

THE NATIONAL CRIME VICTIMIZATION SURVEY (NCVS) 2016

FINAL REPORT

**Annmarie Barnes, PhD
York University**

**Randy Seepersad, PhD
University of the West Indies**

**Jason Wilks, PhD (Candidate)
Florida State University**

**Scot Wortley, PhD
University of Toronto**

Report Prepared for the Ministry of National Security

Government of Jamaica

April 20, 2016

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Part One: Introduction

The first part of our Report provides an introduction to the 2016 Survey. It outlines the background of victimization studies in Jamaica, provides highlights of comparative crime statistics and victimization data in Jamaica, and includes an overview of the organization of this Report.

Part 2: Methodology

This section of the report summarizes the methodological approach to the conduct of the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) 2016, and highlights the demographic characteristics of the sample.

- The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) 2016 was conducted during the period March 2, 2016 to April 20, 2016
- The NCVS 2016 sampling strategy was developed by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) in a manner consistent with the sample design used in all of the previous victimization surveys conducted by STATIN
- The sample design for the survey was a multi-stage probability sampling design, with the first stage involving a selection of geographical areas called Enumeration Districts (EDs). The sample was selected from a master sampling frame of 852 EDs. Of these, 251 or 29.9% were randomly selected
- All the EDs were stratified by parish and into urban and rural domains. The stratification placed each Primary Sampling Unit (PSU) into either an urban or a rural classification. Subsequent to this, dwellings within each PSU were selected.
- Of the 251 EDs selected for the 2016 survey, 125 are urban and the remaining 126 are rural

- From each ED, 16 dwellings were selected systematically, providing a total of sample size of **4,016** dwellings, with 2000 in the urban areas and 2016 in rural areas
- The sample includes over-sampling in four parishes (Kingston, St. Andrew, St. James and St. Catherine) by a total of 27 EDs to provide information on the CSJP communities. The number of dwellings selected from CSJP communities represents approximately 10.75% of the total sample for the survey
- A responsible member of each household, aged 16 years or older, was asked to complete the survey. When there was more than one eligible respondent in the household, the household member with the next birthday was selected to be interviewed. The birthday selection method ensures that, within each household, respondents were randomly selected
- The final sample for the 2016 Survey included 3480 respondents, which is approximately 2% smaller than the 2013 survey (3,556 respondents), but represents an increase over 2006 (3,112 respondents) and 2009 (3,056 respondents)
- The average sample size for all four surveys is 3301, with the 2016 survey representing the smallest deviation from the mean across all samples
- Of the 4,016 households that were selected, 3,560 were successfully interviewed resulting in a household response rate of 88.7% which was 12.4 percentage points higher than the 2012-13 survey
- Of the 3,560 eligible individuals who were selected, a total of 3,480 were successfully interviewed, which translates to an individual response rate of 97.8%, only marginally lower (98.5%) than the individual response rate for the 2013 survey
- The response rate for the 2016 Survey remains comparatively high by international survey research standards and provides confidence in the quality of the data. This sample size, combined with the random sampling strategy used in this survey, allows for confidence in the quality of the data and the representativeness of the findings

- The NCVS 2016 used the identical survey instruments that were used in the 2013 survey
- In general, the demographic characteristics have remained similar across the four victimization surveys. This increases confidence in the quality of the data and the validity of our comparisons across samples. There are, however, a few notable differences.
- The average age of the sample in 2016 is 41.7, compared to 44.1 years old in 2013, 44.3 in 2009, and 43.0 in 2006
- Although slightly younger than previous samples, the difference in age is comparable to the difference between previous versions of the survey, and addresses the gap between previous samples and the Population Census data (where the latter was younger than the average age for previous surveys)
- With respect to gender distribution, in 2016 there were more females (54.0%) than males (46%) in the sample. This was similar to the samples in 2013 (54.3% females and 45.7% males) and 2006 (54.3% females and 45.7% males). In 2009, the sample was almost exactly equal (50.6% females and 49.4% males)
- Regarding marital status, the samples overall are quite similar with most persons sampled being single (never married) and about 1 out of every 5 persons are married.
- There are a few noteworthy differences in the 2016 sample. The percentage of married persons has decreased in the 2016 sample (19.3%) compared to the consistent 23% in 2006, 2009, and 2013, which coincides with an increase in the percentage of persons in common law relationships (16.8%)
- Education levels remain similar across the four samples. For 2016, the percentage of persons who have completed secondary school (39.3%) is at the highest it has been across the four time periods, up from 32.3% in 2013. There is also a slight increase in the percentage of persons with at least some exposure to post-secondary education or other training

- With respect to social class, a brief comparison of the 2013 sample with the 2016 sample suggests a decrease in the percentage of poor (48.7% - 44.7%) and very poor (9.4% - 5.2%) with an expansion among the middle class (38.4% - 44.1%) and very slight increase among the upper middle class (2.4% - 2.5%) and the wealthy (0.4% - 0.8%).

Part Three: Perceptions of Community Crime and Disorder

This section presents information on NCVS respondents' perceptions of crime and disorder in their own communities, and their judgments about how these community-level problems may affect out-migration from, and visits to their own neighbourhood. Our findings suggest that, based on several different NCVS measures, there has been a noticeable decrease in community-level crime and disorder over the past decade.

- Respondents were asked how often thirteen different crime and disorder problems occurred in their community. These problems ranged from garbage in the street and public drunkenness to drug use, drug trafficking, robbery, rape and prostitution.
- Respondents identified garbage in the street, public drunkenness, drug use, drug dealing and robbery as the most common crime and disorder issues affecting their communities. At least a quarter of all respondents report that these types of issues exist “at least sometimes” in their community. Other types of crime and disorder – including sewage problems, vigilante justice, sexual assault, prostitution and vandalism – are far less prevalent.
- Overall, the data suggest that the prevalence of all community-level crime and disorder problems decreased significantly between 2006 and 2016. For example, in 2006, 48% of respondents indicated that drug use was at least “sometimes” a problem in their community. By 2016 this figure had dropped to 30%. Similar declines were observed with respect to drug trafficking, robbery, vandalism and sexual assault.
- In order to identify Parish-level differences in community crime and disorder problems, responses to the community crime and disorder questions were combined to create the

Perceived Community Crime and Disorder Index. This index combines the responses to all thirteen community disorder questions into a single scale ranging from 0 to 65. The higher the score on this index, the higher the overall level of perceived community disorder.

- Respondents from the Parish of Kingston produced by the highest scores on the *Perceived Community Crime and Disorder Index* (mean=11.97). The second highest score was produced by the residents of St. Ann (mean=9.95). By contrast, respondents from St. Thomas (mean=3.96) and St. Mary (mean=4.11) produced the lowest scores on this combined measure of community disorder.
- In general, the results suggest that several Parishes with traditionally high scores on the *Perceived Community Crime and Disorder Index* experienced significant declines between 2013 and 2016. For example, in 2013, Kingston respondents produced an average score of 17.02 on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index*. This figure drops to 11.97 in 2016. Similarly noticeable declines were reported for St. Andrew, St. James, Clarendon, St. Mary, Hanover and St. Elizabeth.
- In 2016, one out of every ten respondents (10%) reported that they hear gunshots in their community at least once per month. This figure is down significantly from 2006 when one out of every four respondents (26%) claimed that they heard gunshots in their community once per month or more often.
- The decline in reported gunshots is particularly significant within certain Parishes. For example, in 2013, 34% of Kingston residents indicated that they heard gunshots in their community once a month or more often, compared to 25% in 2016.
- In 2016, one out of every ten respondents (10%) reports that people moved away from their community in the past year because of crime and violence. This is down from 18% in 2006.
- According to the 2016 NCVS, very few Jamaicans (4%) feel that outsiders would be unsafe visiting their community. This is down slightly from 6% in 2006. However, in

Kingston, the safety of outsiders appears to have improved dramatically over the past three years. In 2013, for example, 23% of respondents reported that outsiders would be unsafe visiting their community, compared to 7% in 2016.

Gangs, Corner Crews and Area Dons

- One quarter of respondents (27%) believe that there is at least one corner crew operating in their community.
- One out of every ten respondents (11%) believes that criminal gangs are present in their neighbourhood.
- One out of every twenty-five respondents (4%) claims that their community has an Area Don.
- According to the survey results, the presence of corner crews and criminal gangs has declined significantly between 2006 and 2016. For example, in 2006, 39% of respondents claimed there were corner crews in their neighbourhood, compared to 27% in 2016. Likewise, in 2006, 23% of respondents stated that criminal gangs existed in their community, compared to 11% in 2016. The presence of Area Dons, however, remained unchanged (4.3% in 2006 and 4.0% in 2016).
- Corner crews, criminal gangs and Area dons are more prevalent in Kingston than other areas of Jamaica.
- Respondents who reported that corner crews, gangs or Area Dons existed in their community were asked if these people did positive or negative things for their local area. Four out of ten respondents (42%) felt that Area Dons did positive things for their community. This figure is down significantly from 58% in 2006. A third of respondents (35%) also felt that corner crews did positive things in their community. By contrast, 18% of respondents felt that criminal gangs did positive things for their community.

- According to the respondents, the positive contributions of Area Dons include employment opportunities, assistance with health care needs, food and financial assistance for disadvantaged community members, educational and recreational opportunities for community youth and increased community safety. The identified benefits of corner crews include community beautification and cleanliness, public safety and assistance to the elderly.
- One fourth of the respondents (25%) feel that Area Dons have a negative impact on their community. By contrast, 66% felt that criminal gangs had a negative impact. More than a third of respondents (35%) also felt that corner crews had a negative impact on their community.
- According to the respondents, the negative impacts of criminal gangs include increased violence and gun-related crime as well as drug trafficking, property crime and prostitution. Gangs also increase fear of crime and reduce community solidarity. By contrast, the consequences of corner crews include minor criminality, harassment, increased noise and public intoxication.

Part 4: Criminal Victimization in Jamaica

Part four of the report begins a general discussion of victimization within the past year, and describes the experiences of the population with 21 of the most common crimes reported by respondents. It includes comparisons of victimization levels over time, across geographic jurisdictions and among key demographics. The report finds that victimization levels have declined when compared to previous years at an even greater rate than in previous surveys. The declines are fairly consistent for the various types of crimes included in the study and have been observed across all parishes.

- Findings from the current survey indicate that victimization levels are currently on a decline.
- Approximately one in six respondents (16.9%) reported being victimized in the one-year period preceding the survey. Of this number, 13.3% of respondents reported a single

incident, 1.7% were victimized twice and 1.9% experienced three or more incidents of victimization.

- Tracking victimization rates across the ten years and four waves of the victimization survey shows a uniform decline over the period. Starting from 2006, estimates of total crime victimization, property crime victimization, and violent crime victimization all peaked in 2009 before experiencing consecutive periods of decline in 2013 and 2016.
- Over the past year, property crime victimization (13.3%) was nearly three times as likely to occur as violent crime victimization (4.6%).
- The current violent crime victimization rate (4.6%) is almost half the estimate for the 2006 survey (8.6%).
- Approximately two-thirds of the 21 crimes included in this study registered a decline with the average change in rates being -0.5%. The largest declines over the past decade were observed for praedial larceny (-3.5%), threats without a weapon (-1.4%) and armed threats (-1.0%). On the other end of the spectrum, vandalism (0.8%) and motor vehicle theft (0.5%) registered the largest increases in recent victimization rates over the period.
- The findings from the four waves of the NCVS capture the trends observed in official police statistics for overall crime and violence over the past decade.
- Comparing trends in victimization rates for the major crimes in this survey with the annual official major crimes statistics shows that, conservatively, the survey and official crime statistics are tracking the same phenomena over time and reinforce the utility of having both measurements available.
- Almost two in five respondents (38%) reported being the victim of a crime during their lifetime, with nearly one in three persons (32.3%) reporting a victimization experience within the past five years and one in eight persons (13.4%) recalling an experience preceding five years.

- One in three respondents (32.8%) reported that they were subject to property crime victimization during their lifetime. Approximately one in four respondents (26.5%) experienced this victimization in the last five years while one in ten respondents (10.1%) reflected on an experience that occurred more than five years ago.
- Nearly one in seven persons (15.2%) experienced a violent incident in their lifetime with twice as many respondents (11.7%) recalling an experience from five years prior compared to those victimized in the past five years (5.8%).
- Praedial larceny had the highest levels of occurrence across the fourteen parishes with as many as one in ten respondents (10.4%) in Clarendon reporting an incident in the past year.
- Sexual assault was reported in four parishes- Hanover (0.7%), Kingston (0.4%), Clarendon (0.3%) and St. Catherine (0.2%), while kidnapping was reported in Hanover (0.7%) and Manchester (0.4%).
- Nearly one in five male respondents (18.5%) reported criminal victimization in the past year, with 14.8% of males reporting a property crime incident and 4.6% relating a case of violent victimization. Women on the other hand experienced victimization at lower rates overall (15.6%) as well as for property crimes (12.1%). However, the genders were equally exposed to violent victimization according to the survey with almost one in twenty respondents (4.6%) reporting violent victimization for each group.
- Victimization rates were similar across all age groups, ranging from 15.1% to 19.0%
- Property crimes victimization is higher than violent crime victimization across the different age ranges.

Part 5: Details of Recent Victimization Experiences

This section documents the experiences of those respondents who experienced a criminal victimization in the past twelve months, and for whom a “Crime Incident Report” was

completed. Our findings document distinct changes in the descriptive features of criminal victimization over time, which suggests that the dynamics surrounding risk of victimization may be evolving.

- Overall, the survey found 616 unique incidents of victimization took place in the 12 months leading up to data collection.
- The 616 incidents were reported by 530 respondents, which represent an average of 1.16 incidents per respondent. This figure is down from the 2013 survey estimate of 1.28 incidents per respondent, which indicates that the rate of repeat victimization has declined over the period.
- Almost three in ten respondents (28.8%) were the victims of theft, the most common type of crime occurrence in the sample while one in four respondents (25.2%) were the victims of praedial larceny.
- December (14.1%) was the month where victimization was more common, followed by February (12.3%) and January (10.6%).
- The months of April (2.8%) and May (2.8%) were conspicuously low periods for victimization.
- Overall, the data suggest that victimization incidents are most likely to take place on Saturdays (14.1%) and Fridays (10.1%). By contrast, they are least likely to occur on Mondays (3.2%) and Tuesdays (5.0%).
- Crimes are most likely to occur during the late evening (18.2%) – in the three hours leading up to midnight.
- Similar to the 2013 finding, the majority of recent victimization experiences (55.7%) reported by respondents took place in private residences.
- The survey results indicate that three out of five incidents of victimization (59.5%) in the past year were not reported to the police.

- The most frequently cited reason for not reporting the crime to the police was that the crime was not serious enough (11.9%) and that they could deal with the matter themselves (9.7%).
- According to the data, revenge was sought in 19 of the 616 recent victimization incidents (3.1%).

Part 6: Indirect Exposure to Crime

This section of the report looks at respondents' indirect exposure to crime. Indirect exposure may include witnessing a crime or having gone through the experience of family members being victimized. The majority of persons interviewed indicated that they had never witnessed any violent crimes in their lifetime. The findings also indicate that rates of reporting crimes to the police are improving, and that the victimization of family members and friends is also declining.

- The majority of persons interviewed indicated that they had never witnessed any violent crimes in their lifetime. 94.2% of respondents had never witnessed a murder, 92.3% had never witnessed a shooting, 92.4% had never witnessed a robbery and 86.4% had never witnessed an assault. However, 5.8% of respondents had witnessed a murder, 7.7% had witnessed a shooting or gun battle, 7.6% had witnessed a robbery while 13.6% had witnessed a serious assault.
- The proportion of persons who indicated that they witnessed a crime decreased consistently from the 2006 NCVS to the 2016 NCVS. This applies regardless of whether the time frame is within respondents' lifetime or within the past year.
- With respect to crimes witnessed within respondents' lifetime, in 2006 8.4% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a murder, compared to 7.2% in 2009, 7.3% in 2013 and 5.8% in 2016. With respect to shootings and gun battles, 12.3% indicated that they were witness to this in 2006 compared to 10.1% in 2009, 9.6% in 2013 and 7.7% in 2016.

- The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who witnessed crimes within their lifetime and within the last year were, in descending order, Kingston, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, and St. James. The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who witnessed crime within their lifetime and within the past year were St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny.
- The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who witnessed a murder at some point in their lives were Kingston (12.2%), St. James (9%), St. Andrew (7.6%) and Hanover (6%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of persons who witnessed a murder within their lifetime were Trelawny (2.5%), Westmoreland (3.2%), St. Ann (3.4%) and St. Mary (3.4%).
- Males were more likely than females to have witnessed crime while younger persons were more likely than older persons to have witnessed violent crimes.
- Overall the findings indicate that rates of reporting crime to the police are improving. For example, where murders are concerned, in 2006 12.3% of respondents reported the crime to the police. In 2009 this declined to 10.8% but increased to 13.1% in 2013 and 13.6% in 2016. With respect to shootings and gun battles, while 9.9% of respondents reported these incidents to the police in 2006, 7.7% reported in 2009, 10.4% in 2013 and 18.5% in 2016.
- The highest reporting rates occurred in Westmoreland (with an average reporting rate of 35.3% across all crimes), Hanover (29.8%), Clarendon (28.6%) and St. Thomas (21.9%). The parishes with the lowest overall reporting rates were Kingston (5.8%), St. Andrew (5.5%), St. Ann (4.6%) and Trelawny (7.2%).
- Females were more likely than males to report murders and shootings/gun battles, while males were more likely than females to report robberies and serious assaults.
- The results of the NCVS suggest that the victimization of family members and friends is declining in Jamaica. There were very few exceptions to this pattern of decline in the data which were examined.

- With respect to murder, the proportion of persons who reported that they had family members or friends who were victims of murder has declined from 2006 to 2016. In 2006, 36.3% of respondents indicated that they had family members or friends who were victims of murder. This declined to 33.8% in 2009, rose slightly to 34.5% in 2013 and declined to 24.3% in 2016. A similar decline is observed when murders are restricted to those committed within the past year.
- There are differences among parishes in the proportion of respondents who have family members or friends who were victims of serious crime. The parishes with the highest proportion of persons who had friends or family who were victims of murder were Kingston (35.9%), Hanover (33.3%), St. James (28.2%) and Clarendon (27.3%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had lost a family member or friend to murder were Trelawny (13.0%), St. Ann (17.3%), St. Elizabeth (21.6%) and Manchester (21.6%).
- Overall, the parishes which stand out as those with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were crime victims were Kingston, Portland and Hanover. The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were crime victims were Trelawny, St. Elizabeth and St. Thomas.

Part 7: Fear of Crime

This section of the report looks at respondents' perceptions about crime and their feelings of fear and safety. Our findings show that while the majority of respondents (60.4%) were of the opinion that crime in the country as a whole had increased over the last five years, persons were much less likely (9.3%) to believe that crime in their community had increased. We also found that levels of fear of crime have declined over the past decade.

- The majority of respondents (60.4%) were of the opinion that crime in Jamaica had increased. In contrast, 18.6% felt that crime had decreased while 15% felt that crime levels remained stable over the last five years.

- In contrast, when asked about their community 9.3% of respondents felt that crime had increased in their community over the last five years. In contrast, 40.9% felt that crime in their community had decreased. Another 43% felt that crime levels had stayed the same.
- A total of 6.1% of respondents felt that their community had more crime than other areas in Jamaica. 72.1% felt that their community had less crime than other areas in Jamaica while 16.4% believed that their community had the same amount of crime as other areas in Jamaica.
- Far more respondents feel safe than unsafe in Jamaica. For example, while 3.6% of respondents felt unsafe while walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day, 95.5% felt safe or very safe. Similarly, while 10.7% felt unsafe or very unsafe while home alone in the evening or night, another 87.9% felt safe or very safe.
- Invariably the level of fear has declined in Jamaica from the time of the 2006 NCVS to the present. The declines were strongest for using public transportation alone after dark, shopping alone after dark, going to a restaurant alone after dark, going to work or school at night, and going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert or stage show.
- Females are more fearful of engaging in activities in public spaces than males while younger persons were more fearful than older persons.
- Parishes with the highest levels of fear of public spaces are St. Catherine, Clarendon, St. James and St. Ann. Parishes with the lowest levels of fear of public spaces are St. Mary, St. Andrew and St. Thomas.
- The greatest level of fear of criminal victimization applied to sexual assault where 12.9% of total respondents were very worried that this would happen to them. However, 20.7% were not very worried and another 49.5% were not worried at all that this would happen to them.
- The next most important crime was kidnapping. 11.8% of respondents indicated that they were very worried that this would happen to them. This was followed by robbery at 11.5%. The crime which least concerned respondents was being attacked by someone

they knew. Approximately 7.9% of respondents indicated that they were very worried about this.

- Females were more fearful than males for all crimes which were assessed. The classic age-fear relationship which has been consistently found in international literature does not exist in Jamaica. The present survey found that younger persons were more fearful than older persons, and this applied regardless of the type of crime
- Fear of criminal victimization varies significantly by parish. Fear of criminal victimization was highest in St. James, Trelawny, Clarendon and St. Catherine. Fear of criminal victimization was lowest in St. Elizabeth, Westmoreland and Kingston.
- While many respondents expressed their fear about being victimized, a comparison of trends from past surveys indicates that levels of fear have been consistently declining in Jamaica. The 2016 survey recorded the lowest proportion of persons who indicated that they were very worried about being victimized. This applied to all of the crimes that were assessed.
- The findings indicate that a large proportion of persons do not alter their behaviours as a result of fear of crime. This is consistent with earlier findings that the fear of criminal victimization is declining in Jamaica. For example, 89% of respondents indicated that they do not stay at home during the day as a result of fear of crime, while 84.1% do not stay at home during the night as a result of fear of crime. In addition, 84.7% indicated that they never cancel plans due to fear of crime.
- When these results are disaggregated by gender it was found that females were more likely than males to alter their behaviour as a result of fear of criminal victimization. It was also found that younger persons were more likely than older persons to curtail behaviour as a result of fear of criminal victimization.
- The results indicate that 19.6% of respondents avoided areas in their own community, town or parish as a result of crime while 28.4% avoided other areas in Jamaica as a result of crime.

- When the results were disaggregated by parish it was discovered that in the parishes of St. James, Clarendon, St. Ann and St. Catherine a larger proportion of respondents avoided certain areas in their own community, town or parish because of fear of crime (range = 43.8% to 26.7%) than in other parishes in Jamaica. In contrast, a large proportion of the residents in Portland (50.3%), Trelawny (43%), St. Thomas (41.9%) and St. Elizabeth (39.8%) avoided other areas in Jamaica as a result of fear of crime.

Part 8: Crime Causation and Crime Prevention

Part 8 of this report examines public perceptions about crime causation and crime prevention. It begins by considering various crime prevention strategies and assessing respondents' opinions about the effectiveness of each of these strategies. Our findings reveal that while respondents are more strongly in support of social and preventative policy options as a means of reducing crime, there is also strong support for law enforcement options aimed at crime reduction.

- While Jamaicans are more strongly in support of social and preventative policy options as a means of reducing crime, a sizeable proportion of persons expressed support for law enforcement options.
- The largest proportion of respondents (95.1%) agreed or strongly agreed that creating more jobs would have a positive effect on crime reduction. Improving the educational system received the second highest level of support (91.4% agreed or strongly agreed), followed by helping convicted criminals find jobs after they were released from prison (86.2%).
- When law enforcement policy options are considered separately, the most important ones were creating a better witness protection program (with 83.2% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that this was important in the fight against crime), offering better training to police officers (82.3%) and developing a task force to fight gangs and organized crime (78%).

- According to the survey results, there are very few gender differences with respect to the effectiveness of different crime prevention strategies. Respondents also share very similar opinions regardless of age.
- The majority of persons interviewed identified a range of areas for which they felt that the government was not doing enough and should place greater emphasis on in the fight against crime. For example, 82.1% of respondents felt that more emphasis should be given to the provision of jobs while 51.8% felt that the government could provide better education and training to citizens. 36.4% felt that the government should make a more concerted effort to reduce poverty
- Within their lifetime 35.7% of respondents have taken one or more measures in order to protect themselves from crime. Within the past year 12.4% of respondents have taken protective measures.
- The most widely used protective measures were changing routine or normal activities (18.3% lifetime usage and 5.4% past year usage), installing new locks (15.4% lifetime usage and 3.4% past year usage), carrying weapons apart from firearms (14.5% lifetime usage and 5.1% past year usage) and installing security bars (10.6% lifetime usage and 1% past year usage).
- A small proportion of persons obtained a gun for protection (4.2% lifetime usage and 0.3% past year usage). 4.5% of respondents indicated that they carried a gun at some point in their lives as a means of protection while 0.6% did this within the last year.
- A comparison of the use of crime prevention strategies across National Crime Victimization Surveys indicates that with few exceptions, the use of various strategies declined from 2006 to 2013, but once again increased in 2016. Strategies which exhibited this pattern of change included installing alarms and security systems, taking a self-defense course, obtaining a guard dog, obtaining a gun, carrying a gun in public, moving or changing address, staying away from one's own neighbourhood and hiring a security guard.

- Males were more likely than females to utilize crime prevention strategies within their lifetime but not within the past year. Strategies which were used more often by males including installing security fences, installing burglar alarms and security systems and taking a self-defense course.
- Analyses at the parish level revealed that there were significant differences in the usage of crime prevention strategies within respondents' lifetime and within the past year. Lifetime usage of crime prevention strategies were highest in St. Catherine, St. James, Kingston and Hanover and were lowest in, St. Elizabeth, St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny. Past year usage of crime prevention strategies were highest in Hanover, Clarendon, St. Catherine and Kingston and were lowest in St. Thomas, St. Elizabeth, Trelawny and St. Mary.

Part 9: Public Perceptions of the Police, Criminal Courts and Corrections

This section of the report explores attitudes towards the police, the criminal courts and the correctional system. A comparison with the results of previous NCVS surveys suggests that public opinion with respect to the performance of the police improved quite dramatically between 2006 and 2016.

Public Confidence in the Police

- The 2016 NCVS asked respondents how well they thought the police were performing eleven different duties. These duties ranged from enforcing the law to providing information to the public on how to prevent crime.
- In general, Jamaicans feel that the police are performing some duties better than others. For example, the majority of respondents (over 70%) feel that the police are doing a good or average job patrolling their communities, ensuring public safety, being approachable, enforcing the law, responding quickly when called, treating people fairly and with respect and preventing police brutality.

- By contrast, a high proportion of respondents think the police are doing a poor job responding providing information on how to reduce crime and preventing police corruption.
- In general, the data suggest that public perceptions of police effectiveness in Jamaica have improved significantly over the past six years. In general, respondents to the 2016 JNCVS are much more likely to think the police are doing a good job – and less likely to think they are doing a poor job – than respondents to both the 2006 and 2009 surveys. This improvement in attitudes towards the police was particularly dramatic between 2009 and 2016.
- In order to summarize responses to the eleven questions about police performance we created the Police Evaluation Scale. The higher the score on this index the higher the respondent’s overall evaluation of police performance. In 2016 the average score on the Police Evaluation Scale was 18.74 – up significantly from 15.32 in 2009.
- Further analysis reveals that public perceptions of police effectiveness vary dramatically from Parish to Parish. The residents of Manchester (mean=21.6) and Portland (mean=20.5) score highest on the Police Evaluation Scale, followed closely by the residents of St. Andrew (mean=20.1), Trelawny (mean=20.0) and St. Elizabeth (mean=20.0).
- By contrast, respondents from Westmoreland (mean=16.7), St. James (mean=16.8), St. Catherine (mean=17.0) and St. Ann (mean=17.1) produced the lowest average scores on the Police Evaluation Scale. All other Parishes produced mean scores on the Police Evaluation Scale that were either slightly above (St. Mary, St. Thomas) or slightly below the national average (Kingston, Hanover, Clarendon).
- A comparison of the 2013 and 2016 datasets reveals that seven out of the fourteen Parishes (50%) improved their score on the Police Evaluation Scale over this three year period. The greatest improvements were seen in Manchester (from 15.8 to 21.6), Kingston (from 15.6 to 18.1) and Portland (from 18.4 to 20.5).

- In general, men and older people have slightly more confidence in the police than women and younger people.
- Confidence in the police also seems to decline with increasing education. People with a university education or an upper-class background rate the police more negatively than those with a primary school education.
- Regardless of Parish of residence and demographic characteristics, most respondents feel that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people, young people worse than older people and men worse than women.
- A minority of respondents (23%) feel that the police treat homosexuals in Jamaica worse than the way in which they treat heterosexuals.
- Perceptions of police bias remained relatively stable between 2006 and 2016. Respondents to the 2016 NCVS were just as likely to perceive police discrimination as the respondents to the 2006 survey.
- Perceptions of police bias are more pronounced among younger people and those with a university education.

Public Confidence in the Criminal Courts

- In general, respondents evaluate the performance of the criminal courts more negatively than the performance of the police. A minority of respondents (less than 20%) feel that the criminal courts are doing a good job providing justice quickly, helping crime victims or ensuring fair trials for persons charged with criminal offences.
- Overall, 2016 evaluations of court performance are better than they were in 2006.
- Public opinion with respect to the criminal courts varies from Parish to Parish. The residents of St. Mary score the highest on the Court Evaluation Scale (mean=4.5), while respondents from St. James score the lowest (2.7).

- Middle-aged respondents tend to evaluate the performance of the criminal courts more negatively than their younger and older counterparts.
- Perceptions of court effectiveness also decline with increasing education. University educated respondents are more likely to hold negative views about the criminal courts than their more poorly educated counterparts.
- About a third of all respondents feel that the sentences handed out to convicted criminals in Jamaica are too lenient. However, the percent of the population holding this view dropped from 56% in 2006 to 32% in 2016.
- Over half of all respondents feel that the death penalty should be given to people convicted of murder in Jamaica. However, public support for the death penalty has dropped from 80% in 2006 to 58% in 2016.
- In general, support for harsher sentences and the death penalty increase with age and decline with level of education and social class.

Public Confidence in the Correctional System

- As with the criminal courts, respondents evaluated the performance of the correctional system more negatively than the police.
- A minority of respondents to the 2016 NCVS (less than 20%) feel that the correctional system is doing a good job controlling inmates, deterring crime, rehabilitating offenders, deciding when to release offenders from prison and supervising offenders who have been released into the community.
- Perceptions of the correctional system improved slightly between 2006 and 2016.
- Perceptions of the correctional system vary little by gender or age. However, those with a university degree report more negative views than those with lower levels of educational attainment.

- Almost a third of all respondents believe that prison conditions in Jamaica are too lenient. However, the proportion of the population holding this view dropped from 40% in 2006 to 30% in 2016.
- The vast majority of respondents (88%) feel that convicted criminals should receive counselling or treatment in prison. This figure is down slightly from 93% in 2009.
- Although nine out of ten persons support rehabilitation in principle, those who feel that the government should spend more money on prison rehabilitation represented 40% of the sample. The proportion of the population that feels the government should spend more on offender treatment programs increased from 33% in 2009 to 40% in 2016.
- Public support for offender rehabilitation efforts increase with both education and social class position. Age and gender, however, appear to have little impact on attitudes related to this important issue.

Part 10: Public Perceptions and Experiences with Police Corruption, Police Brutality and the Police Complaints System

Part 10 of the report explores public perceptions of police corruption and brutality, actual experiences with corruption and brutality, and public perceptions about the police complaints system. The findings suggest that respondents feel that police corruption is a much bigger problem than either police brutality or harassment. The data further suggest that two-thirds of respondents do not believe that police brutality and police harassment are major social problems.

Police Corruption and Brutality

- Five out of every ten respondents (53.5%) feels that police corruption is a “big” or “very big” problem in Jamaica. However, relatively few respondents (15.5%) feel that there is a big or very big problem with police brutality or harassment (15.6%).

- The perception that police corruption is a big or very big problem in Jamaica diminished significantly between 2006 and 2016. However, the perception that police brutality is a problem increased slightly.
- While the vast majority of respondents feel that police corruption is a big problem in Jamaica, only 2.0% report that they have ever experienced police or government corruption.
- One out of every thirty-three respondents (2.9%) reports that they have been the victim of police brutality at some point in their life. One out of every two hundred (0.5%) reports being the victim of police brutality within the past year.

Perceptions of the Police Complaints Process

- The results suggest that less than half of the population (40%) know where to file a complaint against the police. This is down from 51% in 2006.
- Gender and age are unrelated to knowledge about where to file a complaint. However, those with a university education are more likely to know where to file a complaint than those with lower levels of educational attainment.
- Most respondents indicate that they would lodge a complaint at their local police station, INDECOM or with the Police Complaints Authority.
- Although 40% respondents know where they would make a complaint against the police, 3% have actually filed a formal complaint against the police at some point in their life. The majority of these complaints involved allegations of police brutality, unfair or disrespectful treatment by individual police officers or charges of police corruption (extortion).
- The results suggest that the majority of complainants were “not satisfied at all” with how their complaint was handled.

- The vast majority of respondents (81%) indicated that they would file a formal complaint if they ever had a negative experience with the police. This finding suggests that the majority of residents have confidence in the police complaints process.
- Those respondents who would not report a complaint were asked why they would not. The three most common answers were a belief that the complaint would not make a difference, a fear of police retaliation and a belief that the police would lie to protect themselves.

Part 11: Public Perceptions of the Citizen Security and Justice Programme

This section reports on the respondents' level of awareness, details of service usage and satisfaction with the CSJP as well as the possible effects of the programme on public safety outcomes. Survey findings indicate strong approval and support for the CSJP and its activities among the general public and service beneficiaries.

- Nearly one in five respondents (17.9%) in the 2016 survey said they have heard about the CSJP, which represents a slight increase in public awareness levels compared with the 2013 survey's finding (16.8%).
- St. Elizabeth (17.3%) reported the largest increase in awareness over 2013 levels (7.6%) and respondents from St. Catherine (9%) and Clarendon (8.5%) registered the next largest increases in awareness. On the other hand, St. Thomas (-6.2%), Kingston (-5.8%) and Westmoreland (-4.4%) were the parishes with the largest declines in awareness.
- Almost two out of three respondents (62.5%) believed CSJP was doing a good job providing appropriate crime prevention initiatives to the communities it serves and positive regard for the programme's performance is higher than the estimates from the previous two waves of the survey.

- Respondents in the current survey were more likely to give a positive evaluation if they lived in CSJP communities (72.0%), lived in their community for less than two years (71.0%) were currently unemployed (70.7%) or lived in CSJP parishes (65.1%).
- Virtually all respondents (98.8%) believed that the government should increase or maintain funding levels for CSJP activities. This estimate consists of more than two out of three respondents (69.0%) endorsing increased government funding for the programme and nearly a third of respondents (29%) calling for funding levels to be maintained. These figures are all up from the 2013 survey estimates.
- CSJP community members were most likely to identify ‘Parenting Education’ (58.8%), ‘Math and English Classes’ (52.9%) and ‘Help finding Employment’ (49%) as CSJP services to the community but least likely to recognise ‘Theatre Skills’ (3.9%), ‘Rapid Impact Projects’ (2.0%) and ‘Home Visits’ (0.0%) as service offerings.
- Approximately nine out of ten persons (92.3%) who lived in communities serviced by the programme and knew of the programme’s existence believed that the CSJP had made their community a better place to live.
- Almost two out of three respondents (62.7%) surmised that CSJP had helped to reduce crime and violence in their community a great deal.
- Overall, 61 persons attested to accessing CSJP services at some stage in their life, which represents 1.8% of the entire sample and one in every ten persons (10.8%) who knew about the CSJP.
- The rate of service usage was twice as high for persons living in CSJP communities (19%) as the rate for persons living in Non-CSJP communities (8.9%).
- Satisfaction levels with services delivery were uniformly high. On average nine out of ten service recipients (90%) were satisfied with the services they received.
- Three CSJP beneficiaries (5.2%) attested to accessing services from other intervention programmes. This estimate is lower than the 2013 survey’s estimate of 12.5%.

- Almost seven in ten respondents (69.9%) from CSJP communities believed that crime had declined in their community relative to other areas in Jamaica while a slightly larger proportion of persons (73.2%) living in Non-CSJP communities shared that same sentiment.
- Nearly one in five respondents from CSJP communities (19.2%) reported being victimized during the past year and represents a marked decline from the 24.4% victimization rate estimated for these communities in 2013.
- Almost nine out of ten (89.9%) persons living in CSJP communities thought visitors to their community would be safe with one in three persons (32.7%) thinking visitors would be very safe.
- Exactly half of the respondents in CSJP communities (50.8%) consider their local police to be doing an average job while one in four (25.0%) were willing to say the police were doing a good job.
- We noted changes in perceptions of community safety and police performance as well as experiences in victimization and gang membership but once we have accounted for statistical significance only the difference in police perceptions remains as a distinguishing feature between residents of CSJP communities and residents of other locales.

Part 12: Self-Reported Substance Use and Criminal Activity

This section of the report considers the extent to which members of the society are involved with criminal gangs, and are engaged in criminal activities. The report also examines drug and alcohol use among respondents. Our findings reveal that approximately 1% of the sample indicated that they had been in a criminal gang at some time previously, while 3 persons or 0.1% indicated that they were currently in a criminal gang. In addition, 3.4% of the sample indicated that they had family or friends who were gang members.

- Approximately 1% of the sample indicated that they had been in a criminal gang at some time in their life, with 0.1% reporting that they were currently in a criminal gang. In addition, 3.4% of the sample indicated that they had family or friends who were gang members.
- The proportion of respondents who had ever been in a gang stood at 1.2% in 2006, and declined to 0.5% in 2009 and 0.6% in 2013 but once again rose to 1% in 2016. Across surveys the proportion of respondents who were current gang members remained at 0.1% or lower. Overall, there was a decline in the proportion of persons who had family or friends who were gang members. In 2006 this stood at 4.7% but declined to 2.9% in 2009. This once again rose slightly to 3.8% in 2013 and stood at 3.4% in 2016.
- More males than females (1.7% vs. 0.4%) were in a gang at some point in their lives. Likewise, more males than females (4.9% vs. 2.3%) had family members or friends who were gang members.
- The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who were gang members at some point in their lives were Hanover (2.6%), St. Mary (2.2%) and Portland (2%).
- The data indicate that within respondents' lifetime the most frequently occurring types of offences were fighting (19.7% of respondents engaged in this in their lifetime), assault (4.9%), weapons assault (4.1%), personal theft (2.5%) and prostitution (2.4%). Within the past year, the most frequently occurring types of offences were fighting (1.9%), prostitution (0.5%), assault (0.4%) and weapons assault (0.3%). Trends in self-reported criminal offending indicate that, invariably, such offending has steadily declined from 2006 to 2016.
- Jamaican men are more likely to engage in various types of criminal offending than Jamaican women. This applies to all offences within the past year and within respondents' lifetime.
- With few exceptions, younger persons tend to commit more offences than older persons.

- Parishes in which respondents had the highest average number of criminal offences committed within the past year were Westmoreland, St. Thomas, Hanover and Kingston. The parishes with the lowest average number of criminal offences committed within the past year were St. James, Trelawny and St. Mary.
- Parishes with the highest average number of criminal offences committed within respondents' lifetime were Hanover, St. Ann, St. Andrew and St. James. The parishes with the lowest average number of criminal offences committed within respondents' lifetime were Trelawny, St. Mary and St. Catherine.
- 8.6% of the sample had been arrested for a crime, with 2.4% being convicted for a crime. This represents a conviction rate of 27.3%. Comparison with figures from the 2013 NCVS indicates that arrest and conviction rates have both declined.
- Self-report data indicate that males were more likely than females to have been arrested at some point in their life (14.6% vs. 3.5%) and were more likely to have been convicted (4.2% vs. 0.8%).
- The parishes with the highest proportion of respondents who were arrested at some point in their lives were: St. Thomas (18.1%), Portland (13.1%), Clarendon (11.4%) and St. Mary (10.2%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of persons who were arrested were St. James (3%), Manchester (4.8%) and St. Catherine (5.1%).
- The parishes with the highest proportion of convicted persons were Portland (8.5%), St. Thomas (5.1%), Hanover (3.3%) and St. Ann (2.9%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of convicted persons were Westmoreland (0.5%), St. James (0.8%) and St. Catherine (0.8%).
- The data indicate that the usage of alcohol exceeds the usage of other substances in Jamaica.

- Males were more likely than females to consume alcohol (57.7% vs. 35%) and marijuana (28.1% vs. 7.5%). Cocaine usage was similarly low for males and females (0.6% vs. 0.4%).
- Marijuana usage was highest in Hanover (25%), Kingston (22.7%), St. Andrew (20.8%) and St. Thomas (20%) and was lowest in Westmoreland (9.9%), Clarendon (11.7%) and Portland (12.4%).
- Cocaine usage was very low regardless of parish. The parishes with the highest levels of cocaine usage were St. Andrew (1%) and Westmoreland (1%).

Part 13: Multivariate Analyses of Criminal Victimization and Related Topics

This section of the report was based on a series of regression models which assessed the relationship between potential predictors and several outcomes of interest to this report. Outcomes or dependent variables included crime victimization, vicarious measures of victimization, fear of crime, self-reported criminal offending and police variables.

- The most important predictors of crime victimization were age, gender, level of education, religiosity, drug and alcohol usage, community disorder, police performance and having family and friends with a criminal record.
- The most important predictors of witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends and safety in the community were drug and alcohol use, residential mobility, community disorder, the presence of area dons, police performance, having family and friends with a criminal record, and the frequency of gunshots in the community.
- The most important predictors of fear of crime and related behaviours were age, gender, level of education, religiosity, drug and alcohol use, community disorder, the presence of criminal gangs, police performance, community residential mobility, the frequency of gunshots in the community and crime victimization.

- The most important predictors of criminal offending were gender, drug and alcohol use, residential mobility, community disorder, the presence of area dons, having family and friends with a criminal record, and the frequency of gunshots in the community.
- Important predictors of opinions of the police and reporting to the police were age, education, religiosity, community disorder, the presence of area dons, community residential mobility, indicators of crime victimization (crime victimization, witnessing crime, gunshots in the community etc.), fear of crime and criminal offending.
- This section of the report concluded by examining parish variations in the key outcome indicators. A composite index which represented all indicators simultaneously was created and this was conceptualized as an overall indicator of the level of community problems.
- Parish differences in this indicator were examined. The results indicated that the parishes with the highest levels of community problems were Kingston, St. Catherine, Clarendon and St. Ann. The parishes with the lowest levels of community problems were St. Mary, Trelawny and St. Thomas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The NCVS 2016 was conducted under exceptionally challenging circumstances, and was completed only through the sheer dedication and unstinting commitment of all members of the team. From the outset of our engagement, the Ministry of National Security provided our team with unwavering support, and we wish to thank Dr. Grace-Ann Cornwall, and Ms. Renee Steele for their flexibility and patience in seeking to resolve many of the administrative issues that impacted our progress. We also wish to thank Mr. Brian Gregory for his tireless efforts in supporting our quality control team throughout the data collection and cleaning process, and acknowledge his invaluable support throughout all stages of this research project.

We are indebted Mr. Douglas Forbes of STATIN, who developed our sampling strategy, and who provided invaluable guidance and oversight for our methodological approach. We wish to also thank him for his contribution towards the training of our field staff, and for his efforts to ensure the delivery of a cleaned, weighted dataset that provides estimates that are nationally representative.

We gratefully acknowledge the efforts of all the members of our research team, who worked around the clock to achieve a seemingly impossible goal. We would not have been able to complete this research project without the hard work, tenacity and selfless dedication of the field research teams that completed the interview process in record times, and provided us with the highest quality of data. We thank each of the interviewers who worked in communities across the island, as well as the data entry team that included trained crime analysts, data entry operators, and students from Northern Caribbean University, NCU.

Our researchers and data entry personnel ensured that the highest standards of integrity and accuracy were adhered to, and worked with enthusiasm to complete the data collection, and data entry process within impossibly tight timeframes. We particularly wish to commend the efforts of Mr. Orette Bascoe for developing the data capture software, and for leading the management and supervision of the data entry process, for which we also wish to thank Mr. Otis Keith and Mr. Mark Robinson. We also wish to thank all of the research supervisors for their leadership in getting the job done, and express our deepest appreciation to Janice Bent-Carr for

her superior coordination skills, and to Doreen Hall-Millwood, and Faithlyn Thompson for their flexibility and exceptional hard work in getting the job done.

As team Lead, I accept complete responsibility for the negotiations with the Ministry of National Security, which agreed the timeframes for delivery of this project. In retrospect, that agreement, though mandated by the real constraints related to the funding of the project, was quite ambitious, and imposed extremely high expectations upon all members of the team. The fact that we were able to complete the research project within an acceptable timeframe, is entirely due to the dedication of all those persons previously mentioned, as well as to the professionalism, expertise, and commitment of my co-authors. Mr. Jason Wilks, Dr. Randy Seepersad, Dr. Scot Wortley, and our Research Assistants Mrs. Antonette Richards and Ms. Andrea McCalla, are owed a debt of gratitude for making a seemingly impossible task become a reality.

We also wish to thank the various stakeholders who contributed to the timely completion of this study. And finally, our deepest gratitude is reserved for the 3480 individuals who agreed to participate in the 2016 survey, and who shared some of their most difficult experiences with our interviewers.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dr. Annmarie Barnes, Lead Researcher, is a Sociology Professor at York University in Toronto. She has previously served as Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of National Security in Jamaica, where she spearheaded efforts to develop the Ministry's research capacity to support evidence-based policy making. She was directly responsible for the development and implementation of the first national victimization survey in 2006, and has provided oversight for several other major national studies in Jamaica, including the Howard University study on the Impact of the Transnational Illegal Drug Trade on Jamaica (2006). Dr. Barnes has been the Lead Researcher on several national and multi-country studies in the field of criminal justice, including: the Citizen Security and Justice Programme Community Security Survey (2013 and 2015); a four-country CARICOM study on criminal deportation (2006-2008); and a fifteen-country CARICOM Forensic Capabilities Assessment (2010).

Dr. Randy Seepersad is Head of the Criminology Department at the University of the West Indies, Trinidad and Tobago. He has extensive experience in the development and administration of victimization surveys. Recent surveys in which Dr. Seepersad was involved include the Jamaican National Crime Victimization Survey (2009, 2013), Citizen Security and Justice Programme Community Security Survey (2013, 2015), the 2013 Jamaican LGBT Crime Victimization Survey, and the UNDP (2012) Caribbean Human Development Report on Citizen Security.

Mr. Jason Wilks is Research Associate with the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management (PCJ) at Harvard Kennedy School (HKS) and a Doctoral candidate in the Department of Political Science at Florida State University with research interests in comparative public policy and public safety. Over the past decade, Mr. Wilks has conducted and contributed to research projects in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa to support government officials and their counterparts in international development agencies to develop, pilot and institutionalize evidence-based platforms for criminal justice policy reform. Some of his recent work in Jamaica includes conducting the Citizen Security and Justice Programme Community Security Survey (2011, 2012) and the Emerging and Sustainable Cities Initiative Public Safety Action Plan for Montego Bay (2014).

Dr. Scot Wortley has been a Professor at the Centre of Criminology and Sociolegal Studies, University of Toronto since 1996. He is widely published on issues related to survey research, criminal offending, street gangs, victimization and public attitudes towards the criminal justice system. He has also acted as research director for several government inquiries into youth crime and crime prevention. Professor Wortley has conducted research in the Caribbean region and was the Lead Researcher for the 2006, 2009 and 2012 Jamaican National Crime Victimization Surveys.

Technical/Research Assistance

Our team has benefited from the expert technical advice and/or research assistance of Mr. Douglas Forbes, STATIN; Ms. Antonette Richards, PIOJ; and Ms. Andrea McCalla, PhD Candidate, University of Toronto.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CIR	Crime Incident Report
CSJP	Citizen Security and Justice Project
ED	Enumeration Districts
HEART Trust/NTA	Human Employment and Resource Training Trust/National Training Agency
INDECOM	Independent Commission of Investigations
JNCVS	Jamaica National Crime Victimization Survey
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
NCU	Northern Caribbean University
NCVS	National Crime Victimization Survey
NYS	National Youth Service
PIOJ	Planning Institute of Jamaica
PSU	Primary Sampling Unit
SQL	Structured Query Language
STATIN	Statistical Institute of Jamaica
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USA	United States of America

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) 2016 marks the tenth anniversary of the launch of the first nationally representative victimization survey in Jamaica. Since the first survey was conducted in 2006, the Ministry of National Security has commissioned two other surveys in 2009, and in 2012-13 (hereinafter referenced as the 2013 survey). This fourth victimization survey continues the tradition of providing rich data on criminal victimization in Jamaica, and clearly demarcates the unique contribution of Jamaica as the only country within the English speaking Caribbean to systematically undertake regular national crime victimization surveys.

