstacle to the achievement of the objectives of equality, development and peace”.

women and girls and several harmful traditional practices. It further advances that any one of these abuses can leave deep psychological scars, damage the health of women and girls in general, including their reproductive and sexual health, and in some instances, results in death.[31]

In this chart, the data on gender-based violence includes those on rape, incest, indecent assault, unlawful carnal knowledge, buggery and unnatural acts. The chart suggests Saint Lucia had the highest rates of gender based violence with rates well over 100 per 100,000 population per year. Jamaica follows next with rates of over 50 per 100,000 population. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, rates persist around 40 per 100,000 population. Data for 2006 is unavailable for Trinidad and Tobago. Jamaica continued to display the highest reported incidence of cases with over 1000 cases being reported with a peak in 2003-2204 with over 1,500 cases, and a drop in 2006 to a little over 1,300 cases.

Although efforts to collect statistics on violence against women in the home are recent and as yet unable to support a comprehensive assessment of the magnitude of the problem in the region, studies suggest that in Latin America and the Caribbean between 30 per cent and 75 per cent of adult women with partners in the region are subject to psychological abuse and between 10 per cent and 30 per cent suffer physical violence.[32]

Figure 2
Rate of Gender Based violence for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago, 1990-2006



From the data collected it is not easy to ascertain the extent of women who are homicide victims. Jones (2003) argues, in a study of violence against women in Jamaica, that there is a changing pattern in the murder of women. This pattern, she suggests, is shifting from a situation in which females were victims in domestic incidents to one in which their killings now appear to be the result of other activities. She suggests that increasingly women are being killed because of

[31] Definition of gender-based violence sourced from the UNFPA website, (accessed March 31,2008) http://www.unfpa.org/gender/violence.htm.
[32] Buvinic, Mayra, Andrew Morrison and Michael Shifter, "Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean: A framework for action (1999).

their involvement in the drug trade or due to partnerships with gunmen, or as active participants and/or couriers in the drug trade. She concludes that women are often targeted for reprisal killings in disputes in the drug trade.

This changing pattern of violence against women requires deeper understanding and new responses to address the challenges being posed.

Data for the rate of felonious wounding, as illustrated in figure 3, suggest a different pattern to that observed for homicides in the three countries under examination. The startlingly higher rates for Saint Lucia than for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago may be a result of the differing classifications among the countries under examination and presents a case for harmonization and/or standardization of definitions and classifications of crime across the countries under review. It may also suggest the need for further research to understand the patterns of crime in Saint Lucia.

Figure 3
Rate of felonious wounding and assault for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago, 1990-2006

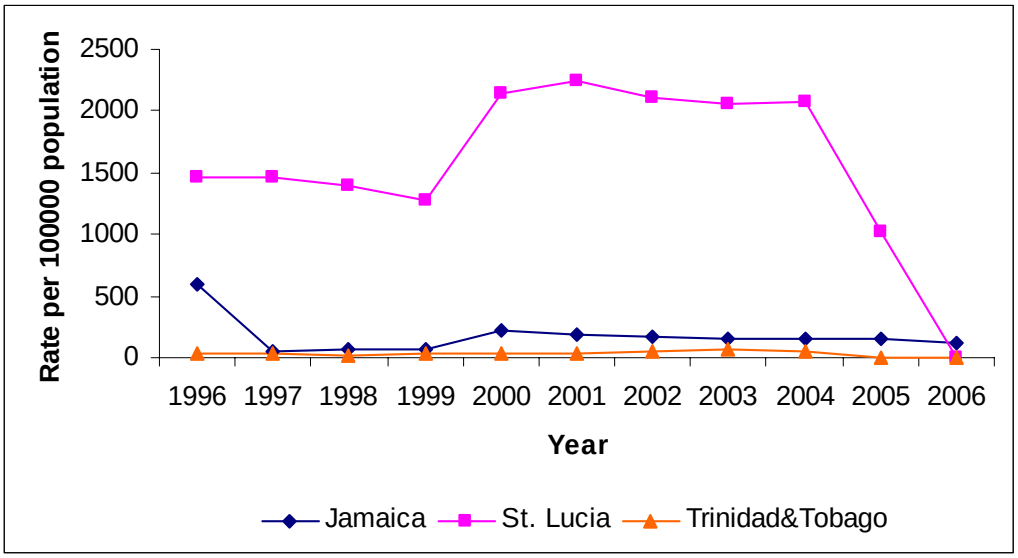
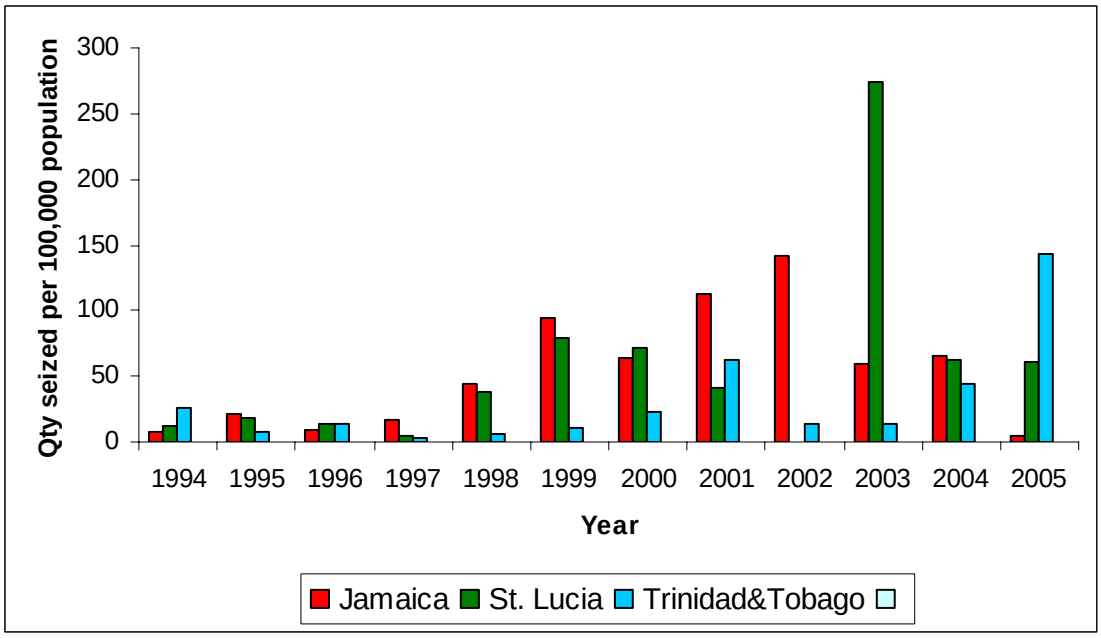


Figure 4
Quantity of cocaine (kg) seized in Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago, 1994-2005



The Joint Report of the UNODC and the World Bank on Crime, Violence and Development, suggests that violence in the Caribbean is aggravated by the presence of organized crime. One such indicator of organized crime has been the seizures of contraband, particularly drugs.