Crime and violence has remained one of the major challenges for the governance of societies within the Caribbean region over the past two decades. While there have been marked variations across countries, the region has recorded a generally upward trend in the number of persons killed since the turn of the century. A 2007 United Nations Report on Crime in the Caribbean presented data that shows the region recording the highest crime rates in the world, with average murder rates for the Caribbean at more than 30 per 100,000 compared to 26 for South America, 22 for Central America and 7 for North America. The following tables provide official data on major crimes for selected countries within the Caribbean.

Comparative Crime Data on Selected Caribbean Countries

Jamaica has consistently recorded higher homicide levels than all other countries in the Caribbean region (Table 1.1). In the last decade, however, the number of homicides in Jamaica has trended downwards, with a number of sharp annual inclines moving against the overall downward trend. For the ten-year period beginning in 2006, there has been an overall 9.9% decrease in murders, with the sharpest recorded declines occurring between the years 2009 and 2012 (Figure 1.1). Barbados has also generally experienced lower levels of homicides during the ten-year period, with the exception of increases in 2010, 2011 and 2015, and ended the review

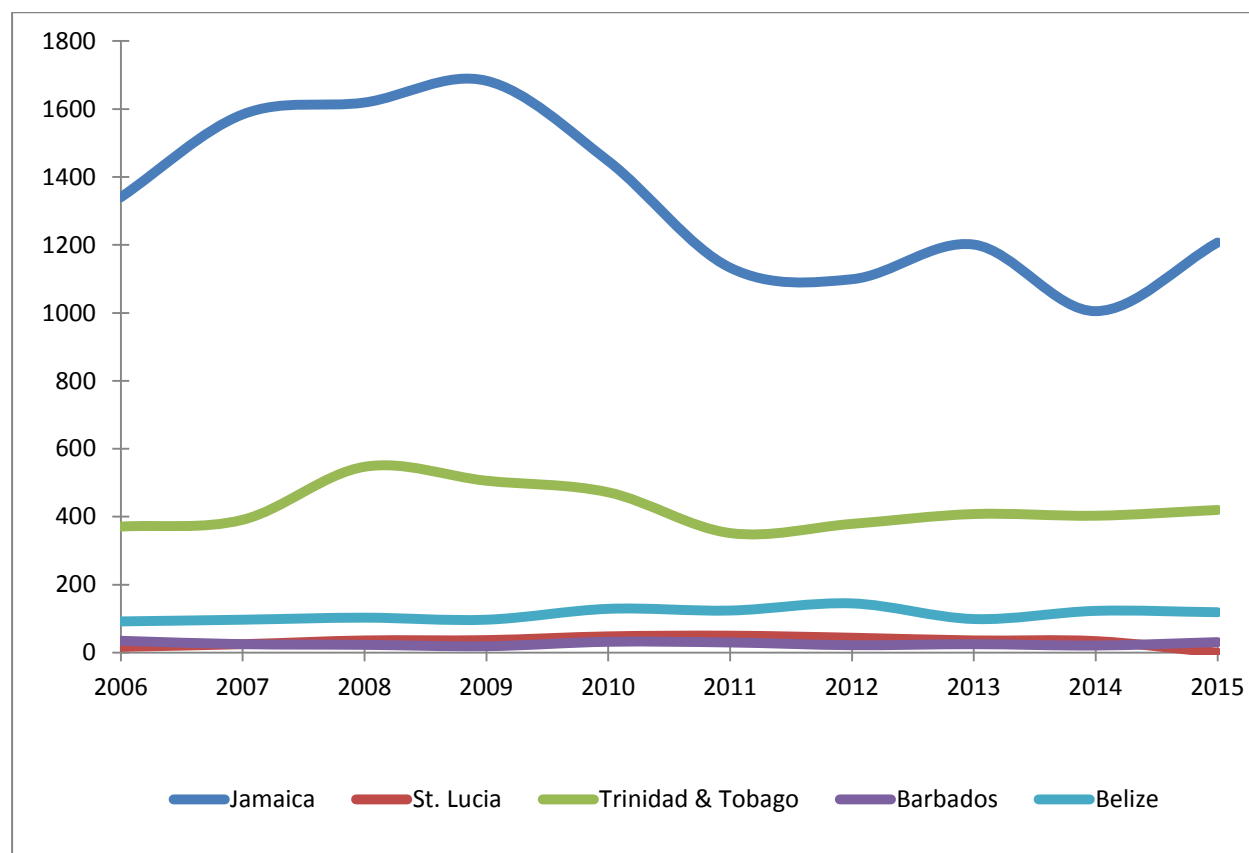
period with an 11.4% decline. On the other hand, St. Lucia, Belize and Trinidad and Tobago recorded increases in homicides during the same period, with a 41.2% increase in St. Lucia, a 29.3% increase in Belize and an increase of 13.2% in Trinidad and Tobago by 2015. As shown in the data, there were wide-ranging fluctuations across all five countries over the ten-year period.

Table 1.1: Official Homicide Statistics for Select Caribbean Countries, 2006 - 2015

	Jamaica	St. Lucia	Trinidad & Tobago	Barbados	Belize
2006	1340	17	371	35	92
2007	1584	25	391	25	97
2008	1619	36	547	23	103
2009	1683	37	506	19	97
2010	1447	48	472	32	129
2011	1133	50	352	30	124
2012	1099	44	379	22	145
2013	1201	36	408	25	99
2014	1005	34	403	21	123
2015	1207	24*	420	31	119

* As at October 30, 2015

Figure 1.1: Homicide Statistics for Select Caribbean Countries, 2006 - 2015



An analysis of homicide rates over the period provides a more reliable method of comparison, and illustrates fluctuations in rates across all five countries. Homicide rates have been generally declining in Jamaica over the period 2006 to 2015, moving from 50.5 per 100,000 population to 45.5 per 100,000 in 2015. Notwithstanding the decline, Jamaica's homicide rates have been consistently higher than all other countries included in this analysis. Like Jamaica, homicide rates have been in decline in Barbados (12.7 per 100,000 in 2006 to 10.8 per 100,000 in 2015), but as observed, these rates are substantially lower than those recorded in Jamaica. In fact, the homicide rates are consistently lower in Barbados than in all the other countries included in this analysis. At the same time, homicide rates in Trinidad and Tobago have fluctuated over the period but have seen a general increase from 28.5 per 100,000 in 2006 to 31.2 per 100,000 in 2015. Likewise, St. Lucia has recorded an increase in homicides rates, moving

from 10.1 per 100,000 in 2006 to 12.9 per 100,000 at the end of 2015. In the case of Belize the homicide rate in 2006 stood at 27 while the rate increased to 34.2 in 2015.

The Importance of Victimization Data

Although official homicide figures such as those presented here are generally viewed as relatively accurate, official crime statistics for other offences, as recorded by the police, can provide only partial answers to questions concerning the prevalence of crime in any society. Since official crime statistics identify incidents that are *known to the police* (i.e., either reported to the police or discovered by police patrol and investigation activities), it is uncertain what proportion of all criminal victimizations actually become known to the police. In fact, crime data recorded by the police may be influenced by the extent to which persons are willing to report crimes to the police, among other factors. Policy makers and academics have long recognized that police statistics on non-lethal forms of violence and property crime tend to seriously underestimate the true level of victimization experienced in most countries, and that trends in reported crimes, while seeming to reflect actual decreases or increases, may well be more indicative of changes in the rates at which crimes are reported to the police, than of actual changes in total crimes.

The perceived incompleteness of police-recorded data has contributed to greater reliance on the collection of victimization data in several countries. While there is a general paucity of nationally representative data in much of the Caribbean, data from the United Nations Human Development Report showed, in 2010, that, similar to official crime data, victimization trends in the region were generally higher than in countries like the United Kingdom and the USA. The Report also showed significant variation in victimization rates throughout the Caribbean, with the highest levels of lifetime victimization recorded in Barbados (26.6%), Suriname (24.1%), St. Lucia (22.9%), Trinidad and Tobago (22.6%), Antigua and Barbuda (22.4%), Guyana (20.1%) and Jamaica (17.4%).

More recently, the Latin American Barometer Survey has provided additional data on victimization for several Caribbean countries. The table below (1.2) provides information for Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Suriname for selected offences.¹

Table 1.2: Victims of Crime, Latin American Barometer Survey, 2014

	Jamaica	Barbados	Trinidad & Tobago	Suriname
Robbery	11.0%	3.9%	3.0%	3.6%
Theft	17.9%	8.5%	7.2%	7.6%
Assault	11.5%	7.3%	5.6%	6.0%
Threat of Assault	14.8%	6.9%	4.2%	7.7%
Sample size	1503	3766	4198	3998

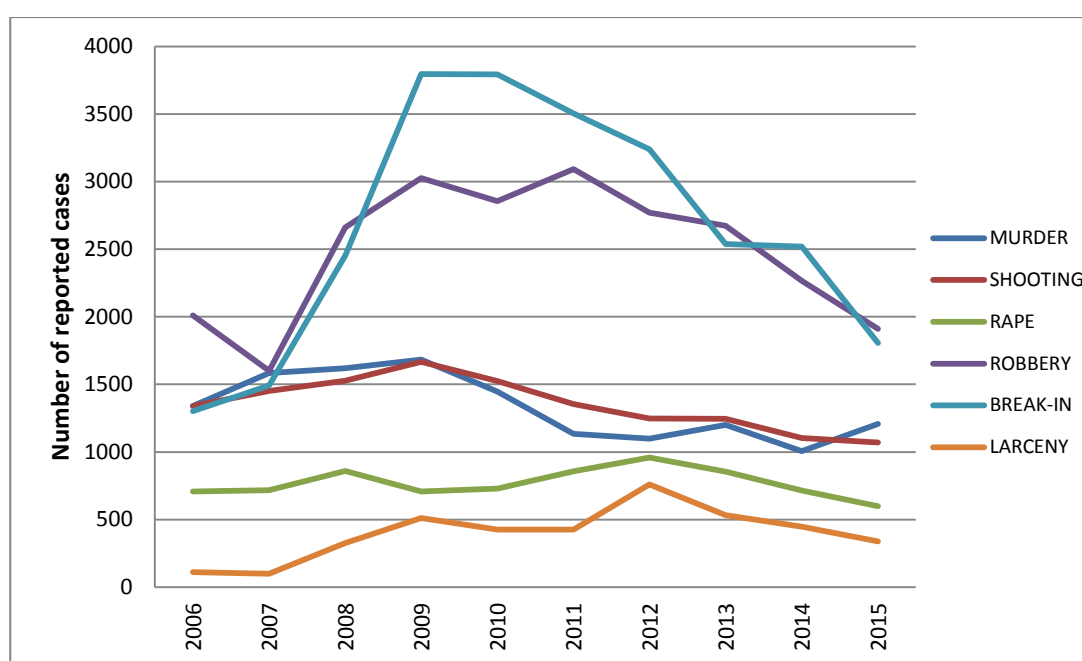
The data above shows Jamaica leading in all categories of victimization for the countries selected. In all of the selected countries reported in Table 1.4 the highest levels of victimization were recorded for theft and the lowest levels were reported for robbery. Based on the overall findings of the 2014 edition of the survey, the highest levels of victimization for the previous twelve months were reported by respondents from Trinidad & Tobago (9.5%), followed by Suriname (9.4%), Barbados (6.8%), and Jamaica (6.7%). Comparative data on lifetime victimization experiences could not be obtained from the survey.

While the regional data on victimization provided in the reports cited do attempt to shed light on victimization in some countries, the gaps in the level of detail indicate that there is still a real need for comprehensive national surveys that can provide accurate and in-depth data on the levels of victimization of the general population.

¹ The comparative sample sizes raise several concerns about the extent to which the data may be generalized to the wider population.

The case of Jamaica highlights the importance of having nationally representative victimization data. Over the past decade, Jamaica has witnessed significant variations in most categories of major crime (see Figure 1.2). While there have been continued fluctuations in murder rates, which may have an impact on overall perceptions of crime, other categories of crime have recorded generally declining trends during the last half of the decade. The 2016 Victimization Survey will analyse data from 2006 to 2016 to determine whether the trends observed in official crime data are reflected in the actual victimization experiences of Jamaicans.

Figure 1.2: Categories of Major Crime in Jamaica, 2006 - 2015



The National Crime Victimization Surveys: 2006-2016

The National Crime Victimization Surveys undertaken by the Government of Jamaica have been designed to supplement official statistics on the prevalence of crime in Jamaica, and provide detailed information on victims and victimization experiences that are not typically reflected in official statistics. Like its predecessors, the NCVS 2016 provides detailed information on the personal and lifestyle characteristics of victims and offenders, the nature of

the victim-offender relationship, the social context of criminal victimizations (i.e., the time and place of victimization experiences), reasons for not reporting crime and fear of crime. In addition to the above, the 2016 survey also included questions on self-reported offending patterns and drug use among the general population, and sought to measure perceptions of the criminal justice system. The findings of the survey can be used to inform the development of effective crime prevention and community safety programmes, and provide valuable data on how respondents perceive the effectiveness, or lack of effectiveness, of such programmes.

Research Questions

The 2016 NCVS uses the identical questionnaires that were developed for the 2013 survey, which was designed to answer more than thirty different research questions.² These questions include the following:

- 1) Do Jamaicans think that crime has increased or decreased in their country over the past five years? To what extent has crime increased or decreased in the respondents' own communities?
- 2) Do specific crime and disorder problems exist in the respondents' local communities? Does the extent of community crime and disorder vary by region of the country?
- 3) How prevalent are corner crews, criminal gangs and Area Dons in Jamaica?
- 4) What are the perceived benefits and consequences of corner crews, criminal gangs and Area Dons?
- 5) What percentage of the population has been the victim of a crime at some point in their life? What proportion of the population has been the victim of a crime in the past year? Are respondents more likely to be the victim of violent crime or property crime?
- 6) Does the rate of criminal victimization in Jamaica vary by Parish? Does the rate of victimization in Jamaica vary by age, gender and other demographic characteristics?
- 7) Did the rate of criminal victimization in Jamaica change between 2006 and 2016?
- 8) When and where do criminal victimization incidents take place? Does the timing and location of victimization incidents vary by the type of crime?
- 9) What is the nature of the victim-offender relationship? Are respondents more likely to be victimized by strangers or by people they know?

² These research questions were reproduced from the 2013 report.

- 10) What proportion of criminal offenders are men? What is the average age of criminal offenders? Does the age and gender of offenders vary by type of crime? What are the other characteristics of offenders?
- 11) What proportion of criminal victimization experiences are reported to the police?
- 12) When people report crimes to the police – to what extent are they satisfied or dissatisfied with the police response?
- 13) Why do some people decide not to report personal victimization experiences to the police? What are their reasons for not reporting?
- 14) What impact does crime have on crime victims? To what extent does it cause fear, anger and other emotions? To what extent do Jamaicans change their lives because of their criminal victimization experiences?
- 15) What proportion of the population has witnessed a violent crime – including murder, robbery and gun battles and serious assaults?
- 16) What proportion of respondents report the crimes they have witnessed to the police? Why do some respondents decide not to talk to the police about the crimes they have witnessed?
- 17) What proportion of Jamaicans have a family or close friend who has been the victim of a serious crime – including murder and sexual assault?
- 18) How prevalent is fear of crime in Jamaica? Do respondents feel safe or unsafe when they engage in specific public activities? To what extent do the respondents fear that they will become the victim of a criminal offence?
- 19) Does fear of crime vary by gender, age and other respondent characteristics? Does fear of crime vary by region of the country?
- 20) How do respondents evaluate the performance of the police, the criminal courts and the correctional system? Does confidence in the justice system vary by region of the country? Has confidence in the police and criminal justice system increased or decreased between 2006 and 2016?
- 21) Do respondents believe that police corruption and police brutality are problems in their local community? Have respondents ever personally experienced or witnessed police corruption and brutality?
- 22) Do respondents believe that the police and criminal courts treat everyone fairly or does treatment vary by gender, age and social class position?

- 23) Do respondents feel that the sentences handed down by the criminal courts are too harsh, too lenient or about right?
- 24) Do respondents feel that the death penalty should be given to people convicted of murder?
- 25) Do respondents feel that the conditions in prisons are too harsh or too lenient?
- 26) Do respondents feel that convicted criminals should receive counselling or treatment in prison?
- 27) According to the respondents, what are the major causes of crime in Jamaica?
- 28) To what extent do Jamaicans support various government crime prevention policies? Are they more likely to support law enforcement or social development programs?
- 29) How effective are the crime prevention interventions which are in place in various communities? What is the level of access to mitigating social services which are provided in various communities?
- 30) What proportion of those interviewed consumed alcohol, marijuana and other illegal drugs in the past year? Has alcohol and drug use increased or decreased between 2006 and 2016?
- 31) What percentage of residents has been involved in gangs? What percentage engaged in various types of criminal activity? What proportion of respondents has been arrested by the police and convicted of a crime? Has self-reported involvement in crime increased or decreased between 2006 and 2016?

The National Crime Victimization Survey 2016: Organization of the Report

This Report presents the major findings of the 2016 survey, and provides comparative analyses with the 2006, 2009 and 2013 surveys. The Report begins with an Executive Summary that highlights the findings from each section, and is followed by an acknowledgment and information on the authors. There are fourteen parts to this study, including a new section to be inserted in the final report that features multivariate analyses of selected variables.

Part One constitutes an Introduction to the 2016 Survey. It outlines the background of victimization studies in Jamaica, provides highlights of comparative crime statistics and victimization data in Jamaica, and includes an overview of the organization of this Report.

Part Two of the report details the survey methodology used to produce data for this research project, and discusses our sampling strategy, the survey instruments used to collect data, and the administrative processes and survey protocols that guided all aspects of the research process including the training of field personnel, data collection, data entry and data cleaning and coding.

Part Three is the first section of the report that outlines the major findings of this study. It provides data on several indicators used to measure crime and disorder at the level of communities and details the attitudes and perceptions of respondents in relation to the presence of criminal gangs, corner crews and Area Dons in communities.

Part Four of the Report explores the lifetime and past-year victimization experiences of survey respondents. The Report consider rates of both violent and property victimization and analyses the data on trends in criminal victimization over the past decade. This section provides a comparative assessment of the victimization data gathered across all four surveys from 2006 to 2016.

The next section of the Report, **Part Five**, provides a detailed examination of all reported victimization experiences that occurred during the previous twelve months. Our discussion of the data considers the nature of the victim-offender relationship, the occurrence of crime-related injuries, the location and timing of criminal events, and the use of weapons during the commission of a crime. The section also considers whether respondents report crime to the police, and seeks to determine the factors that contribute to decisions not to report crimes to the police. The impact of criminal victimization on individuals who have been victimized is also considered in this section.

Part Six of the report analyses data on indirect or vicarious exposure to crime, by assessing the extent to which Jamaicans have witnessed violent crime, and/or have been exposed to crime through the victimization of family members and friends.

The impact of fear of crime on the everyday experiences of Jamaicans is examined in **Part Seven** of the report. In this section, we consider whether respondents report that they are fearful of engaging in specific public activities, and discuss the ways in which fear of crime may act as a constraint on normal activities.

Part Eight of the report engages the twin issues of crime causation and crime prevention, and documents the perceptions of respondents concerning the major causes of crime in Jamaica.

The section also explores the measures that respondents have taken to ensure their own personal safety and documents views about governmental policies that are considered to be most, or least, effective in reducing crime.

The following section, **Part Nine**, reports on public perceptions of the criminal justice system, and provides analyses of the views expressed by respondents about the effectiveness of the police, the criminal courts and the correctional services.

Part Ten of the report documents public perceptions about the police, as well as the experiences of respondents with respect to police corruption and brutality. This section of the report also explores the extent to which persons are aware of, and have confidence in, the police complaints process.

Part Eleven of the report focuses on the Citizen Security and Justice Programme, which is currently being implemented in fifty communities throughout the country. We analyse respondents' awareness of the programme and the degree to which they consider it to be effective in reducing crime.

We examine the use of illegal drugs and consumption of alcohol in **Part Twelve** of the Report, and analyse data on self-reported criminal offending. This section also reviews the frequency of arrests made by the police and the level of criminal convictions.

In **Part Thirteen**, which is new to this Report, we include a new Special Topics section based on a series of regression models which consider the relationship between potential predictors and several outcomes of interest to this report. Outcomes or dependent variables included crime victimization, vicarious measures of victimization, fear of crime, self-reported criminal offending and police variables.

The final section of the Report, **Part Fourteen** provides a summary and discussion of key findings and considers the policy implications of our analyses. Our recommendations for policy review and further research are also included in this section.

PART TWO

METHODOLOGY

The National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) 2016 was conducted by a research team led by Dr. Annmarie Barnes, and comprising Dr. Randy Seepersad, Mr. Jason Wilks, and Dr. Scot Wortley. The study was commissioned by the Ministry of National Security and was completed during the period March 2, 2016 to April 20, 2016. The timeframe required for the study was unusually short³, and necessitated the implementation of enhanced quality control measures to ensure adherence to established protocols. This section of the report outlines our methodological approach.

The Sampling Procedure

The NCVS 2016 sampling strategy was developed by the Statistical Institute of Jamaica (STATIN) in a manner that is consistent with the sample design used in all of the previous victimization surveys conducted by STATIN. The sampling frame for the Survey was developed by STATIN using information from the 2011 Population and Housing Census. A master sampling frame is developed after each Census and is updated every 4 to 5 years to include the most recent changes in the population using a listing of dwellings in the selected enumerated districts (EDs).

The sample design for the NCVS 2016 is a multi-stage probability sampling design with three stages of sampling. The main objective of the design is to select a nationally representative sample that will provide estimates on the state of crime victimization at both the national and the

³ The MNS had previously engaged the services of another entity to begin the survey in 2015, but in February 2016, decided to contract with our research team to ensure that the project would be completed by the end of April.

regional (urban/rural) levels. In addition to the regional stratification, the sample is also designed to enable an independent study of crime victimization in communities that are involved in the Citizens Security and Justice Programme (CSJP).

The first stage of the sampling process was the selection of EDs within the selected communities. In this stage a sample of EDs were randomly selected from the urban and rural areas using probability proportionate to size (PPS) methods. STATIN's master sampling frame consists of 852 EDs. Of these, 251 or 29.5% were selected for the 2016 survey. All of the selected EDs were stratified by parish and were classified into urban and rural domains. This ensured that the data collected could be analysed at the urban/rural and at the national level.

The second stage of our sampling process included the selection of an average number of 16 dwellings from each ED using systematic random sampling. Within each of the selected dwellings, one household was assigned to be visited by the interviewer. The final sample consisted of 2,000 dwellings in urban areas and 2,016 dwellings in rural areas.

During the third stage of our sampling process, one eligible household member from each of the selected households was selected to be interviewed. Eligible household members are those satisfying the criteria for the target population. In households with more than one eligible household member, the selection was done using the next birthday selection method. With this method, the eligible household member with the next birthday is selected for interviewing, which prevents possible systematic selection bias. The birthday selection method ensures that, within each household, respondents were randomly selected, which, combined with the other elements of our sampling strategy, ensured randomness throughout all stages of the study.

Sample size

The sample selected for the 2016 survey includes 251 EDs, of which 125 were urban and the remaining 126 were rural. From each ED 16 dwellings were selected systematically, providing a total of **4,016** dwellings. The sample also included over-sampling in four parishes (Kingston, St. Andrew, St. James and St. Catherine) by a total of 27 EDs to provide information

on the CSJP communities. The number of dwellings (432) selected from CSJP communities represents approximately 10.75% of the total sample for the survey.

The final sample for the 2016 Survey included 3480 respondents. Of the 4,016 dwellings that were selected, 3,560 were successfully interviewed resulting in a household response rate of 88.7%, which was 12.4 percentage points higher than the 2013 survey. Of the 3,560 eligible individuals who were selected, a total of 3,480 were successfully interviewed, which translates to an individual response rate of 97.8%, only marginally lower (98.5%) than the individual response rate for the 2013 survey.⁴ The response rate for the 2016 Survey remains comparatively high by international survey research standards and provides confidence in the quality of the data. This sample size, combined with the random sampling strategy used in this survey, allows for confidence in the quality of the data and the representativeness of the findings.

Survey Instruments/Questionnaires

The NCVS 2016 has been conducted using the identical survey instruments that were used in the 2013 survey. A total of four questionnaires were used in the survey, namely: Household Questionnaire; Individual Questionnaire; Crime Victimization Inventory and the Crime Incident Report. The household questionnaire included the selection criteria and was completed for all households contacted; the individual questionnaire gathered detailed information about the attitudes and experiences of each respondent; the crime incident report provided details on victimization experiences and was only completed by respondents who reported a criminal victimization incident within the past 12 months; and the inventory catalogued the total number of incidents reported for each crime category. Further details of the four instruments are highlighted below.

1. Individual Questionnaire – This instrument collected information on the respondent’s perceptions and experience with crime and victimization and addressed the following topics:

⁴ It should be noted that the individual non-response rate was impacted by the fact that the interviewers did not have sufficient time to re-visit households in order to complete 26 call-back interviews that remained outstanding during this survey.

- Part D: Demographic Information
- Part N: Neighbourhood Disorder
- Part V: Criminal Victimization Screener
- Part F: Indirect Experience with Crime
- Part G: Fear of Crime
- Part H: Opinions about the Criminal Justice System
- Part J: Crime Prevention
- Part K: Police Complaints, Corruption and Police Brutality
- Part L: Citizen Security and Justice Programme
- Part M: Self-Reported Criminal Activity and Substance Abuse

2. Household Questionnaire – The household questionnaire provides information on the composition of the household, and is used to identify and record information about the respondents who were eligible to be interviewed. This questionnaire sets out the respondent selection procedure and collects household data as well as information on the socio-economic status of the respondent.

3. Crime Victimization Inventory – This instrument provided a one page summary of the respondent's victimization experiences in the past twelve (12) months. It included a listing of all twenty-one types of victimization that are included in the questionnaire.

4. Crime Incident Report – This instrument collected detailed information on victimizations that took place in the past twelve (12) months. One Crime Incident Report was completed for each type of victimization that took place in the past twelve month.

Field Personnel Training and Deployment

Based on the tight deadlines for the completion of the study, the recruitment and training of field staff was conducted over the period March 3-5, 2016, and was led by Dr. Annmarie Barnes, Lead Researcher, with the support of senior supervisors trained by STATIN. In an effort to ensure that all interviewers and supervisors were adequately trained to engage in fieldwork for the NCVS, we recruited several experienced supervisors who had previously worked as part of the STATIN team that completed the three previous victimization studies in 2006, 2009, and 2013.

Eleven supervisors and 87 interviewers were employed to undertake the survey in the fourteen parishes. All interviewers had prior experience conducting large-scale surveys, and approximately one-third had been previously engaged in a survey that has collected data on crime victimization. All members of the data collection team were provided with an interviewer's manual that was prepared specifically for use in conducting victimization surveys in Jamaica.

Data Collection

Data collection for the NCVS 2016 started in most parishes on March 5, 2016, and ended on March 16, 2016. To ensure effective supervision of field staff and the timely completion of the data collection phase of the study, the supervisors were required to be integrally involved in the daily conduct of the survey.

In addition to their normal duties of verifying that the fieldwork was executed in keeping with established norms and procedures, all supervisors were required to be directly engaged in establishing ED boundaries, as well as in the selection of households and eligible respondents for the study. This eliminated the risk of interviewer error in ensuring the randomized selection of respondents for the study. The presence of the supervisors during data collection activities also served to motivate interviewers and generally improved performance levels. In addition, the Lead Researcher provided active oversight during all stages of data collection, and supported on the ground verification activities of supervisors in at least four parishes.

Our ability to complete the data collection stage of the research in record time was due largely to the superior organizational skills of our most experienced supervisors (acknowledged elsewhere), who completed their initial assignments, which were in predominantly urban areas, and were subsequently deployed to other parishes to support other supervisors with more difficult rural terrain. The parishes in which these supervisors were re-deployed include: St. Elizabeth, Manchester, St. Ann, Trelawny, St. Mary, Portland, and Hanover.

Throughout all phases of the study, we implemented a team approach to assign additional resources to the areas that required further strengthening, and relied on our expertise in project management and the leadership of multi-functional teams to ensure that potential lags were identified and urgently addressed as matters of utmost priority.

Data Entry, Editing and Coding

Data entry started on March 16, and was completed by a team of approximately thirty persons which included experienced data analysts, data entry operators, and students from Northern Caribbean University. The survey data entry and edit programmes were written using ASP.NET software with SQL server database. This interactive software includes several verification features including range, skips and consistency checks. A team of six supervisors provided quality control during data entry, and also contributed to the data cleaning and verification process.

In keeping with measures developed by STATIN to produce valid population estimates in all the previous surveys, weights were applied to the sample data to compensate for the probability of selection. The sample was weighted to represent the non-institutionalized population for each parish. The weighting procedure was undertaken by senior STATIN officials, and sought to accomplish the following objectives:

- Compensate for differential probabilities of selection for households and persons;
- Reduce biases occurring because non-respondents may have different characteristics from respondents; and
- Adjust for under-coverage in the sample frame and in the conduct of the main survey.

As part of this process, a weight was created for all the EDs to compensate for the changes in the number of dwellings that occurred between the time of the census and the time of the listing of dwellings. Another weight was also created to control the population totals for each parish. This is an iterative procedure that forced the weights to sum to a known population total. The weight was then normalized to the sample population totals using the demographic variables age and sex at the parish level from the 2015 Intercensal Population Estimates.

The validated dataset was delivered to the research team on April 2, 2016. Our team of experienced analysts then engaged in extensive analysis prior to the development of this Draft Report.

Sample Description

Table 2.1 provides basic demographic characteristics of the samples from all four National Crime Victimization Surveys conducted in Jamaica in 2006, 2009, 2013, and 2016. The final 2016 sample size (3,480 respondents) is approximately 2% smaller than the 2013 survey (3,556 respondents), but represents an increase over the 2006 and 2009 samples. The average sample size for all four surveys is 3,301, with the 2016 survey representing the smallest deviation from the mean across all samples. The 2016 sample size improves our ability to generalize the findings and make sound comparisons between the surveys.

In general, the sample characteristics have remained similar across the four victimization surveys. The average age of the sample in 2016 was 41.7 years, compared to 44.1 in 2013, 44.3 in 2009, and 43.0 in 2006. Although slightly younger than previous samples, the difference in age is comparable to the difference between previous versions of the survey. In 2016, just over half (50.4%) of the respondents were under 40 years old, compared to 44.7% in the 2013 sample, 46% in 2009, and 49.3% in 2006. With respect to gender distribution, in 2016 there were more females (54%) than males (46%) in the sample. Similarly, the samples in 2013 and 2006 both had slightly more females than males whereas in 2009, the sample was almost exactly equal (50.6% females and 49.4% males). Regarding marital status, the samples overall are quite

similar indicating that most persons are single (never married) and about 1 out of every 5 persons are married. There are a few noteworthy differences in the 2016 sample. The percentage of married persons decreased in the 2016 sample (19.3%) compared to the consistent 23% in 2006, 2009, and 2013, which coincides with an increase in the percentage of persons in common law relationships (16.8%) compared to the relatively stable 12-14% in the previous three surveys. Likewise, the percentage of single persons has decreased from 48.1% in 2006 to 41.2% in 2016, and the percentage of persons living in visiting relationships has increased from 6.8% in 2006 to 12% in 2016.

Where education is concerned, again there are similarities across the four samples for most levels of education, with a few notable changes. For 2016, the percentage of persons who have completed secondary school (39.3%) is at the highest it has been across the four time periods, and up from 32.3% in 2013. There is also a slight increase in the percentage of persons with at least some exposure to post-secondary education or other training. In contrast, the percentage of persons who have completed primary school declined in the 2016 sample to 11.4% after a steady increase of up to 17% in 2013.

With respect to employment status, the four survey samples are quite similar for most of the employment categories. The percentage of persons with full-time employment shows a gradual decline over the four time periods, from 47.9% in 2006, to 45.6% in 2009, to 44.0% in 2013, down to 40.5% in 2016, with little change in part-time employment. A corresponding decrease in employment is reflected by a noticeable increase in the percentage of persons who were unemployed (seeking work) from 9% in 2006 to 13% in 2016. Despite a downward trend since 2006, the number of full-time students has increased from 4.2% in 2013 to 6.2% in 2016.

Our analysis of data on social class is limited by the fact there was no comparable data for 2006, and almost a third (31.2%) of the data is missing from 2009, which seriously limits the comparisons of social class categories across samples. However, a brief comparison of the 2013 sample with the 2016 sample suggests a decrease in the percentage of poor (48.7% - 44.7%) and very poor (9.4% - 5.2%) with an expansion among the middle class (38.4% - 44.1%) and very slight increase among the upper middle class (2.4% - 2.5%) and the wealthy (0.4% - 0.8%). The

degree of missing data on social class across all samples, however, limits our ability to make reasonable generalizations at the national level.

As far as religion is concerned, the data show remarkable similarity in religious affiliation across the four samples. The most notable change is the increase in persons with an affiliation to the Church of God in Jamaica from 4.2% in 2006 to 12.4% in 2016. Similarly, the percentage of Baptist followers increased from a previously stable 8% up to 10.9% in 2016.

The proportion of respondents living in each parish remained almost the same across all the victimization surveys. Parishes such as Kingston, St. Ann, Westmoreland, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Clarendon maintained a similar proportion of residents in each survey sample, while others including St. Thomas, Portland, St. Mary and St. James showed minor fluctuations. However, the proportion of residents from St. Andrew and St. Catherine, which comprise the largest proportion of respondents in each sample, varies considerably across each survey. In 2006, 23.8% of respondents resided in St. Andrew, compared to 15.6% in 2009, 17.4% in 2013, and 17.9% in 2016. Similarly, the proportion of residents from St. Catherine represented 19% of the sample in 2006, compared to 14.2% in 2009, 17.5% in 2013, and 15.2% in 2016.

With respect to the length of time spent in communities, the 2016 survey shows little variation from the 2013 study for persons who have spent less than two years in their communities. While the percentage of persons residing in their communities for two to five years (7.9%) and five to ten years (19.8) in 2016 records slight increases over 2013, with 6.6% and 17.4% respectively, there was a decline in the percentage of persons with residence in their communities for more than ten years, moving from 70.4% in 2013 to 66.3% in 2016. It is important to note that this degree of fluctuation is characteristic across all the surveys. Indeed, further analysis shows a great deal of consistency, across all four samples, for persons who have lived within their communities for five or more years, moving from a combined total of: 86.2% in 2006; 88% in 2009; 87.8% in 2013; to 86.1% in 2016. Similarly, across all samples, the majority of respondents have spent more than ten years in their current community.

Table 2.1: Demographic Characteristics of 2006-2016 Survey Respondents

CHARACTERISTIC	2006 %	2009 %	2012-13 %	2016 %
<u>AGE</u>				
16-24 years old	16.0	14.4	15.0	17.7
25-39 years old	33.3	31.6	29.7	32.7
40-59 years old	32.0	33.4	34.9	31.8
60 years of age or older	16.6	19.1	20.0	17.6
<i>Missing</i>	2.1	1.5	0.0	1.2
<i>MEAN AGE*</i>	43.0	44.3	44.1	41.7
<i>MEDIAN AGE*</i>	40.0	41.0	43.0	39.0
<u>GENDER</u>				
Male	47.7	49.4	45.7	46.0
Female	52.3	50.6	54.3	54.0
<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>				
Married	23.1	23.0	22.8	19.3
Common Law	12.4	13.9	12.4	16.8
Divorced/Separated	4.3	3.5	3.6	3.8
Widowed	4.9	6.4	6.0	6.3
Visiting	6.8	10.2	12.0	12.0
Single (never married)	48.1	42.7	43.1	41.2
<i>Missing</i>	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.6
<u>EDUCATION</u>				
Some Primary School	8.7	8.6	7.2	6.8
Completed Primary School	14.2	16.0	17.0	11.4
Some Secondary School	21.9	22.9	22.1	17.4
Completed Secondary School	38.2	36.5	32.3	39.3
Some College	2.4	2.7	2.1	5.8
College Diploma	5.9	3.9	4.4	4.8
Some University	1.4	1.4	1.5	2.0
Undergraduate University Degree	3.4	2.7	4.4	3.6
Graduate or Professional Degree	0.7	0.8	1.2	0.6
Other Training	2.4	4.2	2.0	5.4
<i>Missing/Other</i>	0.6	0.2	5.8	2.9

*** Stated as actual age not percentages**

**Table 2.1 (continued):
Demographic Characteristics of 2006-2016 Survey Respondents**

CHARACTERISTIC	2006 %	2009 %	2012-13 %	2016 %
<u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</u>				
Working Full-time	47.9	45.6	44.0	40.5
Working Part-time	15.6	16.0	16.1	14.8
Unemployed (looking for work)	9.0	9.8	11.2	13.0
Unemployed (not looking for work)	5.6	6.9	4.8	6.0
Full-time Student	5.4	4.6	4.2	6.2
Part-time Student	0.7	0.5	1.0	1.4
Homemaker/Housewife	4.2	4.5	4.6	4.3
Retired	6.6	7.7	9.1	8.2
Disabled	1.9	1.0	2.0	1.2
Hustling/Other	3.0	3.3	2.7	3.2
Missing	0.1	0.1	0.3	1.2
<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>				
Very Poor	N/A	5.4	9.4	5.2
Poor	N/A	37.0	48.7	44.7
Middle Class	N/A	23.7	38.4	44.1
Upper Middle Class	N/A	1.1	2.4	2.5
Wealthy	N/A	0.5	0.4	0.8
Other	N/A	1.1	0.7	2.2
Missing	N/A	31.2	0.0	0.5
<u>RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION</u>				
No Religion	12.2	14.2	14.2	13.9
Anglican	3.7	3.2	3.7	2.9
Pentecostal	11.8	10.5	11.9	12.6
Baptist	8.2	8.2	8.0	10.9
Roman Catholic	3.3	2.9	1.8	2.4
United Church	2.0	2.5	2.4	2.4
Methodist	2.2	1.8	2.0	1.9
Seventh Day Adventist	13.0	13.6	13.8	12.7
Jehovah's Witness	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1
Church of God in Jamaica	4.2	4.4	7.9	12.4
Church of God of the Prophecy	5.3	5.1	3.7	4.7
New Testament Church of God	6.4	7.1	7.4	8.0
Other Church of God	7.6	9.0	8.1	5.4
Rastafarian	2.7	2.2	2.2	1.6
Other	14.6	13.2	10.4	5.3
Missing	0.7	0.6	0.4	0.8

**Table 2.1 (continued):
Demographic Characteristics of 2006-2016 Survey Respondents**

CHARACTERISTIC	2006 %	2009 %	2012-13 %	2016 %
<u>PARISH</u>				
Kingston	4.7	5.4	5.7	6.5
St. Andrew	23.8	15.6	17.4	17.9
St. Thomas	3.7	6.8	6.3	6.2
Portland	2.7	5.1	3.3	4.4
St. Mary	4.2	8.1	4.8	6.8
St. Ann	5.8	5.4	5.7	6
Trelawny	2.6	5.2	4.5	4.5
St. James	7.2	5.4	6.1	3.8
Hanover	2.5	4.7	4.0	4.4
Westmoreland	5.3	5.4	5.1	5.5
St. Elizabeth	4.9	5.0	4.8	3.7
Manchester	6.2	7.5	6.7	6.5
Clarendon	7.5	7.5	8.3	8.6
St. Catherine	19.0	14.2	17.5	15.2
<u>Time in Community</u>				
Less than Six Months	2.0	1.4	1.2	1.5
Six Months to One Year	1.7	1.3	1.6	1.7
One to Two Years	3.1	2.0	2.6	2.6
Two to Five Years	6.9	7.2	6.6	7.9
Five to Ten Years	14.5	12.6	17.4	19.8
More than Ten Years	71.7	75.4	70.4	66.3
Missing	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
Sample Size	3,112	3,056	3,556	3,480

Comparisons with the Census Data

Table 2.2 shows the sex, age group and parish percentages derived from the survey compared with the 2015 Intercensal population estimates. Over three quarters (76.1%) of the population was 15 years and over, of which 50.9% were females and 49.1% males. The survey on the other hand, produced 54.0% females and 46.0% males which indicates that a higher

percentage of female respondents were selected in the survey. In terms of age, the proportion derived from the survey was higher for all the age groups except the 16 – 24 years for the population estimates. This indicates that there was an over representation of the age groups 25 – 39 years, 40 – 59 years and 60 years and older in the sample and an under representation of the 16 – 24 years age group when compared with the estimated population.

Table 2.2: Characteristics of Survey Respondents compared to Census Population Estimates

Characteristics	2015 Population Estimate	Sample
Sex		
Male	49.1	46.0
Female	50.9	54.0
Age Groups		
16 - 24 years	25.6	17.5
25 - 39 years	29.3	32.4
40 - 59 years	29.3	31.6
60 years and older	15.6	17.5
Missing		1.0
Parish		
Kingston	3.1	6.5
St Andrew	22.2	17.9
St Thomas	3.4	6.2
Portland	3.1	4.4
St Mary	4.2	6.8
St Ann	6.3	6.0
Trelawny	2.7	4.5
St James	6.7	3.8
Hanover	2.5	4.4
Westmoreland	5.2	5.5
St Elizabeth	5.5	3.7
Manchester	7.1	6.5
Clarendon	8.8	8.6
St Catherine	19.1	15.2

According to the 2015 population estimates the parishes of St. Andrew with 22.2% and St. Catherine 19.1% accounted for 41.3% of the country's population. These two parishes also produced the highest number of respondents for the survey with St. Andrew accounting for 17.9% and St. Catherine 15.2% but both were under-represented, accounting for only 33.1% of the sample when compared with the estimated population. There was over-representation of the sample in a number of smaller parishes such as St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny which accounted for 17.5% of the sample and only 10.2% of the population.

While the observed disparities are noted, the 2016 NCVS represents an improvement over the previous 2013 NCVS in terms of the closeness with which the sample characteristics resemble the population characteristics. For example, in the 2013 sample 45.7% of respondents were male while 54.3% were female. In the 2016 sample 46% of respondents were male and 54% were female. The 2016 figures are closer to the population estimates (49.1% male and 50.9% female). A similar pattern is observed with age, where the only age range in the 2016 sample that deviates more from the census estimate than in the 2013 NCVS is the 25-39 age range. For example, when we consider the 16-24 age range in the 2016 sample 17.5% of respondents are within this range. In the 2013 NCVS 15% of respondents are within this age range. The 2015 census estimate stands at 25.6%. As such, while both surveys have fewer young persons than the population, the 2016 survey is an improvement over the 2013 survey. Similar improvement also obtains for the 40-59 and 60 and older age ranges.

Limitations of the Study

The survey was undertaken in keeping with established international best practices for the conduct of victimization surveys, and adhered to the multi-stage sampling procedures developed by STATIN for the conduct of nationally representative surveys. To the extent that probability sampling may result in errors that are due to the difference between the sample and a true census of the population represented, we acknowledge the possibility of such sampling errors. The likelihood of such errors has, however, been minimized in this study in a number of ways. First, the size of the sample provides a reliable measure of the population, and allows for a 95% level

of confidence in interpreting the results of this study. Second, in keeping with measures developed by STATIN to produce valid population estimates in all the previous surveys, weights were applied to the sample data to compensate for the probability of selection bias. The sample was weighted to represent the non-institutionalized population for each parish, and is identical to the weighting procedures used by STATIN in the previous victimization surveys to reduce biases that may result from the fact that non-respondents could have different characteristics from respondents.

With respect to the possibility of non-sampling errors, this survey, like others of its genre, are potentially susceptible to the following types of errors, among others:

- The inability to obtain information about all persons in the sample;
- Differences in the interpretation of the questions;
- Inability or unwillingness of the respondents to provide the correct information;
- Inability of respondents to recall information;
- Errors made in collecting and processing the data.

We acknowledge the particular challenges imposed by the timeframe established for the completion of the study, as well as the potential risks that inhered to the expedited completion of our data collection process. As noted earlier in this section, our need to ensure that the study was completed within very tight timeframes required the development of enhanced oversight measures, which served to ensure constant monitoring and supervision of our data collection and data entry processes.

During the data collection process, we remained cognisant of the fact that even with more extensive training in the respondent selection process, there could still be a need for constant reinforcement to ensure adherence to the technique adopted to ensure random sampling in all the communities. In addition to the training that was given to interviewers, we included written instructions on the selection procedure, and required interviewers to record data for all eligible respondents on the household questionnaire, which was entered into our database. This provided concrete evidence of adherence to the selection procedure, and also provided a means of verification that our supervisors could audit as necessary.

At the end of the data collection phase of the survey, a comprehensive edit and consistency check was completed prior to the completion of data processing. Data entry was conducted by a team of 30 trained data entry personnel, and a number of verification procedures were implemented to ensure the accuracy of the data entry process. Where inconsistencies or inaccuracies were detected, these were corrected by conducting a physical check to verify the original responses that were entered in the questionnaire.

Notwithstanding the possible limitations that inhere to the collection of all survey data, the findings of the National Crime Victimization Survey 2016 represent a robust social scientific endeavour that may be utilized with confidence to inform the development of evidence-based policies.

PART THREE

PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY CRIME AND DISORDER

This section presents information on NCVS respondents' perceptions of crime and disorder in their own communities and their judgments about how these community-level problems may affect out-migration from and visits to their own neighbourhood. It also examines how often respondents hear gun shots in their own community. This information provides an important estimate of how prevalent crime and serious violence may be in particular areas of Jamaica. Previous research also suggests that perceptions of crime and disorder are positively related to the likelihood of personal victimization and fear of crime. Perceptions of community crime and disorder can also erode levels of civic engagement, decrease confidence in the criminal justice system and reduce civilian willingness to report crime and cooperate in police investigations.

This section of the report also explores whether or not respondents feel that corner crews, criminal gangs and "Area Dons" are present in their own community. Those respondents who acknowledged the presence of these influences in their own neighbourhoods were also asked about the potential benefits and consequences associated with these groups. Responses to this series of questions are presented for the fourteen parishes of Jamaica in order to determine whether some areas of the country are perceived to have more problems with crime, gangs and disorder than others. We also compare the results of the 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 National Crime Victimization Surveys in order to examine whether perceptions of community crime and disorder have changed over the past ten years. Our findings suggest that, based on several different NCVS measures, there has been a noticeable decrease in community-level crime and disorder over the past decade.

Community Crime and Disorder

Our exploration of community-level crime and disorder issues begins by analysing respondents' answers to questions about how often thirteen specific activities or problems occur in their own local community or neighbourhood. These conditions range from problems with garbage, sewage, homelessness and public drunkenness to serious criminal activity including drug trafficking, robbery and sexual assault. The results suggest that garbage in the street, public drunkenness and personal drug use are the most common crime and disorder problems facing respondents (see Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1). For example, almost half of all respondents (42.7%) feel that excess garbage in the street occurs "at least sometimes" in their community and a third feel that public drunkenness (30.7%) and illegal drug use (30.4%) are common problems.⁵ More than one quarter of respondents (27.5%) also report that armed robbery occurs in their community "at least sometimes," and an additional 23.6% feel that drug trafficking is a relatively common phenomenon (see Figure 3.1).

The data further suggest that other types of crime and disorder issues are less common within Jamaican communities. For example, just over 16.0% of respondents report that their community at least "sometimes" has problems with poor sewage (16.3%) or people sleeping in public places (16.2%). Similarly, approximately one out of every ten respondents reports that their community sometimes has problems with vandalism (11.6%), roadblocks or demonstrations (9.3%) and homelessness (8.3%). Finally, one out of every twenty respondents believes their community "sometimes" has problems with prostitution (6.1%), sexual assault (5.8%) or vigilantism (5.8%).

It is important to note that the vast majority of the 2016 survey respondents feel that serious crime and disorder problems are completely absent from their community. For example, over seventy percent of respondents claim that their community has "never" had a problem with vigilante mobs (77.6%), sexual assault (73.0%), homelessness (74.2%), roadblocks or public demonstrations (72.3%) and prostitution (71.9%). Over sixty percent claim that their community has "never" had a problem with people sleeping in public places (66.3%), poor sanitation or sewage (67.1%) and vandalism (67.8%). Finally, over fifty percent of respondents claim that

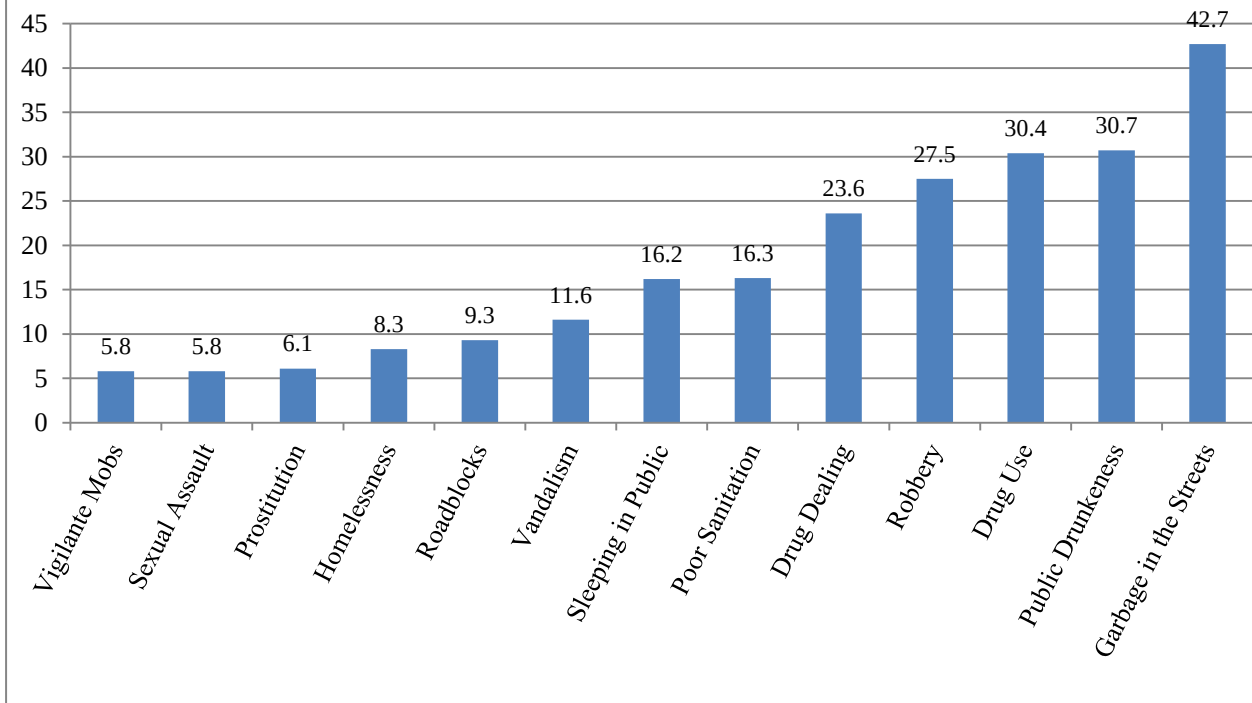
⁵ "At least sometimes" includes those who indicate that a problem sometimes, often, very often or always occurs in their community.

their community has “never” had a problem with public drunkenness (51.0%), illegal drug use (50.2%), drug trafficking (54.0%) and robbery (51.1%). The majority of respondents (60.3%), however, claim that their community has -- at one time or another – experienced a problem with garbage or litter.

Table 3.1: How Often Specific Public Disorder Problems Occur within Respondents’ Own Communities (2016 NCVS)

Type of Community-Level Problem	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often or Always	Don’t Know
People sleeping in public places	66.3	15.8	13.3	1.7	1.2	1.7
Homelessness	74.2	15.0	6.9	0.9	0.5	2.5
Garbage or litter lying around	39.7	17.3	31.2	6.8	4.7	0.4
Poor sanitation or sewage	67.1	14.8	12.2	2.2	2.0	1.7
Roadblocks or public demonstrations	72.3	17.0	8.8	0.3	0.2	1.4
People being drunk or rowdy in public	51.0	16.1	22.2	4.8	3.7	2.2
Vandalism or property damage	67.8	18.6	9.5	1.5	0.7	1.9
People using illegal drugs	50.2	8.7	14.6	7.7	8.1	10.7
People selling illegal drugs	54.0	7.5	11.1	6.1	6.3	14.8
Prostitution	71.9	8.6	4.2	1.2	0.7	13.5
Robbery	51.1	17.1	22.7	3.2	1.5	4.3
Sexual Assault or Rape	73.0	14.3	5.3	0.3	0.2	6.9
Vigilante mobs	77.6	13.5	5.2	0.3	0.3	3.1

Figure 3.1: Percent of Respondents Who Report that Specific Problems at Least "Sometimes" Occur in Their Community (2016 NCVS Results)



Trends in Community Crime and Disorder

Further analysis suggests that certain community-level crime and disorder problems may have decreased significantly in Jamaica between 2006 and 2016 (see Table 3.2 and Table 3.3).⁶ For example, in 2006, one out of every four NCVS respondents (24.4%) felt that drug use was “never” a problem in their community. By contrast, over half of the respondents (50.2%) to the 2016 survey felt that drug use was “never” a problem in their community. Similarly, in 2006, 48.2% of respondents claimed that drug use was at least sometimes a problem in their community. By 2016 this figure dropped to 30.4%. In 2006, 31.4% of respondents reported that drug dealing was “never” a problem in their community. By 2016 this figure increased to 54.0% -- an increase of 22.8 percentage points between the first and most recent NCVS. In 2006,

⁶ Please note that the question regarding vigilante mobs was not asked during either the 2006 or 2009 surveys. However, the proportion of respondents who have never encountered a vigilante mob dropped slightly between 2013 and 2016 (80.8% to 77.6%).

36.3% of respondents claimed that drug dealing was at least sometimes a problem in their community. By 2016 this figure had dropped to 23.6%. The results further suggest that, between 2006 and 2016, there has also been a significant decrease in the percentage of Jamaicans who experience community-level problems with prostitution, robbery, sexual assault and roadblocks/demonstrations (see Table 3.2 and Table 3.3).

While the trend data suggest a decrease in serious community-level crime problems between 2006 and 2016, there has been an increase in the reporting of two disorder-related issues. In 2006, 8.7% of the respondents claimed that their community sometimes had a problem with people sleeping in public places. This figure increased to 16.2% in 2016. Similarly, in 2006, 34.0% of respondents claimed that their community sometimes had a problem with garbage or litter lying around. This figure rose to 42.7% in 2016. However, the frequency of experiencing other community disorder problems – including homelessness, poor sanitation, public drunkenness and vandalism – declined or remained relatively stable over this ten year period (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.2: Percent of Respondents Who Report that Certain Types of Public Disorder Problems “Never” Occur within Their Own Community (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Type of Community-Level Problem	2006	2009	2013	2016
People sleeping in public places	78.1	74.3	80.8	66.3
Homelessness	72.7	74.0	79.8	74.2
Garbage or litter lying around	46.0	42.8	44.0	39.7
Poor sanitation or sewage	69.2	67.2	76.1	67.1
Roadblocks or public demonstrations	67.9	70.5	74.9	72.3
People being drunk or rowdy in public	49.4	42.7	49.9	51.0
Vandalism or property damage	66.2	62.4	72.1	67.8
People using illegal drugs	25.4	26.4	35.2	50.2
People selling illegal drugs	31.4	32.0	41.1	54.0
Prostitution	60.0	64.4	71.4	71.9
Robbery	37.8	38.0	41.8	51.1
Sexual Assault or Rape	63.3	67.3	70.3	73.0
Vigilante Mobs	NA	NA	80.8	77.6

Table 3.3: Percent of Respondents Who Report that Certain Types of Public Disorder Problems “At Least Sometimes” Occur within Their Own Community (2006, 2009 and 2013 AND 2016 NCVS Results)

Type of Community-Level Problem	2006	2009	2013	2016
People sleeping in public places	8.7	9.8	8.0	16.2
Homelessness	8.3	7.9	6.4	8.3
Garbage or litter lying around	34.0	36.7	36.4	42.7
Poor sanitation or sewage	16.6	17.3	12.1	16.3
Roadblocks or public demonstrations	13.9	7.4	7.4	9.3
People being drunk or rowdy in public	31.0	39.4	33.0	30.7
Vandalism or property damage	13.8	14.9	11.8	11.6
People using illegal drugs	48.2	50.5	48.8	30.4
People selling illegal drugs	36.2	36.2	36.4	23.6
Prostitution	6.8	6.7	8.7	6.1
Robbery	34.8	32.5	36.3	27.5
Sexual Assault or Rape	7.8	6.6	8.2	5.8
Vigilante Mobs	NA	NA	5.2	5.8

Community Crime and Disorder by Parish

Additional analysis reveals that the perception of community-level crime and disorder varies dramatically from Parish to Parish (see Table 3.4). For example, over forty percent of the respondents from St. Ann (53.6%), Portland (47.7%), Trelawny (45.5%) and Kingston (41.9%) feel that drug use is at least sometimes a problem in their community. By contrast, 10.7% of the respondents from St. Thomas and 14.7% of the respondents from Hanover feel that drug use is at least sometimes a problem in their area. Similarly, over thirty percent of the respondents from St. Ann (39.1%), Portland (36.7%), Trelawny (33.8%) and Kingston (33.6%) feel that drug trafficking is at least sometimes a problem in their neighbourhood. By comparison, 6.7% of the respondents from Hanover and 10.2% of the respondents from St. Thomas report that drug trafficking is a common occurrence in their community. As another illustration, over a third of Kingston (39.0%) and St. Catherine residents (42.1%) report that robberies “at least sometimes” occur in their community. However, this figure drops to 11.2% among St Mary residents. While these parish-level differences are notable, the data gathered in the survey do not allow us to

provide definitive answers about the extent to which these variations are due to actual regional differences in drug and crime-related activity, regional differences in the perceptions or awareness level of respondents, or regional differences in the respondents' willingness to discuss community disorder issues with our interviewers.

In order to better identify Parish-level differences in perceived community crime and disorder problems, responses to the community crime and disorder questions were combined to create two different scales or indexes. The *Perceived Community Disorder Index* combines the responses to all thirteen disorder questions into a single scale ranging from 0 to 65. The higher the score on this index, the higher the overall level of perceived community disorder. The *Perceived Community Crime Index* was created by combining responses to the six questions that dealt specifically with community crime (vandalism, drug use, drug dealing, robbery, sexual assault and prostitution). This scale ranges from 0 to 30; the higher the score on the scale the higher the perceived level of community crime.⁷

Figure 3.2 reveals that respondents from the Parish of Kingston produced the highest scores on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index* (mean=11.97). The second highest score was produced by the residents of St. Ann (mean=9.95), followed closely by Westmoreland (9.10), Portland (8.96), St. Andrew (8.83), Trelawny (8.42) and St. Catherine (8.13). By contrast, respondents from St. Thomas (mean=3.96), St. Mary (4.11), Hanover (4.16) and St. Elizabeth (4.97) produced the lowest scores on this combined measure of community disorder.

With respect to community-level criminal activity, Figure 3.3 reveals that respondents from St. Ann produced the highest score on the *Perceived Community Crime Index* (mean=5.43). Kingston residents produced the second highest score on this measure (mean=4.93), followed closely by Portland (mean=4.81) and Westmoreland (mean=4.55). In contrast, the lowest scores on the community crime index were produced by respondents from Hanover (mean=1.54), St. Thomas (mean=1.69) and St. Mary (mean=1.75).

⁷ Responses to the 13 community disorder questions were given the following scores: 0=Never; 1=Almost Never; 2=Sometimes; 3=Often; 4=Very Often; Always=5. A reliability analysis produced a Cronbach's Alpha of .861 for the *Perceived Community Disorder Index* and a Cronbach's Alpha of .768 for the *Perceived Community Crime Index*. These findings indicate that these items can be combined into acceptable scales.

**Table 3.4: Percent of Respondents Who Report that Specific Public Disorder Problems
At Least “Sometimes” Occur within Their Own Community, by Parish (2016 NCVS Results)**

Type of Community- Level Problem	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	St. Mary	St. Ann	Trelawny	St. James	Hanover	West- Moreland	St. Elizabeth	Manchester	Clarendon	St. Catherine
People sleeping in public places	34.5	24.3	7.4	12.5	8.7	18.2	24.2	5.3	5.3	10.4	11.8	6.3	7.1	22.2
Homelessness	16.5	9.9	3.3	6.0	2.1	14.4	12.2	6.8	1.3	13.2	4.7	4.0	4.4	10.4
Garbage or litter lying around	66.5	49.8	23.3	45.1	22.1	45.2	51.9	37.9	41.4	36.6	35.2	38.1	25.5	54.2
Poor sanitation or sewage	34.2	26.7	9.8	13.2	6.4	11.1	7.7	13.0	9.9	15.8	3.1	3.1	12.4	23.2
Roadblocks or public demonstrations	15.1	7.0	2.8	2.6	5.1	17.5	21.7	16.7	4.6	10.0	15.6	4.0	6.4	10.8
People being drunk or rowdy in public	44.0	31.9	18.8	32.0	30.5	29.8	44.6	30.5	10.5	41.9	23.4	34.2	29.1	27.2
Vandalism or property damage	18.9	10.0	5.1	9.2	8.6	18.2	13.1	12.1	4.6	11.6	8.7	4.9	10.4	18.4

Type of Community-Level Problem	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	St. Mary	St. Ann	Trelawny	St. James	Hanover	West-Moreland	St. Elizabeth	Manchester	Clarendon	St. Catherine
People using illegal drugs	41.9	35.2	10.7	47.7	20.3	53.6	45.5	27.9	14.7	31.7	19.8	30.8	28.5	21.7
People selling illegal drugs	33.6	30.8	10.2	36.7	10.1	39.1	33.8	16.3	6.7	28.5	12.0	26.7	25.4	14.2
Prostitution	12.8	6.8	3.3	6.0	1.7	9.2	5.8	5.6	1.3	6.8	5.6	8.0	3.4	6.4
Robbery	39.0	26.9	20.5	22.2	11.3	36.2	19.2	30.5	14.5	26.2	12.6	18.2	32.5	42.1
Sexual Assault or Rape	4.5	2.4	1.9	2.0	1.3	14.1	3.9	6.1	4.6	9.9	2.4	4.0	8.9	11.2
Vigilante Mobs	9.5	5.5	1.4	2.0	3.0	8.7	4.4	8.3	4.7	3.7	3.2	2.2	5.1	11.4

FIGURE 3.2:
Mean Score on Perceived Community Disorder Index,
by Parish (2016 NCVS Results)

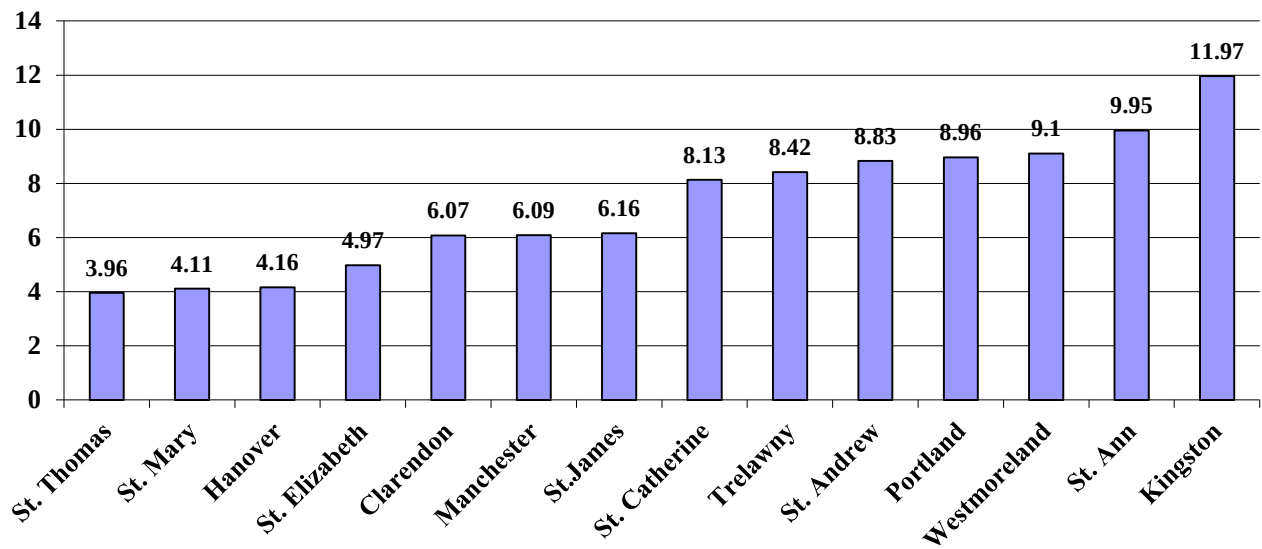
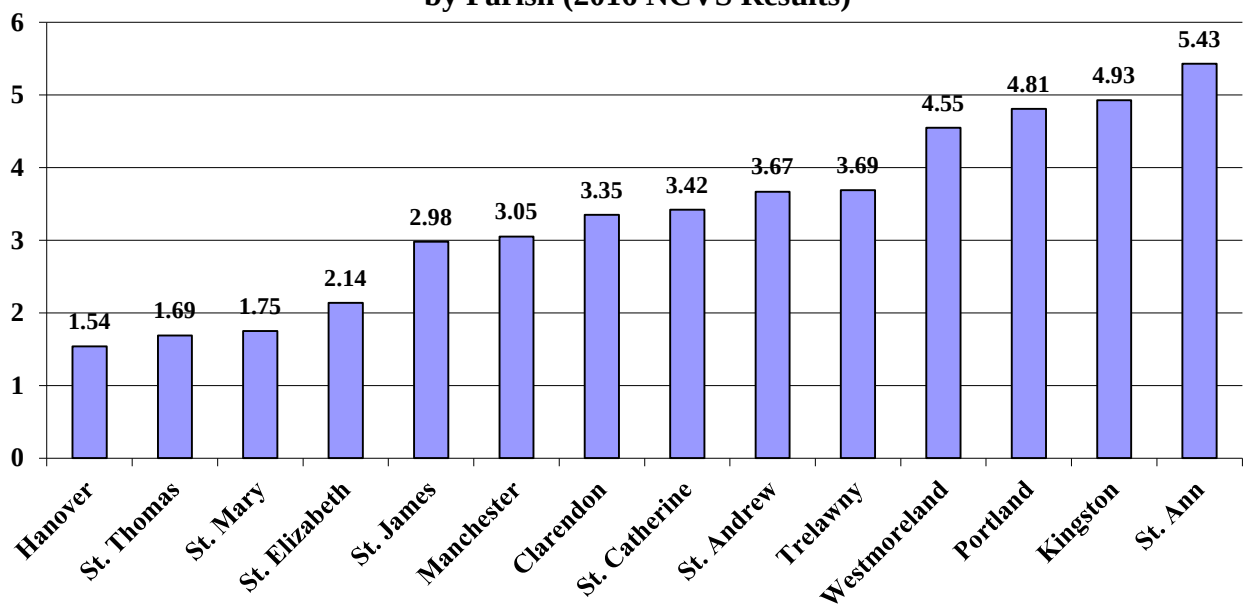


FIGURE 3.3:
Mean Score on Perceived Community Crime Index,
by Parish (2016 NCVS Results)



Additional analysis reveals some obvious changes in perceived crime and disorder between the 2013 and 2016 (see Tables 3.4). In general, the results suggest that several Parishes with traditionally high scores on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index* experienced significant declines over the past three years. For example, in 2013, Kingston respondents produced an average score of 17.02 on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index*. This figure drops to 11.97 in 2016. Similarly noticeable declines were reported for St. Andrew, St. James, Clarendon, St. Mary, Hanover and St. Elizabeth. By contrast, several parishes with traditionally low scores on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index* experienced significant increases over the past three years. For example, in 2013, Manchester respondents produced an average score of 3.98 on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index*. This figure rose to 6.09 by 2016. Similar increases are observed for Portland, Trelawny, Westmoreland and St. Ann. In fact, over this three year period, St. Ann went from having the lowest scores on the *Perceived Community Disorder Index* to having the second highest. St. Thomas and St. Catherine did not experience a change in their average score over this time period.

Our analysis reveals a similar trend with respect to perceived community crime (see Tables 3.5). Once again the results suggest that several Parishes with traditionally high scores on the *Perceived Community Crime Index* experienced significant declines over the past three years. For example, in 2013, Kingston respondents produced an average score of 9.10 on the *Perceived Community Crime Index*. This figure drops to 4.93 in 2016. Noticeable declines were also reported for St. Andrew, St. James, Clarendon, St. Mary, Hanover, St. Elizabeth and St. Catherine. In contrast, several parishes with traditionally low scores on the *Perceived Community Crime Index* experienced significant increases over the past three years. For example, in 2013, Portland respondents produced an average score of 2.81 on the *Perceived Community Crime Index*. This figure rose to 4.81 by 2016. Similar increases are observed for Manchester, Westmoreland and St. Ann. In fact, over this three year period, St. Ann went from having the 7th highest score on the *Perceived Community Crime Index* to having the highest score. Portland moved from 12th to 3rd third. St. Thomas and Trelawny were the only two Parishes not to experience a change in their average score over this time period.

FIGURE 3.4: Mean Score on Perceived Community Disorder Index, by Parish (2013 AND 2016 NCVS Results)

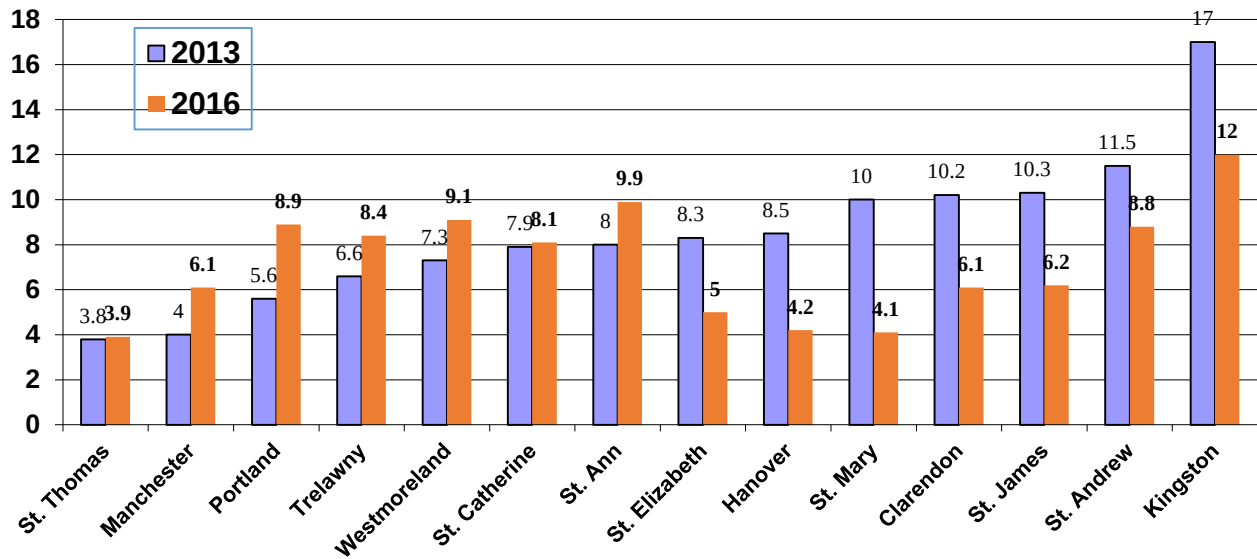
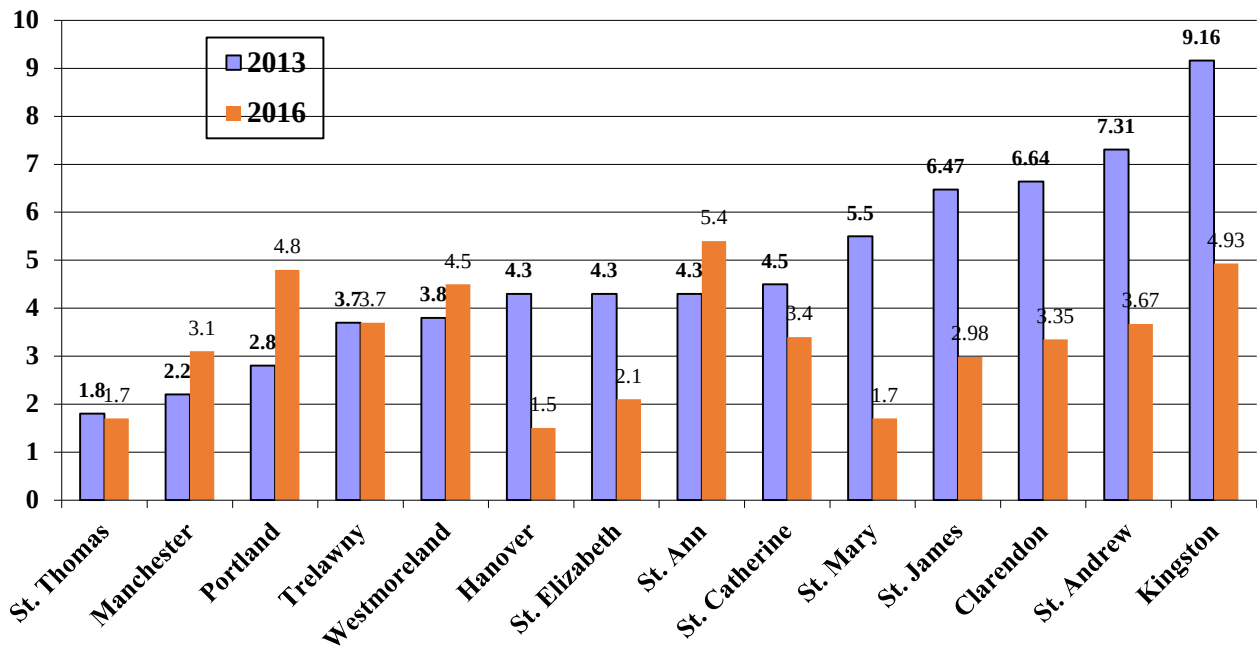


FIGURE 3.5: Mean Score on Perceived Community Crime Index, by Parish (2013 AND 2016 NCVS Results)



Community Flight Due to Crime and Violence

Another way of measuring the extent of community crime problems is to determine the extent of out-migration from a community. To measure this, all respondents were asked: “In your opinion, in the past year, have some people moved from your community because of violence or fear of crime?” The results reveal that that four out of every five respondents (79%) believe that *nobody* had moved from their community because of fear of crime or violence (see Figure 3.6). However, one out every twelve respondents (8.0%) felt that at least a few people had moved from their area because of fear of crime. One out of every fifty respondents (2.0%) felt that many people had moved for this reason.

The results also suggest that, between 2006 and 2016, the number of people in Jamaica who reportedly moved away from their community because of crime or violence has declined (see Figure 3.6). For example, in 2006, 18% of NCVS respondents indicated that “at least a few” people had moved from their community over the past year because of crime and violence. By 2016 this figure drops to 10%.⁸

Further analysis reveals that moving residence because of fear of crime and/or violence varies dramatically from Parish to Parish (see Figure 3.7). For example, a third of the respondents from Kingston (33.5%) report that at least a few people from their community moved away in the past year because of fear of crime and violence. The crime-related migration rate is also quite high for the residents of St. James (20.9%), St. Andrew (13.0%), Clarendon (12.5%), St. Catherine (10.7 %) and Hanover (10.1%). The rates for all other Parishes, however, drop below ten percent. In fact, less than one percent of the respondents from both St. Elizabeth (0.8%) and Portland (0.7%) report that people have moved from their community because of concerns about crime.

⁸ This finding is consistent with other results --presented in this section of the report -- which suggest that community crime has recently declined in certain regions of Jamaica. This, however, is only one possible interpretation of the results. The wording of the question, for example, prevents the identification of people who may have wanted to move out of their community because of crime but lacked the means to do so.

Figure 3.6: Percent of Respondents Who Report that People Have Moved Out of their Community in the Past Year Because of Crime and Violence (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

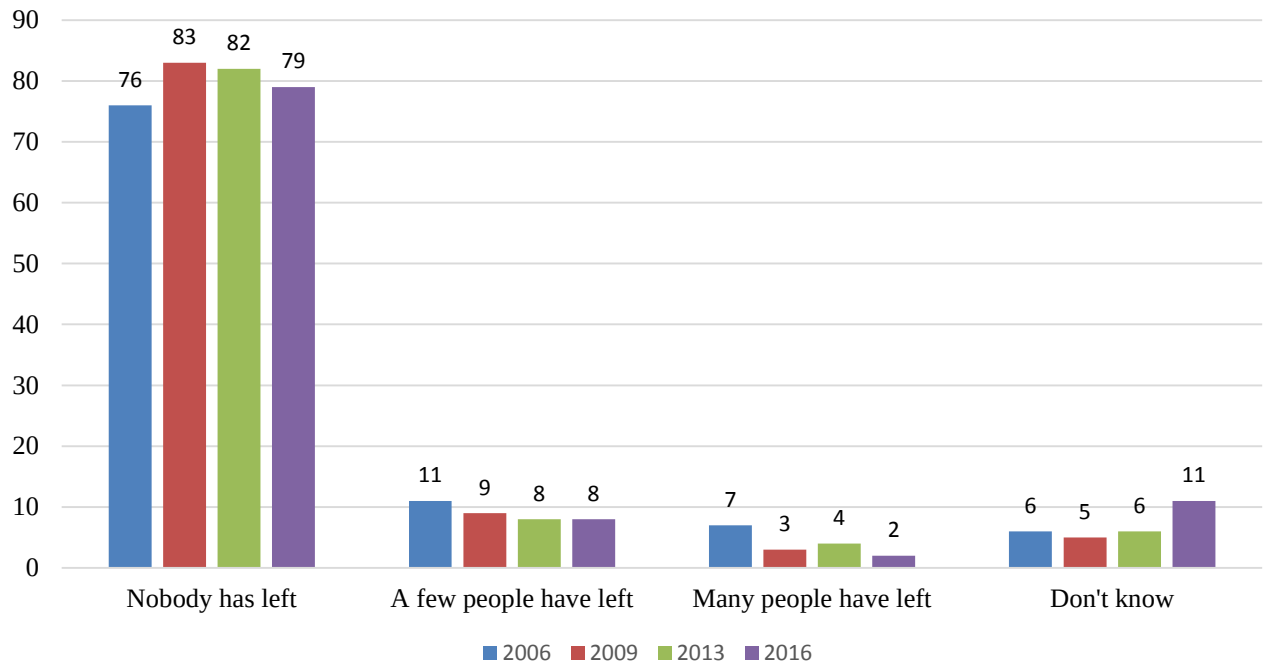
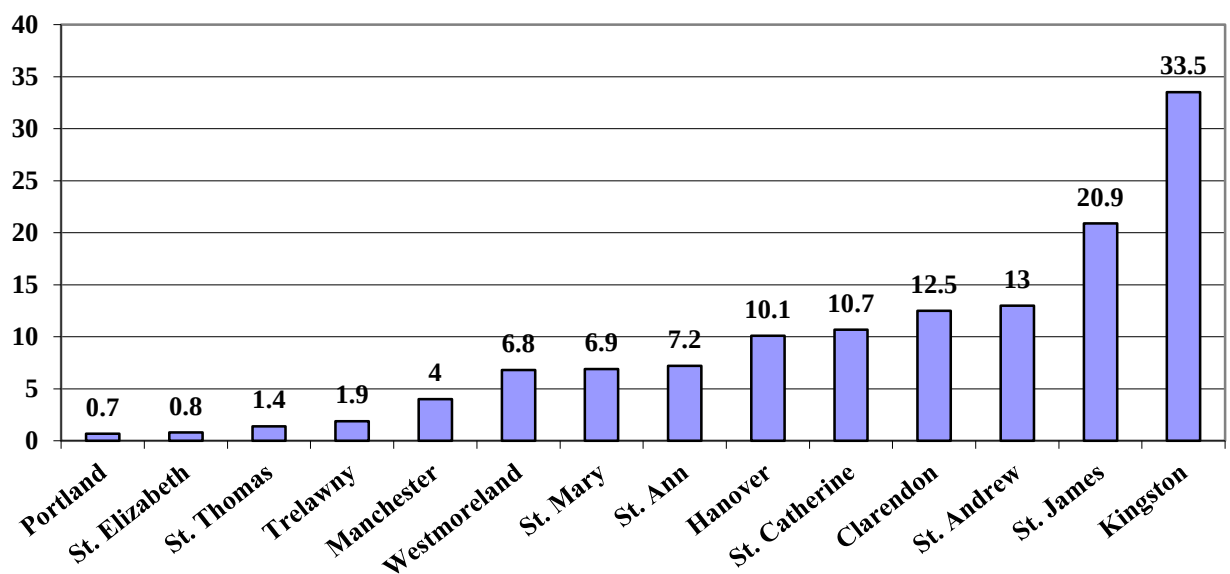
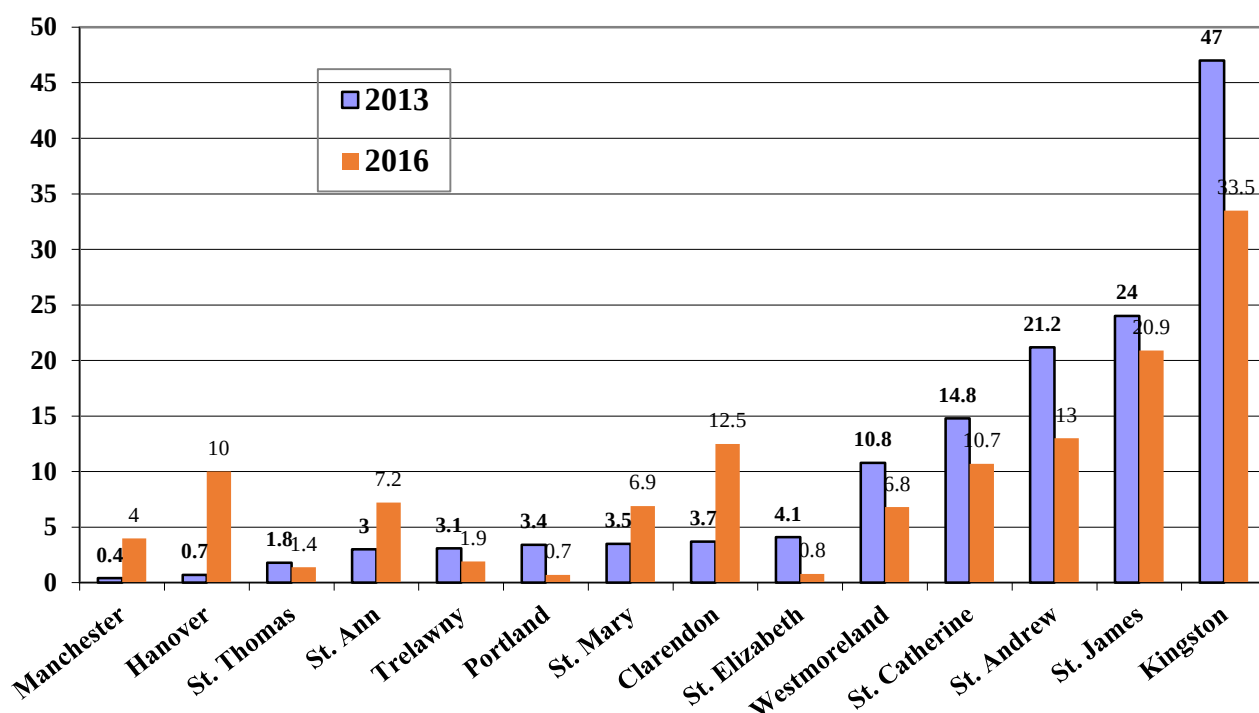


FIGURE 3.7: Percent of Respondents Who Report that People Have Moved from their Community in the Past Year Because of Crime and Violence, by Parish (2016 NCVS Results)



Additional analysis reveals that several Parishes experienced a very noticeable decline in crime-related migration between 2013 and 2016 (see Figure 3.8). For example, in 2013, 47.0% of Kingston residents reported that they knew of at least a few people from their community who had moved away because of fear of crime or violence. This figure declines to 33.5% in 2016. Similar declines are observed for St. James, St. Andrew, St. Catherine, Westmoreland, St. Elizabeth, Portland and Trelawny. In contrast, a number of other Parishes experienced an increase in crime-related moves. For example, in 2013, less than one percent of Hanover respondents (0.7%) indicated that people had moved away from their community due to concerns about crime. By 2016 this figure had risen to 10.1%. Similar increases were observed for Manchester, St. Ann, St. Mary and Clarendon.

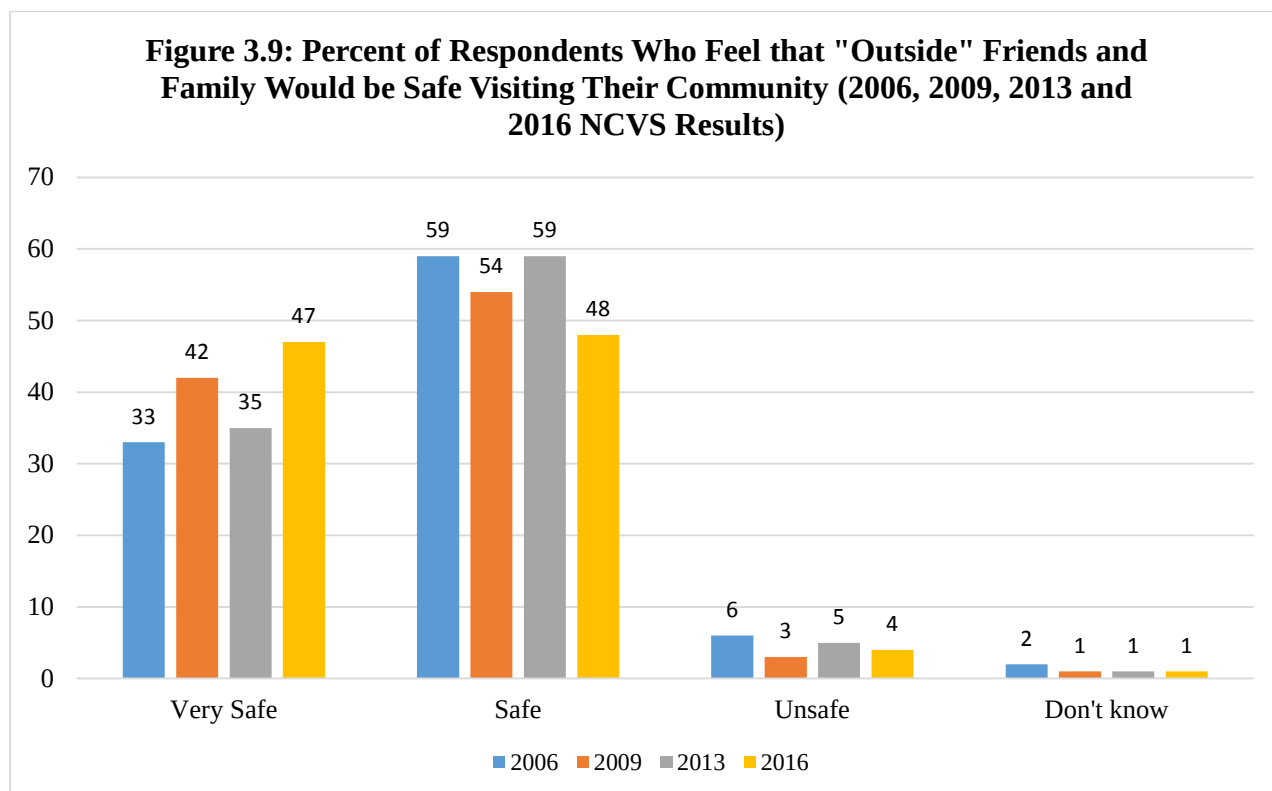
FIGURE 3.8: Percent of Respondents Who Report that People Have Moved from their Community in the Past Year Because of Crime and Violence, by Parish (2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)



The Safety of Outsiders

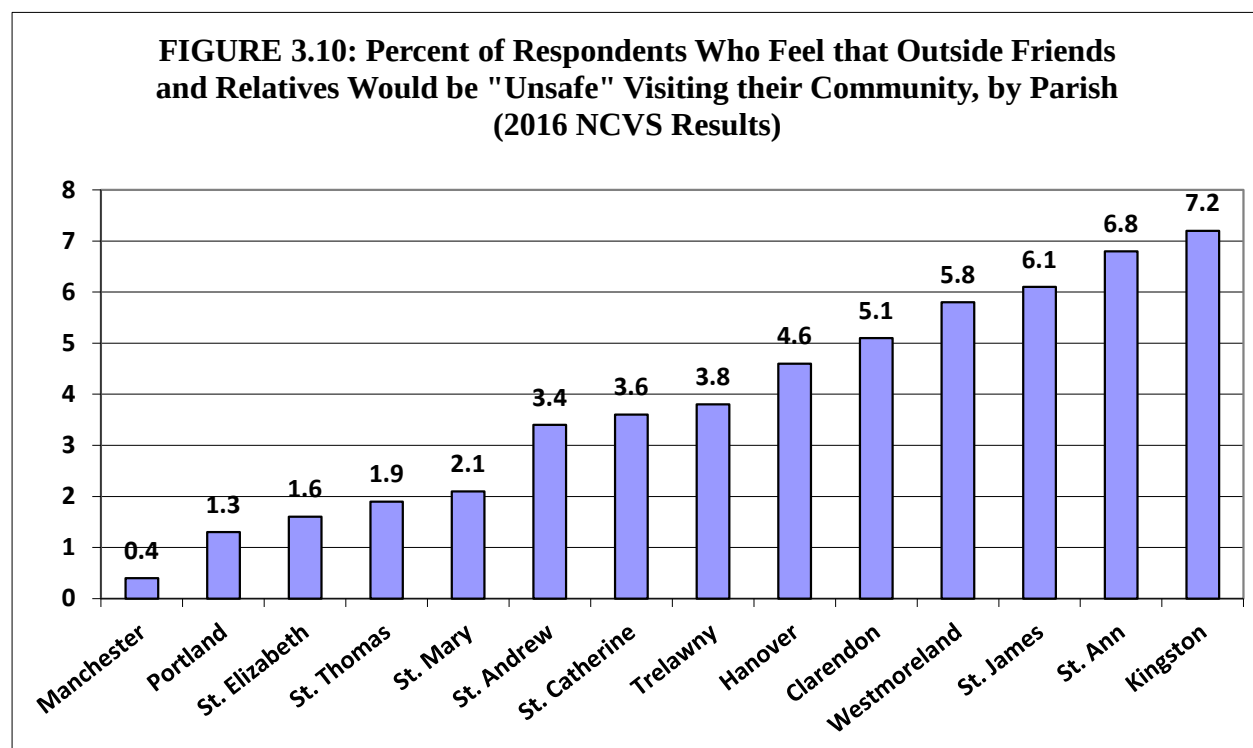
Another way of measuring the impact of community crime is to examine the perceived safety of outsiders who venture into particular neighbourhoods or communities. Therefore, all respondents were asked: “In your opinion, if relatives or friends who do not live in this community came to visit you in your neighbourhood (or area) would they be safe or unsafe?” The vast majority of respondents (95.0%) felt that their friends or relatives would be either very safe (47.0%) or safe (48.0%) entering their community. However, approximately one out of every 25 respondents (4.0%) feels that their friends or relatives would be unsafe if they came to visit them in their own community (see Figure 3.9).

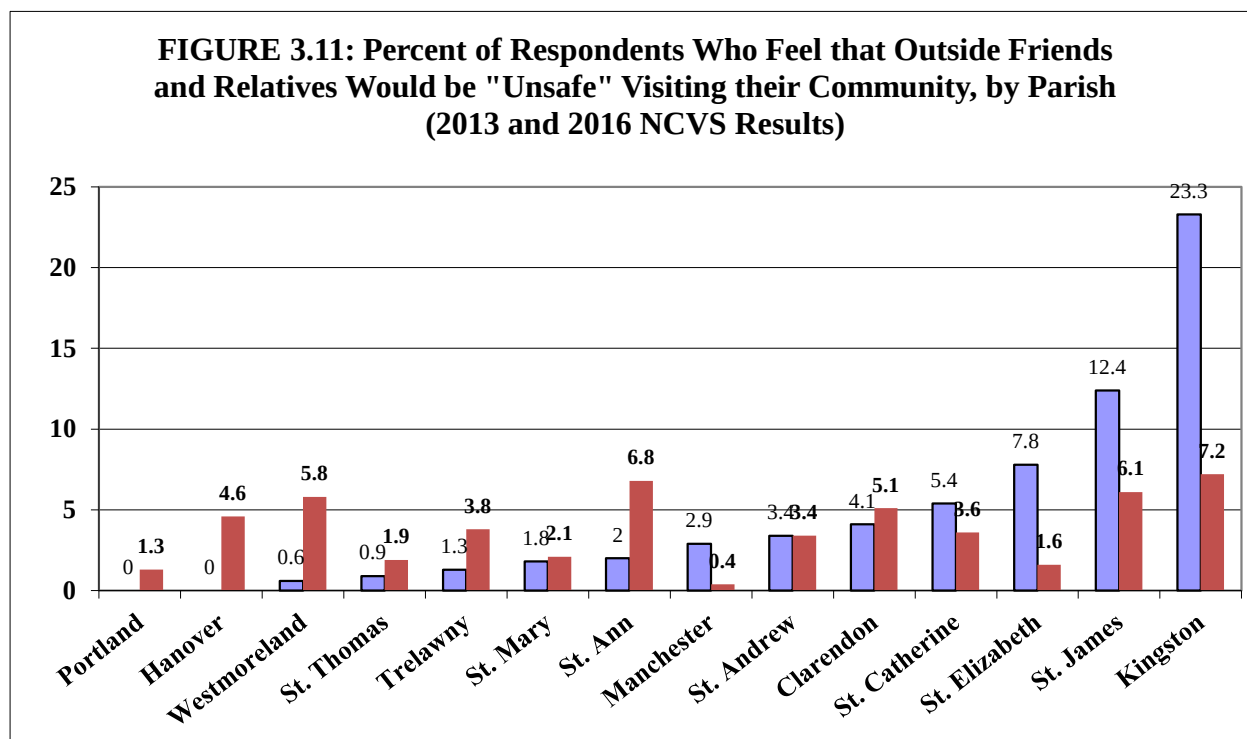
Further analysis reveals that the perceived safety of outsiders improved between 2006 and 2016. In the 2006 survey, for example, 6% of respondents reported that outside friends and relatives would be “unsafe” if they visited their community. This figure drops to 4% in 2016. Similarly, in 2006, 33% of respondents felt that their outside friends and relatives would be “very safe” in their community. This figure climbs to 47% in 2016 (see Figure 3.9).



As with other measures of community crime and disorder, the perceived safety of outside friends and relatives varies dramatically from Parish to Parish (see Figure 3.10). For example, 7.2% of Kingston residents and 6.8% of St. Ann residents report that outside friends and family would be unsafe if they visited them in their home community. In contrast, this sentiment is expressed by less than two percent of respondents from St. Thomas (1.9%), St. Elizabeth (1.6%), Portland (1.3%) and Manchester (0.4%).

Further analysis suggests that, between 2013 and 2016, some Parishes experienced profound changes in the perceived safety of outsiders (see Figure 3.11). For example, in 2013, 23.3% of Kingston residents reported that outside visitors would be unsafe in their community. This figure drops to 7.2% in 2016. Similar declines are observed for St. James, St. Elizabeth, St. Catherine and Manchester. By contrast, the perceived safety of outside visitors declined according to the residents of Portland, Hanover, Westmoreland, St. Thomas, Trelawny and St. Ann. For example, in 2013, 0.0% of the respondents from Hanover claimed that outside visitors would be unsafe in their community. This figure rises to 4.6% in 2016.





Gunshots in the Community

Another way of assessing relative community safety is to examine the prevalence of gunfire or shootings within specific areas. All respondents were therefore asked: “How often do you hear gunshots in your community?” Four out of every ten respondents (38.0%) claims that they have, in fact, *never* heard gunshots in their own community (see Table 3.5). However, 29.0% have heard gunshots at some point in their life and 33.0% claim that they hear gunshots in their community a few times a year or more often. Indeed, 10.0% of respondents report that they hear gunshots in their community at least once per month and one out of every twenty-five respondents (4.0%) claims that they hear gunshots in their community at least once per week.