The indicator of the quantity of cocaine seized has been considered as a fair proxy indicator for levels of organized crime in a country. Figure 4, suggests that in the period 1996/97, such seizures were very low in the countries under review. Seizures, and possibly illegal drug activity, peaked between 1999 and 2002 in Jamaica and peaked in 2005 in Trinidad and Tobago. The highest period of activity for Saint Lucia was in 2003, but generally over the period seizures have been low. This may suggest that Saint Lucia may not be such a hub of activity for organized crime as its two sister islands.

Another aspect of the drug transactions is the involvement of firearms, as the report suggests that firearms are often traded for drugs. The report concludes that a major factor contributing to the surge of gun-related criminality in the region is the trafficking of narcotics which has facilitated the availability of firearms.

C. The situation of poverty and inequality in the Caribbean

Poverty has long been a feature of Caribbean economy and society. With roots in the unequal distribution of land, assets and resources during the period of colonialism and slavery, this unequal distribution of productive assets including human, physical, social and political capital persists in the Caribbean today. Although the Caribbean has made significant strides in human development and many countries are ranked quite high in the Human Development Report (HDR) ranking, pockets of persistent poverty continue, manifested through low levels of

educational attainment, unemployment, poor heath and nutrition, sub-standard living conditions and high levels of infant mortality.

Female-headed households are often found to be disproportionately represented among poor households. Available data for the three countries under review, as illustrated in figures 5,6,7, and 8, support that trend. Household poverty, coupled with a high burden of care for the young and aged, decreases the chances of female-headed households (FHH) of escaping the poverty trap without external support. Poor households in the Caribbean are also characterized by large families. A high proportion of poor households often mean that a country may have large numbers of children and youth who are living in poverty.

The root causes of poverty have been explained through perspectives which emphasize the role of economic deprivation as a source of poverty, as well as by perspectives which emphasize the role of culture or a culture of poverty. Within this latter perspective poverty results from the lack of psychological capital such as personal motivation, civic commitment and attitudes of enterprise.[33] Poverty, according to this perspective, "is also about the specific psychological manifestations which economic dependency, especially in the historical context of colonialism constructed within Caribbean people". [34] The root causes of poverty therefore can be seen to operate at the institutional levels of political economy, nation, society and family through global, regional and national economics, education, employment and family support systems as well as at the individual psychological level.

The situation of poverty and inequality in the Caribbean can best be understood in terms of the quality of living conditions as detailed in Surveys of Living Conditions (SLC). Countries in the Caribbean, barring Jamaica which has a long history of continuous productions of SLC from as early as the mid-1980s, have only recently begun to undertake poverty assessments with some degree of regularity. Since the 1990s and through the support of the Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) countries such as Belize, St. Kitts and Nevis, St. Vincent and the Grenadines and Saint Lucia have undertaken at least two studies resulting in comparable data.

Trinidad and Tobago has undertaken surveys of living conditions but due to different methodologies and other constraints the results have proved difficult to compare over time.

Despite these constraints, what has become evident is that in the face of seeming wealth and relatively high levels of GDP per capita experienced by some countries of the Caribbean, pockets of poverty and significant inequality persist both within countries as well as between countries.

Data in table 1 for the three countries under review suggest that Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago for the period under review have experienced some decline in the proportion of the population which has been defined as poor. In the case of Saint Lucia the reverse seems to have occurred.

[33] Deosaran 2000. In Psychonomics and Poverty Towards Governance and a Civil Society.
[34] Deosaran 2000. In Psychonomics and Poverty Towards Governance and a Civil Society

Table 1
Poverty Statistics for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad & Tobago

Jamaica			
	Poverty rate	**Indigence rate**	**Gini coefficient**
1995	27.5	…	0.36
2005	14.8	…	0.38
Saint Lucia			
	Poverty rate	**Indigence rate**	**Gini coefficient**
1995	25.1	7.1	0.50
2005	28.8	1.6	0.42
Trinidad & Tobago			
	Poverty rate	**Indigence rate**	**Gini coefficient**
1997/98	24.0	8.3	0.39
2005	16.7	1.2	0.39

Sources: Survey of Living Conditions, Jamaica. The Assessment of Poverty in Saint Lucia, 2006, KAIRI Consultants. Survey of Living Conditions, Trinidad and Tobago. Poverty Reduction and Social Development Report, Trinidad and Tobago, 2004, Kairi Consultants.

With a rate of 28.8 percent of the population, Saint Lucia's incidence of poverty means that out of a population of 164,842 persons approximately 47,474 persons are poor [35]. The majority of the poor in Saint Lucia live in rural areas. This trend represents a departure from the pattern of higher concentrations of urban poverty experienced in other countries of the region.

Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica demonstrate decreasing rates of poverty. The incidence rate for example decreased from 27.5 percentage of the population in 1995 to 14.8 percentage of the population in 2005 for Jamaica. Trinidad and Tobago demonstrates a similar trend with a decrease from 24 percentage of the population in 1998 to 16.7 percentage population in 2005. These decreases in the rates of poverty are attributed in part to the poverty reduction programmes implemented in both countries over the period.

Data in table 1 also suggests that whereas the Gini coefficient for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago is moderately high, in the case of Saint Lucia, where the Gini coefficient is still over 0.40, the levels of inequality are considered quite significant. The Gini index measures how far real distribution is from a hypothetical reference point. If incomes were distributed in a fully equitable manner, each person in a society would receive the same share of income. This fully equitable position would be represented by zero. Complete concentration of income in a single person, or complete inequality, would be represented by one. In theory, the Gini coefficient can vary between zero and one. In practice, however, Gini coefficients of per capita income vary between 0.25 and 0.60. Inequality indices in Latin America, which are considered to be amongst the highest in the world are on average approximately 0.52, with a minimum of 0.43 for Uruguay and a maximum of 0.59 for Brazil.[36]

[35] Source: The assessment of Poverty in St. Lucia, Kairi Consultants 2006
[36] ECLAC (2000) Education and its Impact on Poverty: Equity or Exclusion