A comparison with the results of previous NCVS surveys suggests that community-level gunfire has decreased significantly in Jamaica over the past ten years. For example, in 2006, 26% NCVS respondents indicated that they heard guns in their community once a month or more

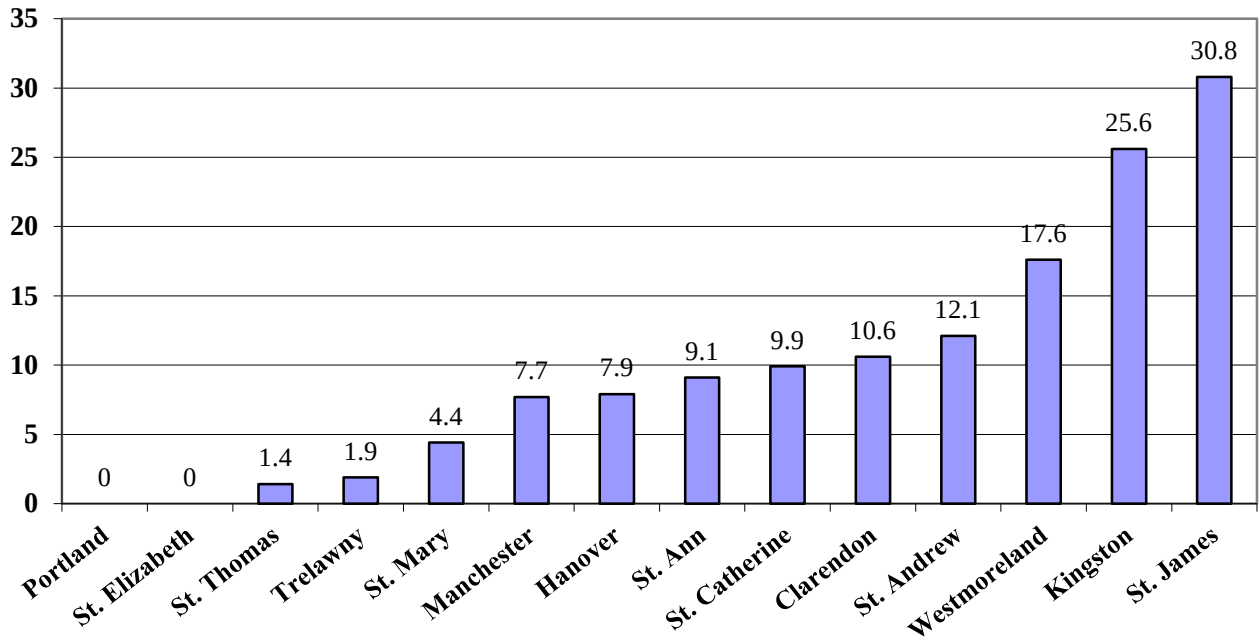
often. By 2016 this figure drops to 10%. Similarly, in 2006, 12% of respondents reported that they heard gunshots in their community at least once per week, compared to 4% in 2016.

Table 3.5: Percent of Respondents Who Report Hearing Gunshots in Their Own Community (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Frequency	2006	2009	2013	2016
Never	34	39	38	38
Few times in life	14	19	23	29
At least once per year	26	26	28	23
At least once per month	14	10	8	6
At least once per week	12	6	3	4

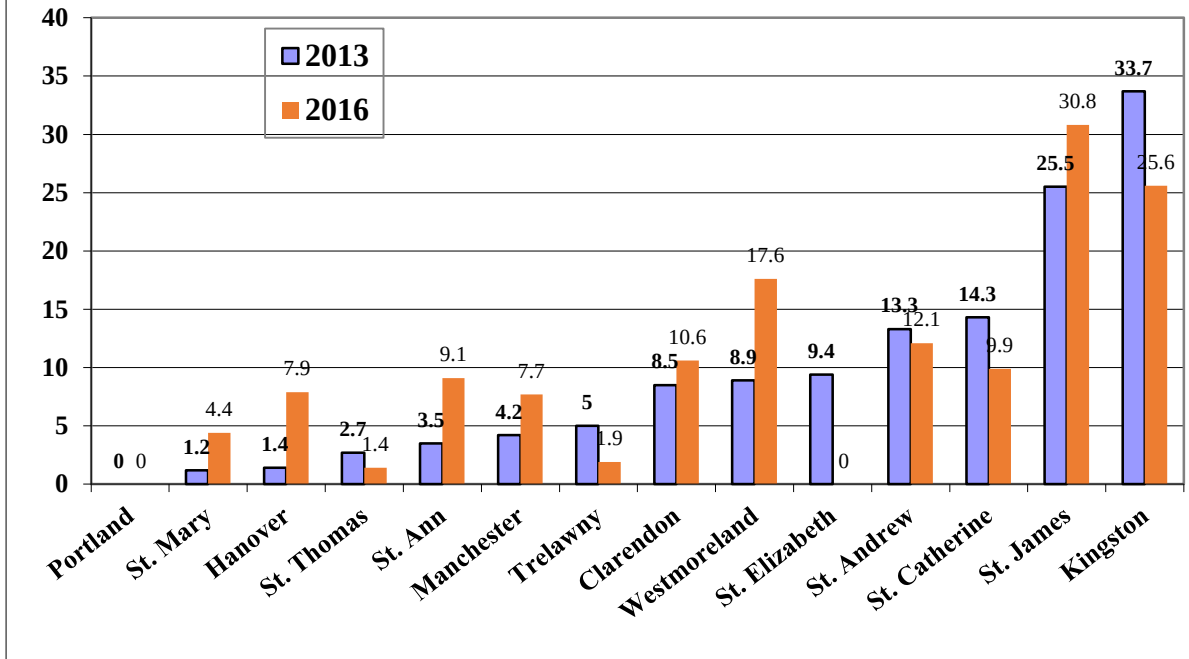
As with other community safety indicators, the results also suggest that gunfire is much more prevalent in some sections of Jamaica than others (see Figure 3.12). For example, approximately one-third of St. James residents (30.8%) and one quarter of Kingston residents (25.6%) report that they hear gunfire in their community at least once per month. It should be stressed, however, that this figure for Kingston is down from 46% in 2006. In fact, most of the observed decline in gunshots over the past decade was reported by residents from the Kingston region. The residents of Westmoreland (17.6%), St. Andrew (12.1%) and Clarendon (10.6%) also experience relatively high rates of monthly gunfire. All other Parishes fall below the ten percent threshold. Hearing gunfire on a monthly basis is non-existent or extremely uncommon in some Parishes including Portland (0.0%), St. Elizabeth (0.0%), St. Thomas (1.4%) and Trelawny (1.9%).

FIGURE 3.12: Percent of Respondents Who Report Hearing Gunshots in Their Community Once a Month or More, by Parish (2016 NCVS Results)



Additional analysis reveals that six of the fourteen Parishes experienced significant declines in reported community gunfire between the 2013 and 2016 surveys (see Figure 3.13). However, eight other Parishes experienced increases over this three year period. The most notable reductions were found in Kingston and St. Elizabeth. In 2013, 33.7% of Kingston respondents indicated that they heard gunfire in their community once a month or more, compared to 25.6% in 2016. Similarly, in 2013, 9.4% of St. Elizabeth respondents reported hearing gunfire at least once per month. This figure drops to 0.0% in 2016. St. Catherine, St. Andrew, Trelawny and Hanover also experienced declines. By contrast, the largest increase in gunfire exposure was reported by the residents of Westmoreland. In 2013, 8.9% of Westmoreland respondents reported hearing gunfire at least once per month, compared to 17.6% in 2016. Increases were also recorded in St. James, Clarendon, Manchester, St. Ann, Hanover and St. Mary.

FIGURE 3.13: Percent of Respondents Who Report Hearing Gunshots in Their Community Once a Month or More, by Parish (2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)



Corner Crews

Past research indicates that people hold different views about the definition and significance of corner crews in Jamaica. Some feel that corner crews represent criminal gangs and that their presence increases various forms of criminal activity in specific communities. Others feel that corner crews are harmless social groups that provide young men with companionship and a sense of belonging. In order to explore the prevalence of the corner crew phenomena, all respondents were asked: “Are there any corner crews in your community?” A quarter of all respondents (26.7%) claim that corner crews are present in their community (see Figure 3.14). Our findings suggest that the existence of corner crews have declined somewhat over the past ten years. In 2006, 39.1% of NCVS respondents reported the existence of corner crews in their community, compared to 33.8% in 2009, 32.9% in 2013 and 26.7% in 2016.

Corner crews are much more common in some Parishes than others (see Table 3.6). For example, 49.9% of the respondents from Kingston believe that there are corner crews in their community – as do 45.8% of the respondents from Trelawny. The presence of corner crews is also relatively common in St. Ann (36.7%), Portland (36.2%) and St. Catherine (33.4%). By contrast, 9.5% of the respondents from St. Elizabeth and 12.3% of Manchester residents believe that there are corner crews in their community.

Additional analysis reveals that, between the 2013 and 2016 surveys, respondents reported that the presence of corner crews declined in seven parishes, increased in four and remained at the same level in three (see Table 3.6). The most significant declines occurred in St. Andrew, St. James and Kingston. For example, in 2013, 52.3% of St. Andrew residents reported that there were corner crews in their community. This figure drops to 28.3% in 2016. By contrast, in 2013, 20.7% of Portland residents reported the presence of corner crews in their community. This figure rose to 36.2% in 2016. Similar increases were observed in Trelawny, Hanover and Clarendon.

Those respondents that reported that there was a corner crew in their community (N=910) were asked if the corner crew did any good or positive things for their community. A third of these respondents (34.5%) report that corner crews do good or positive things (see Figure 3.15). Further analysis reveals that these positive contributions include keeping the community clean (whitewashing walls, picking up litter, etc.), helping the elderly, organizing sports activities for youth, helping youth with homework or school supplies, crime prevention (stopping area youth from becoming involved in crime), security services (including keeping the community safe from outside intruders). Other respondents commented that corner crews often provide entertainment (dominoes and football competitions, parties, etc.) and that their various social activities contributed to neighbourhood solidarity. A few respondents simply stated that area corner crews brought a “good vibe” to the community.

Respondents who stated that their community had a corner crew were also asked if these corner crews did any bad or negative things in their community (see Figure 3.16). Interestingly, while a third of respondents stated that corner crews had a positive influence, a similar proportion (35.2%) reported that corner crews have a negative impact on their community.

According to these respondents, negative impacts include loitering, blocking roads, gossiping, excessive noise, cursing, drinking in public, sexual harassment, minor drug use, minor drug trafficking, gambling, minor theft, robbery and fighting. Several respondents also felt that the members of corner crews were a negative influence on the young people living in their community.

Distinguishing Corner Crews from Criminal Gangs

At the end of the section on corner crews, all respondents were asked “In your opinion, is there a difference between a corner crew and a criminal gang?” The results suggest that the respondents are highly divided on this issue. Indeed, while almost half of all respondents (43.3%) feel that corner crews and criminal gangs are the same thing, an equal proportion (41.1%) believe that they are different. An additional 2.7% responded to this question by stating that “It depends.” The balance of the sample (12.9%) stated that they simply did not know if corner crews were the same as criminal gangs.

All respondents who felt that corner crews and criminal gangs are *different* types of social phenomena (N=1,415) were asked: “How are they different? What is the difference between a corner crew and a criminal gang?” In general, the respondents feel that corner crews typically consist of young men – often unemployed and/or out of school -- from the local community. These young men often hang out in public spaces (street corners, local parks, etc.) and engage in casual conversation and other harmless social activities (gossiping, playing sports, listening to music, etc.). Although these respondents concede that the members of corner crews often engage in minor forms of deviance (drinking, smoking marijuana, gambling, harassing young women, etc.), they maintained that corner crews rarely engage in organized criminal activity or serious forms of violence. Indeed, as discussed above, many respondents felt that corner crews take great pride in their community and often engage in positive social activities -- including assisting the elderly, organizing sports activities for neighbourhood youth, keeping the streets clean of litter and performing minor repairs to community buildings and roads. Several respondents also felt that corner crews perform a valuable service because they keep watch over their communities and thus prevent criminal activity – especially crimes that might be committed

by people who live outside of the community. In sum, many respondents feel that corner crews are relatively harmless social organizations that often serve as community “sentries” and thus contribute to both community pride and public safety.

By contrast, most respondents feel that the members of criminal gangs are selfish, have little community pride and are only motivated by greed. As such, they care little about other community residents and frequently engage in acts of violence or intimidation against their neighbours. Most respondents feel that it is the extent of organized criminal activity that most dramatically distinguishes corner crews from criminal gangs. While corner crews may periodically engage in minor forms of deviance, criminal gangs are commonly involved in organized drug dealing, theft, robbery and extortion. Furthermore, unlike corner crews, criminal gang members often carry weapons (including firearms) and often engage in serious forms of violence – including sexual assault, armed robbery and murder. Several respondents also felt that the violence associated with gang rivalries often puts entire communities at risk of violent victimization. These respondents often cited cases where innocent bystanders had been killed by stray gunfire during gang-related disputes. Finally, a few respondents stressed that criminal gangs are far more structured than corner crews. Corner crews, they argued, generally consist of a loosely-knit group of young men who see themselves as equals. On the other hand, criminal gangs are hierarchical with known leaders (generals) and known followers (soldiers).

Criminal Gangs

All respondents were asked: “Are there any criminal gangs in your community?” One out of every ten respondents (10.7%) claims that criminal gangs are present in their community (see Figure 3.14). This figure includes those who feel that corner crews and criminal gangs are actually the same thing. Interestingly, the data suggest that criminal gang activity – at least as documented by the NCVS – declined dramatically between 2009 and 2016 (questions about gangs were not asked during the 2006 survey). For example, in 2009, 22.9% of respondents reported that their community had a criminal gang problem. This figure thus drops to 11.4% in 2013 and 10.7% in 2016. This represents a fifty-three percent decrease in self-reported community gang presence over a seven year period.

As with corner crews, the findings suggest that criminal gangs are much more common in some Parishes than others (see Table 3.6). For example, 39.5% of the respondents from Kingston believe that there are criminal gangs in their community – as do 15.8% of the respondents from St. Andrew, 12.7% of the respondents from St. Ann, 12.5% of the respondents from Clarendon and 11.3% of the respondents from St. Catherine. All other Parishes fall below the ten percent threshold. At the low end of the spectrum, less than one percent of respondents from St. Elizabeth (0.8%) and 1.3% of St. Mary residents believe that there is a gang presence in their neighbourhood.

Additional analysis reveals that, between 2013 and 2016, the presence of gangs declined within nine Parishes and increased in the other five (see Table 3.6). The largest increase in gang presence occurred in St. Ann. In 2013, 2.5% of St. Ann residents reported that there was a criminal gang in their community. This figure rises to 12.7% in 2016. Increases in community gang presence were also reported in Kingston, Portland, Hanover and Clarendon. By contrast, the greatest decrease in gang presence was reported in St. James. In 2013, 17.1% of St. James residents reported that there were criminal gangs in their community. This figure drops to 7.5% by 2016.

Those respondents that reported that there are criminal gangs in their community (N=365) were asked if these criminal gangs did any good or positive things for their community. A total of 18.3% of these respondents report that criminal gangs do good or positive things (see Figure 3.15). This figure, however, is up significantly from 9.6% during the 2013 NCVS. Further analysis reveals that these positive contributions are quite similar to the positive contributions made by corner crews. They include keeping the community clean, helping the elderly, helping community members find employment and keeping the community safe from outside intruders.

Respondents were also asked if criminal gangs did any bad or negative things in their community (see Figure 3.13). While 18.3% of respondents felt that the criminal gangs in their community had a positive impact, two thirds (65.7%) believe that gangs have a negative impact. This figure, however, is significantly lower than the figure (77.6%) produced during the 2013 NCVS. According to these respondents, the problems associated with criminal gangs include

drug use, drug trafficking, major theft, robbery, extortion, fighting, gun violence, sexual assault, prostitution and murder. Several respondents also felt that the presence of criminal gangs greatly increased fear of crime and caused a breakdown in community relationships. A number also worried that criminal gangs were giving their community a bad name or reputation.

Area Dons

Finally, all respondents were asked: “Does your community have an Area Don?” One out of every twenty-five respondents (4.0%) claims that their community has an Area Don (see Figure 3.14). The data further suggest that the presence of Area Dons in Jamaica declined slightly since 2006. In 2006, during the first NCVS survey, 4.3% of respondents claimed that their community had a Don. This figure rose to 5.4% in 2009, then dropped back down to 4.5% in 2013 and 4.0% in 2016.

As with both corner crews and criminal gangs, Area Dons are much more common in some Parishes than others (see Table 3.6). For example, 8.6% of the respondents from St. Andrew believe that their community has an Area Don – as do 7.5% of the respondents from St. Catherine and 5.0% of the residents of Kingston. All other Parishes fall below the four percent threshold. By contrast, not a single respondent (0.0%) from Trelawny or St Elizabeth believes that there is an Area Don in their community.

Additional analysis reveals that, between 2013 and 2016, the presence of an Area Don decreased in seven Parishes, increased in five Parishes and remained at the same level in the other two (see Table 3.6). Kingston and Westmoreland experienced the most significant declines in Area Dons. For example, in 2013, 9.9% of Kingston residents reported that their community was controlled by an Area Don. This figure drops to 5.0% in 2016. Similarly, in 2013, 6.1% of Westmoreland residents reported the presence of an Area Don in their community, compared to 1.6% in 2016. By contrast, the residents of Portland, St. Ann, Hanover, Manchester and Clarendon were all slightly more likely to report the presence of a Don in 2016 than 2013. Trelawny and St. Andrew reported no changes.

Those respondents that reported that there is an Area Don in their community (N=137) were asked if this person did any good or positive things for their community. Almost half of these respondents (42.7%) report that the Area Don in their community does good or positive things (see Figure 3.15). However, this figure is down significantly from 2009 when 58% of respondents reported that Area Dons did positive things. Thus, it appears that the popularity of Area Dons in Jamaica may have declined slightly over the past seven years.

Further analysis reveals that the positive contributions made by Area Dons include the provision of many basic services including financial assistance, employment opportunities, food, medical care, school supplies, road and building maintenance, garbage removal, dispute resolution and crime prevention. Others felt that Area Dons increased community cohesion by holding parties or stage shows and organizing sports and other recreational activities. Finally, several respondents felt that the Dons helped control young people in their community and provided youth with both career counselling and educational assistance.

Finally, respondents were also asked if the Area Don in their community did any bad or negative things to their community (see Figure 3.16). Although more than a third of respondents (42.7%) felt that Area Dons did positive things in their community, 24.5% report that Area Dons have a negative impact. This figure is up from 14% in 2009. According to our respondents, the problems associated with Area Dons include gang-related violence, organized crime, drug trafficking, extortion, gun violence and murder. Several respondents also felt that Area Dons serve as negative role models for the youth residing in their community.

FIGURE 3.14: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that Corner Crews, Criminal Gangs and Area Dons Exist in Their Community (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

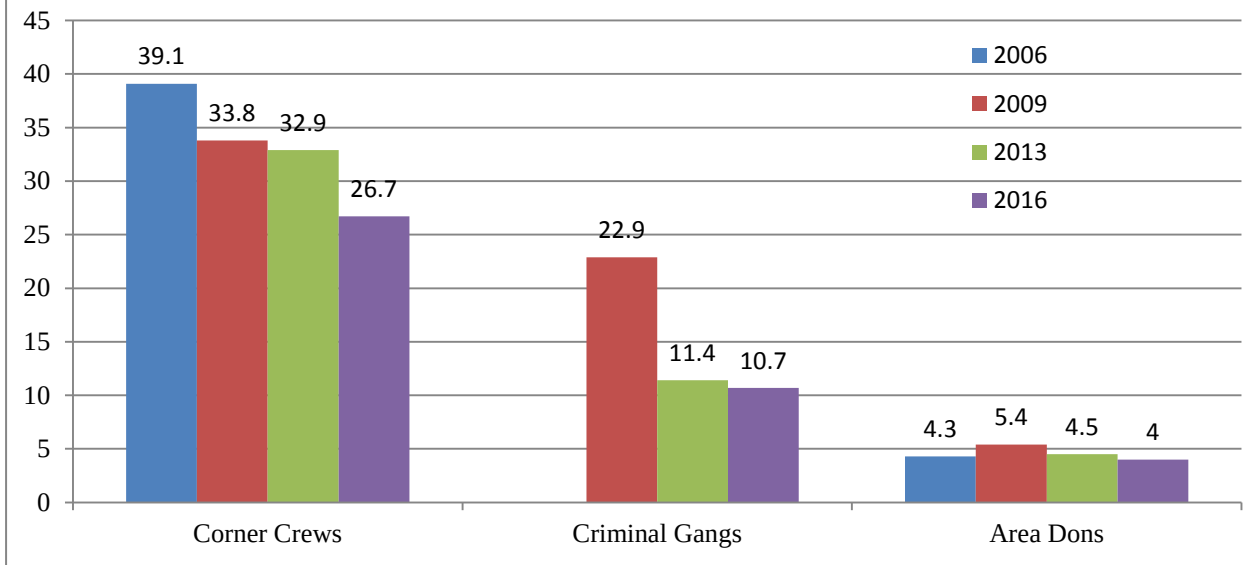


Table 3.6: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that Corner Crews, Criminal Gangs and Area Dons Exist Within Their Own Community, by Parish (2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Type of Group in Community	YEAR	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	St. Mary	St. Ann	Trelawny	St. James	Hanover	West-Moreland	St. Elizabeth	Manchester	Clarendon	St. Catherine
Corner Crews	2013	64.9	52.3	15.6	20.7	32.9	38.6	30.2	41.5	9.9	21.7	19.4	20.6	13.9	33.3
	2016	49.8	28.3	15.0	36.2	21.2	36.7	45.8	25.2	18.1	13.2	9.5	12.3	16.8	33.4
Criminal Gangs	2013	33.2	20.2	4.4	0.0	6.5	2.5	7.5	17.1	1.4	7.8	4.1	7.1	6.1	13.1
	2016	39.5	15.8	3.3	2.8	1.3	12.7	2.6	7.5	6.7	6.8	0.8	2.7	12.5	11.3
Area Dons	2013	9.9	8.7	0.9	0.9	1.8	0.5	0.0	3.2	0.0	6.1	1.2	0.0	1.7	8.5
	2016	5.0	8.6	0.5	2.6	0.9	1.4	0.0	2.3	4.6	1.6	0.0	0.5	3.7	7.5

FIGURE 3.15: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that Corner Crews, Criminal Gangs and Area Dons Do Good or Positive Things for Their Community (2016 NCVS Results)

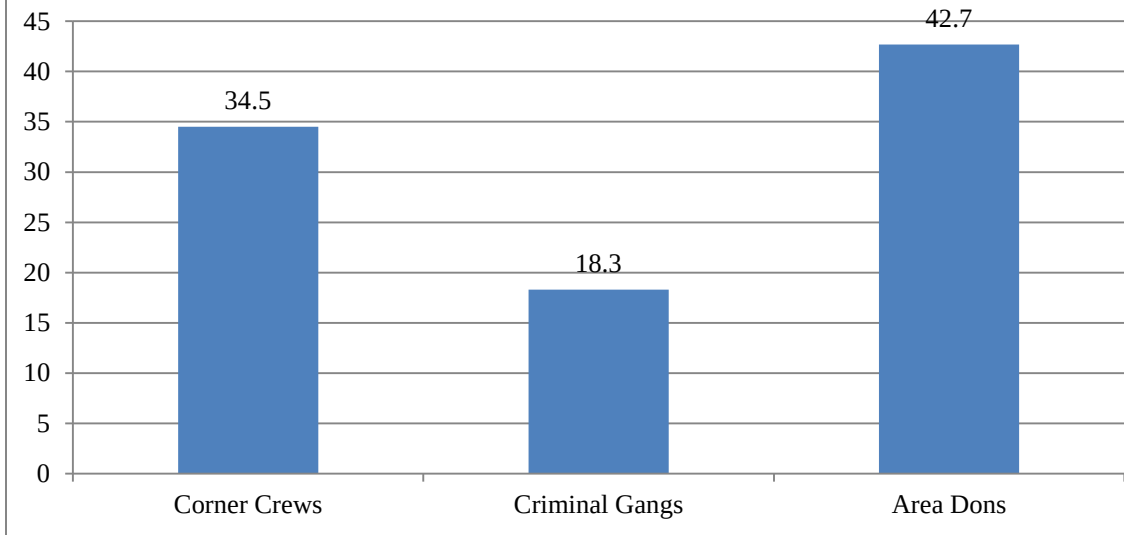
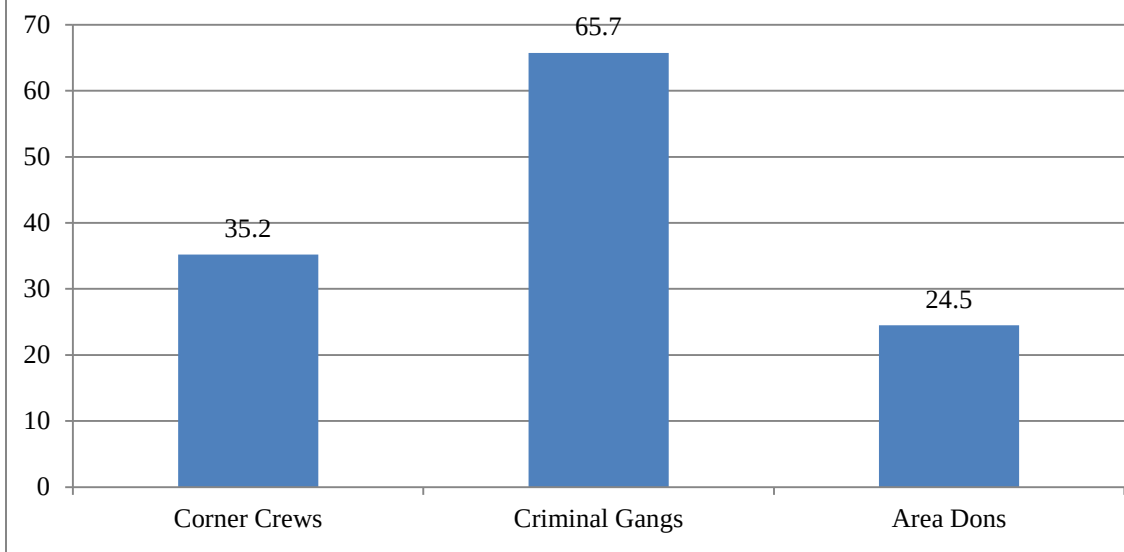


FIGURE 3.16: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that Corner Crews, Criminal Gangs and Area Dons Do Bad or Negative Things in Their Community (2016 NCVS Results)



PART FOUR

CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION IN JAMAICA

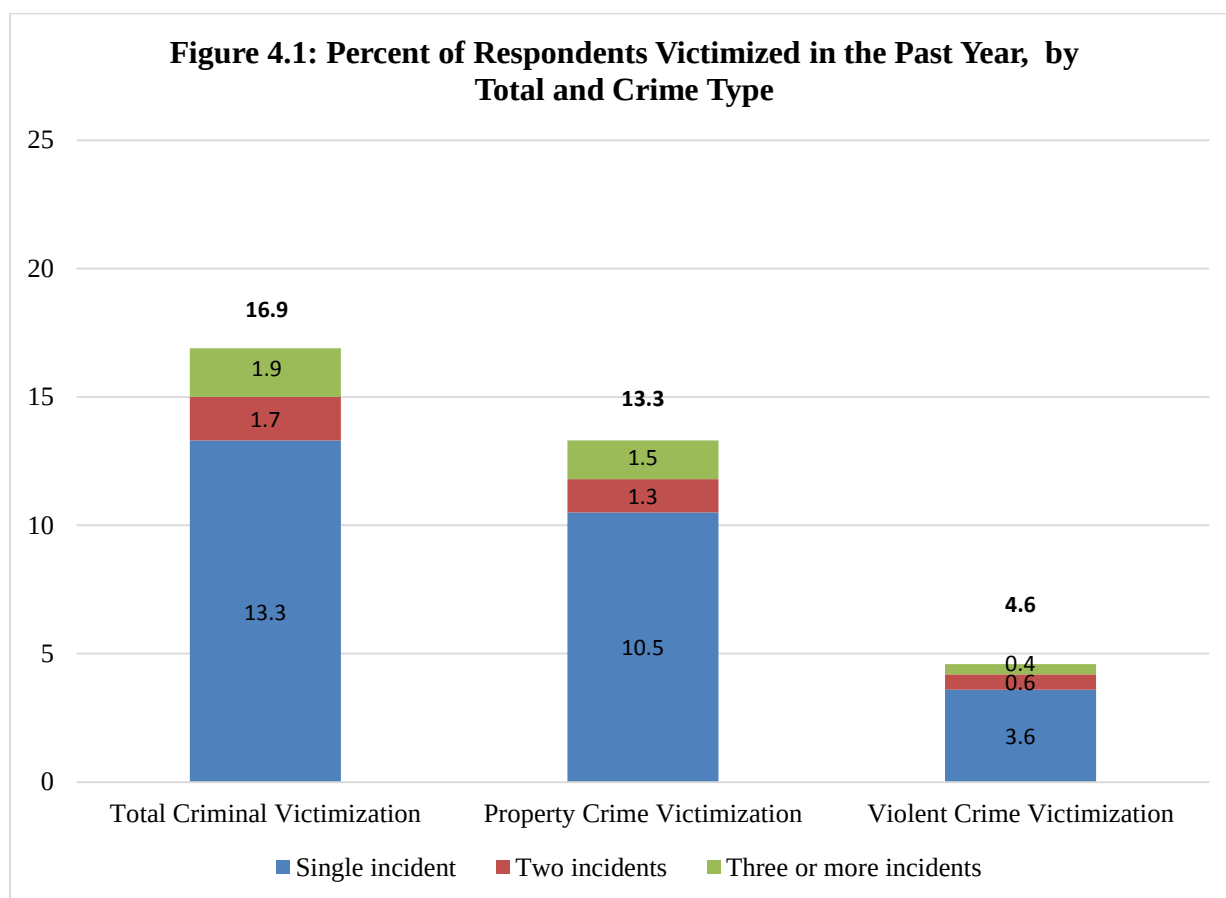
This section of the report begins a general discussion of victimization within the past year. The narrative describes experiences of the Jamaican population with 21 of the most common crimes⁹ reported by respondents and includes comparisons of victimization levels over time, across geographic jurisdictions and among key demographics. The report finds that victimization levels have declined when compared to previous years at an even greater rate than in previous studies. The lower levels of victimization are consistent for the various types of crimes included in the study and have been observed across all parishes. Similarly, lower levels of victimization are also observed when disaggregated by gender and age groups. We explore possible reasons for these findings including the displacement of crimes in rural areas, the underreporting of crimes across official administrative and survey data, as well as the potential impact of demographic characteristics on risk of victimization.

Total Victimization Levels

According to the 2016 survey data, approximately one in six Jamaicans (16.9%) reported being victimized during the twelve-month period preceding the survey. Of this number 13.3% of respondents reported a single incident, 1.7% were victimized twice and 1.9% experienced three or more incidents of victimization (see Figure 4.1). A comparison of property crimes and violent crimes reveals similar victimization patterns. Almost one in eight respondents (13.3%) reported a

⁹ The twenty one crime types include nine different types of violent crime including robbery with a gun, robbery without a gun, serious threats with a weapon, serious threats without a weapon, assault with a weapon, assault without a weapon, sexual assault and rape, kidnapping and extortion as well as twelve different types of property crime including motor vehicle theft, theft of items from a motor vehicle, theft of bicycles or motorbikes, burglary, attempted burglary, break-ins, attempted break-ins, larceny or personal theft, praedial larceny, vandalism, arson and fraud.

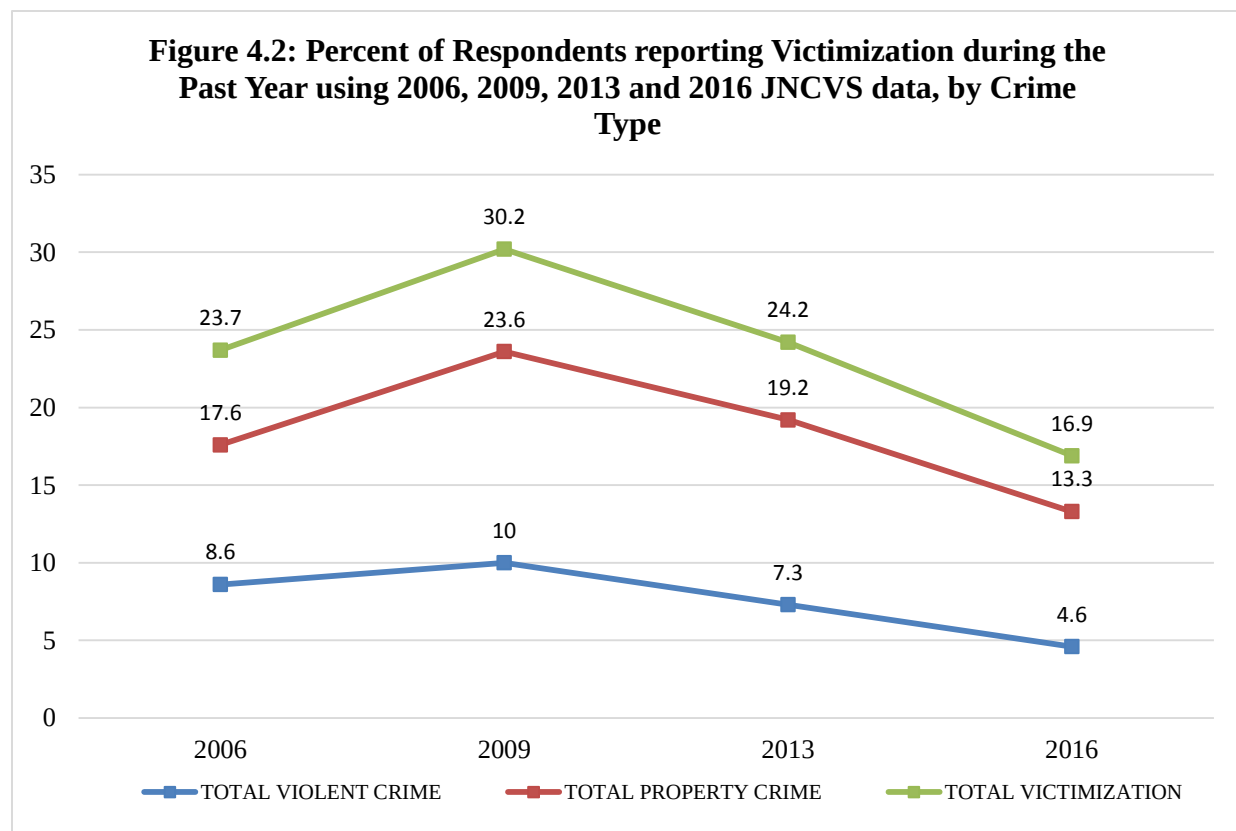
crime against their property, with 10.5% reporting a single incident, 1.3% being victimized twice and 1.5% reporting at least three experiences with victimization. Similarly, victims of violent crimes were more likely to experience a single event with approximately one in twenty respondents (3.6%) reporting a single incident and 1.0% reporting being victimized three or more times over the one-year period. The data indicate that Jamaicans are roughly three times as likely to be victimized by property crimes as violent crimes and this pattern is consistent even when repeat victimization is taken into account.



Victimization over Time

Tracking recent victimization rates across the ten years and four waves of the victimization survey shows a fairly consistent decline over the period. Starting at 23.7%, 17.6% and 8.6% respectively, reports of total crime victimization, property crime victimization, and violent crime victimization all peaked in 2009 before experiencing consecutive periods of

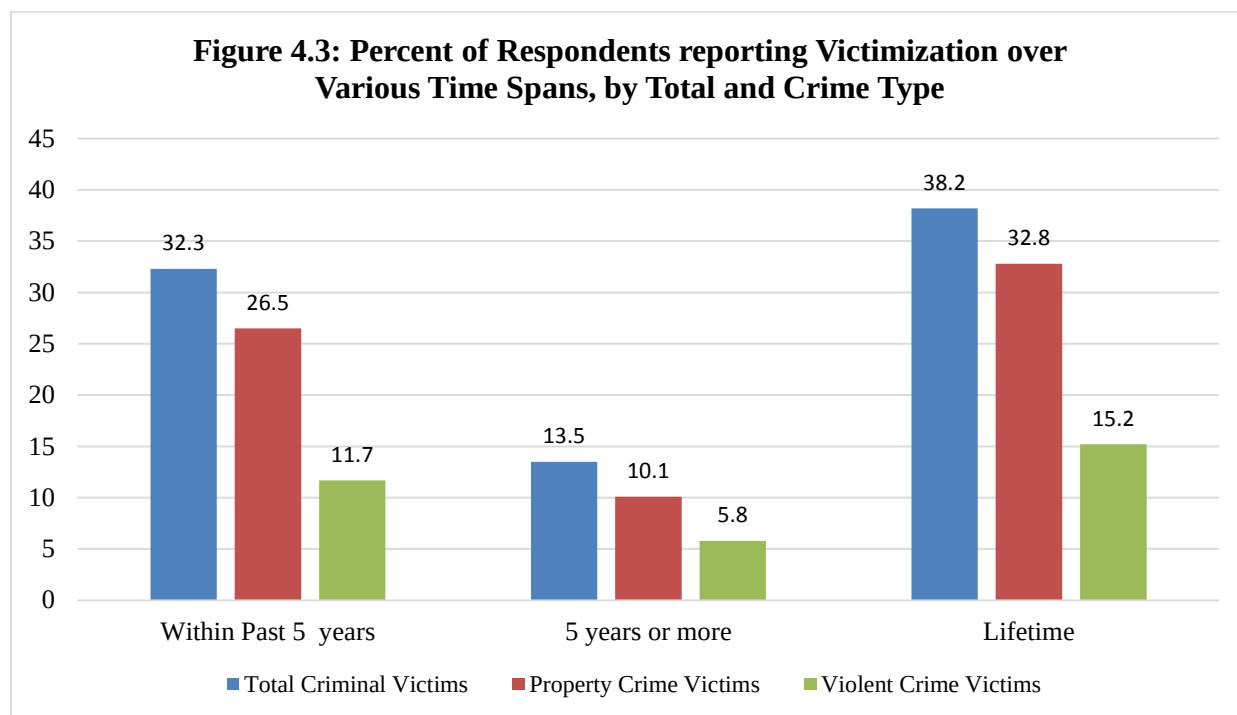
decline in 2013 and 2016 (see Figure 4.2). The slopes of these declines are so pronounced that the current rates of victimization are at their lowest levels over the decade-long period. Indeed, the current violent crime victimization rate (4.6%) is almost half the 2006 survey estimate and the 2013 and 2016 rates represent declines of 24.4% and 28.3% over their 2006 estimates respectively.



Another way to consider changes in victimization patterns over time is to examine lifetime victimization rates. Almost two in five respondents (38%) reported being the victim of a crime during their lifetime, with nearly one in three persons (32.3%) reporting a victimization experience within the past five years and one in eight persons (13.4%) recalling an experience preceding the previous five years (see Figure 4.3).

Lifetime victimization rates followed a similar pattern of frequency with regards to property crimes occurring more frequently over the life span than violent crimes. One in three

respondents (32.8%) attested to being victimized at some point in their life. Approximately one in four respondents (26.5%) experienced this victimization in the last five years while one in ten respondents (10.1%) reflected on an experience that occurred more than five years ago. Even across the varying time spans, property crime victimization continued to be about twice as likely as violent crime victimization. Nearly one in seven persons (15.2%) experienced a violent incident in their lifetime with respondents twice as likely (11.7%) to recall an experience from five years prior compared to those victimized in the past five years (5.8%).



Both approaches to observing victimization over time reinforce the finding that victimization levels are currently on a decline. While there is the possibility that memory biases could impact these findings, this explanation is unlikely. The most common memory bias that influences victimization recall, the telescoping effect, would actually work to increase the recency of reported victimization events, which could help to explain why the estimates for victimization experiences dating back more than five years usually tend to be lower. But even if this were so, the recency effect would have the same inflationary effect on the estimates for

victimization experiences over the past year as well, which means actual, recent victimization rates could well be lower than the reported rates.

Types of Victimization

Motor Vehicle Theft

All respondents were asked: “At some time in your life, have you or another member of your household ever had a car, truck or van stolen?” Within the past year, 37 respondents (1.1%) of the sample experienced motor vehicle theft (see Table 4.1) with no repeat victimizations reported during the past year (see Table 4.2). The survey results also indicate that nearly one in twenty five persons (3.7% of the sample) experienced this within their lifetime, with 3.3% of the sample experiencing this once, and 0.2% experiencing this twice within their lifetime (see Table 4.3).

Theft from Motor Vehicles

All respondents were asked: “At some time in your life, have you or another member of your household ever had money or other items stolen from your motor vehicle? This might include something from inside your car – like money, a purse or a bag – or a specific car part like a stereo, a wheel or a mirror?” Over the twelve-month period preceding the survey, 1.1% of the sample experienced theft from a motor vehicle once, while 0.4% experienced a repeat victimization (see Table 4.1). One in sixteen persons (4.4% of the sample) experienced this in their lifetime, with 3.3% of the sample experiencing this once and 1.1% experiencing this incident two or more times (see table 4.2). In addition, 50 persons (1.4%) had this occur within the last five years, and .9% of respondents experienced this more than five years ago.

Theft of Bicycles or Motorcycles

All respondents were asked: “At some time in your life, have you or another member of your household ever had a motor cycle or bicycle stolen?” Within the past year, 1.0% of the sample experienced a theft of bicycles or motorcycles. Similar to motor vehicle thefts there were no repeat cases of victimization in the preceding twelve months. The results also suggest that one

out of every eighteen persons (4.5%) had this occur at some point in their life with 3.4% having it occur once and 1.1% being the victim on multiple occasions. Roughly one in fifty respondents (1.7%) experienced this within the last five years, and 1.3% experienced this more than five years ago (see Table 4.3).

Burglary

All respondents were asked: “At some time in your life, has anyone ever broken into your home at night and stolen or tried to steal something?” For the period under review, 49 persons (1.4%) indicated that their homes had been burgled. For five of those persons this was a multiple occurrence (0.2%). Roughly one in twenty respondents (5.8%) had experienced a burglary in their lifetime, with 4.1% of the sample experiencing this only once and 1.8% experiencing it twice or more (see table 4.2). Where the most recent incident of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, 3.3% experienced burglary within the last five years and 2.0% more than five years ago (see table 4.2).

Attempted Burglary

Respondents were also asked: “Have you ever found evidence to suggest that someone tried to break into your home at night but failed? For example, have you ever discovered damage to doors, locks or windows that would suggest that someone tried to get into your home at night without permission?” Fewer persons reported attempted than actual burglary with .6% of respondents noting such an experience in the past twelve months. Of those twelve incidents, two persons experienced repeat offences. Where the incident of victimization in the respondents’ lifetime is concerned, the survey found that 3.7% of the sample experienced attempted burglary in their lifetime, with 2.4% experiencing this within the last five years (see Table 4.3) and 1.0% in the five years preceding.

Break-ins

All respondents were asked: “At some time in your life, has anyone ever broken into your home during the day and stolen or tried to steal something?” The results indicate that 38 persons (1.1%) experienced break-ins at some point in the past year, with .7% experiencing this event

once and six persons (0.2%) having the misfortune of multiple experiences (see Table 4.2). The survey also revealed that 3.7% of the sample experienced break-ins at least once in their lifetime, with 2.7% reporting an incident during the last five years and 0.9% experiencing a break-in more than 5 years ago.

Attempted Break-ins

Respondents were also asked: “Have you ever found evidence to suggest that someone tried to break into your home during the day and failed? For example, have you ever discovered damage to doors, locks or windows that would suggest that someone tried to get into your home during the day without permission?” Similar to burglaries, attempted break-ins were fewer in frequency than actual break-ins. The results indicate that 21 persons (0.6%) of the sample experienced attempted break-ins at some point last year (see Table 4.1). A lone respondent reported having multiple experiences with attempted break-ins over the year. Where the incidence of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, data in Table 4.3 indicate that 2.3% of the sample experienced attempted break-ins, with 1.8% of persons reporting experiences within the last five years, and 0.5% more than five years ago.

Armed Robbery – Robbery with a Gun

All respondents were asked: “Have you ever been robbed by someone with a gun? Has anyone ever tried to take money or something else from you by threatening you with a gun or using a gun on you?” The results indicate that 21 persons (0.6%) of the sample experienced an armed robbery at some point last year (see Table 4.1). Two respondents (.1%) reported having multiple experiences with armed robberies over the year. Where the incident of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, data in Table 4.3 indicate that 3.3% of the sample experienced an armed robbery, with 1.6% of persons reporting experiences within the last five years, and 1.7% more than five years ago.

Robbery without a Gun

Respondents were subsequently asked: “Apart from the cases that you have already told me about, has anyone ever tried to mug you or rob you without using a gun? For example, has anyone ever tried to take something from you by threatening to beat you, threatening to hurt you with a knife or some other weapon, or by actually attacking you?” Within the past year the same proportion of robberies without a weapon (0.6%) as armed robberies were reported and of this number all the cases were single incidents. The results also suggest that 2.7% of persons had this occur at some point in their life with 1.6% having this experience within the last five years, and 1.1% experienced this more than five years ago (see Table 4.3).

Larceny (Personal Theft)

All respondents were asked to report on incidents of larceny or personal theft: “There are many other types of theft that do not involve robbery or the threat of violence. These crimes include things like pick-pocketing or stealing things – like a purse, wallet, jewelry, clothing or other items. These things can happen at home, work, at school, on the street, at the beach, on the bus or in other public places. Have you ever been the victim of this type of larceny or theft? Has someone ever stolen money or other items from you?” The results indicate that 85 persons (2.4%) experienced an act of larceny at some point in the past year, with 1.0% experiencing this event once and 0.4% experiencing two or more victimizations (see Table 4.2). The survey also revealed that one in ten respondents (10.6%) in our sample experienced larceny at least once in their lifetime, with 7.7% reporting an incident during the last five years and 2.9% experiencing a break-in more than 5 years ago.

Praedial Larceny

The following questions about praedial larceny were posed to all respondents: “Have you ever been the victim of praedial larceny? In other words, has anyone ever stolen fruit, vegetables, animals or other agricultural supplies from your property?” Over the twelve-month period preceding the survey, 159 persons (2.4% of the sample) experienced praedial larceny, making it the most commonly reported crime type. While 3.4% of the sample experienced this crime once

over the period, 8.4% experienced a repeat victimization, which also makes it the crime with the highest level of repeat victimization (see Table 4.1). In their lifetime 512 persons (11.8% of the sample) experienced praedial larceny at least once, with almost one in ten respondents (9.9%) having this occur within the last five years, and 2.0 % of respondents experienced this more than five years ago.

Vandalism

All respondents were asked: “Has anyone ever purposely caused damage to your home or property? For example, has anyone ever purposely broken windows at your home, damaged fences or defaced your property with graffiti? Has anyone ever broken or damaged something else that you own like a motor vehicle?” Within the past year 0.8% of the sample had their property damaged criminally and of this number single incidents accounted for 0.6% of cases, while 0.2% of all the cases represented repeat victimizations. The results also suggest that 2.6% of persons had this occur at some point in their life with 2.0% having this experience within the last five years, and 0.6% experienced this more than five years ago (see Table 4.3).

Serious Threats with a Weapon

All respondents were asked: “Apart from the cases that you have already told me about, has anyone ever seriously threatened to cause you harm with a gun, a knife or some other kind of weapon? Has anyone ever threatened to hurt you by throwing something on you like boiling water or acid? Remember, I only want you to tell me about threats that you took seriously. Once again, these threats could be made by family members, friends, acquaintances or strangers.” Where the most recent incident of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, 1.0% of respondents experienced serious threats with a weapon within the last year, while 2.3% experienced this type of victimization less than five years ago and .6% more than five years ago (see Table 4.1). In 8 of the 23 cases (0.3%), victims suffered at least one more incident over the remainder of the year. When the experience of serious threats with a weapon within their lifetime was explored, 3.2% attested to having such an experience (see Table 4.3).

Serious Threats without a Weapon

All respondents were asked: “Apart from the cases that you have already told me about, has anyone ever seriously threatened to harm you without a weapon? For example, has anyone ever threatened to harm you by punching you or kicking you? Remember, I only want you to tell me about the threats that you took seriously. These threats could be made by family members, friends, acquaintances or strangers.” For the review period, 59 persons (1.7%) indicated they had received threats with no weapon involved. For ten of those persons this was a multiple occurrence (0.3%). Roughly one in twenty respondents (5.3%) had experienced threats in such a manner over their lifetime, with 4.4% recalling the incident occurring in the last five years and .9% relating a case from more than five years ago (see Table 4.1).

Assaults with a Weapon

All respondents were asked: “Apart from the cases that you have already told me about, has anyone ever attacked you or assaulted you with a weapon like a gun, a knife, or a bat or has anyone tried to hurt you by throwing something on you like boiling water or acid? Once again, these assaults or attacks could be made by family members, friends, acquaintances or strangers.” Over the twelve-month period preceding the survey, 18 persons (0.5% of the sample) experienced an armed assault with five of those persons being victimized more than once. In their lifetimes 2.2% of the sample experienced this incident at least once, with 1.5% having this occur within the last five years, and 0.8 % of respondents experienced this more than five years ago.

Physical Assaults (Assaults without a Weapon)

All respondents were asked: “Apart from the cases that you have already told me about, has anyone ever hit, attacked or assaulted you without a weapon? For example, has anyone ever kicked you, punched you, slapped you, pushed you or attacked you using some other kind of force? Once again, these assaults or attacks could be made by family members, friends, acquaintances or strangers.” Where the most recent incident of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, 0.4% experienced physical assaults without a weapon within the last year,

while 2.0% experienced this type of victimization within the last five years and 1.1% were victimized more than five years ago (see Table 4.1). Within the past year, 3 persons (0.1%) were repeatedly victimized. The results suggest that one in thirty three persons (3.0%) experienced physical assaults without a weapon within their lifetime (see Table 4.2).

Sexual Assault

All respondents were asked: “I now want to ask you about crimes called sexual assault or rape. Has anyone ever forced you or tried to force you into unwanted sexual activity by threatening you, holding you down or hurting you in some way? This would include acts committed by family members, friends, acquaintances or strangers.” Where the most recent incident of victimization in respondents’ lifetime is concerned, 0.1% experienced sexual assault within the last year, while 0.6% experienced this type of victimization within the last five year period and 0.5% recalled an incident more than five years ago (see Table 4.1). Two persons reported repeated victimizations over the course of the past year. The data also shows that 1.1% of the sample experienced sexual assault within their lifetime, with 0.7% experiencing it once, and 0.4% experiencing it more than once (see Table 4.2).

Kidnapping

All respondents were asked: “Sometimes people are kidnapped and held for ransom or taken for some other reason. Have you or any member of your household ever been kidnapped?” Over the previous twelve months, two respondents reported being the victims of a kidnapping. Over an extended time span, 8 persons (0.2%) reported having such an experience in their lifetime with 0.1% recalling incidents within the past five years and an equal share (0.1%) attesting to experiences more than five years in the past (see Table 4.1).

Arson

All respondents were asked: “Have you ever been the victim of arson? For example, has anyone ever tried to burn down your home or any other property that you own?” Within the past year the 37 respondents (0.3%) were victimized by arson with all save one of the cases being a single incident of the crime. The survey also found that 0.7% of persons had this occur at some

point in their life with 0.5% having this experience within the last five years, and 0.2% experiencing this more than five years ago (see Table 4.3).

Fraud

All respondents were asked: “Have you ever been the victim of fraud? For example, has someone ever tried to do things like use your personal identification, use your credit cards or banking cards without your permission, or tried to cash cheques in your name? Has anyone tried to rip you off in some other way?” Within the past year, 12 persons (0.3%) experienced a fraudulent incident. There were no reported cases of repeat victimization, but only three persons were willing to identify the frequency of victimization. Roughly one in one hundred persons (1.2%) had this occur at some point in their life with 0.6% having this experience within the last five years, and 0.6% experiencing this more than five years ago (see Table 4.3).

Extortion

Finally, all respondents were asked the following question: “Extortion refers to the obtaining of money, or anything else of value, in exchange for protection, through the implied or explicit threat of force. Have you ever been the victim of extortion?” In the previous year, 0.2% of the sample reported being extorted with 0.1% reporting multiple victimizations. Overall, 1.4% of the sample noted at least one incident of extortion ever with 0.8% experiencing it in the past five years and 0.6% in the years preceding (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Percent of Respondents Who Have Experienced Various Types of Criminal Victimization, by Most Recent Victimization

TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION	Number of Times Victimized in Lifetime			
	NEVER	PAST YEAR	PAST FIVE YEARS	MORE THAN 5 YEARS AGO
Car Theft	96.5	1.1	1.3	1.1
Theft from Vehicles	96.5	1.2	1.4	0.9
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	94.3	1.4	2.3	2.0
Burglary	96.0	1.0	1.7	1.3
Attempted Burglary	96.6	0.6	1.8	1.0
Break-in	96.4	1.1	1.6	0.9
Attempted Break-in	97.9	0.6	1.2	0.3
Robbery (at gunpoint)	96.9	0.6	0.9	1.6
Robbery (without a gun)	97.3	0.6	1.0	1.1
Larceny/Theft	89.7	2.4	5.3	2.6
Praedial Larceny	88.8	4.6	5.0	1.6
Vandalism	97.3	0.8	1.2	0.7
Threats (with a weapon)	97.1	1.0	1.3	0.6
Threats (without a weapon)	94.5	1.7	2.7	1.1
Assaults (with a weapon)	97.6	0.5	1.1	0.8
Assaults (without a weapon)	97.0	0.3	1.6	1.1
Sexual Assault and Rape	98.9	0.1	0.5	0.5
Kidnapping	99.8	0.1	0.1	0.1
Arson	99.2	0.3	0.2	0.3
Fraud	99.1	0.3	0.3	0.3
Extortion	98.9	0.2	0.6	0.3

Table 4.2: Number of Victimizations in the Past Year, by Type of Victimization

TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION	Number of Times Victimized in the Past Year			
	NEVER	ONCE	TWICE	THREE OR MORE TIMES
Car Theft	99.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Theft from Vehicles	99.3	0.5	0.2	0.0
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	99.3	0.7	0.0	0.0
Burglary	98.8	1.0	0.1	0.1
Attempted Burglary	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Break-in	99.1	0.7	0.1	0.1
Attempted Break-in	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Robbery (at gunpoint)	99.6	0.3	0.1	0.0
Robbery (without a gun)	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0
Larceny/Theft	98.6	1.0	0.2	0.2
Praedial Larceny	97.0	1.2	0.7	1.2
Vandalism	99.5	0.3	0.1	0.1
Threats (with a weapon)	99.3	0.4	0.1	0.2
Threats (without a weapon)	99.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
Assaults (with a weapon)	99.6	0.3	0.0	0.1
Assaults (without a weapon)	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
Sexual Assault and Rape	99.9	0.0	0.0	0.1
Kidnapping	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arson	99.8	0.1	0.0	0.1
Fraud	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
Extortion	99.7	0.1	0.1	0.1

Table 4.3: Percent of Respondents Who Have Experienced Various Types of Criminal Victimization in Their Lifetime, by Type of Victimization

TYPE OF VICTIMIZATION	Number of Times Victimized in Lifetime			
	NEVER	ONCE	TWICE	THREE OR MORE TIMES
Car Theft	96.3	3.4	0.2	0.1
Theft from Vehicles	95.5	3.4	0.9	0.2
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	95.4	3.5	0.9	0.2
Burglary	94.1	4.1	1.2	0.6
Attempted Burglary	96.3	2.5	0	0.5
Break-in	96.3	2.8	0.6	0.3
Attempted Break-in	97.7	1.5	0.6	0.2
Robbery (at gunpoint)	96.7	2.5	0.6	0.2
Robbery (without a gun)	97.2	2.1	0.5	0.2
Larceny/Theft	89.2	5.6	3.3	1.9
Praedial Larceny	88.0	3.5	2.8	5.7
Vandalism	97.4	1.5	0.7	0.4
Threats (with a weapon)	96.8	2.0	0.4	0.8
Threats (without a weapon)	94.6	2.4	1.5	1.5
Assaults (with a weapon)	97.7	1.6	0.3	0.4
Assaults (without a weapon)	96.9	1.3	0.7	1.1
Sexual Assault and Rape	98.9	0.7	0.3	0.1
Kidnapping	99.8	0.2	0.0	0.0
Arson	99.2	0.7	0.1	0.0
Fraud	98.9	1.0	0.1	0.0
Extortion	98.7	0.8	0.3	0.2

Types of Victimization

The data gathered from the NCVS allows us to examine types of victimization over time to see whether patterns of change exist over different time periods. In the most recent period for which data are available, we see marginal changes in victimization rates by crime types when compared to 2013 estimates (see Table 4.4). In thirteen of the 21 crime types we studied there were declines in victimization levels with the largest declines seen in vandalism (-8.2%) and praedial larceny (-5.3%) estimates before the rates fall into the range of -2% to -1% and an average of -1.0%. Conversely, the largest increases in rates over that period occurred with theft

in transportation namely, motor vehicles (0.8%) and bicycles or motor cycles (0.3%) (see Figure 4.4).

Table 4.4: Percent of and Change in Respondents Who Have Experienced Various Types of Criminal Victimization in the Past Twelve Months, Results from the 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 National Crime Victimization Surveys

Type of Victimization	2006 (%)	2009 (%)	2013 (%)	2016 (%)	Change 2013-2016 (%)	Change 2006-2016 (%)
Motor Vehicle Theft	0.6	0.5	0.3	1.1	0.8	0.5
Theft from Vehicles	1.7	2.0	1.6	1.1	-0.5	-0.6
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	1.3	1.4	0.7	1.0	0.3	-0.3
Burglary	2.0	3.4	1.7	1.4	-0.3	-0.6
Attempted Burglary	1.5	1.1	0.7	0.6	-0.1	-0.9
Robbery (at gunpoint)	1.3	1.0	1.2	0.6	-0.6	-0.7
Robbery (without a gun)	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.6	0.2	-0.2
Larceny/Theft	2.9	3.1	3.3	2.4	-0.9	-0.5
Praedial Larceny	8.1	13.7	9.9	4.6	-5.3	-3.5
Vandalism	0.0	2.2	9.0	0.8	-8.2	0.8
Threats (with a weapon)	2.2	2.7	2.0	1.0	-1.0	-1.2
Threats (without a weapon)	3.1	3.9	2.6	1.7	-0.9	-1.4
Assaults (with a weapon)	1.5	1.5	2.1	0.5	-1.6	-1.0
Assaults (without a weapon)	0.8	1.5	0.9	0.4	-0.5	-0.4
Sexual Assault and Rape	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.1	-0.1	0.0
Kidnapping	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Arson	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.1	-0.1
Fraud	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.3	-0.3	-0.2
Extortion	NA	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.0	NA

When we extend the scope of analysis to the longer time period of a decade the changes are less pronounced but follow a similar pattern. Again, roughly two out of three crime types register a decline with the average change in rates being -0.5%. The largest declines were observed for praedial larceny (-3.5%), threats without a weapon (-1.4%) and armed threats (-1.0%). On the other end of the spectrum, vandalism (0.8%) and motor vehicle theft (0.5%) registered the largest increases in victimization rates over the ten-year period (see Figure 4.5).

When you consider that the prevalence rates of various crime types vary then it is plausible to surmise that changes in the most prevalent crimes will have relatively larger weight on overall victimization. Declining rates of praedial larceny over the long and short term would thus have disparately larger effects than other less prevalent crimes on the overall rates of victimization. For example, the data show that vandalism has a noticeable change over the long term but due to the relatively low occurrence of this type of victimization is likely to have a relatively smaller contribution to the rate of decline.

The contribution of praedial larceny to the overall reduction in victimization rates is clear, but there may also be other factors that can help to explain the observed decline. An examination of changes in the spatial patterns of victimization across the island's parishes may provide an alternative explanation. . For example, if crimes have moved from urban, densely populated areas to more rural areas then the probability of interpersonal crimes will accordingly decline. Likewise, if we see reductions in crime rates in more rural parishes then we would expect that typically rural crimes such as praedial larceny are making a stronger contribution to reducing crime levels. These are good reasons to explore for crime displacement effects that might be occurring and observable in the survey data.

Figure 4.4: Change in Recent Victimisation Rates from 2013 to 2016, by Crime Type

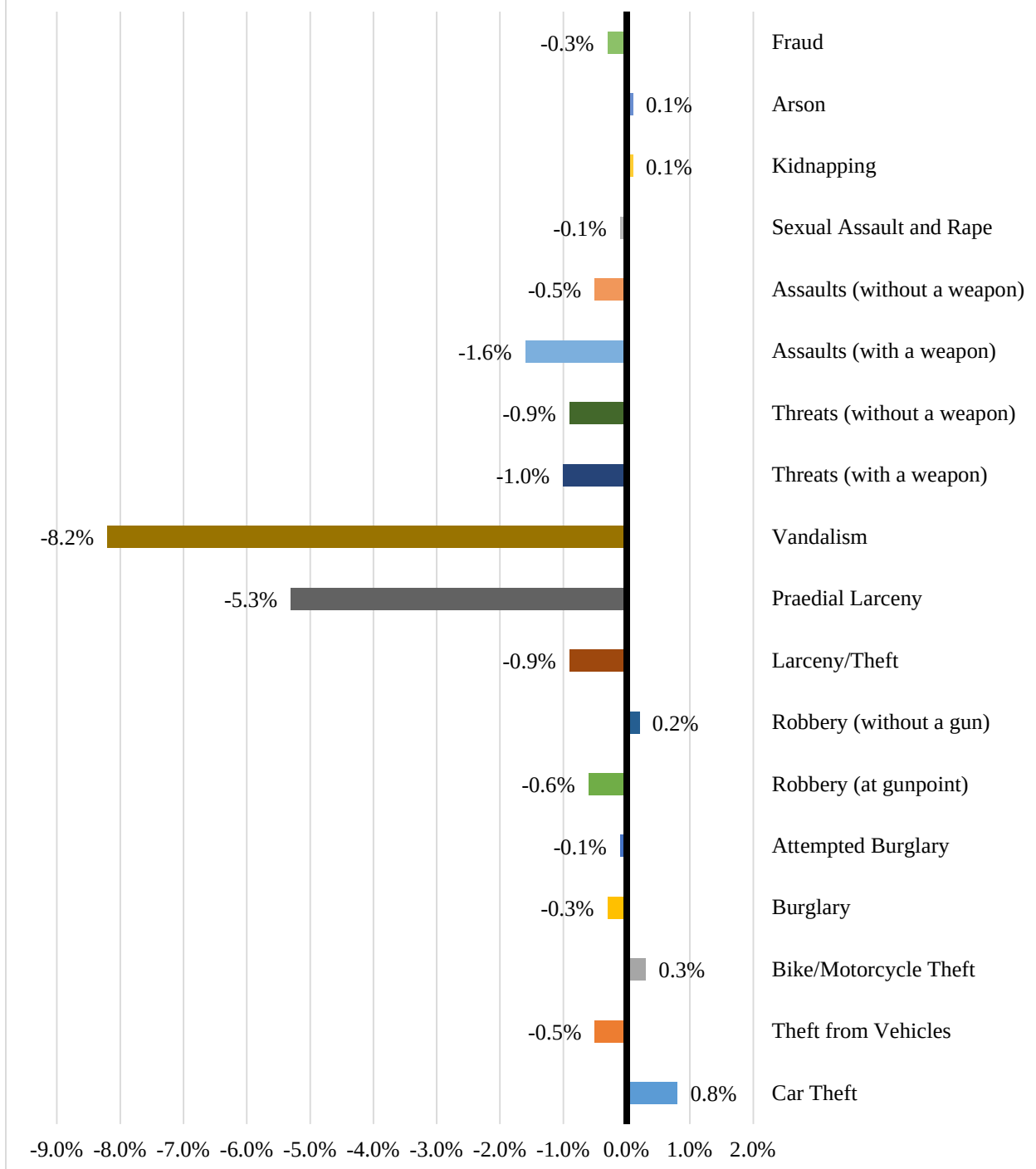
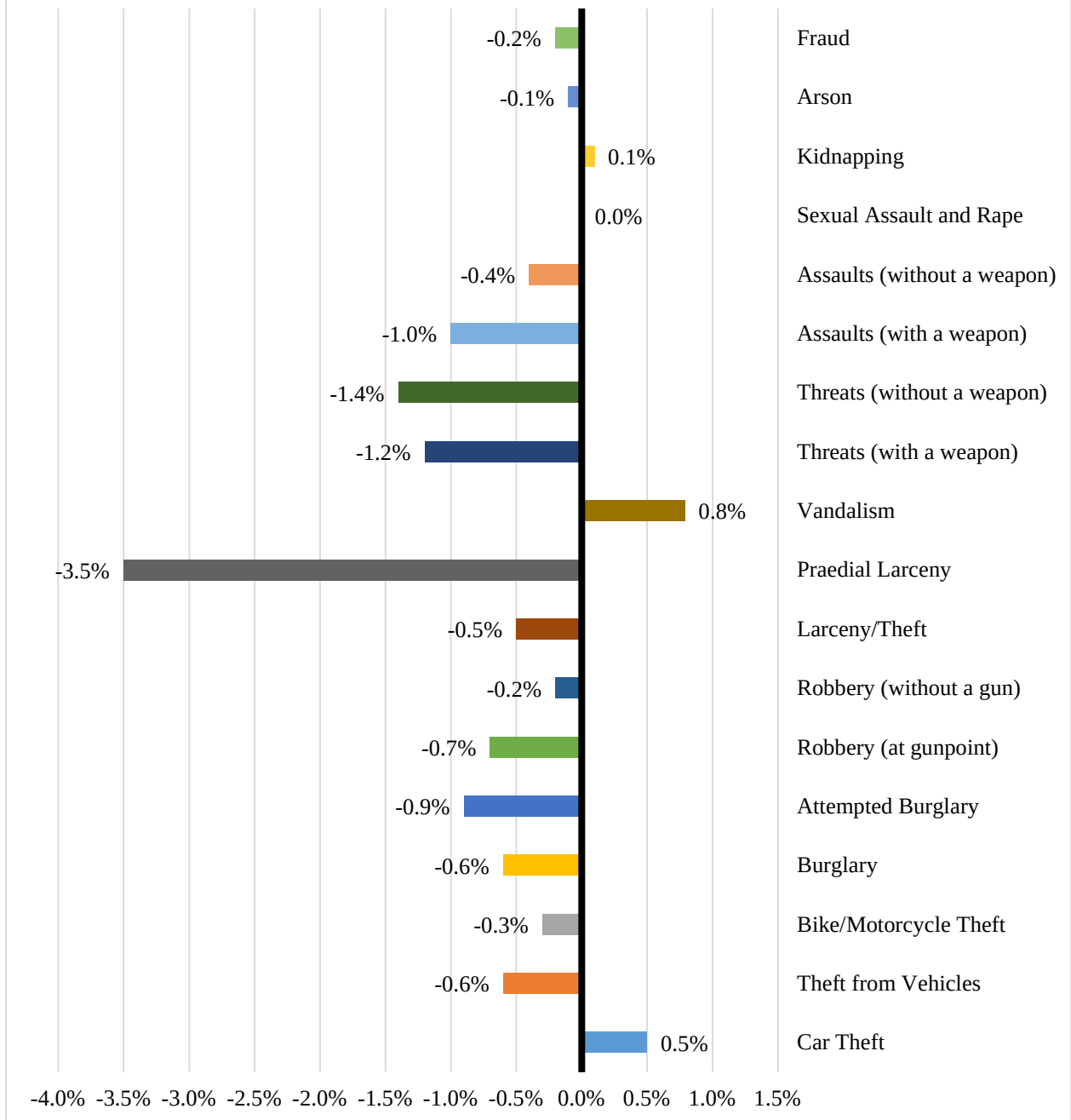


Figure 4.5: Change in Recent Victimisation Rates from 2006 to 2016, by Crime Type



Comparison with Official Major Crime Statistics

How do the survey findings over the past decade relate to official crime statistics? Table 4.5 shows the trends in major crimes over a fifteen-year period. The data indicate that, on average, total major crimes declined by 4% over the 2002 to 2015 period and by 15.2% from 2005 to 2015, the period under study in the four NCVS survey waves. The difference in rates of decline between the two time periods is a function of crime rates peaking circa 2009 and steadily declining in the following years. The four waves of our survey also captures this bell-shaped trend over the past decade, giving us confidence that our most recent estimates are in keeping with official crime trends.

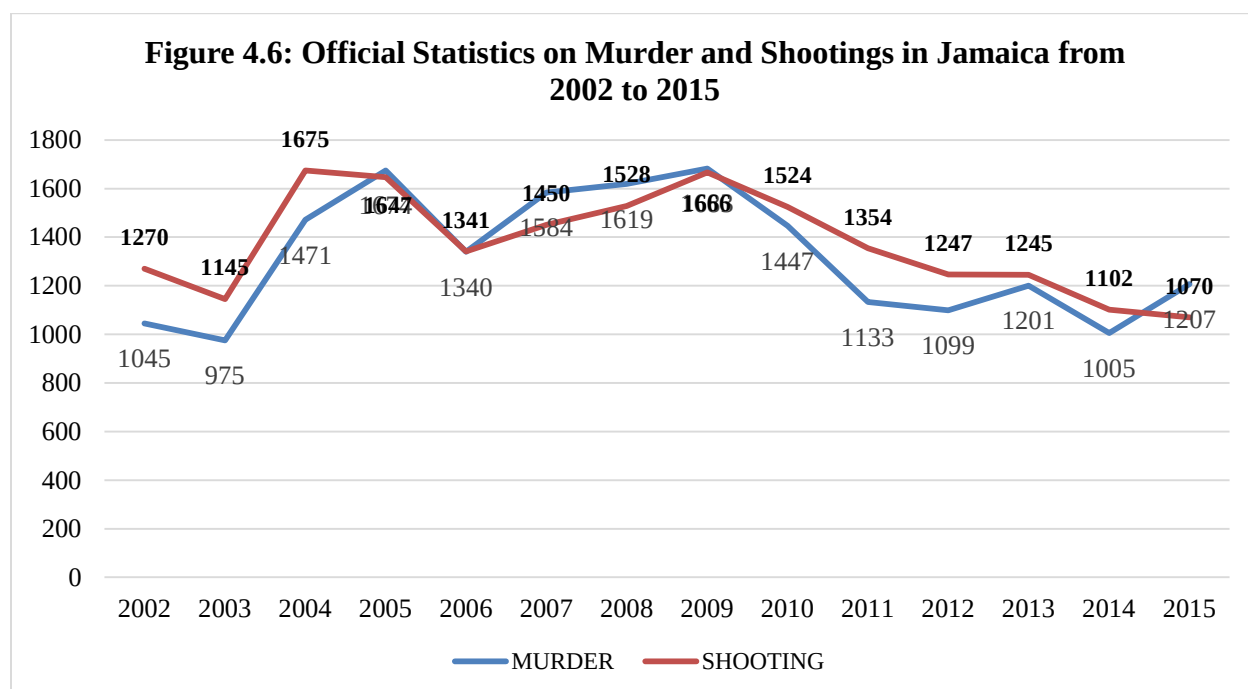
Examining the temporal trends for specific crime types might reveal further agreement between the two distinct data sources. The most serious measure of violent crime victimization, armed assaults, is not reported in the official statistics but we can make a plausible assumption that the trend in armed assaults is similar to those of fire-arm related serious crime collected by police statistics and can be used as a proxy for murders and shootings. Murders and shootings show noticeable declines over their 2005 totals with nearly three out of ten murders (-27.9%) or one out of three shootings (35%) no longer occurring. In Figure 4.6 we see the increasing trend for both murders and shootings followed by a decline after 2009. The rate of decline after 2009 is 28.3%, which represents a fairly steep slope. The 2016 NCVS survey finding for armed assaults gives an even steeper decline from 1.5% to 0.5%, which represents a decline more than double the rate seen in the official statistics (66.6%).

It is difficult to surmise which of the two trends could be considered more accurate since armed assaults is a proxy and may not be a robust measure of the type of criminality represented by the murder and shooting statistics. In addition, the high visibility of a murder or a shooting compared with the fact that individuals may choose not to reveal armed assault victimization could mean both sets of estimates are accurate. However, knowing that the official crime statistics and the survey data move in the same direction with strong effects lends support to the finding of reduced levels of victimization over time.

Table 4.5: Official Major Crimes Statistics from 2002 to 2015

YEARS	MURDER	SHOOTING	RAPE	ROBBERY	BREAK-INS	LARCENY	TOTAL
2002	1045	1270	875	2021	1769	251	7231
2003	975	1145	931	1710	1401	258	6420
2004	1471	1675	860	2103	2044	238	8391
2005	1674	1647	747	2210	1645	186	8109
2006	1340	1341	708	2009	1303	112	6813
2007	1584	1450	716	1601	1492	99	6942
2008	1619	1528	860	2661	2452	326	9446
2009	1683	1666	708	3025	3796	510	11388
2010	1447	1524	728	2855	3794	425	10773
2011	1133	1354	857	3093	3504	425	10366
2012	1099	1247	959	2771	3238	759	10073
2013	1201	1245	855	2673	2537	532	9043
2014	1005	1102	714	2265	2520	447	8053
2015	1207	1070	599	1911	1807	337	6931
Average number 2002-2015	1320.2	1376	794.0	2350.6	2378.7	350.3	8570.9
Average number 2005-2015	1359.3	1379.1	770.4	2452.1	2538.9	375.7	8875.6
Percentage Change 2002-2015	-31.6	-34.2	-17.0	-7.7	-23.3	87.8	-4.03
Percentage Change 2005-2015	-27.9	-35.0	-19.8	-13.5	-9.8	81.2	-14.5

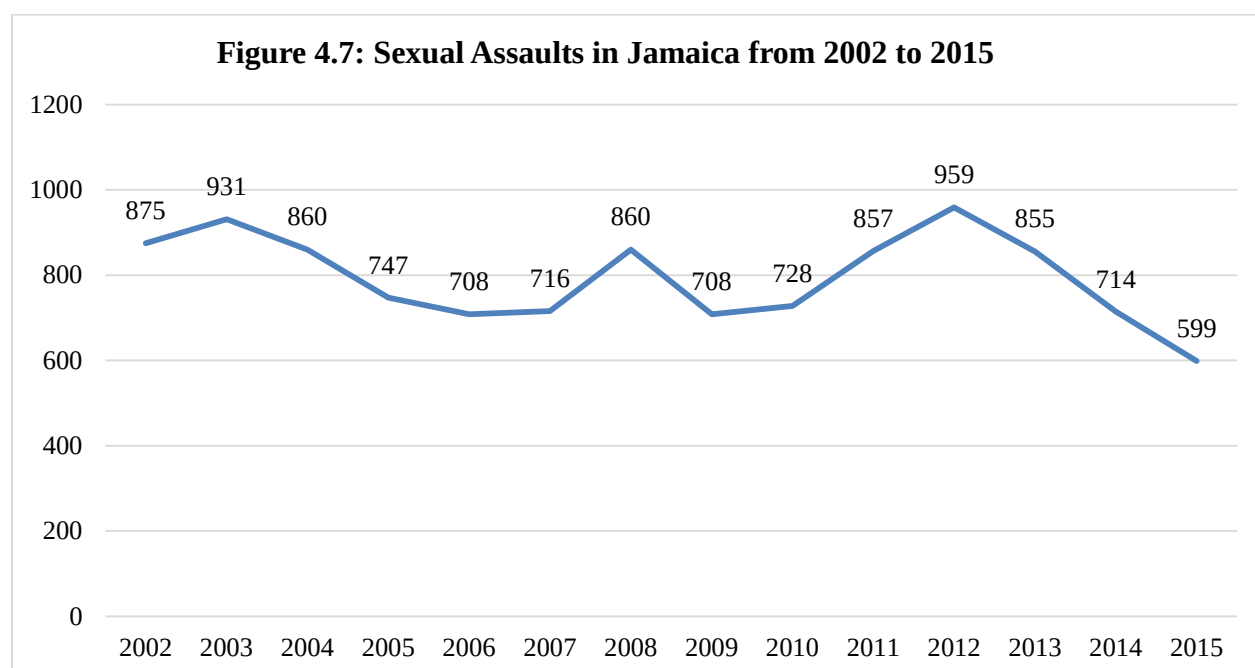
Data provided by the Jamaica Constabulary Force Statistics and Information Management Unit



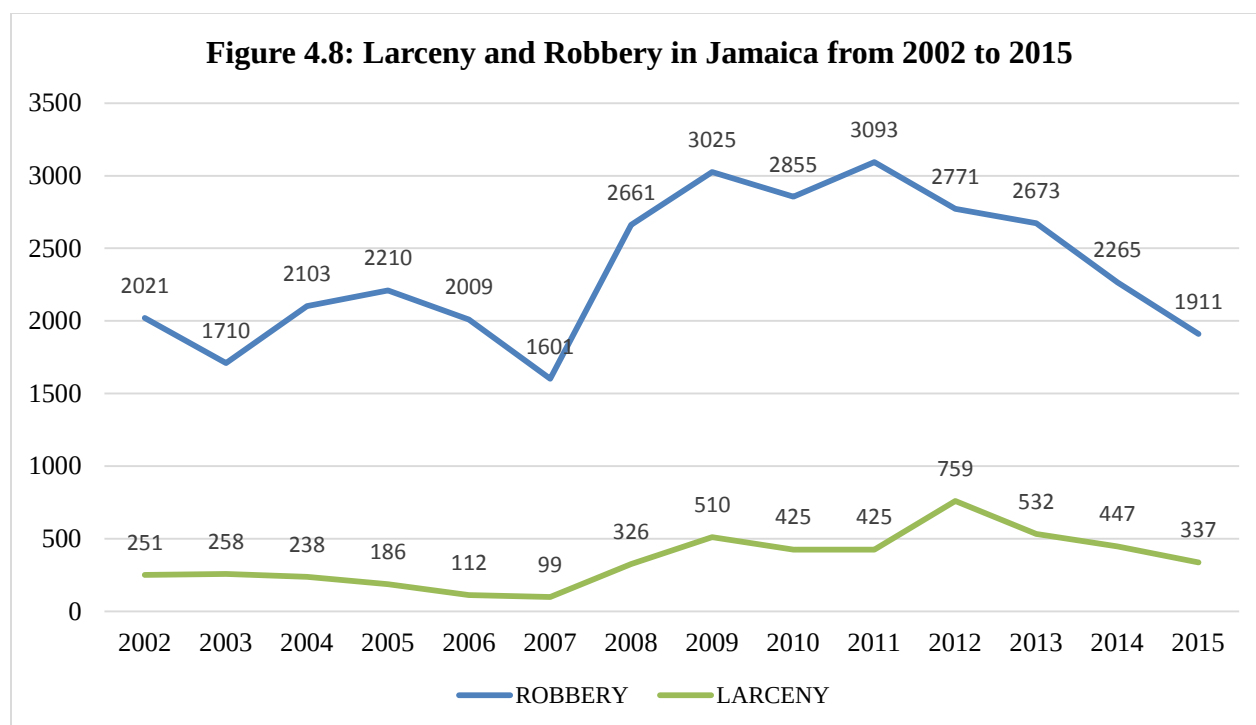
The data on sexual assaults, also record similarities between NCVS estimates and official police statistics. Reported sexual assaults show an overall rate of decline over both the fifteen-year (-13.5%) and ten-year (-7.7%) periods (see Figure 4.7). The flatness of the trend indicates that the 2009 increase in reported crime rates did not occur with reported sexual assaults, which further suggests that the underlying factors that determine the reporting of sexual assaults differ from those of other major crimes. The survey estimates pick up the 2009 surge but otherwise remains fairly flat (0.1% in 2006 and 0.1% in 2016).

We are not certain what the level of agreement between the measures represents. Victimization surveys are often viewed as better instruments for examining sensitive victimization topics such as sexual assault so it is fair to assume that differences between the two measures would be explained by underreporting. But with evidence indicating strong similarities between the two types of measures, there is no obvious explanation besides the simple one that both measures are tracking the incidence of rape with similar effectiveness. Ideally, a third measure would be brought in to triangulate findings and provide an additional layer of evidence.

Hospital records are one such possibility but inclusion of that data lies outside the remit of this present reporting exercise.



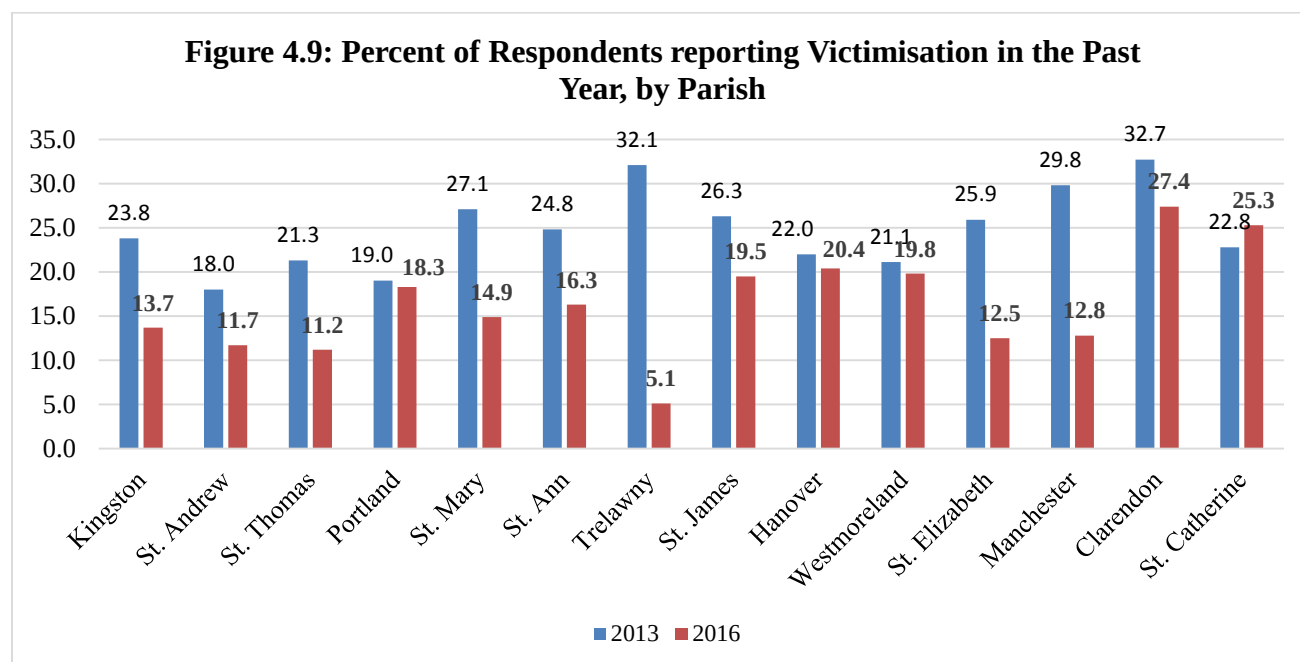
Our final comparison of survey findings with official crime data explores acquisitive property crimes. The NCVS contains measures for two of the three property crimes included in the major crimes statistics, robbery and larceny. Both measures show increased incidences in the lead up to 2009 and declines by 2016, although larceny does not peak until three years later in 2012 (see Figure 4.8). In addition, the magnitude and variation in larceny rates over the period seem to distinguish this crime from robbery. The survey data mirrors the larceny pattern to a good degree with the highest estimate for larceny (3.3%) reported in 2013 followed by a decline to its currently reported level (2.4%). Robbery, on the other hand, is less aligned to the official data as the survey provides its highest average for robbery (1.0%) in 2006 instead of 2009 and starts its decline in rates from that year-point. These patterns suggest again, albeit to a more conservative extent, that the survey and official crime statistics are tracking the same phenomena over time and reinforce the utility of having both measurement approaches available.



Victimization over Time and Space

We see distinct changes in criminal victimization rates for parishes across the three-year period. For 2016, crime victimization rates range from a high of more than one in four respondents in one parish (Clarendon) to a low of one in twenty in another (Trelawny) while in 2013 a narrower band of estimates exist ranging from one in three respondents in one parish (Clarendon) to nearly one in five respondents in another (St. Andrew) (see Figure 4.9). We also see that in 2013 seven parishes had victimization levels above the national average of 24.2% with the highest rates found in Clarendon (32.7%), Trelawny (32.1%), Manchester (29.8%) and St. Mary (27.1%). In 2016 six parishes rose above the national average of 16.8% with the highest tallies found in Clarendon (27.4%) at the top once again, St. Catherine (25.3%), Hanover (20.4%), Westmoreland (21.1%) and St. James (19.5%). Despite parishes like Portland, Hanover, Westmoreland and St. Catherine registering small changes in overall crimes rates over the period there are instances of noticeable declines at the parish level. The greatest declines were observed in Trelawny (magnitude of 600%), Manchester (magnitude of 232%), St. Elizabeth (magnitude of 200%) and Kingston (magnitude of 170%). Given that all three of the parishes with the

highest declines are predominantly rural it is plausible to assume that typically rural crimes, such as praedial larceny, factor in the declining crime rates.



An analysis of parishes and their exposure to varying crime types reveals that parish estimates do not exist for certain crime types in some parishes. Sexual assault, for example, is only reported in four parishes- Hanover (0.7%), Kingston (0.4%), Clarendon (0.3%) and St. Catherine (0.2%) while kidnapping was only noted in Hanover and Manchester (see Table 4.6). On the other hand, burglary and threats without a weapon were reported in all parishes. With regards to the most prevalent type of crime, praedial larceny had the highest levels of occurrence across the fourteen parishes with as many as one in ten respondents (10.4%) in Clarendon reporting an incident in the past year.

The data reveal that some parishes are challenged by numerous types of crimes while other parishes may only contend with a few. Respondents from St. Catherine reported recent incidents of all crime types in our study with the exception of kidnapping and Clarendon respondents reported victimization for all crime types save kidnapping, attempted break-ins and attempted burglaries. On the other end of the spectrum are respondents from parishes where very

few crime types were reported such as Trelawny (7 crime types), St. Elizabeth (10 crime types), and Portland (11 crime types).

Table 4.6: Percent of Respondents reporting Different Types of Criminal Victimization in the Past Year, by Parish

Type of Victimization	Kingston	St. Andrew	St. Thomas	Portland	St. Mary	St. Ann	Trelawny	St. James	Hanover	Westmoreland	St. Elizabeth	Manchester	Clarendon	St. Catherine
Car Theft	0.4	1.9	0.0	0.7	1.3	1.0	0.6	1.5	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.3	2.3
Theft from Vehicles	1.8	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.4	1.0	0.0	1.5	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.9	1.3	2.8
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	3.5	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.9	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.6	0.0	0.0	1.0	1.5
Burglary	0.4	1.0	1.9	2.0	2.6	1.0	0.6	2.3	0.7	2.1	1.6	0.4	2.7	1.3
Attempted Burglary	0.4	0.5	1.4	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.8
Break-in	0.9	0.8	0.9	2.6	0.4	1.9	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.5	2.3	0.4	2.0	1.3
Attempted Break-in	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.5	0.0	3.0	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.3
Robbery (at gunpoint)	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.9	1.0	1.1
Robbery (without a gun)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0	0.5	0.0	0.9	0.7	2.3
Larceny/Theft	1.3	1.1	0.5	1.3	0.0	2.4	0.0	5.3	3.9	2.6	0.8	1.3	6.4	4.9
Praedial Larceny	0.9	2.4	4.7	9.8	4.7	2.9	0.0	4.5	3.3	8.9	4.7	2.2	10.4	5.7
Vandalism	1.3	0.2	0.9	0.0	0.4	1.4	0.6	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.6	0.9	1.7	0.4
Threats (with a weapon)	1.3	0.6	1.4	1.3	0.9	1.4	0.0	1.5	1.3	0.5	0.8	1.3	1.3	1.1
Threats (without a weapon)	1.3	0.6	0.9	0.7	0.9	2.4	1.3	2.3	2.6	0.5	1.6	3.1	4.0	2.1
Assault (with a weapon)	1.3	0.0	1.4	1.3	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7	0.6
Assault (without a weapon)	0.9	0.2	0.0	1.3	0.9	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.2
Sexual Assault	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.2
Kidnapping	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0
Arson	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.2
Fraud	0.0	0.3	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.5	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6
Extortion	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.2

We can further explore the change in parish crime victimization profiles by tracking the movement in property and violent crime profiles over the past three-year period. Figure 4.10 depicts the change from 2013 to 2016 in the percentage of respondents reporting an incident of property crime victimization over the past year. With the exception of St. Catherine (1.0%) and Portland (0.4%), property crime victimization declined at the parish level and in many cases by substantive levels. The largest declines took place in Trelawny (-22.0%), Manchester (-16.9%) and St. Mary (-11.0%), which maps closely to the differences in total crime victimization noted in the previous Figure.

Figure 4.11 illustrates the parish level changes in violent crime victimization over the same period. St. Catherine (0.3%) is again one of the two parishes to show an increase in violent victimization levels over the period but in this instance it is joined by Hanover (5.0%). Trelawny (-8.2%), St. Elizabeth (-6.5%) and Kingston (-6.4%) were the parishes registering the largest declines in rates.

The data discussed above show general declines in parish crime victimization levels, irrespective of crime type. There are noticeable deviations such as the marginal increases in St. Catherine for both types of criminal victimization and the prominence of Trelawny's decline in both property and violent victimization suggests it may be an interesting case study for deeper analysis. Indeed, our idea on the relative weight of certain crimes in promoting the decline remains viable, particularly if this is found to be the case in parishes like Trelawny that show the largest declines. The possibility of crime displacement effects also remains relevant, although the data now suggests that the displacement may not be necessarily be occurring across parishes but perhaps also within parishes.

Figure 4.10: Change in Recent Property Victimization Rates from 2013 to 2016, by Parish

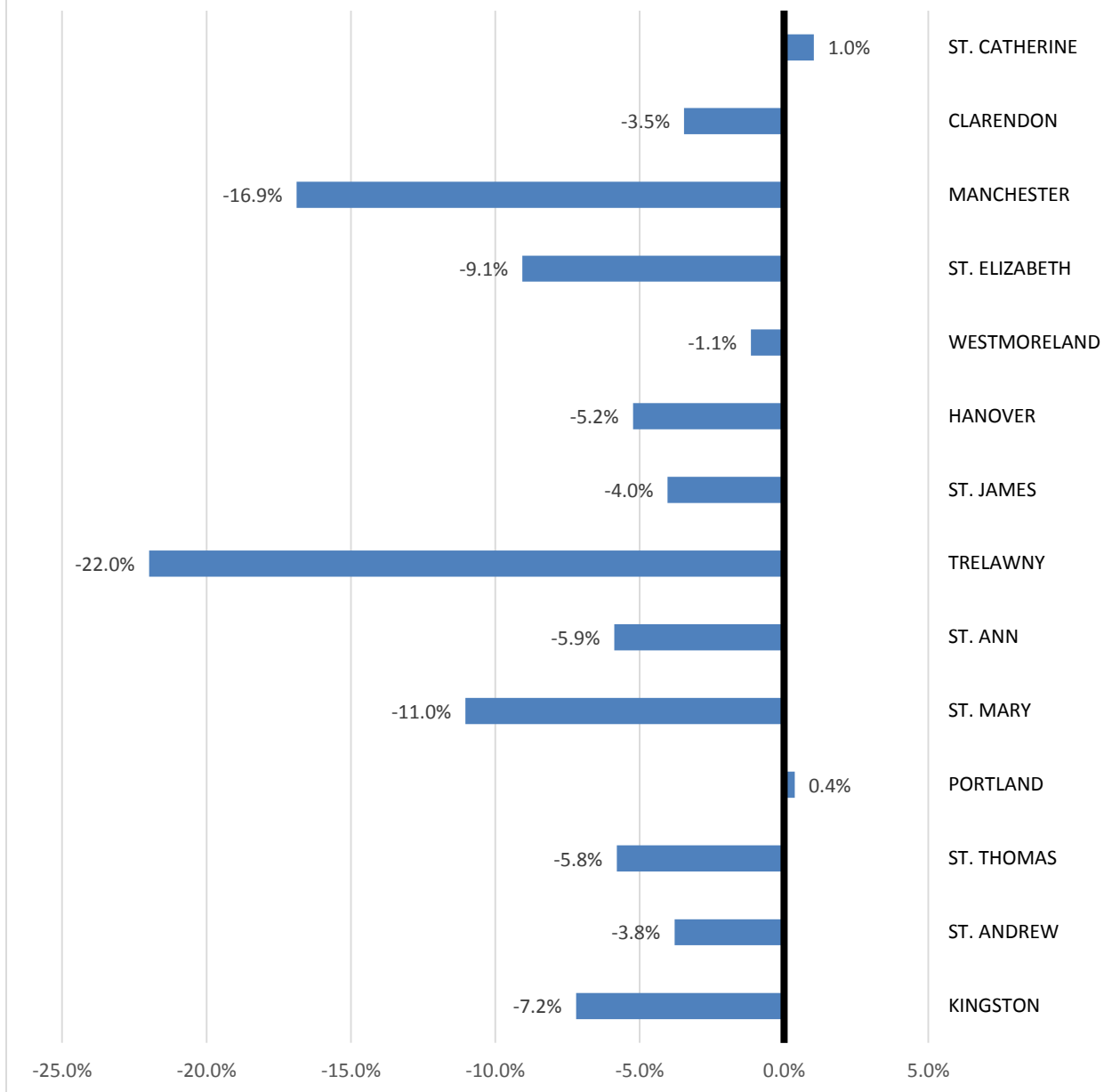
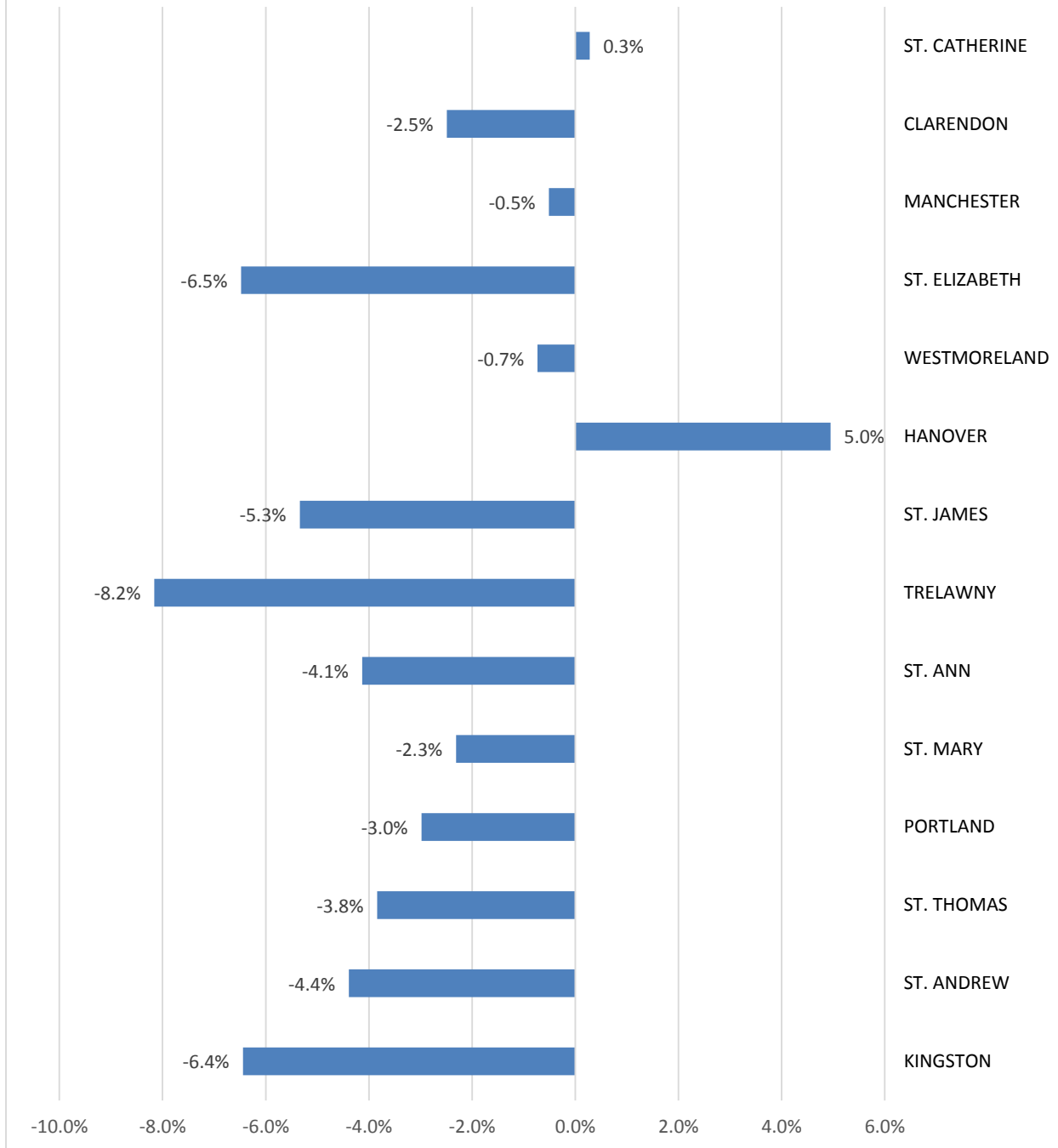


Figure 4.11 Change in Recent Violent Victimization Rates from 2013 to 2016, by Parish



Case Study of Trelawny

The prominence of Trelawny in our understanding of the data bears further discussion. Declines in property crime rates may be driven by declines in some of the most common property crimes such as praedial larceny. If this is so, we should see a relationship between Trelawny's sizable decline in property crime victimization and official police statistics on reported cases of praedial larceny. Table 4.7 illustrates this point using the reported praedial larceny incidents from 2009 to 2015. Trelawny's decline in praedial larceny incidents over the last three-year period is the second highest among the parishes, which suggests that there is some role praedial larceny declines have played in property crime and overall crime victimization declines.