Figure 5

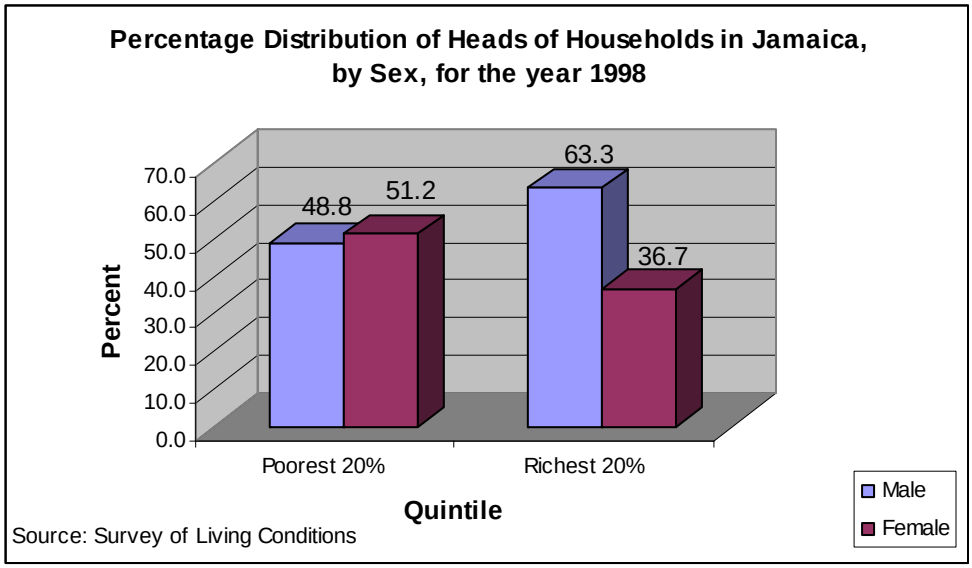


Figure 6

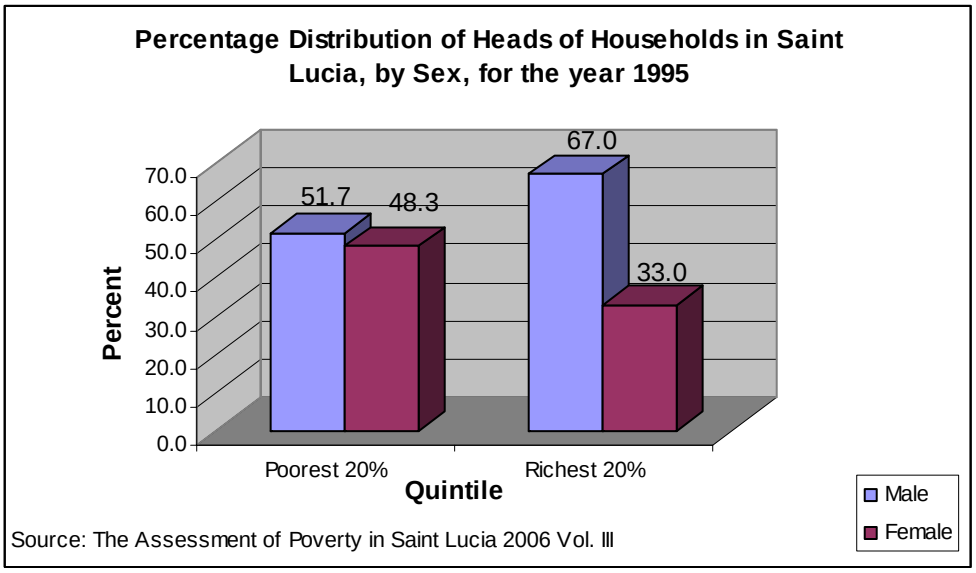


Figure 7

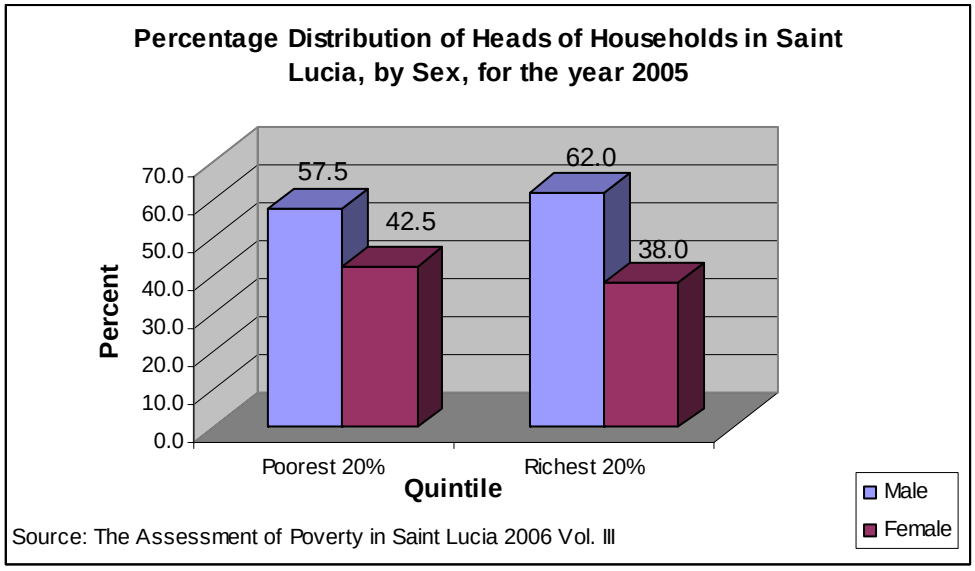
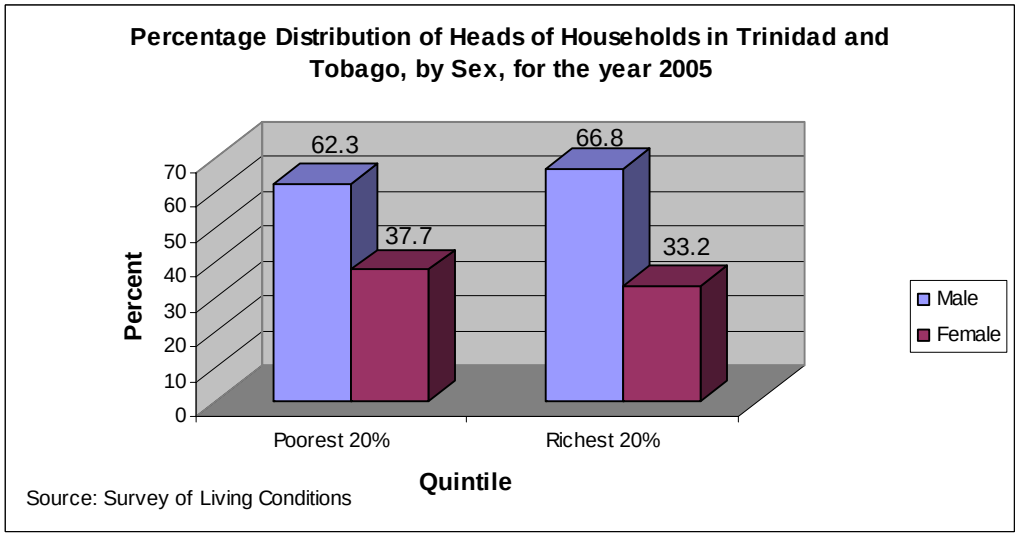