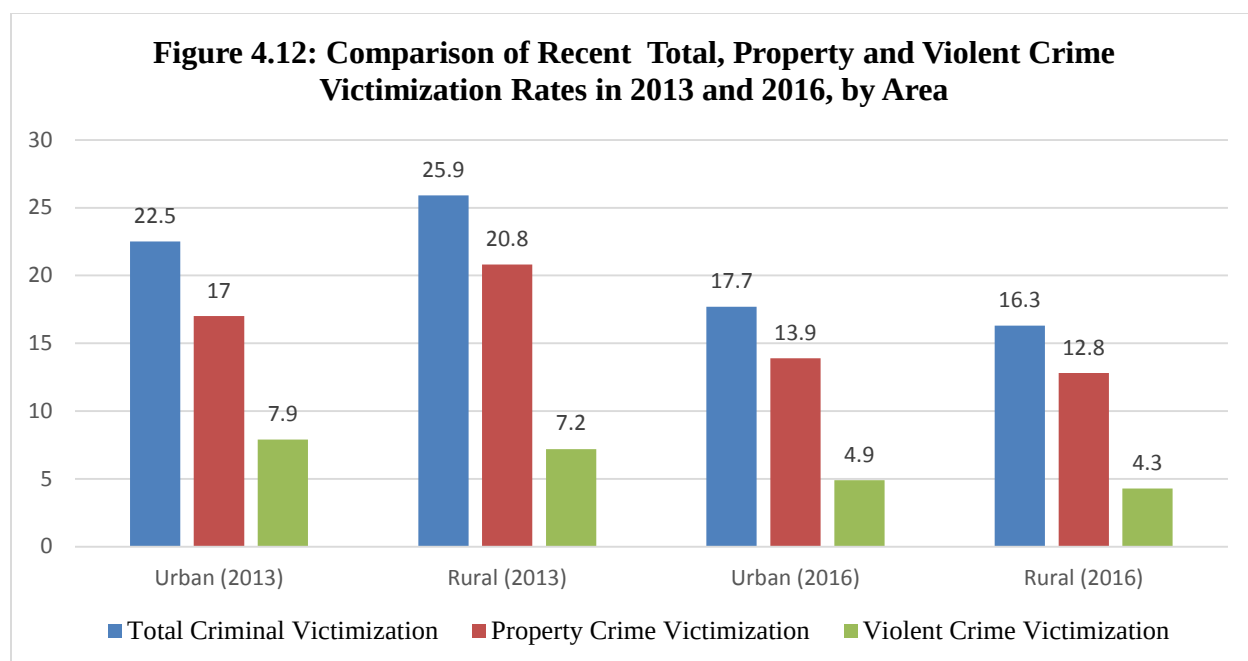
Table 4.7: Official Praedial Larceny Statistics from 2009 to 2015, by Parish

Parish	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Change 2009-2015 (%)	Change 2013-2015 (%)
Clarendon	16	0	1	10	21	27	13	-18.8	-38.1
Hanover	9	2	0	18	9	11	6	-33.3	-33.3
Kingston	4	1	6	2	1	1	1	-75.0	0.0
Manchester	22	23	10	58	58	68	59	168.2	-1.7
Portland	21	25	28	41	54	47	30	42.9	-44.4
St. Andrew	1	1	3	5	1	3	2	100.0	100.0
St. Ann	8	13	9	19	24	17	10	25.0	-58.3
St. Catherine	25	23	14	31	19	15	30	30.0	57.9
St. Elizabeth	14	49	25	32	30	17	5	-64.3	-83.3
St. James	10	7	1	2	1	4	4	-60.0	300.0
St. Mary	24	13	0	15	27	16	11	-54.2	-59.3
St. Thomas	8	0	1	17	16	14	6	-25.0	-62.5
Trelawny	20	1	0	12	35	23	11	-45.0	-68.6
Westmoreland	7	18	15	7	6	5	4	-42.9	-33.3
Total	189	176	113	269	302	268	192	-1.6	-36.4

Data provided by the Jamaica Constabulary Force Statistics and Information Management Unit

Trelawny's significant reduction in victimization rates seen over the three-year period triggered an internal review and quality check of the collection and analysis process during which we identified another plausible explanation for the findings. The enumeration districts sampled in the rural areas of the parish were particularly more remote and secluded than the ones selected in previous waves of the survey, which could suggest that different situational factors could be in effect. Underscoring this point, data collectors for the parish noted in their reports the noticeable difference in praedial larceny compared with other crimes and when they asked community members why this was the case several reasons were proffered including the strong sense of community within these areas, the fact that most people were involved in growing the same crops, and the willingness to share food with neighbours rather than have them steal in order to survive.

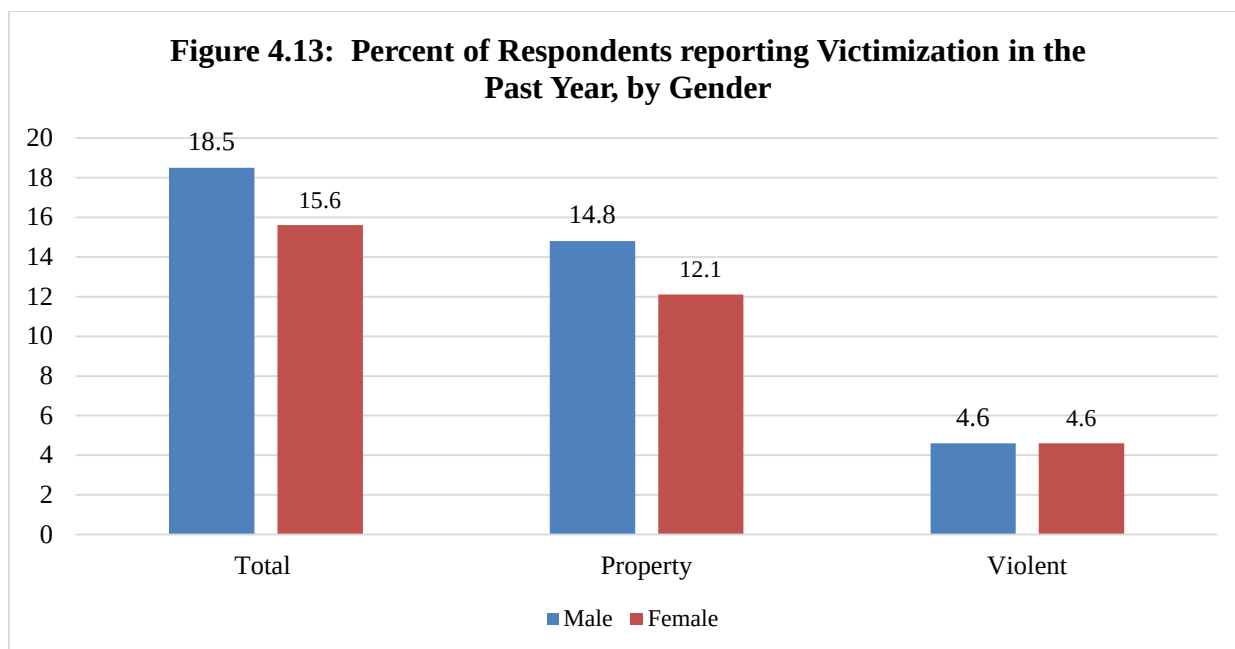
Figure 4.12 also explores this point of differential risks of criminal victimization based on the area within the respondent's parish that they reside. When we compare victimization levels for rural areas between 2013 and 2016 we see declines for both property and violent crime victimization. At the same time, the differences between urban and rural area recent victimization rates in 2016 are not as pronounced as they were in 2013, which suggests that these differences may be eroding as we progress forward in time. Overall, these findings highlight that there are different narratives at play in understanding victimization in Jamaica and care must be taken when interpreting findings and planning interventions in order to appreciate the nuances that may exist at the parish and sub-parish levels.



Victimization by Gender

Comparing how men and women experienced recent criminal victimization we see both differences and similarities (see Figure 4.13). Nearly one in five male respondents (18.5%) attested to being the victim of a crime in the past year, with 14.8% of males reporting a property crime incident and 4.6% relating a case of violent victimization. Women on the other hand experienced victimization at lower rates overall (15.6%) as well as for property crimes (12.1%). These disparities are also in line with previous survey estimates of gender differences in victimization. Similarly, in keeping with the 2013 survey finding on the issue, male and female respondents were equally exposed to violent victimization in the 2016 study, with almost one in twenty respondents (4.6%) reporting violent victimization regardless of gender.

Why would men and women be similarly affected by violent victimization? Perhaps the finding represents an increasing predilection of women to become involved in interpersonal conflicts or, conversely, that men are reducing their risk factors for victimization. The latter possibility is plausible given that these estimates are both below the previous estimates for both men and women.



In Table 4.8 we note many similarities in victimization rates for specific crimes by gender. Men and women were victimized at almost identical rates for 10 of the 21 crime types included in the study. At the same time, whereas men were more likely to be victims of theft from vehicles, threats with weapons, theft, and armed assaults, women were more likely to be victims of burglary, attempted burglary, break-ins, and unarmed robbery. Without knowing more about the specifics of each crime type it would be difficult to explain the variations seen in the study so the question of the equal levels of violent victimization remains open.

Table 4.8: Percent of Respondents Who Have Experienced Various Types of Criminal Victimization in the Past Year, by Gender

Type of Victimization	Male (%)	Female (%)
Motor Vehicle Theft	1.2	1.0
Theft from Vehicles	1.6	0.7
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	1.2	0.8
Burglary	1.1	1.7
Attempted Burglary	0.4	0.7
Break-in	0.9	1.2
Attempted Break-in	0.7	0.5
Robbery (at gunpoint)	0.7	0.5

Robbery (without a gun)	0.2	1.0
Larceny/Theft	2.7	2.2
Praedial Larceny	6.1	3.3
Vandalism	0.9	0.8
Threats (with a weapon)	1.3	0.8
Threats (without a weapon)	1.8	1.6
Assaults (with a weapon)	0.7	0.4
Assaults (without a weapon)	0.4	0.4
Sexual Assault and Rape	0.1	0.2
Kidnapping	0.0	0.1
Arson	0.3	0.3
Fraud	0.2	0.5
Extortion	0.2	0.3
Sample	1,602	1,878

Victimization by Age Group

Another important demographic to use in examining victimization rates is the age group. Conventional wisdom holds that victimization rates vary along the life cycle and one should anticipate younger persons to have higher levels of victimization compared to their older counterparts. The survey data seems to challenge this convention to some extent as teenage respondents had exactly the same rate of victimization as senior citizen respondents (17.3%). Indeed, the L-shaped curve we would expect to typify this relationship is replaced by a relatively flat and even trend line with a relatively narrow range in victimization rates from 15.1% to 19.0% (see Figure 4.14). We are not sure what might explain this variation but as an added step we can further disaggregate victimization into sub-groups and crime types to identify potential reasons for this finding.

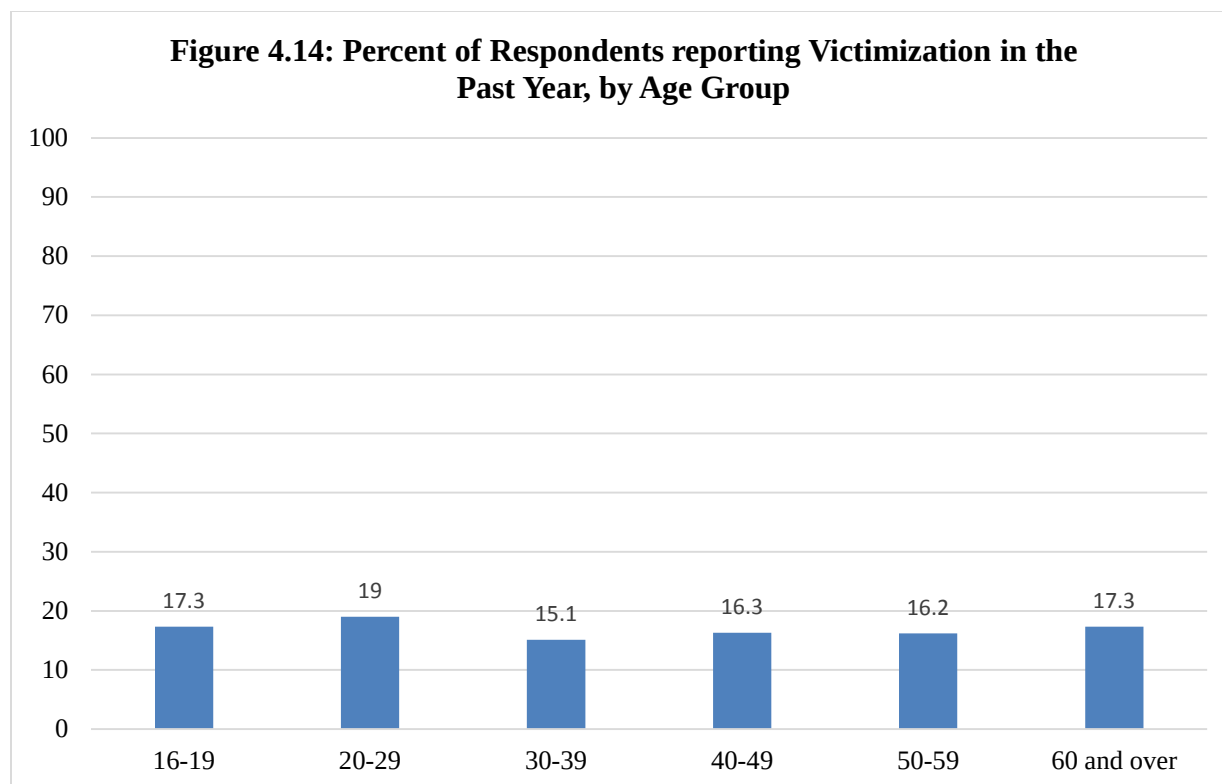
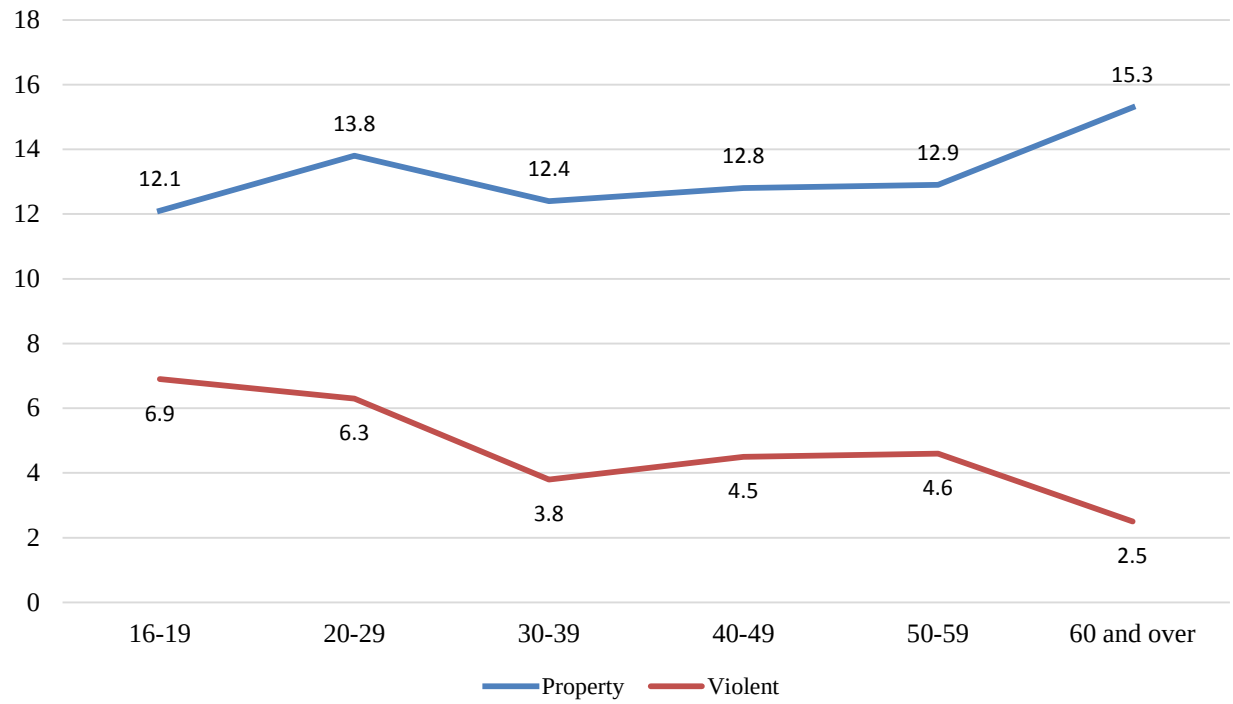


Figure 4.15 illustrates the different trends taken by property and violent crime victimization over the life cycle. As earlier findings suggest, property crimes victimization is higher than violent crime victimization and this is consistent over the different age ranges. Yet the disparity between the two crime types is lowest for youths and highest for senior citizens, which suggests that violent crime rates are relatively higher for young persons (6.9% to 2.5%) while property crimes are often targeted at the oldest segments of society (15.3% versus 12.1%).

These estimates are in keeping with conventional wisdom and numerous criminological theories could frame this dynamic including the attractiveness of older persons for property crime victimization given their relatively higher wealth shares as well as younger persons being more disposed towards violence and at risk of victimization due to their exposure to more criminogenic situations. Indeed, when we examine specific crime types we find that the probability of being a victim to acquisitive crimes like extortion, fraud and burglary increase with age while other less acquisitive property crimes such as arson and vandalism do not (See Table 4.9).

Figure 4.15: Percent of Respondents reporting Property and Violent Crime Victimization in the Past Year, by Age Group



**Table 4.9: Percent of Respondents Who Have Experienced
Various Types of Criminal Victimization in the Past Year, by Age**

Type of Victimization	AGE											
	16-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60-64	65-69	>69
Car Theft	0.9	1.1	2.6	0.5	1.9	1.2	1.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.4
Theft from Vehicles	1.7	0.5	2.1	0.9	1.9	0.9	1.0	1.7	0.5	0.5	1.3	0.0
Bike/Motorcycle Theft	1.7	1.6	1.6	0.9	1.0	1.5	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.0
Burglary	1.3	0.8	1.8	1.8	2.3	0.9	0.3	2.4	1.1	1.5	1.3	0.0
Attempted Burglary	0.0	0.3	0.8	0.7	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.2
Break-in	0.9	1.6	0.8	0.2	0.6	0.9	2.4	0.3	1.6	0.5	0.7	3.1
Attempted Break-in	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.9	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.5	1.3	1.5
Robbery (at gunpoint)	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Robbery (without a gun)	1.7	1.8	1.0	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.4
Larceny/Theft	3.5	3.7	2.4	1.8	1.6	2.2	2.7	3.1	1.1	2.0	2.0	2.7
Praedial Larceny	3.0	2.9	3.7	2.1	4.5	3.7	3.7	7.2	2.6	9.1	7.2	9.3
Vandalism	0.4	1.1	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.3	1.0	0.7	1.1	0.5	2.0	0.0
Threats (with a weapon)	0.9	1.3	1.8	0.7	0.3	2.2	0.7	0.7	0.0	1.5	2.0	0.0
Threats (without a weapon)	1.7	3.2	2.1	1.6	0.6	1.2	1.7	2.7	2.1	1.5	0.0	0.4
Assaults (with a weapon)	0.9	0.3	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
Assaults (without weapon)	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0
Sexual Assault	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Kidnapping	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Arson	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.0
Fraud	0.4	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.6	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0
Extortion	0.9	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

PART FIVE

DETAILS OF RECENT VICTIMIZATION EXPERIENCES

This section documents the experiences of respondents who experienced an incident of criminal victimization in the past twelve months and completed a “Crime Incident Report.” The Crime Incident Report (CIR) gathered detailed information on victimization including: 1) The time and location of the incident; 2) The number of offenders; 3) The age and gender of offenders; 4) The nature of the victim-offender relationship; 5) The extent of financial loss; 6) The use of weapons; 7) Personal injuries; 8) Whether the incident was reported to the police; 9) Satisfaction with the police response; 10) Reasons for not reporting the crime to the police; and 11) The impact of the incident on the victim. Overall, we see distinct changes in the descriptive features of criminal victimization which suggests that the dynamics determining the risk of victimization are evolving. The profiles of both victims and offenders have updated since the most recent survey, warranting a fulsome discussion on the proper targeting of crime prevention and violence reduction initiatives.

Victim Sample Descriptives

Overall, the survey found 616 unique incidents of victimization took place in the 12 months leading up to data collection. These 616 incidents were reported by 530 respondents, which represent an average of 1.16 incidents per respondent. This figure is down slightly from the 2013 survey estimate of 1.28 incidents per respondent, which affirms the finding in the previous section that not only have victimization rates declined over the three-year period but the rate of repeat victimization has declined as well. Three out of four victims (75.6%) reported only one type of victimization experience in the past year while nearly one in five victims (18.7%) reported two incidents, and one in twenty victims (5.7%) reported experiencing three or more victimization incidents in the past year.

As Table 5.1 depicts, almost three in ten respondents (28.8%) were the victims of theft¹⁰, the most common type of crime occurrence in the sample. One in four respondents (25.2%) were the victims of praedial larceny while the third and fourth most common types of criminal victimization, burglary and threats, occurred in 17.8% and 11.1% of the cases, respectively. All other crime types fall below the 10% level, which illustrates the prominence of property crimes in the analysis of criminal victimization in the Jamaican context.

In comparison to the previous survey findings, we see some noteworthy shifts. Theft has moved from the second most common form of victimization in 2013 to now overtake praedial larceny. In addition, praedial larceny has declined in both frequency (178) and share (28.8%) from its 2013 levels (350 and 31.7%). Our findings also reveal that fraud/extortion has declined from 31 cases representing 2.8% of victimization incidents in 2013 to 11 cases and 1.8% of the current sample.

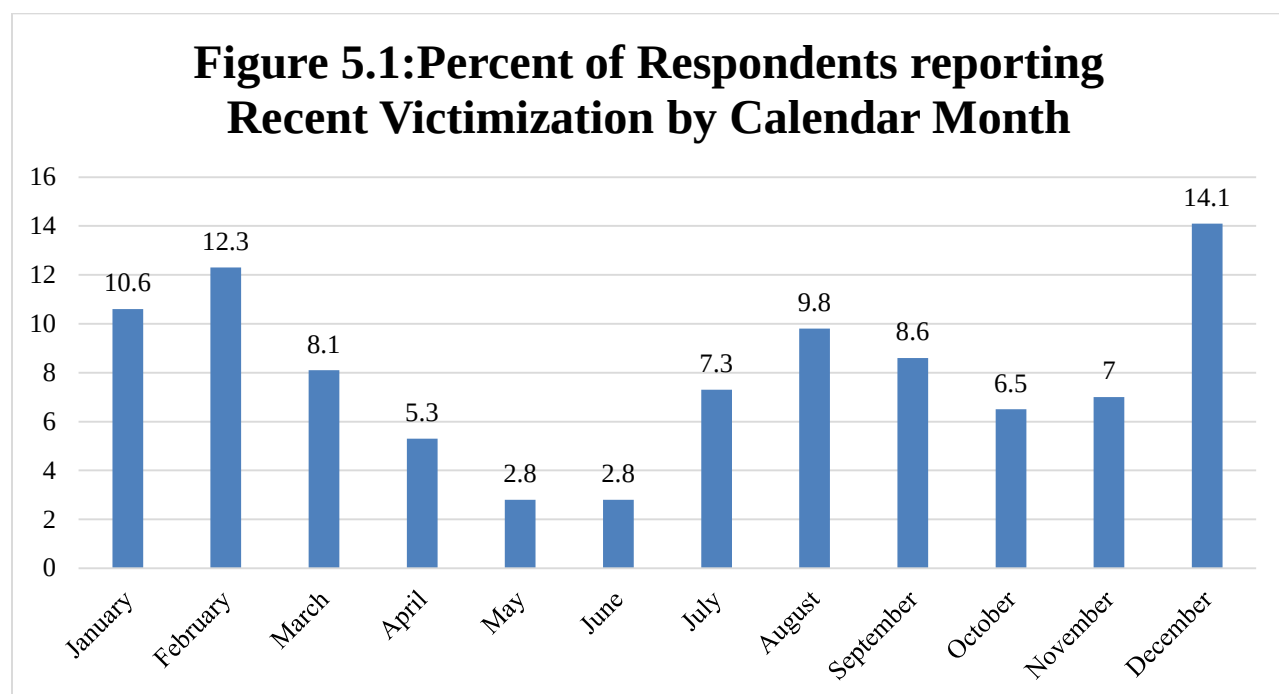
**Table 5.1: Total Number of Victimization Incidents Documented by
Crime Incident Reports**

Crime Type	Frequency	(%)
Theft	176	28.8
Praedial Larceny	154	25.2
Burglary	109	17.8
Vandalism	20	3.3
Robbery	44	7.2
Threats	68	11.1
Assaults	25	4.1
Sexual Assaults	3	0.5
Fraud/Extortion	11	1.8
Other	1	0.2

¹⁰ In order to streamline the analysis, the original twenty one types of victimization were collapsed into the following categories: 1) Theft (includes motor vehicle theft, theft from a motor vehicle, bike theft and larceny); 2) Praedial larceny; 3) Burglary (includes burglary, attempted burglary, break-ins and attempted break-ins); 4) Vandalism/Property damage (includes arson); 5) Robbery (includes robbery with and without a gun); 6) Threats (includes threats with and without a n); 7) Physical Assaults (includes assaults with and without a weapon); 8) Sexual Assault; 9) Fraud/Extortion which also includes reported kidnapping); and 10) Other.

Time of Year

Respondents were first asked to recall the month in which each victimization incident took place. According to the data, victimization is more likely to occur in the opening and closing months of the year. December (14.1%) was the month where victimization was more common, followed by February (12.3%) and January (10.6%) (see Figure 5.1). On the other hand, the months of April (2.8%) and May (2.8%) were conspicuously low periods for victimization, and are well below the monthly average of 7.9% per month. An explanation of this pattern is beyond the scope of analysis of this survey, however, further examination of this finding should be done to determine the situational factors that may contribute to the risk of victimization in particular months of the year.



In keeping with the analysis in the 2013 survey, the 12 months of the year were collapsed into four quarterly periods: 1) Quarter 1 (January, February and March); 2) Quarter 2 (April, May and June); 3) Quarter 3 (July, August and September); and Quarter 4 (October, November and December). Table 5.2 presents the proportion of victimization experiences that took place during each quarter by crime type. The data suggest that, in general, criminal

victimization over the past year was more likely to occur during the fourth and first Quarters. This general pattern exists for most types of victimization including theft, praedial larceny, burglary, vandalism and assaults.

Table 5.2: Percent of Criminal Victimization Incidents that Occurred within Specific Calendar Periods, by Crime Type

Crime Type	First Quarter	Second Quarter	Third Quarter	Fourth Quarter
Theft	32.2	15.7	26.9	24.4
Praedial Larceny	35.2	9.9	21.1	33.8
Burglary	28.0	11.6	35.3	25.1
Vandalism	13.7	20.0	23.7	42.8
Robbery	26.7	6.5	35.8	31.0
Threat	37.8	5.3	24.6	32.4
Physical Assault	31.9	27.3	27.3	13.7
Sexual Assault	66.7	0.0	33.3	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	36.7	5.6	12.2	45.6
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0

Days of the Week

Respondents were also asked to recall the day of the week on which each victimization incident took place. If the respondent could not identify the specific day of the week, They were then asked if the crime took place on a weekday or on the weekend (see Table 5.3). Overall, the data suggest that victimization incidents were most likely to take place on Saturdays (14.1%) and Fridays (10.1%). By contrast, they were least likely to occur on Mondays (3.2%) and Tuesdays (5.0%).

Approximately three in ten criminal incidents (30.7%) took place on the weekend. However, 10.6% of all respondents could not remember the day of the week on which their most recent victimization occurred. Table 5.4 presents the proportion of all criminal victimization experiences that took place on weekdays or weekends – by type of crime.

In general, property crimes, including theft, burglary and praedial larceny, are significantly more likely to occur during the week than on the weekend. This pattern may reflect the fact that many people go to work or school during the week and subsequently leave their properties unprotected. The data further suggest that robberies and assaults are slightly more likely to occur on the weekend, particularly on weekend evenings. This pattern may also be reflective of the fact that people are more likely to be out late at night on the weekend than during the week, and thus become the target of predatory criminals. However, other violent crimes, including threats, tend to be more evenly distributed throughout the week. This finding suggests that personal disputes may erupt at any point during the week.

**Table 5.3: Percent of All Victimization Incidents that occurred
on Specific Days of the Week**

Day of the Week	Frequency	(%)
Monday	19	3.2
Tuesday	30	5
Wednesday	41	6.8
Thursday	36	6
Friday	61	10.1
Saturday	85	14.1
Sunday	39	6.5
Weekend	89	14.8
Weekday	138	22.9
Don't know	64	10.6
Refused	1	0.2

**Table 5.4: Percent of All Victimization Incidents that took Place during the Week
or on the Weekend, by Type of Crime**

Crime Type	Weekday	Weekend	Can't Remember
Theft	48.8	42.4	8.7
Praedial Larceny	58.9	27.2	13.9
Burglary	50.9	37.0	12.0
Vandalism/Property Damage	50.0	35.0	15.0
Robbery	58.1	37.2	4.7
Threat	56.9	33.8	9.2
Physical Assault	52.2	39.1	8.7
Sexual Assault	66.7	33.3	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	72.7	9.1	18.2
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0

Time of the Day

Respondents were also asked what time of the day each victimization incident took place. Almost one in ten respondents (8.4%) either did not know or could not recall the exact time of day that the crime occurred (see Table 5.5). Not knowing is particularly common for certain types of property crime, including burglary, in which the victim was not present when the offence occurred. Overall, the data suggest that crimes in Jamaica are less likely to occur in the late morning, between 8:00 and noon, than during other times of the day. Indeed, only 8.3% of all reported victimization incidents took place during this time of day. By contrast, crimes are most likely to occur during the late evening, in the few hours leading up to midnight. For example, 18.2% of all victimization incidents took place during this period.

Table 5.6 presents data on the timing of victimization incidents by crime type. Morning refers to the period between 4:00 am and noon. Afternoon refers to the period between noon and 6:00 pm. Evening refers to the time between 6:00 pm and 9:00 pm. Finally, late night refers to the period between 9:00 pm and 4:00 am. The findings suggest that the majority of property crimes either took place during the day (morning or afternoon) or that the respondent does not

know when the crime took place. Previous research suggests that property crime is most likely to occur when victims are absent and thus unable to protect their property. Thus, burglaries and break-ins often occur during the daylight hours when people are at home or school. Unlike property offences, the majority of robberies (67.3%) and sexual assaults (100.0%) took place after dark (i.e., between 6 pm and 4:00 am). Interestingly, other types of violence, including threats and assaults, are more likely to occur in the afternoon (noon to 6:00 pm) than at night.

**Table 5.5: Per cent of All Victimization Incidents that
Occurred at Particular Times of the Day**

Time of Day	Frequency	(%)
Early morning (4:00 a.m. – 7:59 a.m.)	65	10.8
Late morning (8:00 a.m. – 11:59 a.m.)	50	8.3
Early afternoon (noon – 2:59 p.m.)	69	11.4
Later afternoon (3:00 p.m. – 5:59 p.m.)	84	13.9
Early evening (6:00 p.m. - 8:59 p.m.)	98	16.2
Late evening (9:00 p.m. – 11:59 p.m.)	110	18.2
After midnight (midnight – 3:59 a.m.)	76	12.6
Don't know	51	8.4
Refused	1	0.2
Total	604	100

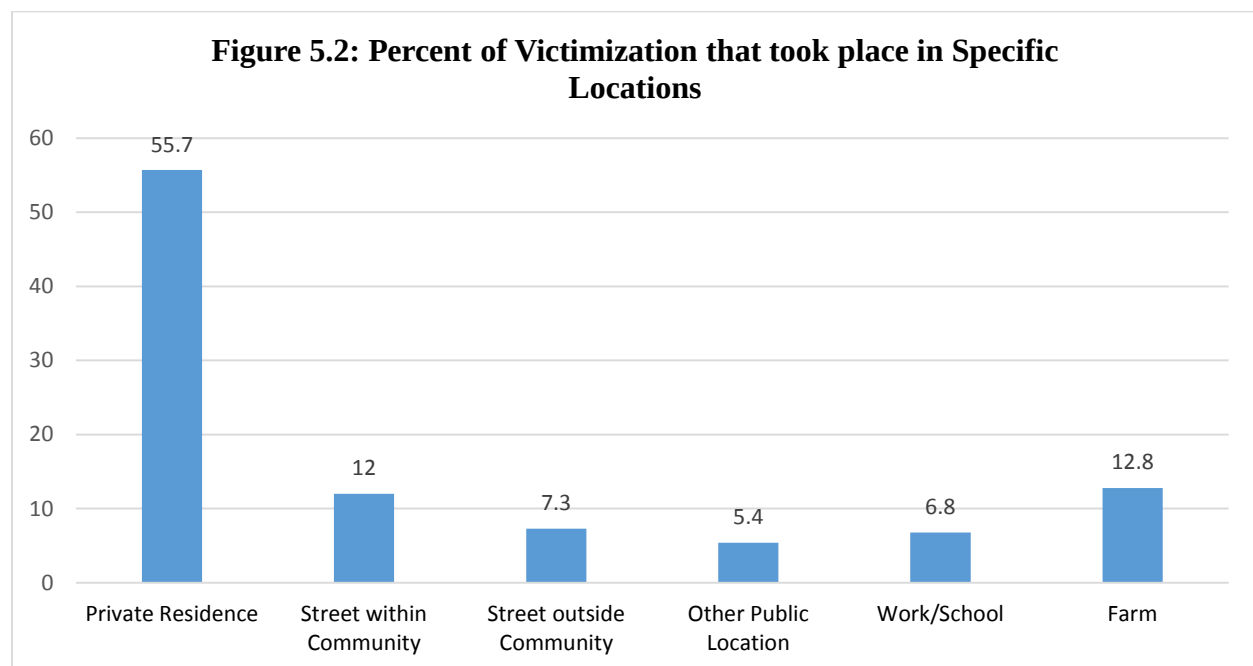
**Table 5.6: Percent of All Victimization Incidents that
Occurred at Particular Times of the Day, by Crime Type**

Crime Type	Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Late Evening	Don't Know
Theft	17.2	24.1	19.0	35.1	4.0
Praedial Larceny	25.3	16.7	10.0	27.3	20.7
Burglary	15.8	26.9	6.5	40.7	10.2
Vandalism	15.0	15.0	30.0	35.0	5.0
Robbery	9.3	23.3	30.2	37.3	0.0
Threat	23.9	50.8	16.4	9.0	0.0
Physical Assault	17.3	8.7	39.1	30.4	4.3
Sexual Assault	0.0	0.0	66.7	33.3	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	30.0	50.0	0.0	20.0	0.0
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	19.2	25.2	16.0	30.9	8.5

Location of Victimization

Research suggests that people typically are more fearful of public spaces outside of their own community than private spaces or the streets within their own neighbourhoods. Similar to the 2013 finding, the majority of recent victimization experiences (55.7%) reported by respondents took place in private locations (i.e., the respondents' own homes or the homes of family members or friends). An additional 12.8% took place on the respondents' own farms or agricultural properties and 12.0% took place on the streets within the respondents' own communities. By contrast, only 7.3% of all victimization incidents took place on the streets outside of the respondents' own neighbourhoods, 6.8% took place at work or school and 5.4% took place in other public locations (bars, markets, public parks, beaches, public transit, etc.) (see Figure 5.2).

Crime locations, however, vary significantly by crime type (see Table 5.7). For example, almost all cases of burglary (95.3%) and half the cases of theft (54.7%) took place at the respondents' own residences. By contrast, half of all robberies (52.2%) took place on the streets either within (22.9%) or outside (29.3%) the respondents' own communities.



**Table 5.7: Percent of Victimization Incidents that took Place at
Specific Locations, by Type of Crime**

Crime Type	Private Residence	Street inside Community	Street outside Community	School/ Work	Public Place	Farm
Theft	54.7	10.6	12.4	7.1	14.1	1.2
Praedial Larceny	44.6	7.4	0.7	0.7	0.0	46.6
Burglary	95.3	0	0	2.8	0	1.9
Vandalism	70.0	10.0	5.0	0.0	10.0	5.0
Robbery	29.3	22.0	29.3	4.9	14.6	0.0
Threat	40.0	33.8	6.2	10.8	6.2	3.1
Physical Assault	43.5	17.4	13.0	17.4	8.7	0.0
Sexual Assault	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.00	0.0	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	60.0	0.0	0.0	20.00	20.0	0.0

Number of Offenders

Respondents were asked to identify the number of offenders involved in each victimization incident (see Table 5.8). In the majority of cases the respondents simply claimed that they never saw the offenders and were thus unsure about their numbers. This is particularly true for certain property crimes including praedial larceny (76.4%), burglary (67.0%) and theft (64.3%). Respondents were, however, able to identify the number of offenders for most violent, interpersonal crimes. According to the data, the vast majority of rapes (100%) and physical assaults (83.3%) involved only one offender. In fact, robbery is the only type of violent crime that usually involves multiple offenders. Only 25.6% of robberies involved a single offender. By contrast, 51.2% of robberies involved two or more assailants and almost one in six (16.3%) involved three or more offenders. The finding that extortion or fraud (18.2%) and robbery (16.3) had three or more offenders involved suggests that these crime types are likely to be orchestrated by criminal gang enterprises.

Table 5.8: Number of Offenders, by Type of Crime

Crime Type	One Offender	Two Offenders	Three or More Offenders	Did not see Offender
Theft	21.8	11.2	3.5	63.5
Praedial Larceny	11.5	6.1	6.1	76.4
Burglary	19.8	9.4	3.8	67.0
Vandalism/Property Damage	21.1	21.1	10.5	47.4
Robbery	25.6	51.2	16.3	7.0
Threat	75.0	13.2	11.8	0.0
Physical Assault	83.3	8.3	4.2	4.2
Sexual Assault	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	45.5	0.0	18.2	36.4
Other	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0

Gender of Offenders

When respondents could identify the gender of the offender(s) they were much more likely to report that the offender was male than female (see Table 5.9). Overall, 86.9% of identified offenders were male. By contrast, only 8.2% of identified offenders were female and an additional 4.9% of victimization incidents involved both male and female offenders. Males represent the vast majority of offenders, over 75%, for each type of crime. Female offenders were most likely to be involved in cases of assault (14.5%), fraud (13.8%), physical assault (11.2%), threats (10.9%), and theft (10.0%). Female offenders were involved in 1.8% of robberies, and there were no reported cases of female offenders being involved in sexual assaults.

Table 5.9: Gender of Offenders, by Type of Crime

Crime Type	Male	Female	Both male and female	Don't know
Theft	77.9	10.3	0.0	11.8
Praedial Larceny	89.2	2.7	0.0	8.1
Burglary	80.5	0.0	0.0	19.5
Vandalism/Property Damage	90.9	0.0	0.0	9.1
Robbery	84.6	5.1	7.7	2.6
Threat	83.8	14.7	1.5	0.0
Physical Assault	82.6	13.0	0.0	4.3
Sexual Assault	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	85.7	14.3	0.0	0.0
Other	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Age of the Offenders

An analysis of this data suggests that the vast majority of crimes in the society (over 70%) have been committed by young adults (18-39 years of age). Overall, 39.4% of respondents claimed that the offender or offenders were between 25 and 39 years of age and an additional 33.1% stated that the offenders were between 18 and 24 years. By contrast, only 20% of offenders were said to be 40 years of age or older and only 6.7% were identified as 17 years of age or younger. This general pattern of offending exists across crime types. For example, seven out of every ten assault offenders (70.3%) were between 18 and 39 years of age. A total of 4.7% were 17 years of age or younger, and 25.0% were 40 years of age or older. Similarly, a total of 92.4% of all robbery offenders were either 18-24 years of age (52.8%) or 25-39 years-old (39.6%). Our findings reveal that 5.7% of all robbery offenders were younger than 18 years, and 1.9% were 40 years of age or older.

Table 5.10: Age of Offenders, by Type of Crime

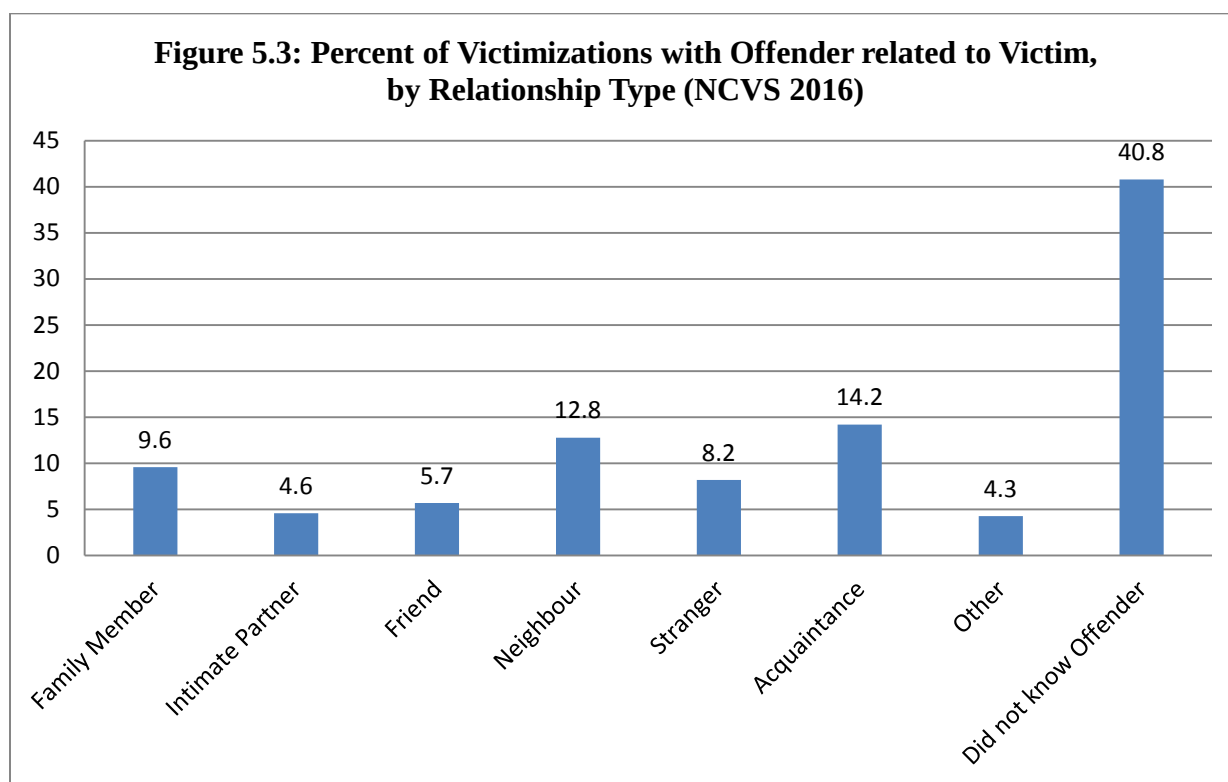
Crime Type	17 years or less	18 to 29 years	30 to 49 years	50 years and over	Don't Know
Theft	9.1	39.4	28.8	3.0	19.7
Praedial Larceny	5.4	32.4	40.5	10.8	10.8
Burglary	14.3	26.2	9.5	11.9	38.1
Vandalism	25.0	0.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Robbery	0.0	53.7	31.7	0.0	14.6
Threat	6.1	24.2	42.4	21.2	6.1
Physical Assault	0.0	8.7	56.5	30.4	4.3
Sexual Assault	0.0	33.3	66.7	0.0	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	14.3	14.3	28.6	28.6	14.3
Other	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Victim-Offender Relationship

Respondents were asked if they knew their offender(s) prior to the incident taking place. Of the 296 victims that actually saw their offender(s), almost half of that number (46.3%) knew their offender(s) previously. Furthermore, in the instances of multiple offenders being involved in the crime, an additional 6.1% of respondents knew some but not all of the offenders. On the other hand, approximately two out of five respondents (40.8%) did not know their offenders and in 13 incidents (4.4%) the respondents were unable to give a definitive response either way. Certain situational factors were associated with whether the victim claimed to know the offender(s) in each case. With regards to parishes for example, victims from Trelawny (100%), St. Elizabeth (100%) and St. Thomas (84.2%) were the most likely to say they knew their offender(s) while victims from St. Andrew (76.2%), Hanover (64.3%) and St. Catherine (61.0%) were the most likely to say they did not. Knowing the offender(s) was also positively related to whether the victim lived in a rural area (55.6%) versus an urban area (42.5%) and whether the event took place in the individual's regular environs of their work (68.4%) or farm (63.2%) rather than in a public venue (11.1%) or on the streets outside their community (16.7%).

The survey also asked respondents who knew the offender(s) to describe the nature of their relationship. Figure 5.3 depicts the different relationships reported by the victims. Offenders were more likely to be acquaintances (14.8%), neighbours (12.8%) and family

members (9.6%) of the victim. By contrast, friends (5.7%), intimate partners (4.6%) and other relations (4.3%) were the most unlikely culprits of victimization. These findings, coupled with the preceding analysis of location of victimization, suggest that roughly one in four criminal incidents arise from circumstances between people who are well acquainted, or, at the very least, do not typically involve strangers previously unknown to the victims. This is indicative of the need to focus added attention towards crime prevention initiatives within institutions and contexts normally considered to be outside the scope of public safety interventions, such as the home, schools and work places. While acknowledging the distinct approaches to managing cases of deviance within each of these domains, efforts that seek to strengthen the links between these environments with systematic approaches to crime prevention in the public domain may create added synergies towards reducing crime and violence in the society.