Figure 8



IV. The links between Crime, Poverty and Violence: A brief overview

A. Causes of crime and violence

Debates about the root causes of crime and violence are extensive. These debates include economic models of causation which emphasize the utility of crime in particular and therefore make strong links between the economic and material benefits of crime as an illegal activity as opposed to the benefits of legal activities. Social and psychological models of crime and violence causation emphasize the link between crime and violence and issues such as socialization, family and peer environments.

The integrated model of violence causation which draws on the ecological model first used to explain human development identifies four different levels of violence causality: structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual. This model demonstrates the interrelated and mutually reinforcing role that different levels of causality play in the act of violence[37] and has come to be a widely accepted model of violence causation. In an application of the integrated model for violence causality to an understanding of gang violence, Moser identifies individual causal factors as low self esteem, desire for status and greed; interpersonal factors such as a violent or dysfunctional family; unemployment or delinquent peer associations; institutional factors such as a poor school system and the presence of gangs in the community and structural factors such as racism and the legitimization of violence as a means to resolve conflicts.

Poverty can be regarded as a multilevel causal factor for crime and violence because it incorporates social, cultural, psychological and political dimensions. The links between poverty, crime and violence have attracted significant attention in development literature. The literature on the relationship between crime and violence and poverty, focuses on two central arguments. Firstly, that crime and violence restrict growth and development and therefore contribute to increasing levels of poverty and inequality; and, secondly, that inequality, relative deprivation and social exclusion more so than absolute measures of income poverty contribute to levels of crime and violence.

B. The costs of crime and violence

Crime and violence impact on growth and development and contribute to increased levels of poverty. This section of the report reviews literature on the costs of crime and violence to individual, community and national development and, as such, seeks to demonstrate how these costs to development and growth contribute to both the maintenance of and increase in the rates of poverty. Higher rates of crime and violence among the urban poor mean that the poor more than any other social group are worst affected by crime and violence which act as severe inhibitors to the reduction and alleviation of poverty.

Crime and violence are seen to have direct and indirect socio-economic costs as well as social and economic multiplier effects. Direct costs include the costs of goods and services used in treating or preventing violence, for example, medical, police, criminal justice, housing and social services costs.[38] Indirect costs, though more difficult to measure, include, pain , suffering, increased morbidity and mortality, drug and alcohol abuse and depressive disorders. The

[37] Moser, Shader 1999
[38] Buvinic, Morrison , A, Shifter. M 1999,

economic multiplier effects of crime and violence take the form of depressed savings and investment, lower rates of labour market participation, reduced productivity, increased absenteeism, lower earnings and decreased accumulation of human capital. [39] The social multiplier effects of crime and violence include the erosion of social capital, reduced social cohesion, a reduced quality of life and the acceptability of violence as a legitimate means of resolving conflict within families and across generations

In discussing the impact of domestic violence on women and children, Buvinic, Morrison, Shifter note that women who are victims of domestic violence suffer lost earnings and in fact earn significantly less than women who do not suffer abuse. Victims of domestic violence also demonstrate higher rates of absenteeism while children in abusive households are more likely to have disciplinary problems and to suffer lower level of academic achievement.

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The direct and indirect costs of crime and violence in relation to individual, household and community capital and assets is another approach highlighted in the literature to assessing the costs and impact of crime and violence.[40] According to this approach, crime and violence erode physical, human, social and natural capital and their related assets.

Ayres argues that "crime and violence affect the stock of physical capital through outright destruction by acts of vandalism of physical infrastructure such as roads, public utilities and electric installations and contributes to a reduced investment in physical infrastructure". Additionally, Moser and Shrader make the point that illegal violence linked to drug trafficking affect banking and taxation. Drug-related crime and violence in particular is linked to money laundering, kidnapping and corruption which undermine financial institutions.

The effects of crime and violence on human and social capital are extensive. The threat and fear of violence affects the ability of girls in particular to attend school, may result in increased drop out rates and affects general attendance at evening or night classes. Teachers and heath care workers may also be the target of violence thus affecting education and health provision. While the health implications of increased crime and public violence for young men in the Caribbean are injury and death (with women and children representing a smaller, but still disturbing, number of fatalities), increased levels of sexual and domestic violence against women have implications for the transmission of HIV/AIDS, serious injuring, emotional and psychological trauma and death among women. Domestic violence can cause women to flee their households and neighbourhoods resulting in the immediate loss of physical assets and important social and community networks.

Children in abusive households have a higher probability of being abusers themselves and may also suffer from higher rates of underachievement, school drop out and lower levels of nutrition and health which affects achievement over their lifespan. Domestic violence may force children out of the home to lives on the streets or to membership in gangs thus perpetuating cycles of violence and poverty.

Death of young men of prime working age through crime and violence results in the reduction in household income, increasing the economic, social and emotional responsibility for care of children and older persons on women in both the short and long term. The use of savings

[39] Buvinic, Morrison , A, Shifter. M 1999,
[40] Moser, Shrader 1999

to pay medical bills further demonstrates the many ways in which crime and violence erode household assets.

Increased costs of treatment of physical injuries, disabilities and psychological trauma of crime and violence places an additional burden on the public health system and diverts scarce resources away from other national priorities.

Crime and violence erode norms of trust, social networks and cooperation thus impacting on social cohesion essential for successful sustainable development. At the level of the family domestic violence affects the ability of the household to function as a unit and therefore undermines the essential economic social and emotional support mechanisms within household relations.

At the level of the community, crime and violence breed fear and mistrust and infringe upon mobility and the ability to congregate in safe spaces. Community-based organizations which serve as invaluable mechanisms for poverty reduction, act as avenues for the sharing of capital assets and the care for more vulnerable members of the community who rely on these elements of social cohesion are thus undermined by crime and violence.

The normalization of crime and violence within communities and families across generations as well as the replacement of the family by the gang which becomes the primary socializing mechanism for young men result in the formation of new types of social networks which Moser argues contribute to the creation of "perverse" social capital.[41]

Violence limits access to employment through "area stigma" and through decreasing mobility via public transport which becomes more restricted in violent areas. In a study of urban violence in Jamaica, Moser notes that male unemployment resulted in higher rates of violence due to competition for contract jobs as well as to feelings of frustration and idleness. In the case of women, unemployment leads to greater dependency on men which results in restricted options for leaving violent relationships. Unemployment in both instances leads to higher rates of poverty.

Restricted mobility which results from area violence contributes to increased tensions in the already overcrowded living circumstances in which many poor persons live. These tensions further contribute to anger, frustration and violence.

Crime and violence affect businesses and, more so, small and family-owned businesses which are less likely to be able to afford security. This, in turn, impacts entrepreneurship, job creation, productivity and growth and development.

Crime and violence can undermine the very institution of democracy[42]. Ayres notes that "as people turn to private security forces for protection, the state is increasingly seen as ineffective in providing basic services and thus as irrelevant or illegitimate".[43] This, he notes, results in a reduction in growth and an increase in poverty. The ability of more serious and organized forms of crime and violence, such as drug trafficking, to corrupt and impede the administration of justice as well as the ability of crime and violence in general to obstruct the

[41] Moser and Shrader 1999
[42] Moser and Shrader 1999
[43] Ayres. R. L 1998 pg 8.

functioning of health, police, education and media results in an erosion of faith in government capacity which in turn may operate as an incentive to further crime and violence.

C. Crime, violence, poverty, inequality and social exclusion

In the Caribbean, the achievement of "developed country" status as a marker of achievement in social and economic well-being of citizens is an aspiration of governments across the region. Global trends in trade and the free movement of goods and services across national borders mean that Caribbean countries, as small island States, are faced with both the opportunities for and challenges of maintaining global competitiveness, positive balance of payments, full employment and equal distribution of wealth.

In spite of the gains of current globalization processes, the unequal distribution of wealth among and within nation States persists. The SLC for Trinidad and Tobago 2005 indicates, for example, that in spite of Trinidad and Tobago having one of the highest GDP rates per capita among developing nations, income poverty still affects 16.5 per cent of the population (SLC 2005 Report T&T). This increased inequality is reflected in increased national levels of poverty and inequality.

Turning now to the second central argument on the links between poverty and crime and violence, this section of the paper will examine how poverty, social exclusion and the unequal distribution of economic, political and social resources contribute to the situation of crime and violence. More than simple income disparities, exclusionary factors relating to unequal access to employment, education, health, basic physical infrastructure and State security and protection disproportionately affect the poor[44].

In the study "Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica", Carolyn Moser and Jeremy Holland identified direct links between varying degrees of poverty (as defined by degrees of asset ownership) and crime and violence. Economic need and insecurity were seen to have a direct impact on violent robberies outside the community and to violence related to competition for work contracts. Unemployment, lack of work and opportunities was also seen to directly impact gang violence, inter personal violence and gender-based violence.

Poverty undermines the role of the family as a unit of social cohesion, a shared sense of identity and a key socializing agent. Low wages which are often compensated for by longer hours of work mean that parents have less time to spend on supporting the development of their children who then become more vulnerable to negative socializing agents such as gangs. Poverty is often accompanied by substandard living conditions and overcrowding which contributes to frustration, anger and violence.[45]

Inequality and social exclusion impact on the growth potential of economies and societies therefore reducing the potential for poverty alleviation and reduction. Social exclusion intensifies the unequal distribution of income earnings and assets and concentrates inequalities among groups. Inequality and exclusion may result in negative social and political consequences which threaten public safety, undermine the democratic process and restrict growth.

[44] Moser Winston and Moser 2004
[45] Moser Winston and Moser 2004

Francois Bourguignon suggests that urban inequality and poverty may be the main economic determinants of crime "as more inequality and poverty make crime more profitable at a given level of crime deterrence".[46] The remunerative possibilities of crime specifically in the context where the probability of being arrested and incarcerated is low make crime both financially attractive and possible.

The unequal distribution of wealth, resources and assets as well as access to political decision-making power may have an indirect effect on crime.[47] Where political will is connected to class interest, public spending on crime protection may remain unchanged in spite of increasing levels of crime and violence. Within this scenario crime protection may be focused on rich neighborhoods and the rich and middle classes may also be able to purchase private security, practice residential segregation and be better able to secure their homes. Crime and violence therefore become concentrated within poorer communities. Unchecked and coupled with the economic incentive of crime relative to options for paid employment and limited possibilities for upward income and social mobility, crime and violence escalate over time within these urban poor settings.

Recognizing the difficulties associated with measuring the links between poverty and inequality and crime and violence statistically, in reference to a study done by Fajnzylber, Bourguignon notes that a one percentage point increase in the Gini coefficient produced on average a 3.6 per cent increase in homicide rates and a 1.1 per cent increase in the robbery rates for the countries studied. Data from the Caribbean is inconclusive however. While Jamaica demonstrates an increase in homicide rates accompanied by small increases in inequality, for Saint Lucia, in spite of recorded reductions in economic inequality, homicide rates increased. Trinidad and Tobago demonstrates a similar pattern as with no recorded changes in levels of inequality, homicide rates continue to show significant increases (see table 1). The inability to reverse trends in escalating rates of crime and violence post the depression of the 1980s which occurred in all three Caribbean countries during the period of structural adjustment, together with the drug trade in the region, may offer some explanation for these trends.

The literature demonstrates clear links between poverty and inequality and crime and violence. Addressing poverty and inequality must therefore be included in the range of approaches to crime and violence reduction if sustainable growth and development are to be realized. The following section investigates the extent to which poverty reduction programmes and related policies in Saint Lucia, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago incorporate a focus on or make links between poverty and crime and violence.

[46] Bourguignon F. 1999
[47] Bourguignon F. 1999

V. Linking Crime, violence and poverty reduction programming

A. An exploration

Much of the discourse in the public domain and among policy makers on the causality of crime and violence points to a link with poverty. This very preliminary study sought to ascertain to what extent such discourse found its way in policy articulation and programming in the three countries under review. Questionnaires were administered to the heads of poverty reduction programmes and permanent secretaries responsible for ministries of social development in Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago. These questionnaires included questions related to policy, programme content, target populations, mechanisms and strategies as well as questions related to assessments of the success of programmes and major challenges encountered in implementation.