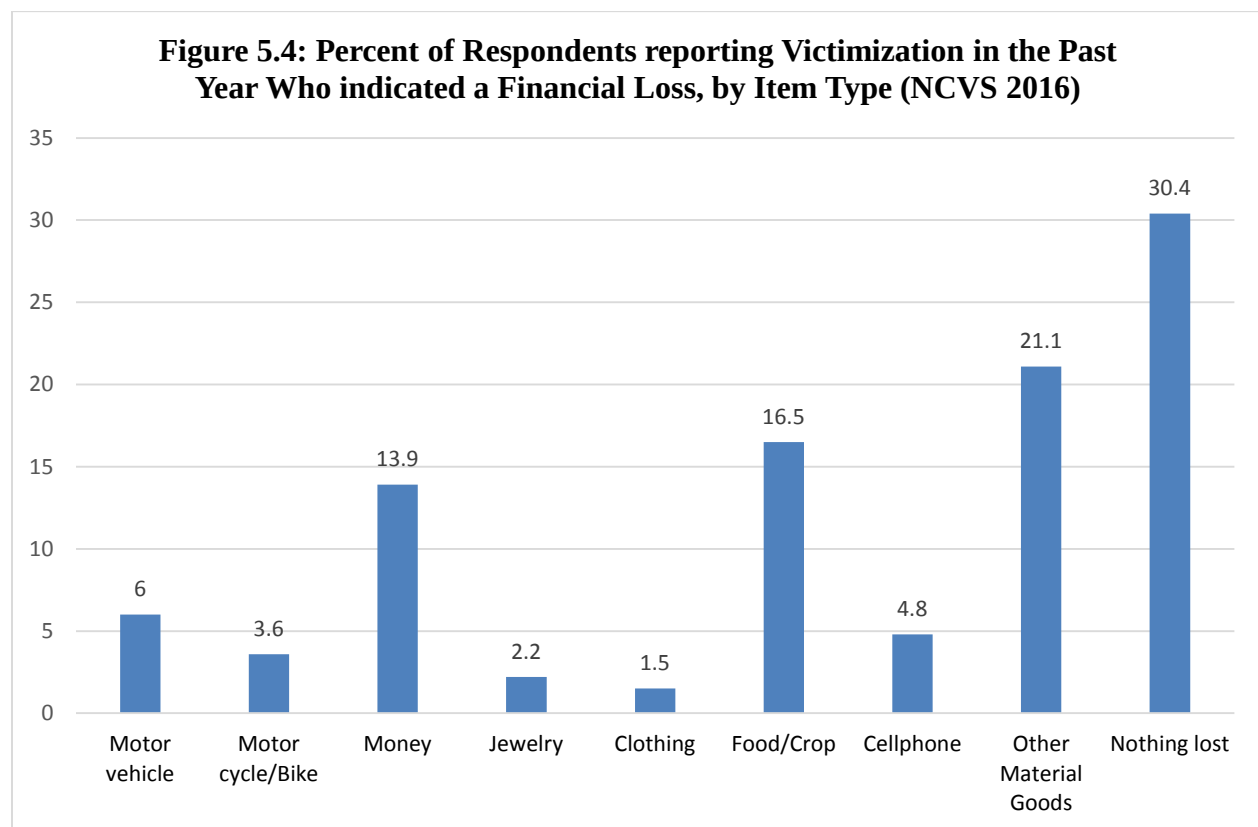
To further explore these findings, we disaggregated criminal victimization by specific crime types to examine the patterns of relationship between offender and victim for each crime. Table 5.11 shows real distinctions with certain offences more likely to be carried out by certain relationship types. In exactly half the cases of vandalism where an offender was known (50.0%), the offender was likely to be neighbour of the victim. Similarly, one in three cases (33.3%) of physical and sexual assault, where the offender could be identified, involved a family member. Conversely, intimate partners were never identified in instances of praedial larceny, burglary or fraud, and acquaintances were unlikely to be the culprit in incidents of vandalism, robbery, physical assault and sexual assault. These findings indicate that victims of physical violence were more likely to have been victimized by family members and intimate partners than by other persons known to them.

Table 5.11: Percent of Incidents reported to the Police, by Relationship and Type of Crime (2016 NCVS)

Crime Type	Family Member	Intimate Partner	Friend	Neighbour	Stranger	Acquaintance	Other	Did not know offender
Theft	15.0	1.7	8.3	6.7	5.0	11.7	0.0	51.7
Praedial Larceny	0.0	0.0	2.8	16.7	11.1	19.4	8.3	41.7
Burglary	3.0	0.0	9.1	3.0	15.2	12.1	0.0	57.6
Vandalism	0.0	8.3	0.0	50.0	8.3	0.0	8.3	25.0
Robbery	2.5	2.5	0.0	0.0	10.0	0.0	10.0	75.0
Threat	9.2	7.7	6.2	24.6	3.1	27.7	6.2	15.4
Physical Assault	33.3	19.0	4.8	14.3	9.5	0.0	0.0	19.0
Sexual Assault	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3
Fraud/Extortion	28.6	0.0	14.3	0.0	28.6	14.3	0.0	14.3
Other	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Total	9.7	4.7	5.4	12.9	8.3	13.7	4.3	41.0

Financial Loss

Respondents were asked whether they incurred any financial losses as a result of each incident of victimization. In three out of ten incidents (30.4%) victims were not aware of any financial loss (see Figure 5.4), which represents a higher proportion than the 2013 survey estimate (26.7%) of victims reporting no financial losses. However, when financial losses were incurred they were most likely to involve the loss of other material goods (21.1%), food or crops (16.5%) or money (13.9%). The other material goods most mentioned by victims included livestock, construction materials and computer products. On the other hand, the loss of motor vehicles, motor bikes, clothing, jewelry and cell phones were each mentioned in less than 10% of the criminal victimization incidents.



Respondents were also asked to give an estimate of the cash value of their losses. No value estimates were reported for violent crimes but in approximately half of the property crime incidents (49.8%) the estimated value of losses was more than \$18,000 dollars (see Table 5.12). In nearly one in three incidents (32.0%) the estimated value of losses was between \$6,000 and \$18,000 dollars while the remainder of cases equally split between losses in the range of \$2,000 and \$6,000 (9.1%) and less than \$2,000 dollars (9.1%), respectively.

Table 5.12 also shows the estimated value of losses according to the type of property crime involved. On average, vandalism (63.6%) was the most likely crime to register losses of more than \$18,000 dollars followed by robbery (58.6%) and burglary (57.4%). On the other end of the spectrum, fraud (40.0%) and praedial larceny (15.4%) were the most likely crimes to incur costs of less than \$2,000. There is no single explanation for the pattern of findings for property crime losses since these could be related to the relative appeal of the property to predatory criminals, as well as being a simple reflection of a random snapshot of losses at a given time. Caution should also be taken when comparing these estimates with the previous survey estimates given the impact of inflation and the change in the real value of the Jamaican dollar over the time period.

Table 5.12: Estimated Financial Losses Associated with Reported Incidents of Criminal Victimization, by Type of Crime (2016 NCVS)

Property Crime Type	Less than \$2,000	\$2,001 to \$6,000	\$6,001 to \$18,000	More than \$18,000
Theft	4.7	11.2	34.6	49.5
Praedial Larceny	15.4	6.6	36.3	41.8
Burglary	7.4	11.1	24.1	57.4
Vandalism	0.0	18.2	18.2	63.6
Robbery	6.9	3.4	31.0	58.6
Fraud/Extortion	40.0	0.0	20.0	40.0
Total	9.1	9.1	32.0	49.8

The Use of Weapons

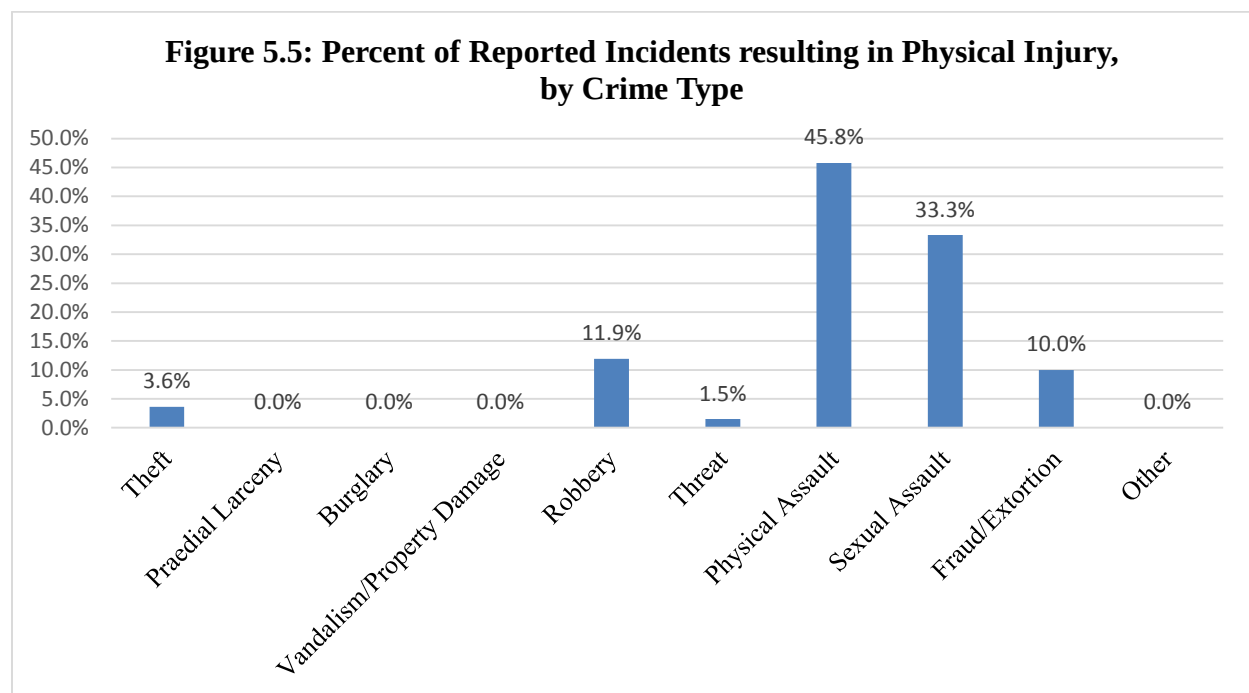
Victims described the presence and nature of weapons used in their criminal victimization. There were no weapons used in more than half the cases of victimization (56.0%) (see Table 5.13). In the cases where a weapon was brandished, it was more likely to be a knife or machete (19.5%) than a firearm (14.2%) or other offensive type weapon (10.3%). When we examine weapon use by crime type, we notice variations in the types of weapons used to commit crimes. In all cases of sexual assault (100.0%) a knife or machete was used by the offender(s) and in almost three out of every five robberies (57.5%) reported by victims a firearm was brandished by the offender(s). At the same time, weapons were most unlikely to be employed in cases of fraud or extortion (87.5%), theft (68.8%) and threats of violence (66.2%).

**Table 5.13: Percent of Incidents reported to the Police, by type of crime
(2016 NCVS)**

Crime Type	No Weapon Involved	Firearm	Knife or Machete	Other Offensive Weapon
Theft	68.8	7.3	8.3	15.6
Praedial Larceny	51.9	0.0	46.2	1.9
Burglary	60.5	18.4	10.5	10.5
Vandalism/Property Damage	38.5	7.7	15.4	38.5
Robbery	17.5	57.5	17.5	7.5
Threat	66.2	10.8	18.5	4.6
Physical Assault	45.8	12.5	25.0	16.7
Sexual Assault	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
Fraud/Extortion	87.5	0.0	12.5	0.0
Other	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	56.0	14.2	19.5	10.3

Physical Injury

Persons who were victimized described whether they were injured as a result of their victimization experience. Almost one in twenty respondents (4.5%) reported being physically injured or harmed due to their victimization experience, which is down slightly from the 2013 survey estimate (5.4%). Of these persons, almost half of the injuries took place during a physical assault (45.8%) and one-third of the reported injuries occurred during the course of a sexual assault. Physical injuries were not reported during cases of praedial larceny, burglary and vandalism.



Reporting Victimization to the Police

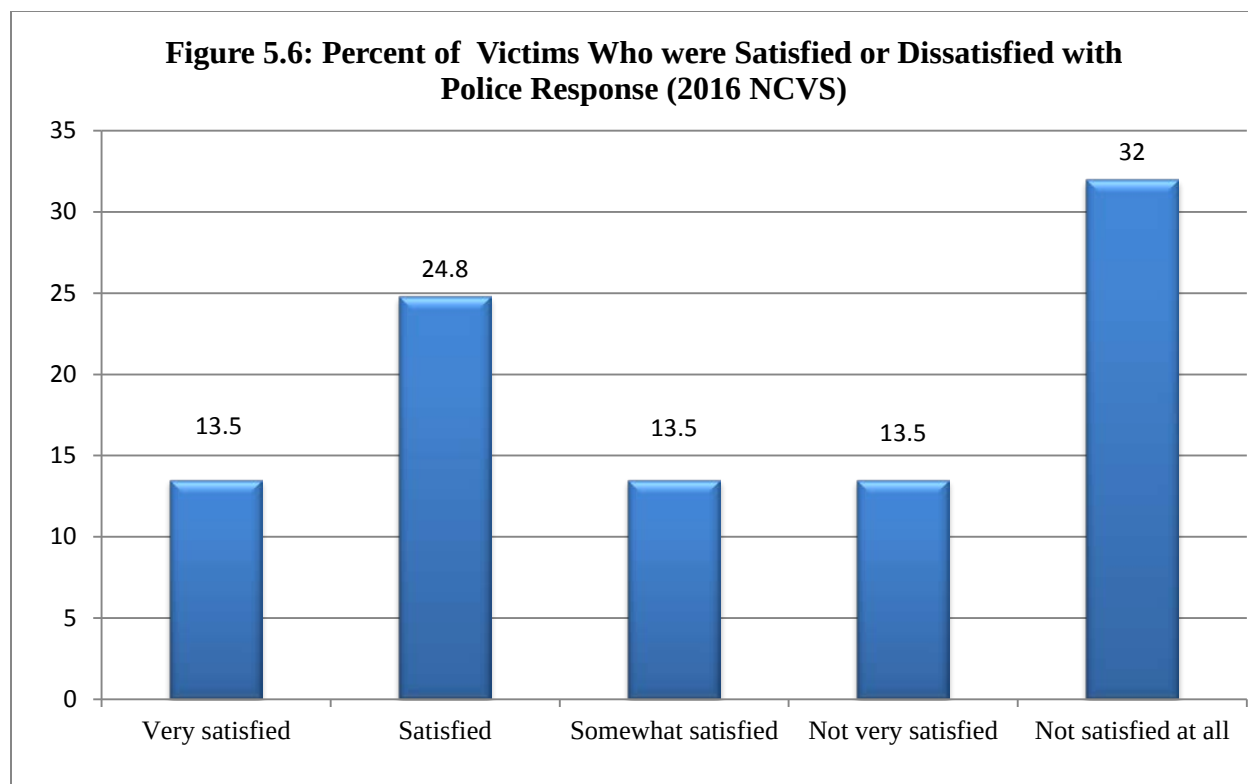
Victims were asked to indicate whether they reported the incident to the police. The results indicate that 40.5% of the incidents were reported to the police. When these results are disaggregated by the type of crime (Table 5.14) it was discovered that some types of crimes were more likely to be reported than others. The crimes most likely to be reported were those involving vandalism and property damage (78.9% of all such incidents were reported), burglary (51.9%) and robbery (50%). None of the sexual assaults documented during this survey were

reported to the police. Other under-reported crimes included praedial larceny (22%) and fraud/extortion (25%).

Table 5.14: Percent of Incidents reported to the Police, by Crime Type (2016 NCVS)

	Yes	No
Vandalism	78.9	21.1
Burglary	51.9	48.1
Robbery	50.0	50.0
Threats	45.5	54.5
Theft	44.7	55.3
Physical Assaults	37.5	62.5
Fraud/Extortion	25.0	75.0
Praedial larceny	22.0	78.0
Sexual Assault	0.0	100.0
Total	40.5	59.5

Crime victims were asked to indicate how satisfied they were with the actions of the police after they reported the incident (Figure 5.6). The results indicate that more persons are satisfied than dissatisfied with the actions of the police. More specifically, 13.5% indicated that they were very satisfied, 24.8% indicated that they were satisfied and 13.5% indicated that they were somewhat satisfied. However, a total of 45.5% indicated that they were either not very satisfied or not satisfied at all.



When level of satisfaction was disaggregated by type of police action (Table 5.15) it was found that any action, regardless of type, generated higher levels of satisfaction, while inaction by the police generally resulted in dissatisfaction. The highest satisfaction levels were generated when the police was able to arrest the offender. When this occurred, 90.3% of the victims expressed satisfaction at the outcome. When the police warned the offender or talked to the offender, these also generated high levels of satisfaction (82.9% and 81.1% of victims expressed satisfaction respectively).

Table 5.15: Percent of respondents who were satisfied with how the police dealt with their victimization incident, by type of action taken by the police

POLICE ACTIONS	Satisfied	Not satisfied
Came to the scene of the crime	65.4	33.5
Did not come to the scene of the crime	18.9	70.3
Talked to the victim in person	62.1	36.9
Did not talk to the victim in person	20.0	68.3
Talked to the victim on the phone	77.0	23.0
Did not talk to the victim on the phone	43.9	51.5
Conducted a full investigation	74.6	24.6
Did not conduct a full investigation	27.9	64.4
Talked to the offender	81.1	18.9
Did not talk to the offender	39.8	54.1
Warned the offender	82.9	17.1
Did not warn the offender	41.1	53.2
Arrested the offender	90.3	9.7
Did not arrest the offender	44.0	51.1

Reasons for Not Reporting Victimization Incidents to the Police

Respondents who did not talk to the police were asked to provide the reasons for not reporting. When asked what was their main reason for not reporting the incident to the police (Table 5.16) the most frequently cited reason was that the crime was not serious enough (cited as the reason in 11.9% of victimization incidents). This was followed by persons who indicated that they could deal with the matter themselves (9.7%), that the police could not do anything (8.9%) and that the police would not care (4.4%).

Table 5.16: Main reason for not reporting crime victimization to the police

Main reason for not reporting	Percent
Not serious enough	11.9
Can deal with it on my own	9.7
Police could not do anything	8.9
Police would not care	4.4
Someone else called / police knew	1.8
Afraid of offenders	1.6
Don't trust	1.1
Don't want publicity	1.1
Might get in trouble	1.0
To seek revenge	.8
Afraid of offender's family / friends	.6
To protect the offender	.5
Don't want to be a snitch / informer	.3
Don't trust the court	.2

Reporting Victimization to Others

Crime victims often seek support from people in their social networks, that is, from persons other than the police. Thus, all respondents who had experienced a recent victimization incident were asked if they had talked to anyone else, apart from the police, about the crime. Overall, 79.1% of all respondents talked to another person besides the police about their latest victimization experience. Only 20.9% of all victims kept the crime all to themselves. The majority of victims (46.1%) spoke to friends about the incident. In many instances victims also spoke to neighbours (30.7%), parents (20.5%), spouses (17.9%), siblings (20.3%), and children (19.2%).

Persons who did not speak to anyone were asked to indicate the reasons why. The most important reasons offered were that the victim could take care of themselves (given in 5.8% of incidents), that the incident was not a big deal (4.2%) and that they did not trust anyone (2.6%).

Revenge or Reprisals

All recent crime victims were asked whether they ever tried to get revenge on the person or take reprisal actions against the persons who committed this crime. According to the data, revenge was sought in only 19 of the 616 recent victimization incidents (3.1%). Of the persons who sought revenge, 17.4% indicated that they beat up the offender. Another 43.5% cursed the offender while 26.1% threatened the offender. Another 13% used other means of revenge. Only in 7 cases, or 1.1% of all incidents of victimization, did others assist the victim in seeking revenge.

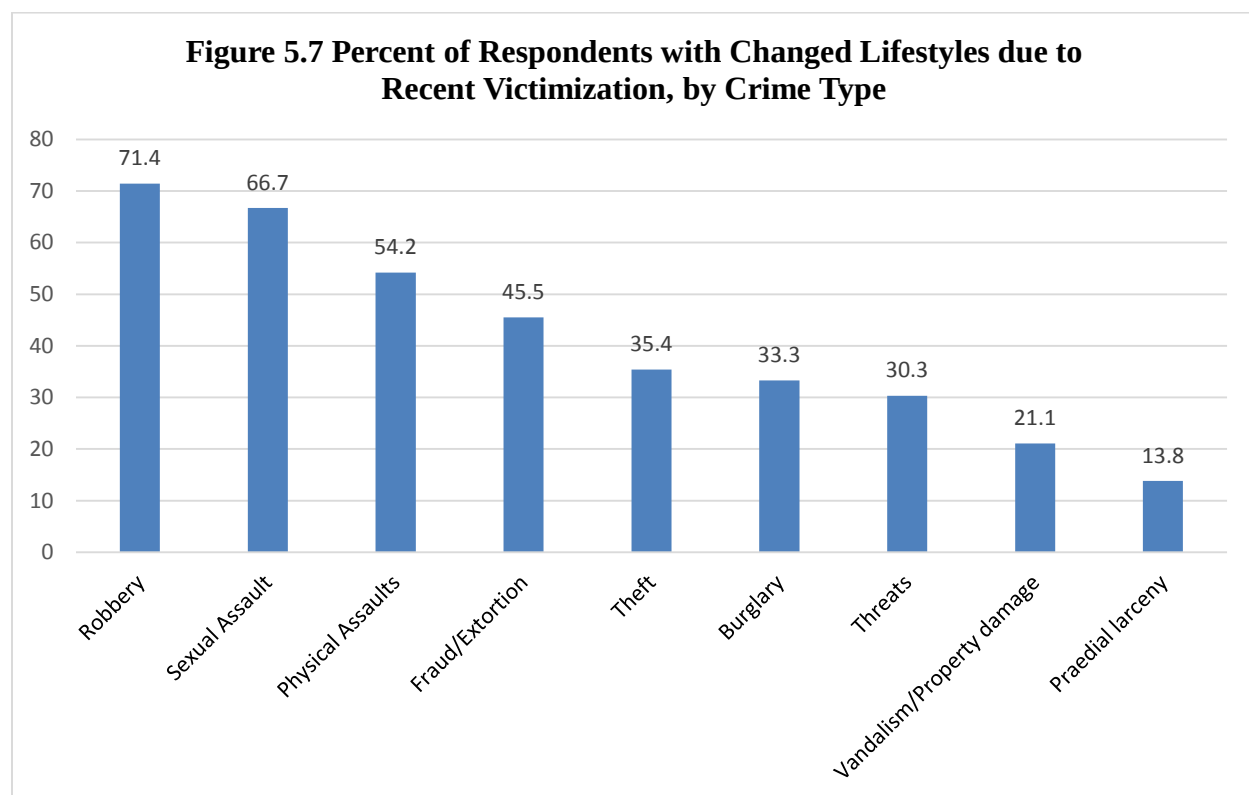
The Emotional Impact of Victimization

In an attempt to understand the impact of victimization on the lives of those victimized, all respondents who were victims of crime were asked to indicate how upset and how frightened they were as a result of the victimization incident (Table 5.17). In 76.3% of all incidents, the victims were upset or very upset while in 51.1% of all incidents they were frightened or very frightened. The crimes which made victims most upset were sexual assault (where 100% of victims were upset or very upset), fraud/extortion (91.7%), theft (80.1%) and vandalism/property damage (80%). Physical assaults and threats were the least upsetting to victims, but even in those categories more than sixty percent of victims reported that they were upset or very upset. The crime which caused the largest amount of fear was robbery where 81.8% of victims were frightened or very frightened after the incident. This was followed by vandalism/property damage (80%), fraud/extortion (75%) and sexual assault (66.7%).

Table 5.17: Percent of Respondents upset by their recent victimization, by Crime Type

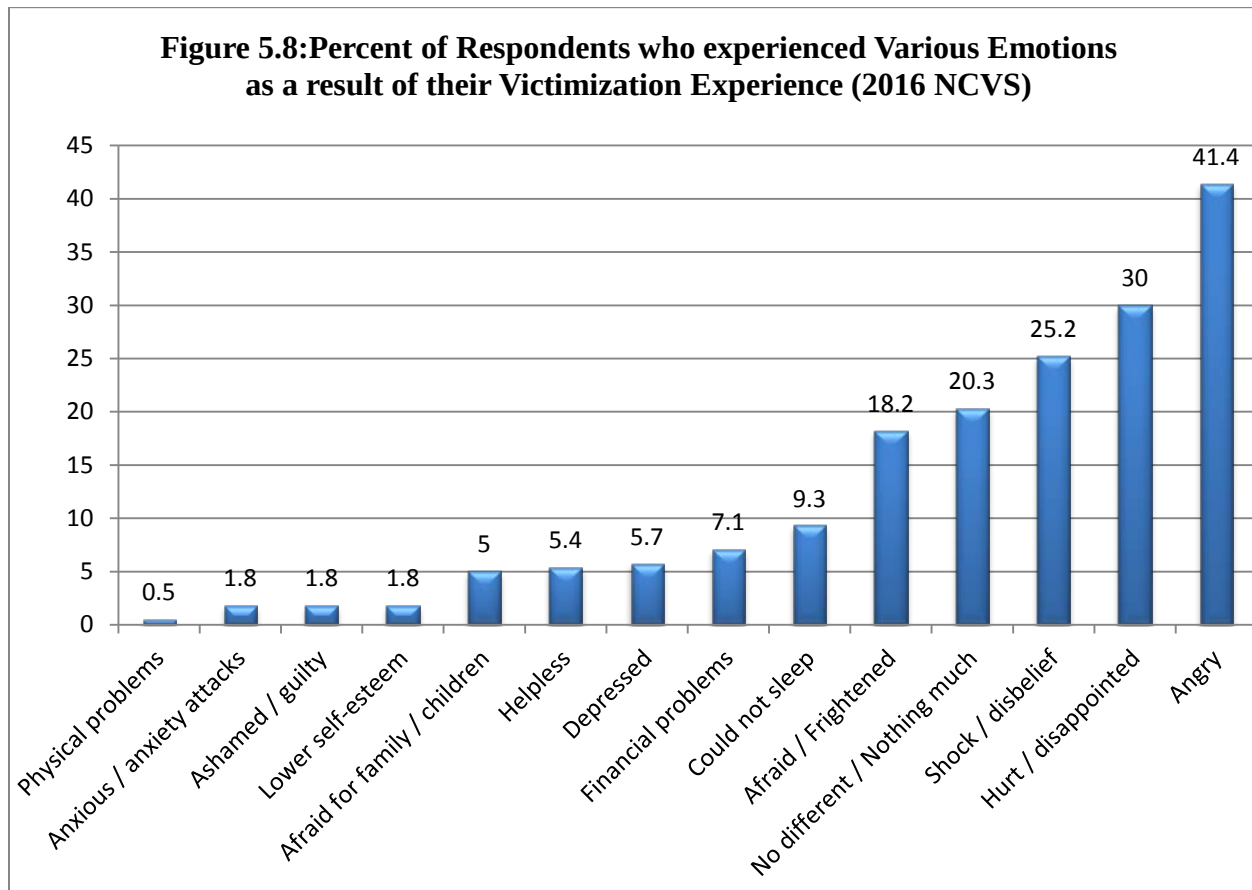
Crime Type	Upset or Very Upset	Frightened or Very Frightened
Robbery	79.5	81.8
Vandalism/Property damage	80.0	80.0
Fraud/Extortion	91.7	75.0
Sexual Assault	100.0	66.7
Burglary	75.2	56.0
Theft	80.1	54.5
Physical Assaults	64.0	44.0
Praedial larceny	77.9	38.3
Threats	64.7	35.3
TOTAL	76.3	51.1

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they changed the way they lived as a result of the victimization experience (Figure 5.7). The results indicate that 30.4% changed how they lived while 69.6% did not. The crime which had the most impact on respondents changing their lives was robbery. After experiencing this crime 71.4% of respondents changed some feature of their normal life. Sexual assault resulted in changes in the lives of 66.7% of persons who were victims, while physical assaults resulted in life changes for 54.2% of victims. Praedial larceny and vandalism/property damage, in contrast, had the least effect on respondents.



Respondents were asked to describe how they felt after each reported victimization incident (Figure 5.8). The results indicate that anger and hurt/disappointment were the two most commonly expressed emotions. A total of 41.4% of respondents felt angry while 30% felt hurt and disappointment. Shock and disbelief were the next most commonly identified emotions, experienced by 25.2% of respondents. One in five respondents (20.3%) reported that they felt no

different after the experience. However, 18.2% felt afraid while 9.3% could not sleep as a result of the incident.



PART SIX

INDIRECT EXPOSURE TO CRIME

This section of the report looks at respondents' indirect exposure to crime. Indirect exposure may include witnessing a crime or having gone through the experience of family members being victimized. Indirect exposure to crime can serve as an indicator of the level of crime in any particular society. Collecting information from crime witnesses also provides the opportunity to enquire about the reasons why some persons may not report crimes to the police. Indirect exposure is also an important area on its own since such exposure can be as traumatic as being victimized, and can result in fear of crime, depression and can even increase one's risk of committing criminal offences.

The majority of persons interviewed indicated that they had never witnessed any violent crimes in their lifetime. A total of 94.2% of respondents had never witnessed a murder, 92.3% had never witnessed a shooting, 92.4% had never witnessed a robbery and 86.4% had never witnessed an assault. It was further discovered that the proportion of persons who indicated that they witnessed a crime decreased consistently from the 2006 NCVS to the 2016 NCVS. The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who witnessed crimes were Kingston, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, and St. James. Males were more likely than females to have witnessed crime while younger persons were more likely than older persons to have witnessed violent crimes. The findings also indicate that rates of reporting crime to the police are improving. The results of the NCVS suggest that the victimization of family members and friends is also declining in Jamaica. There were very few exceptions to this pattern of decline in the data which were examined.

Witnessing Crime

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they had witnessed a serious incident of violent crime at some point in their lives (Table 6.1). The majority of persons interviewed indicated that they had not witnessed any violent crimes in their lifetime. More specifically, 94.2% of respondents had never witnessed a murder, while 92.3% had never witnessed a shooting, 92.4% had never witnessed a robbery and 86.4% had never witnessed an assault. However, 3.7% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a murder once while 2.1% had witnessed a murder two or more times. Overall, 5.8% of respondents had witnessed a murder. A total of 7.7% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a shooting or gun battle, with 4% witnessing this once and 3.7% witnessing this two or more times. A total of 7.6% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a robbery with 4.4% witnessing a robbery once and another 3.2% witnessing a robbery two or more times. When asked whether they had witnessed a serious assault, 13.6% confirmed that they had with 5.7% of respondents indicating that they had witnessed a serious assault once while another 7.9% had witnessed this two or more times.

Table 6.1: Percent of Respondents that Have Witnessed Serious Incidents of Violent Crime in Jamaica (2016 NCVS)

Number of Times	Murder	Shootings or gun battles	Robbery	Severe beatings or assaults
Never	94.2	92.3	92.4	86.4
Once	3.7	4.0	4.4	5.7
Two or More Times	2.1	3.7	3.2	7.9
Ever	5.8	7.7	7.6	13.6

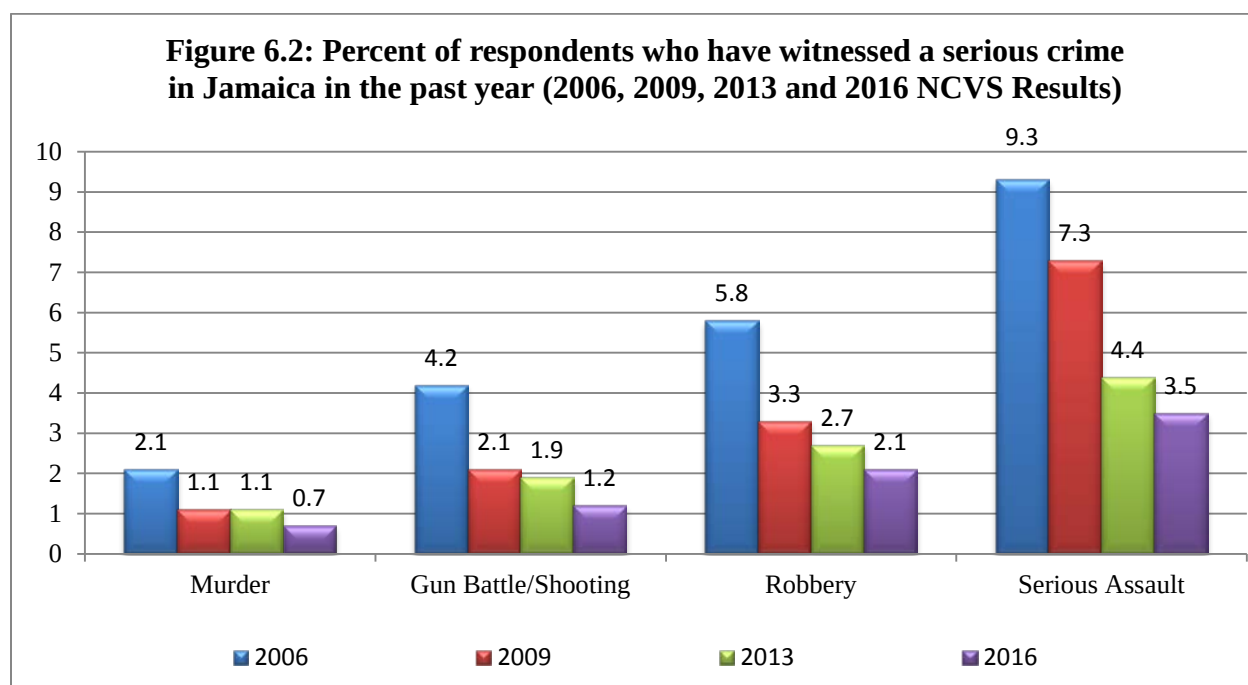
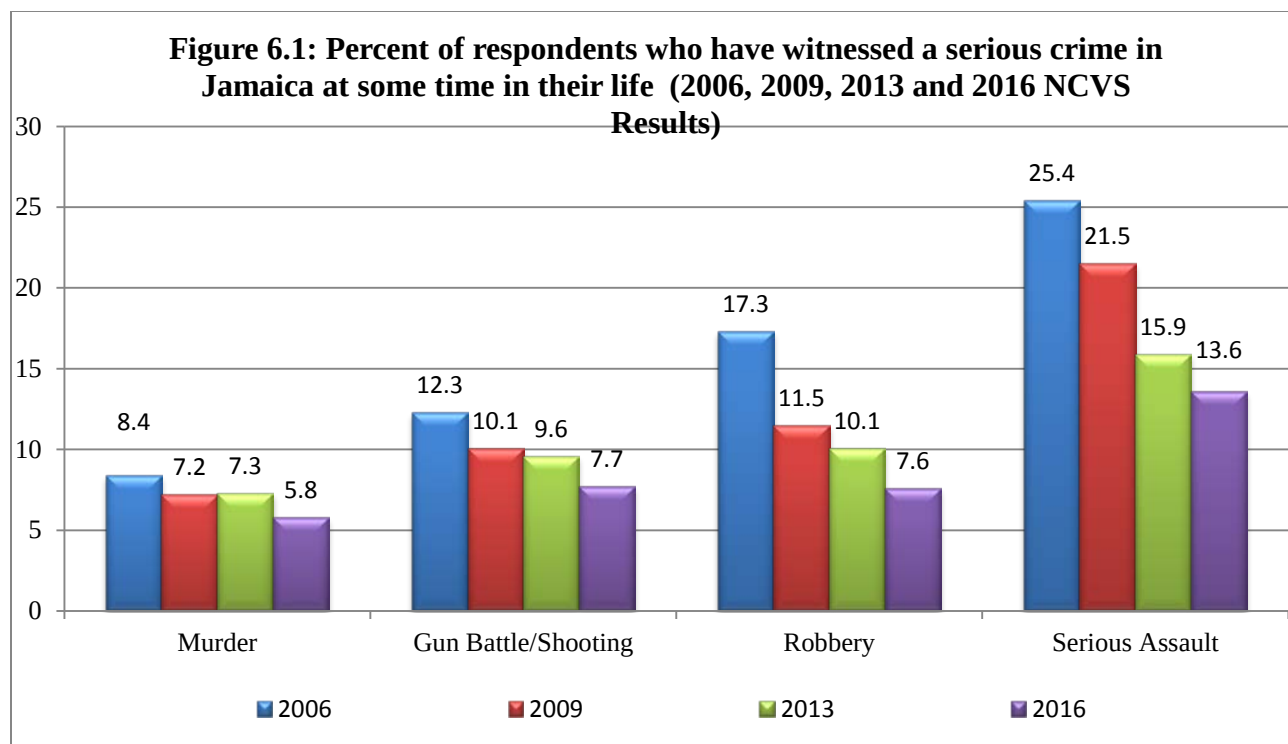
When asked about the most recent incident of victimization that was witnessed (Table 6.2), of the persons who witnessed a murder, 0.7% indicated that the murder occurred within the last year, while 1.3% indicated that it occurred within the last five years and 3.4% indicated that it occurred more than five years ago. Of the persons who witnessed shootings or gun battles, 1.2% indicated that the incident occurred within the last year, while 2.5% indicated that it occurred within the last five years and 3.3% indicated that it occurred more than five years ago.

For persons who witnessed a robbery, 2.1% indicated that the incident occurred within the last year, while 2.8% indicated that it occurred within the last five years and 2.1% indicated that it occurred more than five years ago. Of the persons who witnessed incidents of serious assault, 3.5% indicated that the incident occurred within the last year, while 4.5% indicated that it occurred within the last five years and 4.6% indicated that it occurred more than five years ago.

Table 6.2: percent of respondents that have witnessed serious incidents of violent crime, by most recent incident (2016 NCVS)

Last Time Witnessed	Murder	Shootings or gun battles	Robbery	Severe beatings or assaults
Never	94.2	92.3	92.4	86.4
In the past year	0.7	1.2	2.1	3.5
In the past 5 years	1.3	2.5	2.8	4.5
More than 5 years ago	3.4	3.3	2.1	4.6
Can't recall/Refused	0.4	0.7	0.6	1
Ever	5.8	7.7	7.6	13.6

An examination of the trends in witnessing crime indicate that for all crimes assessed, the proportion of persons who indicated that they witnessed a crime decreased consistently from the 2006 NCVS to the 2016 NCVS. This applies regardless of whether the time frame is within respondents' lifetime (Figure 6.1) or within the past year (Figure 6.2). With respect to crimes witnessed within respondents' lifetime, in 2006 8.4% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a murder, compared to 7.2% in 2009, 7.3% in 2013 and 5.8% in 2016. With respect to shootings and gun battles, 12.3% indicated that they were witness to this in 2006 compared to 10.1% in 2009, 9.6% in 2013 and 7.7% in 2016. With respect to robberies, 17.3% indicated that they were witness to this in 2006 compared to 11.5% in 2009, 10.1% in 2013 and 7.6% in 2016. Finally with respect to serious assaults, 25.4% indicated that they were witness to this in 2006 compared to 21.5% in 2009, 15.9% in 2013 and 13.6% in 2016.



When crimes are restricted to those witnessed within the last year, 2.1% of respondents in the 2006 NCVS indicated that they had witnessed a murder within the last year compared to 1.1% in 2009, 1.1% in 2013 and 0.7% in 2016. With respect to shootings and gun battles, 4.2% of respondents witnessed this in 2006, compared to 2.1% in 2009, 1.9% in 2013 and 1.2% in 2016. A similar decline was observed for robberies. In the 2006 NCVS 5.8% of respondents indicated that they had witnessed a robbery within the last year compared to 3.3% in 2009, 2.7% in 2013 and 2.1% in 2016. With respect to witnessing a serious assault, 9.3% of respondents in 2006 indicated that they had witnessed this within the last year compared to 7.3% in 2009, 4.4% in 2013 and 3.5% in 2016.

The data in Table 6.3 indicate that there were differences among parishes in the proportion of persons who witnessed specific crimes. The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who witnessed a murder at some point in their lives were Kingston (12.2%), St. James (9%), St. Andrew (7.6%) and Hanover (6%). In contrast, the parishes with the lowest proportion of persons who witnessed a murder within their lifetime were Trelawny (2.5%), Westmoreland (3.2%), St. Ann (3.4%) and St. Mary (3.4%). When witnessing murders was restricted to those incidents which occurred within the last year, the parishes with the largest proportion of respondents were Kingston, St. James and St. Andrew (3.1%, 2.3% and 1% respectively). These three parishes are also the top three parishes for lifetime prevalence of witnessing murders. In contrast, within the past year, there were no murders witnessed in Portland, St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny.

With respect to witnessing shootings and gun battles, the highest proportion of respondents who witnessed this within their lifetime came from Kingston (16.2%), St. Catherine (13.0%), Clarendon (9.6%) and St. Andrew (9.1%). The lowest proportion came from St. Mary (3.0%), St. Elizabeth (3.1%), Trelawny (3.8%) and Portland (3.9%). When this was restricted to incidents which occurred within the last year, the highest proportion of respondents came from Kingston (4.4%), St. Catherine (1.9%) and St. James (1.5%) while the lowest proportion were from St. Elizabeth (0%), St. Thomas (0%), St. Mary (0.4%) and Manchester (0.4%).

The parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who witnessed robberies within their lifetime were Kingston (14.4%), St. Catherine (12.7%), St. Andrew (10.1%) and

Manchester (8.9%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents witnessing robberies within their lifetime were St. Mary (3.4%), Westmoreland (3.7%) and St. Ann (3.9%). When witnessing robberies was restricted to those which occurred within the last year, the parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who had witnessed such robberies were Kingston (6.2%), St. Andrew (3.4%), St. Catherine (2.6%) and Manchester (2.2%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who witnessed robberies within the last year were Trelawny (0%), St. Thomas (0%), St. Elizabeth (0.8%) and St. Ann (1%).

Table 6.3: Percent of respondents that have witnessed serious incidents of violent crime, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

Parish	Murder		Shootings or gun battles		Robbery		Severe beatings or assaults	
	Ever	Past Year	Ever	Past Year	Ever	Past Year	Ever	Past Year
Kingston	12.2	3.1	16.2	4.4	14.4	6.2	19.5	6.7
St. James	9.0	2.3	5.3	1.5	4.5	1.5	6.9	0.8
St. Andrew	7.6	1.0	9.1	1.1	10.1	3.4	12.3	3.7
Hanover	6.0	0.7	4.1	0.7	4.0	1.3	12.5	2.0
Portland	5.9	-	3.9	0.7	7.9	2.0	12.4	3.9
St. Elizabeth	5.5	0.8	3.1	-	4.7	0.8	11.8	1.6
St. Catherine	5.3	0.6	13.0	1.9	12.7	2.6	23.1	6.0
Manchester	5.3	0.4	6.7	0.4	8.9	2.2	8.1	1.8
Clarendon	5.1	0.7	9.6	1.3	4.4	1.3	13.2	6.4
St. Thomas	4.7	-	5.2	-	5.2	-	8.0	1.4
St. Ann	3.4	0.5	3.9	0.5	3.9	1.0	13.4	1.9
St. Mary	3.4	-	3.0	0.4	3.4	1.3	7.1	1.3
Westmoreland	3.2	0.5	4.2	1.0	3.7	1.6	19.1	2.6
Trelawny	2.5	-	3.8	0.6	0.6	-	6.5	1.3
Total	5.8	0.7	7.7	1.2	7.6	2.1	13.6	3.5

The parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who witnessed a serious assault within their lifetime were St. Catherine (23.1%), Kingston (19.5%), Westmoreland (19.1%) and St. Ann (13.4%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents witnessing a serious assault within their lifetime were Trelawny (6.5%), St. James (6.9%), St. Mary (7.1%) and St.

Thomas (8.0%). When witnessing serious assaults was restricted to those which occurred within the last year, the parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who had witnessed such assaults were Kingston (6.7%), Clarendon (6.4%), St. Catherine (6.0%) and Portland (3.9%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who witnessed serious assaults within the last year were St. James (0.8%), St. Mary (1.3%) and Trelawny (1.3%).

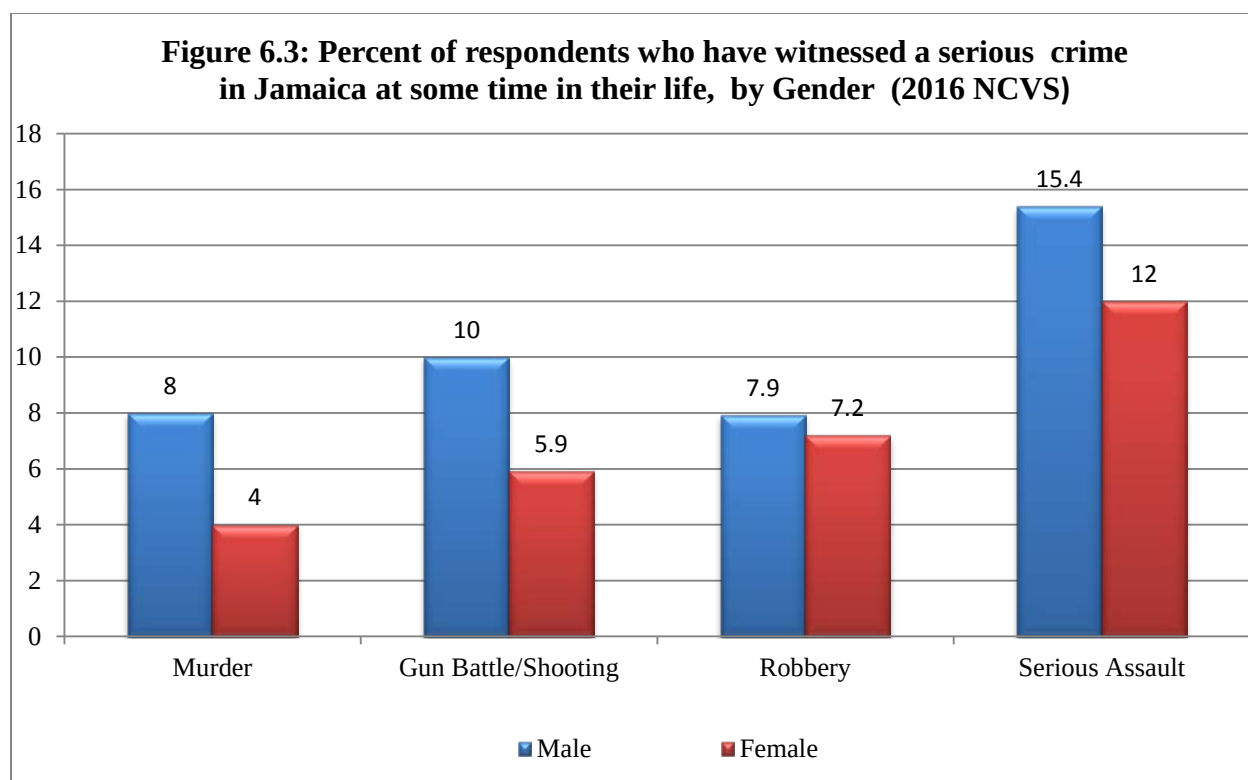
When all crimes are considered simultaneously, the parishes with the largest proportion of persons who witnessed crimes within their lifetime and within the last year were, in descending order, Kingston, St. Catherine, St. Andrew, and St. James.¹¹ The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who witnessed crime within their lifetime and within the past year were St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny.¹²

When witnessing crime within respondents' lifetime was disaggregated by gender (Figure 6.3) it was discovered that males were more likely than females to have witnessed crime. This applies to all four crimes which were considered. For example, while 8% of males had witnessed a murder in their lifetime, 4% of females had witnessed a murder. Ten percent of males indicated that they had witnessed a shooting or gun battle in their lifetime compared to 5.9% of females. A total of 7.9% of males indicated that they had witnessed a robbery in their lifetime compared to 7.2% of females. Finally 15.4% of males indicated that they had witnessed a serious assault in their lifetime compared to 12% of females. The differences for murder, shootings/gun battles and serious assaults were statistically significant while the difference for robbery was not statistically significant.¹³

¹¹ This was assessed by computing the number of times each parish was in the top four in terms of the prevalence of witnessing crimes within respondents' lifetime and within the past year. For example, Kingston was within the top four parishes eight out of eight times (four for lifetime and four for past year witnessing of crime). St. Catherine was in the top four six out of eight times, while St. Andrew was in the top four five out of eight times. St. James was in the top four three times.

¹² St. Thomas had the lowest proportion of witnessing crime five out of eight times, while St. Mary and Trelawny both had the lowest proportions seven out of eight times.

¹³ Murder ($F(1, 3451) = 25.6, p < .001$); Shooting/Gun Battle ($F(1, 3431) = 19.9, p < .001$); Serious Assault ($F(1, 3359) = 8.3, p < .004$). Robbery ($F(1, 3439) = 0.62, ns$).



The data indicate that younger persons are more likely than older persons to have witnessed violent crimes. This applies regardless of whether we are considering all incidents of crime witnessed (Table 6.4) or crimes which occurred within the past year (Table 6.5). For example, the data in Table 6.4 indicate that while 7.9% of 16-20 year olds and 5.7% of 21-30 year olds witnessed a murder in their lifetime, 4.7% of persons who are older than 60 years of age have witnessed a murder. Similarly, when murders are restricted to those which occurred within the last year, 1.3% of 16-20 year olds and 1.3% of 21-30 year olds reported having witnessed such a murder. This compares to 0.4% of 51-60 year olds and 0.2% of respondents who were older than 60 years of age. When we consider shootings and gun battles, 7.9% of 16-20 year olds and 8.4% of 21-30 year olds witnessed this within their lifetime compared to 6% of respondents who were older than 60 years of age. When shootings and gun battles are restricted to those incidents which occurred within the last year, 1.3% of 16-20 year olds and 1.8% of 21-30 year olds reported having witnessed such an incident compared to 0.4% of 51-60 year olds and 0.9% of respondents who were older than 60 years of age. Similar trends were observed for robbery and serious assaults.