The primary objective of the questionnaire was to assist the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) in exploring the policy and programming linkages between poverty reduction programming and those aimed at reducing crime and violence.

B. Crime, violence and poverty reduction programming: National responses

Responses from questionnaires administered to the Governments of Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago indicate that no formal policies exist linking crime, poverty and violence. Responses indicate that links between crime, poverty and violence are seen to be made at the level of national development plans, national security strategy, penal policy, national crime prevention and reduction initiatives and within social sector programming. As all countries note that there are no direct policies, programmes are therefore linked to wider national policies related to crime reduction, the administration of justice and social welfare and development. The responses to the questionnaire can be found in table 2. These are summarized below for ease of reference.

Responses from Trinidad and Tobago identify the Trinidad and Tobago Vision 20/20 development plan as the main policy document speaking to the links between poverty, crime and violence. Within this plan, however, poverty, crime and violence are addressed under different development pillars. The National Security Strategy of Jamaica identifies the importance of effective social service delivery and a stable economy to addressing national security. Saint Lucia's responses indicate that recognition of the links between poverty, crime and violence occurs mainly at the level of poverty assessments and National Crime Commission reports.

Young people were identified in all three countries as a principal target group for intervention. Young people were further categorized in terms of young offenders, young parents, ghetto or at risk youth, low educational achievers and school drop outs. Other vulnerable population groups included the disabled, drug abusers, unemployed and socially displaced persons. Communities, the police, parents and children were also identified as target groups for programmatic interventions. These groups of persons were seen to be at high risk of becoming involved in crime and violence and were identified as living in low socio-economic conditions.

Programmes which were identified as incorporating a focus on poverty, crime and violence can be categorized as those related to social services and welfare provision; those

related to citizens security and justice, community intervention initiatives, penal institution-based initiatives, entrepreneurial development initiatives and education; and training-focused programmes. Countries demonstrate different points of programmatic emphasis in relation to addressing crime, poverty and violence as related issues. Jamaica, for instance, places emphasis on citizens' security and justice as well as community-based intervention initiatives aimed at addressing basic needs. Saint Lucia places emphasis on community level intervention initiatives while Trinidad and Tobago seems to focus on social service and welfare provision, entrepreneurial development programmes and penal and judicial system based initiatives.

Line ministries including ministries of justice, national security and social development along with non-governmental organizations and community-based organizations were identified as the key agencies through which programmes were administered. Strategies used within programmes to address poverty, crime and violence included urban regeneration and physical infrastructure upgrading, education and training, behaviour modification, sport and leisure, micro-enterprise loans and grants, community empowerment and capacity-building, support to families and conflict resolution.

Jamaica was the only country able to identify the ways in which programmes contributed to creating conditions that were seen to facilitate a reduction in crime and violence. Jamaica's responses in this regard were not stated in terms of definitive percentage reductions in crime and violence, for example, but in terms of more qualitative indicators such as better relations with police, better communication among community members and improved information sharing. Response from Trinidad and Tobago noted that no statement about the impact of programmes on the reduction of crime and violence could be made; while responses from Saint Lucia attribute decreased rates of gang violence and a decrease in the murder rate to related programmatic interventions.

Limited human and financial resources, bureaucracy, inadequate planning, the limited reach of programmes and embedded behaviours were some of the challenges to programme implementation identified.

Overall questionnaire responses indicate that some links are being made between levels of crime and violence and poverty within all three countries under review, however, crime and violence are being addressed mainly as judicial and national security issues. Upon preliminary review there is little indication that plans, strategies and programmes aimed at addressing crime and violence are incorporating an analysis of the links between the multi-dimensional experiences of poverty and involvement in criminal activities.

Table 2
Response Matrix
Policy and programmatic linkages between Poverty, Crime and Violence (PCV)

Trinidad and Tobago	**Saint Lucia**	**Jamaica**
Policy Documents including links to PCV		
Vision 20/20 Development Plan Reintegration Penal Policy	No formal national policy document	National Security Strategy of Jamaica 2006
Programmes incorporating a focus on PCV		
Adolescent Mothers Programme Community Mediation Programme Probation Services Poverty Reduction Programme Developmental and entrepreneurial programmes Social Welfare grant programmes Targeted conditional Cash Transfer Programme (TCCTCP) Criminal Injustices Compensation Programme Social Displacement Services Young Offenders programmes National Alcohol and Drug Prevention Ex- prisoners rehabilitation.	Community Action programme for Safety (CAPS) Community Leisure Activities Behaviour modification Community focus groups Crime hotline Neighbourhood watch Community Safety Nets School Programmes RAWKY – (Reach out and work to keep your community safe programme)	The Community Security Initiative (CSI) – Social Intervention Programme in volatile communities. Citizens Security and Justice programme (CSJP) Inner City Basic Services Project (ICBSP)
Location of target groups		
National, prisons and institutions which serve ex offenders	Ghetto Areas e.g. (Wilton Yard and Graveyard) Not only in areas identified as problematic.	The Parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew, St. Catherine, St. James, Clarendon
Target Groups		
Vulnerable and at risk persons, youth, children, low education achievers unemployed, prisoners and ex prisoners, socially displaced, adolescent mothers, school drop outs, disabled persons, drug abusers, probationers, first time offenders, young offenders, households under the poverty line and the unemployable.	Youth, schools, ghetto youth, communities	Youth 14-25, Young parents, members of the police force, community members, children.
Rational for choice of target group		
Low socio-economic conditions and vulnerability to poverty, crime and violence	Groups identified are seen to be at the highest risk for involvement in criminal activities.	-Living in poor, volatile communities with poor quality physical infrastructure. - Low educational attainment -Recorded participation in some form of crime - Persons defined as at risk.

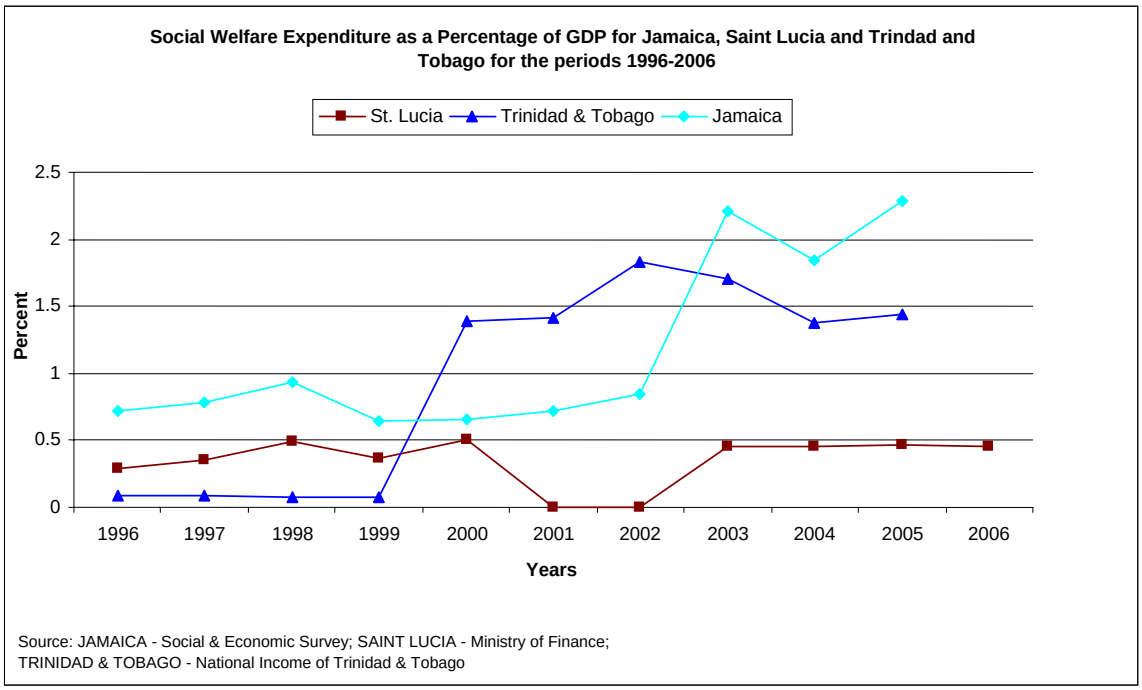
Intervention mechanism/ agency		
Ministry of Social Development, NGO and CBOs, in collaboration with international development organizations.	Ministry of Justice, community service departments.	Through line ministries, Ministry of Justice and Ministry of National Security and in collaboration with NGOs and CBOs or other government partners.
Strategies used within programmes		
Implementation of the criminal injuries and compensation act No. 21, provision of education and training, adolescent mothers programme, micro enterprise loans and grants, training in independent living, public assistance grants, community outreach, behaviour modification training programmes, counseling, subventions to NGOs and CBOs, rehabilitation facilities, substance abuse rehabilitation, probation services, community service orders.	Supporting families, children and young people, Empowering communities and regenerating neighbourhoods, identifying and tackling priority offences in each district, reducing repeat offending, dialogue among youth gangs through sport and leisure activities.	Education- remedial, primary, secondary and arts and culture; conflict management capacity building for residents and community groups; physical upgrading, Community policing strategies, improvement of environmental factors that facilitate crime, economic empowerment, sport and leisure, provision of community facilities, tenure security.
Impact on crime and violence reduction		
Inconclusive due to lack of empirical data and possible contributions of multiple programmes to reduction in poverty and indigence levels.	Decrease in gang violence, Reduction in crime and violence. Decrease in murder rate by 37.2 per cent	Better relations with police, better communication among community members, improved services and facilities for dealing with criminal and violent matters, Community members more knowledgeable of rights and problem-solving methods, improved information sharing, improved quality of life of residents through improved access to basic services and a better physical environment.
Programme Success Rating		
No rating given - Lack of research data and evidence.	Fair – Rationale given =Under reporting of crime, loss of public confidence in the administration of justice system.	Fair – Rationale given= Limited success in behavioural change.
Challenges in implementation		
Inadequate planning, limited human resource, lack of technical expertise, bureaucracy, inadequate systems for monitoring and evaluating.	Poor attendance at behaviour modification sessions. Limited human and financial resource.	Limited reach Competition with the influence and power of community Dons Influence of party politics and loyalties Embedded behaviours and culture

C. Linking public expenditure on social welfare and national security

Data suggest that in the three countries under review public expenditure on social welfare has never risen above 2.5 per cent of national GDP. Figure 9, which illustrates social expenditure as a percentage of GDP, suggests that by the end of the period for which data was available, Jamaica evinced the highest proportion of expenditure (2.4 per cent), followed by Trinidad and Tobago (1.5 per cent) with Saint Lucia having the lowest (0.5 per cent).

The dramatic increase in expenditure noticeable in the case of Trinidad and Tobago may be caused by the inclusion of social transfers in the calculation of social welfare from the period 1999 onwards.

Figure 9



Source: JAMAICA - Social & Economic Survey; SAINT LUCIA - Ministry of Finance; TRINIDAD & TOBAGO - National Income of Trinidad & Tobago

Data on Social Welfare Expenditure as illustrated in figure 9, does not include expenditure on education, health or housing.

Figure 10

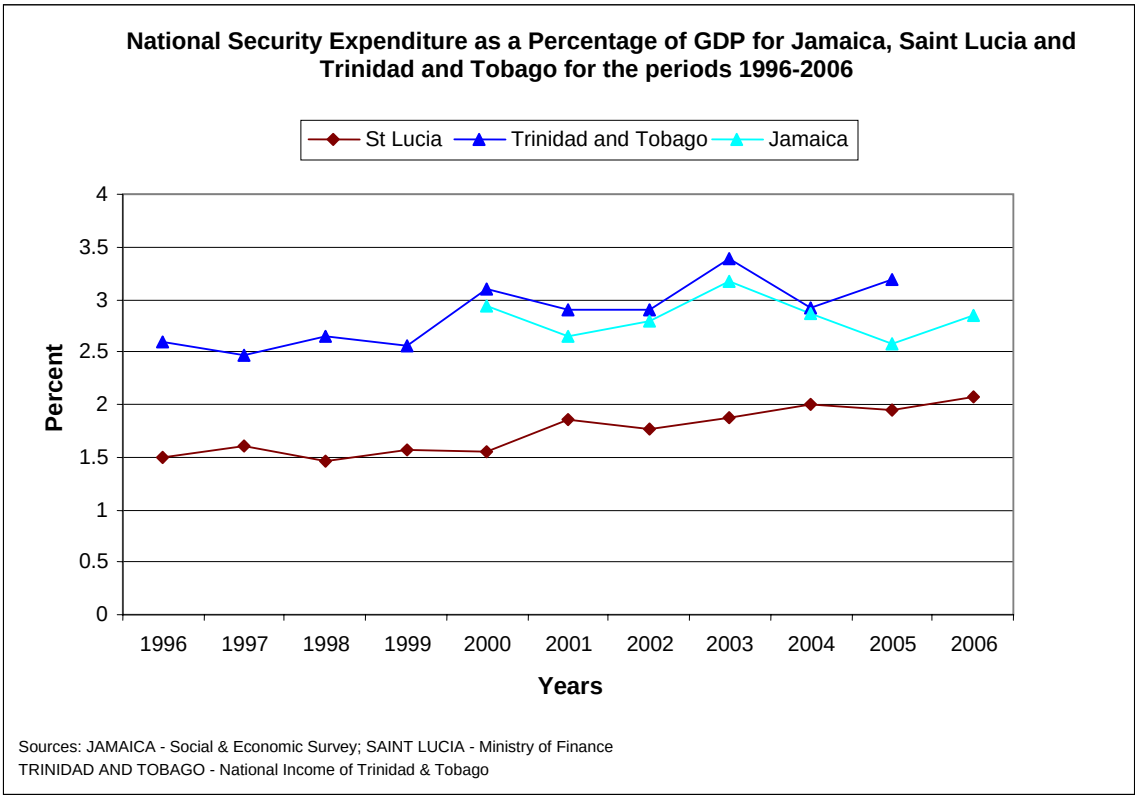


Figure 10 illustrates expenditure on national security over the same period. It suggests that of the three countries under review, Trinidad and Tobago has the highest percentage of GDP expenditure on national security, mirrored closely by Jamaica with Saint Lucia distinctly lower.

What becomes evident is that for the three countries under review a greater proportion of expenditure of GDP is applied to national security than to social welfare. Expenditure on social welfare never reaches as high as 2.5 per cent of GDP for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, whereas expenditure for national security never falls below 2.5 per cent of GDP.

VI. Conclusions

A. Links between policies that address crime and violence and the eradication of poverty

Despite much public discourse regarding the links between poverty, crime and violence, the very preliminary results of the survey suggest that there are thin links between articulated policies aimed at reducing poverty and those aimed at reducing crime and violence. At the programme level there would seem to be the belief that by addressing poverty reduction the root causes of crime will also be addressed. This assumption results in poverty programmes that are not particularly designed with specific intent to address the crime and violence situation.

Variations exist among the three countries examined, with Jamaica having undertaken the most research and best able to identify results in poverty reduction programmes which are most closely aligned to crime and violence reduction. It would appear that in the three countries examined, crime and violence continue to be addressed mainly as judicial and national security issues.

B. Future research

Based on the literature review and examination of the existing data the following areas are suggested for future research:

(a) Victim surveys;

(b) Ethnographic studies of victimization among the poor;

(c) Ethnographic studies on young offenders;

(d) Root causes of high male drop-out of the school system;

(e) The status/place of women and children as victims and perpetrators of crime and violence;

(f) Links between local crime/violence and global crime and violence;

(g) The business of crime and violence in the Caribbean;

(h) Community support for crime and violence;

(i) Tolerance levels for crime and violence;

(j) Review and analysis of policies and development plans which incorporate a focus on poverty, crime and violence;

(k) Impact assessment on the programmes aimed at crime reduction.

Annex

List of Tables

Table 1: Gender-based violence for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago, 1996-2006

GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE												
	JAMAICA					SAINT LUCIA						TRINIDAD & TOBAGO
Year	Rape/carnal abuse	Indecent assault	Buggery	Incest	Total	Rape	Indecent assault	Unnatural offences	Unlawful carnal knowldege	Incest	Total	Total
1996	1797				1797	105		11			116	295
1997	1620				1620	153		16			169	514
1998	1420				1420	103		2			105	572
1999	1261				1261	122		4			126	476
2000	1,304				1304	41	58	…	65	5	169	545
2001	1,218				1218	39	86	10	48	4	187	545
2002	1,145				1145	38	64	7	57	2	168	626
2003	1,308	262	37	27	1634	48	84	6	49	9	196	643
2004	1,269	270	56	50	1645	56	67	8	65	6	202	581
2005	1,072	258	32	19	1381	51					51	
2006	1,142	149	21	28	1340							

Gender-based Violence Statistics not including domestic violence

Source: Jamaica including Rape/ Carnal abuse, indecent assault, buggery Incest

St. Lucia includes Rape, Carnal Abuse, Indecent assault, Buggery, Incest. Source National Statistics Office St. Lucia

Trinidad and Tobago Including Rape, incest, sexual offences Source: Central Statistical Office

Table 2: Homicide for Jamaica, Saint Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago, 1996-2006

HOMICIDE									
	JAMAICA			SAINT LUCIA			TRINIDAD & TOBAGO		
Year	Murder	Manslaughter	Homicide	Murder	Manslaughter	Homicide	Murder	Manslaughter	Homicide
1996	925	30	955	9		9	107	11	118
1997	1038	28	1066	12		12	101	26	127
1998	953	64	1017	14		14	97	4	101
1999	849	48	897	14		14	93	22	115
2000	887	35	922	22		22	120	36	156
2001	1139	37	1176	24		24	151	33	184
2002	1045	23	1068	33	2	35	171	31	202
2003	975	13	988	33	0	33	229	32	261
2004	1471	25	1496	31	1	32	261	10	271
2005	1670	12	1682	34	1	35	386	0	386
2006	1340	16	1356				368	0	368

Source: Jamaica Economic and Social Survey

Saint Lucia: National Statistics Office

Trinidad and Tobago: Central Statistical Office and Murders 2005 / 2006; The economist Intelligence unit.

Table 3: Wounding, Assault with dangerous weapon and Assaults

	JAMAICA			SAINT LUCIA				*TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO
Year	Wounding	Assault	**Total**	Wounding	Assault with dangerous weapon	Assaults	**Total**	
1996	1321	14280	15601			2247	2247	505
1997	1297		1297			2249	2249	370
1998	1738		1738			2140	2140	319
1999	1625		1625			1960	1960	340
2000	5,636		5636	1,061	897	1,330	3288	387
2001	4,716		4716	1,046	1,046	1,356	3448	499
2002	4,284		4284	1,004	1,016	1,263	3283	655
2003	4,091		4091	915	948	1,382	3245	784
2004	4,149		4149	1,014	955	1,342	3311	643
2005	4,013		4013	954		681	1635	
2006	3,085		3085					

Source:
Jamaica Economic and Social Survey
St. Lucia National Statistics Office
Trinidad and Tobago - Central Statistical office
*** Combined figures for wounding and assault.**

Trinidad – wounding only
Jamaica 1996 = wounding and assault
St Lucia = Wounding, Assault with a angerous weapon and Assault

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