Table 6.4: Percent of respondents that have ever witnessed serious incidents of violent crime, by Age (2016 NCVS)

Age	Murder	Shooting or gun battle	Robbery	Severe beating or assault
16-20 years	7.9	7.9	8.2	17.5
21-30 years	5.7	8.4	8.3	15.3
31-40 years	5.5	6.8	6.5	12.2
41-50 years	6.4	8.8	9.8	15.2
51-60 years	5.7	7.9	8.3	13.4
61 years or older	4.7	6.0	4.5	9.2

Table 6.5: Percent of respondents that have witnessed a serious crime in the past year, by Age (2016 NCVS)

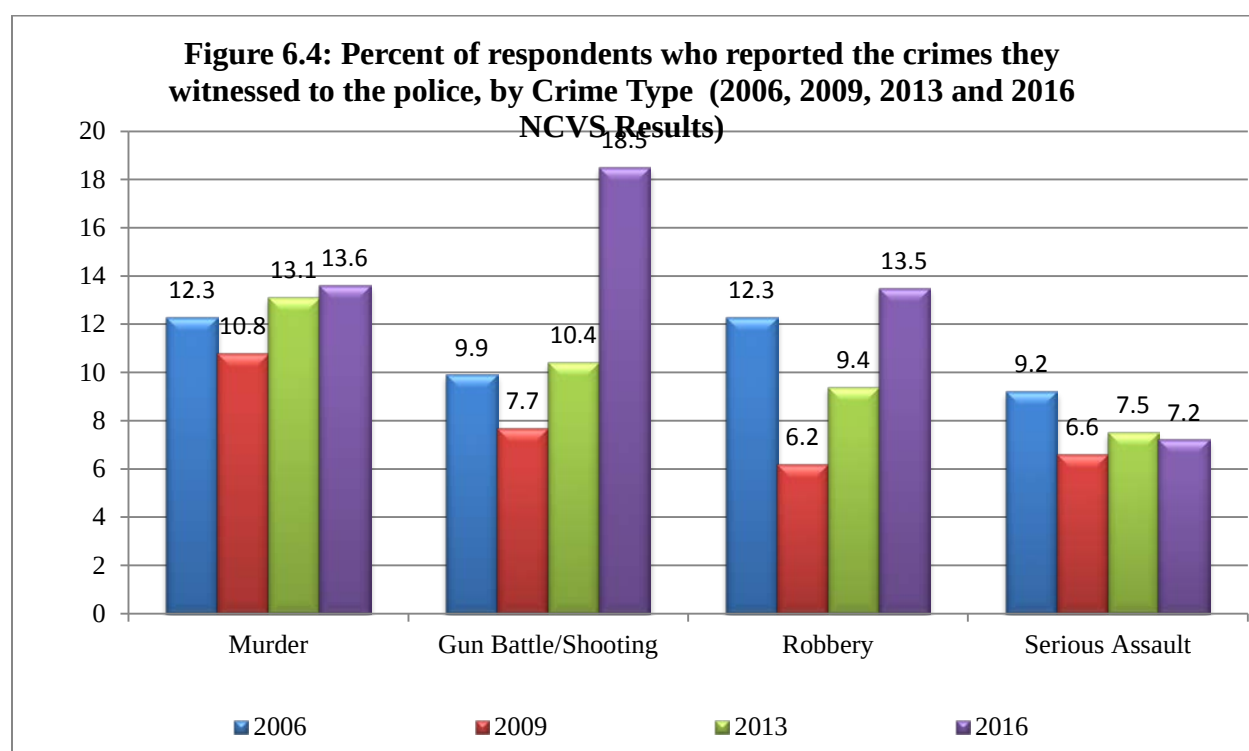
Age	Murder	Shooting or gun battle	Robbery	Severe beating or assault
16-20 years	1.3	1.3	3.3	5.2
21-30 years	1.3	1.8	3.1	5.2
31-40 years	1.1	1.3	2.0	2.6
41-50 years	0.2	0.8	2.4	4.2
51-60 years	0.4	0.4	1.1	2.3
61 years or older	0.2	0.9	0.9	1.4

Previous research has suggested that younger persons may be more likely than older persons to witness crime despite the fact that older persons have had more opportunities, because of their older age, to witness crime. Past research has indicated that younger persons may spend more time outside the home, in locations such as clubs and other public areas where they are more likely to witness crime. In contrast, older persons are more likely to spend time at home or in other private settings where they are less likely to witness crime. While older persons have been around longer and should have had more opportunity to witness crime, it may be the case that in the past crime levels were lower than they are at present. As such, when the older

respondents were younger, the lower prevalence of crime meant that they would have witnessed less crime when they were youths. In contrast, the higher crime levels that currently exist means that today's youths have more opportunities to witness crimes when they occur.

Reporting Crimes to the Police

Persons who indicated that they had witnessed crimes were asked whether they reported the crimes to the police (Figure 6.4). Overall the findings indicate that reporting rates are improving. For example, where murders are concerned, in 2006 12.3% of respondents reported the crime to the police. In 2009 this declined to 10.8% but increased to 13.1% in 2013 and 13.6% in 2016. With respect to shootings and gun battles, while 9.9% of respondents reported these incidents to the police in 2006, 7.7% reported in 2009, 10.4% in 2013 and 18.5% in 2016. A total of 12.3% of respondents reported the robberies they witnessed in 2006, compared to 6.2% in 2009, 9.4% in 2013 and 13.5% in 2016. The only crime for which there was a decline in reporting rates from 2006 to 2016 was serious assaults. In 2006 9.2% of respondents in the NCVS reported serious assaults to the police. This declined to 7.2% in 2016.



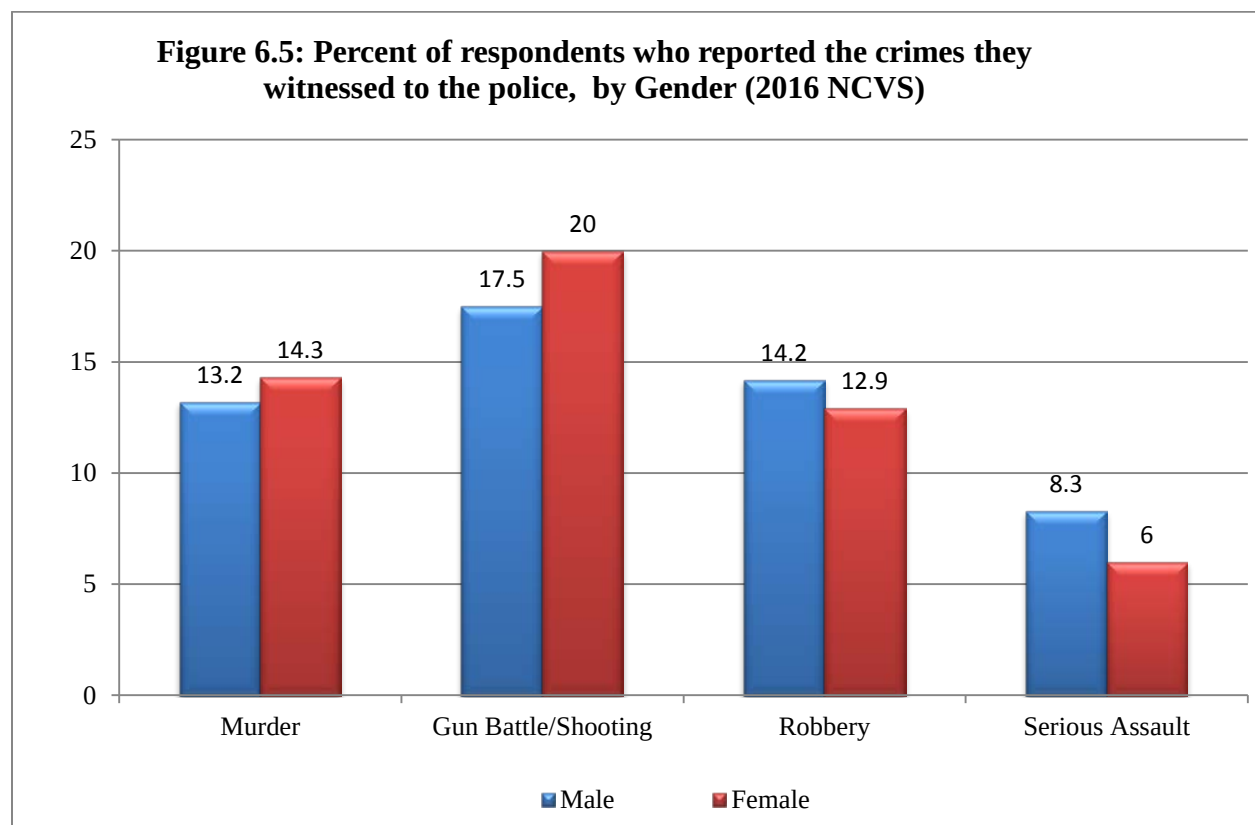
The results of the 2016 NCVS suggest that reporting rates vary dramatically by parish (Table 6.6). For example, the highest reporting rates for murder occurred in St. Elizabeth (75.0%), Westmoreland (40.0%), Clarendon (33.3%) and Hanover (25.0%). In comparison the lowest rates occurred in St. Mary (0%), St. Ann (0%) and Trelawny (0%). The highest rates for reporting shootings and gun battles occurred in Hanover (80.0%), Westmoreland (66.7%), St. Mary (33.3%) and Clarendon (29.2%). In contrast no respondent who was interviewed reported this crime to the police in St. Elizabeth, Portland, St. Ann and Trelawny. The higher rates for reporting robberies occurred in Clarendon (38.5%), St. Thomas (30.0%), Westmoreland (28.6%) and Manchester (23.5%). In contrast a reporting rate of 0% occurred in Hanover, St. James, St. Elizabeth and Trelawny. With respect to serious assaults, the highest reporting rates occurred in Trelawny (28.6%), St. Thomas (15.4%), Hanover (14.3%) and Clarendon (13.5%). In contrast a reporting rate of 0% occurred in Manchester, St. James and St. Elizabeth.

Table 6.6: Percent of respondents who reported the crimes they had witnessed to the police, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

Parish	Murder	Shootings or gun battles	Robbery	Severe beatings or assaults
St. Elizabeth	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Westmoreland	40.0	66.7	28.6	5.7
Clarendon	33.3	29.2	38.5	13.5
Hanover	25.0	80.0	0.0	14.3
St. Thomas	20.0	22.2	30.0	15.4
Manchester	16.7	7.1	23.5	0.0
St. Catherine	14.8	25.4	12.9	10.2
Portland	11.1	0.0	15.4	6.2
St. James	9.1	28.6	0.0	0.0
St. Andrew	6.4	4.0	10.2	1.5
Kingston	3.7	11.1	3.2	5.1
Trelawny	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6
St. Mary	0.0	33.3	14.3	6.2
St. Ann	0.0	0.0	14.3	4.2
Total	13.6	18.5	13.5	7.2

When all crimes are considered simultaneously, the highest reporting rates occurred in Westmoreland (with an average reporting rate of 35.3% across all crimes), Hanover (29.8%), Clarendon (28.6%) and St. Thomas (21.9%). The parishes with the lowest overall reporting rates were Kingston (5.8%), St. Andrew (5.5%), St. Ann (4.6%) and Trelawny (7.2%).

When reporting rates were disaggregated by gender (Figure 6.5) it was discovered that females were more likely than males to report murders and shootings/gun battles, while males were more likely than females to report robberies and serious assaults. More specifically, 14.3% of females reported murders they witnessed compared to 13.2% of males. Similarly, a higher proportion of females (20%) reported shootings/gun battles than males (17.5%). In contrast, while 14.2% of males reported robberies, 12.9% of females reported this crime. In a similar manner while 8.3% of males reported serious assaults, 6% of females reported this crime.



When reporting practices were disaggregated by age (Table 6.7) there were two distinct patterns which stood out. The first was that older persons were generally more likely than younger persons to report crimes to the police. The second was that the 21-30 age range and the 51-60 age range stood out as more likely to report crimes to the police than other groups. Both patterns applied regardless of the type of crime. For example, while 10% of 16-20 year olds reported murders to the police, 12.5% of persons older than 60 years of age reported. Similarly, while 0% of 16-20 year olds reported shootings to the police, 21.7% of persons older than 60 years of age reported this crime to the police. With respect to murders, the highest reporting rates applied to the 21-30 age range (15%), the 31-40 age range (16.7%) and the 51-60 age range (20%). With respect to shootings/gun battles, the highest reporting rates applied to persons in the 21-30 age range (27.1%) and the 51-60 age range (27.3%). With respect to robberies the highest rates of reporting applied to the 21-30 age range (18.6%) and the 51-60 age range (21.6%).

Table 6.7: Percent of respondents that reported the violent crimes they witnessed to the police, by Age Group (2016 NCVS)

Age	Murder	Shootings or gun battles	Robbery	Severe beatings or assaults
16-20 years	10.0	0.0	4.5	4.2
21-30 years	15.0	27.1	18.6	7.4
31-40 years	16.7	17.1	15.4	8.5
41-50 years	10.8	16.3	7.5	5.3
51-60 years	20.0	27.3	21.6	7.3
61 years or older	12.5	21.7	10.0	11.6

Reasons for Not Reporting Crime to the Police

Respondents who witnessed crimes but did not report the incident to the police were asked to give the reasons for not reporting (Table 6.8). The most important reasons given were that the incident was none of their business (for all crimes considered an average of 30.4% of witnesses gave this as their reason for not reporting), that there were many other witnesses

(19%), that they did not want to be a snitch or informer and that they were afraid of the offenders (8.2%).

Table 6.8: Percent of respondents who provided specific reasons for not reporting crimes to the police, by Type of Crime (2016 NCVS)

Reasons for not reporting crimes to the police	Murder	Gun battle or shooting	Robbery	Serious assault or beating
Many other witnesses	20.5	10.5	19.2	25.8
The offender was caught	3.6	2.6	9.3	8.1
None of my business	25.9	26.9	31.6	37.2
Police can't protect me	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.4
Not an informer/snitch	15.0	12.5	11.7	12.3
To protect the offenders	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.4
Might get in trouble with family	3.6	1.6	2.4	3.2
Don't want to go to court	10.5	6.2	7.6	6.0
Police witnessed the crime	8.6	6.6	3.1	3.7
Afraid of the offenders	10.9	6.6	9.6	5.5
Afraid of the police	5.9	2.3	1.7	1.8
Don't trust the people	8.2	6.2	4.8	4.8
Reporting would not help	2.7	4.3	5.8	4.6
Might get into trouble with the police	2.3	1.0	1.0	0.7
Would hurt reputation	1.8	0.0	1.0	0.5
Sample Size	220	305	291	567

When individual crimes are considered, these reasons also stand out. For example, where murders are concerned, 25.9% of respondents indicated that the incident was none of their business, while 20.5% said that there were other witnesses. Fifteen percent said that they did not want to be an informer or snitch, while 10.9% said that they were afraid of the offenders. With respect to shootings and gun battles, 26.9% indicated that the incident was none of their business, while 12.5% said that they did not want to be an informer or snitch. Another 10.5% said that there were other witnesses, while 6.6% said that they were afraid of the offenders. Where robberies are concerned, 31.6% said that the crime was none of their business, while 19.2% indicated that there were other witnesses and 11.7% said that they did not want to be an informer

or snitch. A total of 9.6% indicated that they did not report the incident because they were afraid of the offenders.

It is noteworthy that the most important reason given for not reporting crimes to the police was that the incident was none of the respondent's business. While this may be taken to represent a callous attitude to the misfortune of others, it may be the case that this is driven by other deeper reasons. For example, where crimes are related to inter-gang rivalry, many persons may prefer not to get involved because of the possibility of reprisals. In other words, becoming involved in crime incidents may compromise personal safety and even the safety of loved ones. This can extend to crimes which do not involve gangs since perpetrators of criminal offences may target persons who decide to serve as informers or witnesses. In this context it is important to note that the fourth most important reason given for not reporting crimes to the police was that respondents were afraid of the offenders.

Issues which involved the police accounted for a small proportion of the reasons that crimes were not reported to the police. For example, when all crimes are considered simultaneously, 2.9% of respondents indicated that they did not report the crimes because they were afraid of the police, while 1.3% indicated that they might get into trouble with the police. Another 1.1% felt that the police would not be able to protect them if they reported the incident. It should be noted that not all of these reasons necessarily reflect negatively on the police. For example, persons who felt that they might get into trouble with the police may have felt this way if they were involved in some way with the incident.

An important reason for non-reporting that was cited by respondents was that the offender was caught. Across all crimes considered, 5.9% cited this as their reason for not reporting the crime to the police. When murders alone are considered, 3.6% of respondents gave this as their reason while 2.6% cited this as their reason for not reporting gun battles or shootings which they witnessed. In addition, 9.3% cited this reason for not reporting robberies while 8.1% gave this as their reason for not reporting incidents of serious assault. This measure, while imprecise, can be taken as an indicator of detection rates by the police. It is possible, however, that the percentages given in victimization surveys for such an indicator may underestimate the

proportion of crimes for which offenders were caught, since the police may subsequently make arrests of which witnesses may be unaware.

The Victimization of Family and Friends

Another strategy for documenting indirect or vicarious exposure to crime is to ask about the victimization of family members and friends. Respondents in the 2016 NCVS were asked to indicate whether they had a family member or close friend who was a victim of murder, shooting, serious violence, rape or sexual assault and extortion (Figure 6.6).

The data indicate that 24.3% of respondents had a family member or close friend who was a victim of murder, with 3.6 percent occurring within the last year. Table 6.9 compares victimization rates for previous NCVS surveys and indicates that the proportion of persons who reported that they had family members or friends who were victims of murder has declined from 2006 to 2016. In 2006, 36.3% of respondents indicated that they had family members or friends who were victims of murder. This declined to 33.8% in 2009, rose slightly to 34.5% in 2013 and declined to 24.3% in 2016. A similar decline is observed when murders are restricted to those committed within the past year. In 2006 8.6% of respondents indicated that their friends or family members were murdered within the past year. This declined to 7.3% in 2009, with further declines to 5.8% in 2013 and 3.6% in 2016.

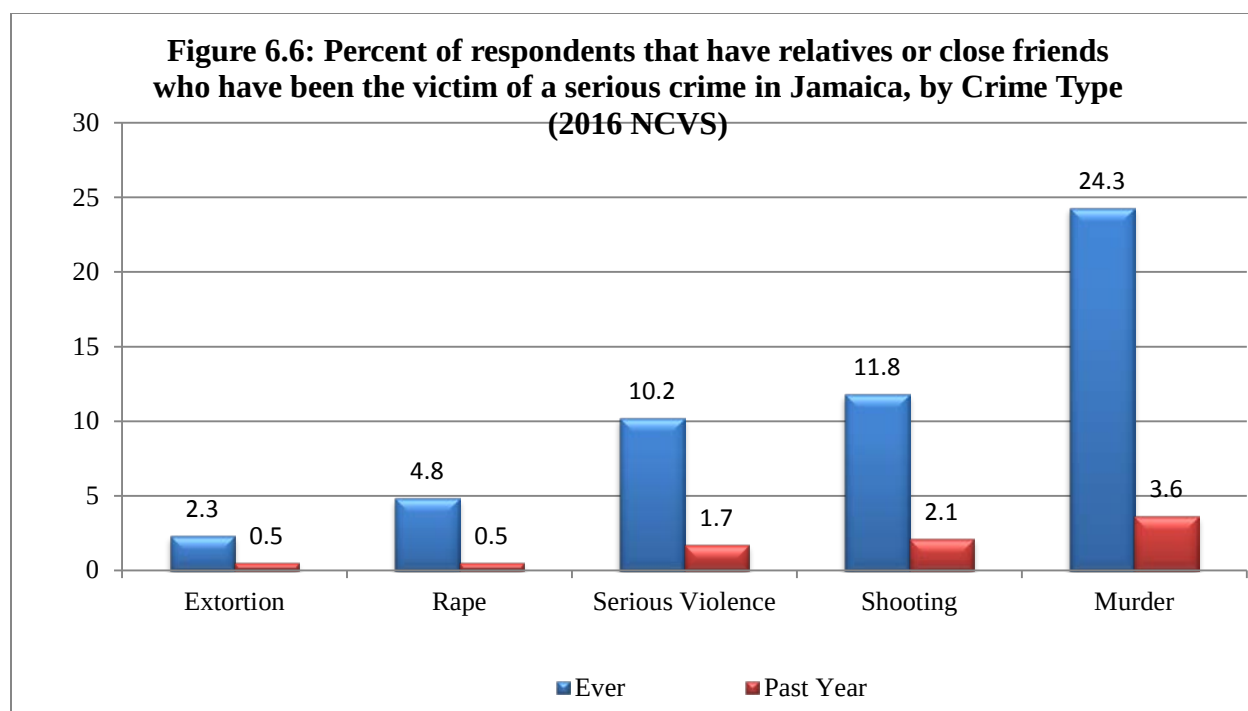


Table 6.9: Percent of respondents who reported that a family member or friend has been the victim of a serious crime in Jamaica (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Year	Murder		Rape or Sexual Assault		Shooting		Serious Violence		Extortion	
	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year	Ever	Last Year
2006	36.3	8.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
2009	33.8	7.3	7.2	1.3	13.5	3.1	13.4	3.0	1.5	1.0
2013	34.5	5.8	6.9	1.3	18.6	3.3	13.1	2.6	1.2	0.5
2016	24.3	3.6	4.8	0.5	11.8	2.1	10.2	1.7	2.3	0.5

When individual crimes are considered, these reasons also stand out. For example, where murders are concerned, 25.9% of respondents indicated that the incident was none of their business, while 20.5% said that there were other witnesses. Fifteen percent said that they did not want to be an informer or snitch, while 10.9% said that they were afraid of the offenders. With respect to shootings and gun battles, 26.9% indicated that the incident was none of their business,

while 12.5% said that they did not want to be an informer or snitch. A total of 10.5% said that there were other witnesses, while 6.6% said that they were afraid of the offenders. Where robberies are concerned, 31.6% said that the crime was none of their business. Another 19.2% indicated that there were other witnesses while 11.7% said that they did not want to be an informer or snitch. Another 9.6% indicated that they did not report the incident because they were afraid of the offenders.

Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they had a family member or close friend who was seriously hurt or wounded by violence in Jamaica. When this question was asked, respondents were asked to restrict their responses to include only persons whose injuries were serious enough to require medical attention. The findings indicate that 10.2% of respondents had a family member or close friend who was the victim of serious violence. A total of 1.7% of respondents indicated that the incident had occurred within the past year. As with other crimes, there have been declines in the proportion of persons who have been victims of serious violence. More specifically, in 2009 13.4% of respondents indicated that they had family members or close friends who were the victims of serious violence. The level of victimization was very similar in 2013 (13.1%) but declined to 10.2% in 2016. A very consistent decline is also observed when only incidents occurring within the last year are considered. In 2009 3% of respondents in the NCVS reported that they had family members or close friends who were the victim of serious violence within the last year. This declined to 2.6% in 2013 and further declined to 1.7% in 2016.

The least prevalent crime, where the victimization of family members and friends is concerned, was extortion. In 2016 2.3% of respondents indicated that they had family members or close friends who were the victim of extortion, with 0.5% indicating that the incident occurred within the last year. Unlike the other crimes reviewed, the level of extortion increased over the duration of the victimization surveys which were conducted. In 2009 1.5% of respondents indicated that they had family members or close friends who were victims of extortion. This declined slightly to 1.2% in 2013 but rose to 2.3% in 2016. Past year victimization, however, declined across successive surveys. In 2009 1% of respondents indicated that they had family members or close friends who were victims of extortion. This declined to 0.5% in 2013 and remained at 0.5% in 2016.

Overall, the results of the NCVS suggest that the victimization of family members and friends is declining in Jamaica. There were very few exceptions to this pattern of decline in the data which were examined.

Persons who had a family member or friend who was a victim of violence were asked to indicate the number of persons who were victims. The data indicate that far more persons have family members who were victims of murder, than for other crimes. A total of 6.9% of the respondents indicated that they had lost one family member or friend to murder, while 2.5% had lost two persons and 3.2% had lost three or more persons. In contrast to murder, the proportion of persons who had family members or friends who were victims of other crimes was relatively small. For example, 2.2% of respondents had one family member or friend who was a victim of sexual assault while 0.2% of respondents had two family members or friends and 0.5% had three or more family members or friends who were similarly victimized. In addition, 4.4% of respondents had one family member or friend who was the victim of serious violence while 1.5% had two family members or friends and 1.6% had three or more family members or friends who were similarly victimized.

These findings are consistent with the recent increase in the number of murders in Jamaica as indicated in official crime statistics, but could also be as a result of reporting practices. More specifically, murders are considered more serious, increasing the likelihood that they will be reported. As such, respondents may be more aware of murders which have occurred and thus may have a more accurate idea of the number of friends or relatives that they have lost to murder. In contrast, respondents may be less aware of other crimes which may have occurred, and especially where they were not personally involved (i.e. where friends or relatives were involved). In addition, victims may be more likely to conceal other crimes such as sexual assault, again decreasing the possibility that respondents would have been made aware that they occurred. If this occurs this can suppress estimates where respondents are reporting on the victimization of family and friends. Taken in conjunction with the increasing number of murders in official crime data it is not surprising to find that respondents reported a comparatively higher proportion of murders compared to other crimes.

Respondents who had family or friends who were victims of violence were asked to indicate which family members or friends were victimized (Table 6.11). For the purposes of this report, an immediate family member includes spouses, children, parents and siblings. The “Other Relative” category includes aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins, nieces, nephews and in-laws. The “Friend” category includes friends as well as co-workers and neighbours. The data indicate that immediate family members were more affected by murder than by other crimes. More specifically, 5.8% of the respondents had lost an immediate family member due to murder, compared to 0.7% who had an immediate family member who was a victim of sexual violence, 2.7% who had an immediate family member who was a victim of shooting, 3% who had an immediate family member who was a victim of serious violence and 0.4% who had an immediate family member who was a victim of extortion. Other relatives were also more affected by murder than by other crimes. The data indicate that 10.4% of respondents had lost other relatives to murder. In contrast, 1.8% of respondents had other relatives who were victims of sexual assault, 5.2% had other relatives who were victims of shooting, 4.1% had other relatives who were victims of serious violence and 0.4% had other relatives who were victims of extortion. Friends were also more likely to be victims of murder than other crimes. The data indicate that 9.1% of respondents had friends who were victims of murder. In contrast 1.4% of respondents had friends who were victims of sexual assault, 5.1% had friends who were victims of shooting, 4.5% had friends who were victims of serious violence and 0.8% had friends who were victims of extortion.

Table 6.10: Number of family members or friends that have been the victim of a serious crime in Jamaica (2016 NCVS)

Number of Family Members or Friends	Murder	Rape or Sexual Assault	Shooting	Serious Violence	Extortion
None	75.7	95.2	88.2	89.8	97.7
One	6.9	2.2	5.3	4.4	0.6
Two	2.5	0.2	1.8	1.5	0.3
Three or More	3.2	0.5	1.5	1.6	0.4
Not stated/Refused	11.7	1.9	3.2	2.7	1.0

Table 6.11: Percent of respondents who report that family members or friends have been the victim of a serious crime in Jamaica, by Type of Relationship (2016 NCVS)

Type of Relationship	Murder	Rape or Sexual Assault	Shooting	Serious Violence	Extortion
Immediate Family	5.8	0.7	2.7	3.0	0.4
Other Relative	10.4	1.8	5.2	4.1	0.4
Friend	9.1	1.4	5.1	4.5	0.8

The data in Table 6.11 also indicate that other relatives were more likely than immediate family members or friends to be victims of murder, sexual assault and shootings. For example, while 10.4% of respondents had other relatives who were victims of murder, 5.8% had immediate family members and 9.1% had friends who were similarly victimized. In addition, while 1.8% of respondents had other relatives who were victims of sexual assault, 0.7% had immediate family members and 1.4% had friends who were similarly victimized. In contrast, friends were more likely than immediate family members or other family members to be victims of serious violence and extortion. For example while 4.5% of respondents indicated that they had friends who were victims of serious violence, 3% indicated that they had immediate family members while 4.1% indicated that they had other family members who were similarly victimized.

Disaggregation of the data indicates that there are differences among the parishes in the proportion of respondents who have family members or friends who were victims of serious crime (Table 6.12). The parish with the highest proportion of persons who had friends or family who were victims of murder was Kingston where 35.9% of respondents knew someone who was a victim. This was followed by Hanover (33.3%), St. James (28.2%) and Clarendon (27.3%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had lost a family member or friend to murder were Trelawny (13.0%), St. Ann (17.3%), St. Elizabeth (21.6%) and Manchester (21.6%).

The parishes with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of sexual assault were Portland (7.8%), St. Catherine (7.0%), Kingston (6.5%) and St. Elizabeth (5.9%), while the parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of sexual assault were St. Ann (1.0%), Westmoreland (1.6%) and St. Mary (2.6%).

The parishes with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of shooting were Kingston (20.9%), Hanover (16.7%), Clarendon (16.6%) and Portland (15.4%). In contrast, the parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of shooting were Trelawny (2.7%), Manchester (6.7%) and St. Elizabeth (7.3%).

Table 6.12: Percent of respondents who have family members or friends who have been the victim of a serious crime in Jamaica, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

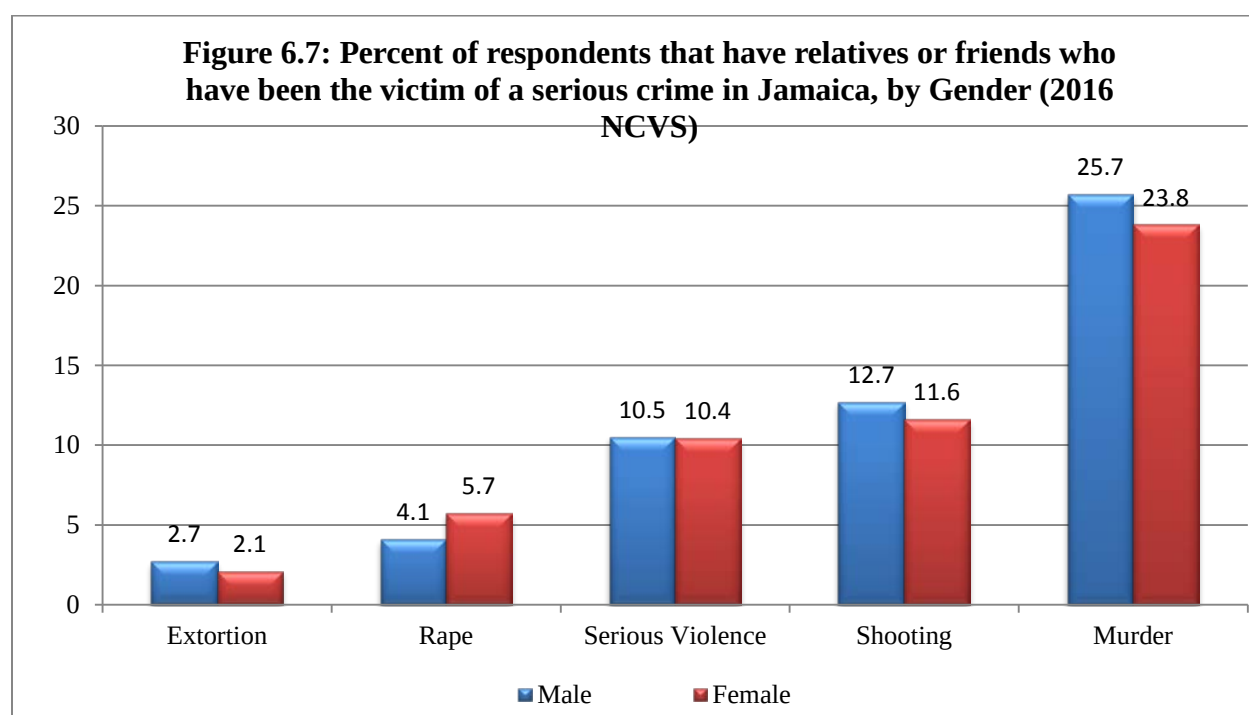
Parish	Murder	Rape or Sexual Assault	Shooting	Serious Violence	Extortion
Kingston	35.9	6.5	20.9	16.9	3.7
Hanover	33.3	4.9	16.7	6.8	5.7
St. James	28.2	5.4	11.4	9.6	3.3
Clarendon	27.3	5.6	16.6	15.1	1.8
St. Catherine	27.1	7.0	14.0	11.8	2.7
Westmoreland	24.2	1.6	13.4	8.5	1.6
St. Andrew	23.7	5.7	9.9	8.3	2.0
St. Thomas	23.4	4.2	9.3	7.0	3.4
Portland	23.0	7.8	15.4	11.3	4.8
Manchester	21.6	4.5	6.7	9.0	1.9
St. Mary	21.6	2.6	11.6	10.9	0.9
St. Elizabeth	21.6	5.9	7.3	6.5	0.0
St. Ann	17.3	1.0	10.4	13.7	2.1
Trelawny	13.0	2.7	2.7	7.5	0.7

The parishes with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of serious violence were Kingston (16.9%), Clarendon (15.1%), St. Ann (13.7%) and St. Catherine (11.8%) while the parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had

friends or relatives who were victims of serious violence were St. Elizabeth (6.5%), Hanover (6.8%) and St. Thomas (7.0%).

The parishes with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of extortion were Hanover (5.7%), Portland (4.8%), Kingston (3.7%) and St. Thomas (3.4%). In contrast, the parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were victims of extortion were St. Elizabeth (0%), Trelawny (0.7%) and St. Mary (0.9%).

Overall, the parishes which stand out as those with the highest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were crime victims were Kingston, Portland and Hanover. While Hanover was among the parishes with one of the lowest rates of serious violence, it was among the parishes with the highest rates of murder, shooting and extortion, hence the reason that it stood out as a parish with a high proportion of reported crimes. The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who had friends or relatives who were crime victims were Trelawny, St. Elizabeth and St. Thomas.



When crime victimization was disaggregated by gender it was discovered that more males than females reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of extortion, shooting and murder, whereas more females than males reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of sexual assault. A similar proportion of males and females reported having friends and relatives who were victims of serious violence (see Figure 6.7). More specifically, 2.7% of males and 2.1% of females reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of extortion. Similarly, 12.7% of males and 11.6% of females reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of shooting. Likewise, 25.7% of males and 23.8% of females reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of murder. In contrast, 5.7% of females reported that they had friends and relatives who were victims of sexual assault. In contrast, 4.1% of males reported the same.

An analysis of the relationship of age with reporting that friends or family members were victims of serious crime revealed that across all crimes considered, younger persons were more likely to report having a larger proportion of friends and relatives who were crime victims than older persons (Table 6.13). For example, while 19% of persons older than 60 years of age and 23.9% of persons in the 51-60 age range reported having friends and relatives who were murdered, 31.1% of persons in the 16-20 age range made a similar report. In a similar manner 8.8% of persons in the 16-20 age range reported that they had friends or relatives who were victims of sexual assault. In contrast, 4.6% of 51-60 year olds and 1.9% of persons older than 60 reported similarly.

Table 6.13: Percent of respondents that reported that they have family members or friends who have been the victim of a serious crime, by Age (2016 NCVS)

Age	Murder	Rape or Sexual Assault	Shooting	Serious Violence	Extortion
16-20 years	31.1	8.8	13.6	12.1	1.7
21-30 years	24.0	5.1	12.7	12.2	2.8
31-40 years	25.4	5.4	10.9	10.8	3.0
41-50 years	27.0	5.7	15.5	12.3	3.3
51-60 years	23.9	4.6	9.7	8.0	1.1
61 years or older	19.0	1.9	9.2	6.4	1.3

These results are consistent with the earlier finding that younger persons were more likely to witness incidents of crime victimization than older persons (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5). The present results suggest that younger persons in Jamaica may be living at a time in which levels of violence are higher than in the past, making it more likely that they know persons who were crime victims. Alternatively, it is also possible that younger persons are more open to reporting to survey interviewers that they have friends and relatives who were crime victims.

PART SEVEN

FEAR OF CRIME

This section of the report looks at respondents' perceptions about crime and their feelings of fear and safety. Perceptions about crime in Jamaica and in respondents' communities are examined first. Perceptions of safety in the community are also assessed and these are specific to several activities that residents would normally engage in while in their communities. Fear of crime is also examined with reference to several specified crimes. Finally, respondents were also asked about changes in their behaviour which may have resulted from their fear of crime victimization.

The majority of respondents (60.4%) were of the opinion that crime in Jamaica had increased over the last five years while 18.6% felt that crime had decreased. In contrast, 9.3% of respondents felt that crime in their community had increased while 40.9% felt that crime in their community had decreased. Approximately 6.1% of respondents felt that their community had more crime than other areas in Jamaica while 72.1% felt that their community had less crime than other areas in Jamaica. It was also discovered that more respondents felt safe than unsafe in Jamaica. Invariably the level of fear has declined in Jamaica from the time of the 2006 NCVS to the present. Consistent with this it was found that a large proportion of persons do not alter their behaviours as a result of fear of crime.

Perceptions about crime in the community and in Jamaica

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought that the amount of crime in Jamaica had increased, decreased or remained the same over the last five years (Figure 7.1). The majority of respondents (60.4%) were of the opinion that crime in Jamaica had increased. In contrast, 18.6% felt that crime had decreased while 15% felt that crime levels remained stable over the last five years.

In contrast, when asked about their community a much smaller proportion of respondents felt that crime had increased while a much larger proportion felt that crime had decreased (Figure 7.2). More specifically, 9.3% of respondents felt that crime had increased in their community over the last five years. In contrast, 40.9% felt that crime in their community had decreased. Another 43% felt that crime levels had stayed the same in their community over the last five years.

Respondents were also asked to compare their community to other communities in Jamaica and to indicate whether they thought that their community had more or less crime than other areas (Figure 7.3). A total of 6.1% of respondents felt that their community had more crime than other areas in Jamaica. The majority of respondents (72.1%) felt that their community had less crime than other areas in Jamaica. Another 16.4% believed that their community had the same amount of crime as other areas in Jamaica.

Figure 7.1: Percent of respondents who believe that crime has increased over the last five years (2016 NCVS)

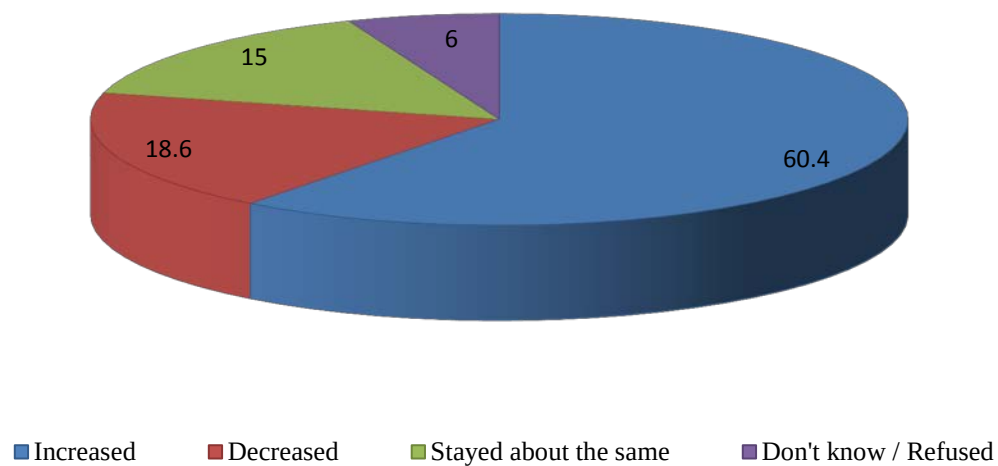


Figure 7.2: Percent of respondents who believe that crime in their community has increased over the last five years (2016 NCVS)

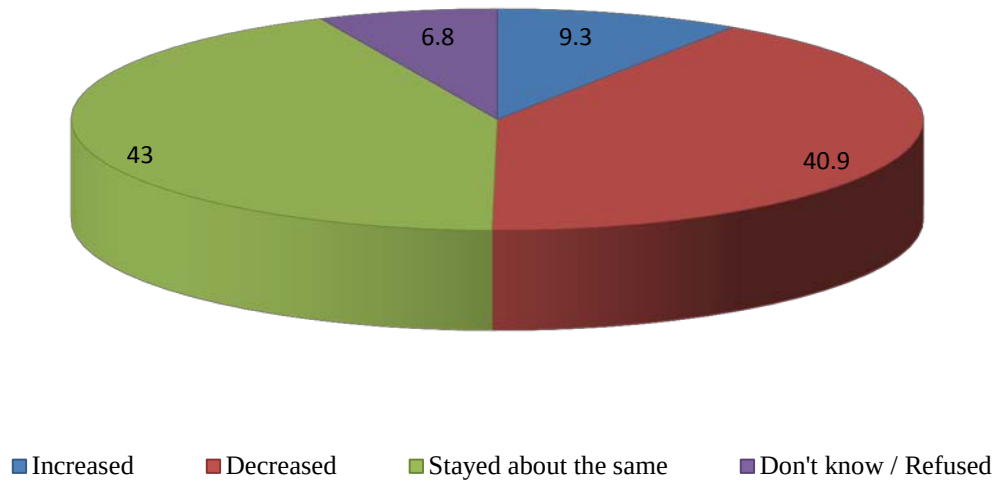
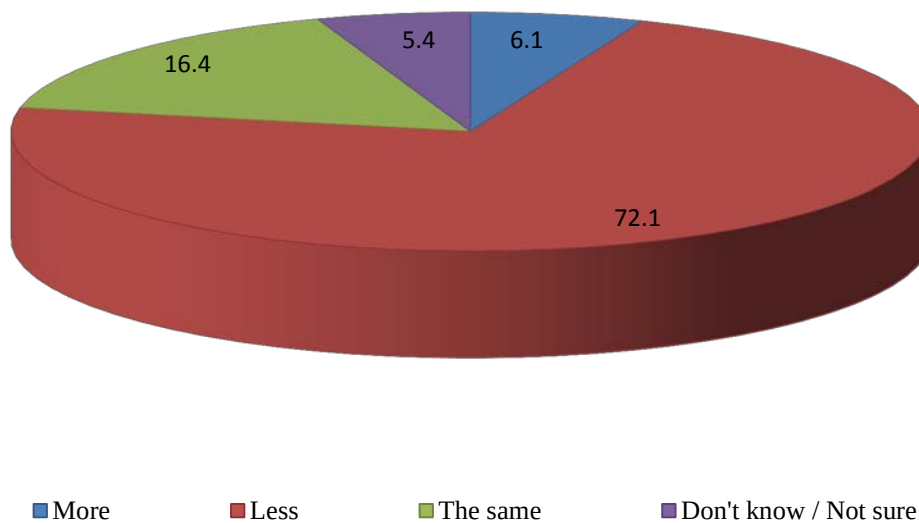


Figure 7.3: Percent of respondents who believe that their community has more crime than other areas in Jamaica (2016 NCVS)



Perceptions about crime in Jamaica were found to vary according to the gender of the respondent. More specifically, females were more likely to believe that crime in Jamaica had increased over the last five years compared to males (63.7% of females felt that this was so compared to 57.6% of males). Accordingly, fewer females (16.9%) believed that crime had decreased compared to males (21.1%). However, a similar proportion of males (9.3%) and females (9.4%) felt that crime in their community had increased over the last five years. Slightly more males (42.6%) than females (40.4%) felt that crime in their community had decreased. When asked to compare their community to other communities in Jamaica somewhat more males than females (6.7% vs. 5.7%) felt that their community had more crime than other communities in Jamaica. In contrast, slightly more females than males (73.1% vs. 72.4%) felt that their community had less crime than other communities in Jamaica.

The relationship between age and perceptions of crime was also examined (Table 7.1). Older persons were somewhat more likely than younger persons to believe that crime in Jamaica had increased over the last five years. For example, whereas 69% of persons older than 60 years of age and 64.1% between the ages of 51-60 felt that crime in Jamaica had increased, 53.8% of persons in the 16-20 age range felt the same way. Accordingly more youths in the 16-20 age range (23%) felt that crime had decreased, compared to persons in the 51-60 age range (18.6%) and the 61 and over age range (13.9%). When asked about their community, a very similar proportion of persons in all of the age ranges above 21 years of age felt that crime in their community had increased (estimates ranged from 9.2% to 9.7%). In contrast, a slightly lower proportion of persons in the 16-20 age range (7.9%) felt that crime had increased in their community over the last five years. A somewhat larger proportion of respondents in the youngest age range (43.4%) believed that crime in their community had decreased, compared to persons in the 61 and over age range (38.1%).

Opinions of whether there was more or less crime in their community compared to other communities in Jamaica were similar regardless of the age of respondents. The proportion of persons who believed that their community had more crime than other communities in Jamaica ranged from a low of 4.6% for 16-20 year olds to a high of 7.3% for 41-50 year olds. The proportion of persons who believed that their community had less crime than other communities

in Jamaica ranged from a low of 69.6% for 21-30 year olds to a high of 77% for persons older than 60 years of age.

Table 7.1: Perceptions of crime in Jamaica and in the community, by Age (2016 NCVS)

Age	Crime in Jamaica		Crime in the Community	
	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased
16-20	53.8	23.0	7.9	43.4
21-30	59.3	20.3	9.2	41.5
31-40	57.3	19.5	9.7	42.3
41-50	60.5	18.6	9.7	42.6
51-60	64.1	18.6	9.4	41.5
61 and over	69.0	13.9	9.5	38.1

Perceptions of crime in Jamaica and in the community vary somewhat by parish (Table 7.2). For example, the parishes of Hanover, St. James, St. Ann and Portland have the highest proportion of respondents who believed that crime had increased in Jamaica over the last five years (with a high of 81.3% in Hanover to 73.7% in Portland). In contrast, the parishes of St. Andrew (47.9%), Kingston (48.6%) and St. Catherine (52.6%) had the lowest proportion of respondents who felt the same.

With respect to crime in their own community, the parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who believed that crime had increased over the last five years included St. James (where 29.3% of respondents shared this opinion), Hanover (23.3%), Westmoreland (17.6%) and St. Ann (15.8%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who believed that crime in their community had increased over the last five years included St. Catherine (where 5.0% of

respondents shared this opinion), St. Elizabeth (3.1%) and St. Andrew (2.9%). The parishes with the largest proportion of respondents who believed that their community had more crime than other communities in Jamaica were St. James (22.6%), Hanover (20.7%), Westmoreland (13.2%) and Kingston (11.4%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of respondents who believed that their community had more crime than other communities in Jamaica were St. Elizabeth (0%), Manchester (0.4%) and Trelawny (1.3%).

Table 7.2: Perceptions of crime in Jamaica and in the community, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

Parish	Percent of respondents who believe that crime has increased in Jamaica in the past five years	Percent of respondents who believe that crime has increased in their own neighbourhood in the past five years	Percent of respondents who believe that their neighbourhood has more crime than other areas in Jamaica
Hanover	81.3	23.3	20.7
St. James	81.2	29.3	22.6
St. Ann	74.6	15.8	10.8
Portland	73.7	6.6	3.3
St. Mary	72.4	8.7	3.4
Clarendon	71.6	13.7	9.8
Westmoreland	62.1	17.6	13.2
St. Elizabeth	60.9	3.1	0.0
St. Thomas	59.3	6.1	1.4
Trelawny	58.9	6.4	1.3
Manchester	57.0	6.8	0.4
St. Catherine	52.6	5.0	4.0
Kingston	48.6	12.2	11.4
St. Andrew	47.9	2.9	1.8

Personal Safety in Public Spaces

Respondents were asked whether they would feel safe or unsafe engaging in eight different activities: 1) Walking alone in their own neighbourhood during the day; 2) Walking alone in their own neighbourhood after dark; 3) Using public transportation alone after dark; 4) Spending time at home alone after dark; 5) Going shopping alone after dark; 6) Going to a

restaurant alone after dark; 7) Going to a nightclub, bar or stage show after dark; and 8) Going to school or work after dark.

The results indicate that far more respondents feel safe than unsafe for the various activities (Table 7.3). For example, while 3.6% of respondents felt unsafe while walking alone in their neighbourhood during the day, the vast majority (95.5%) felt safe or very safe. Similarly, while 10.7% felt unsafe or very unsafe while home alone in the evening or night, another 87.9% felt safe or very safe. The highest levels of safety were felt when walking alone in their neighbourhood in the day (95.5%), while home alone in the evening or night (87.9%), while walking alone in their neighbourhood at night (81.7%) and while shopping alone after dark (73.5%). The activities about which persons were most concerned were going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert or stage show (where 25.7% of respondents felt unsafe or very unsafe) and going to work or school at night (24.3% felt unsafe or very unsafe).

Table 7.3: Percent of respondents who feel safe or unsafe while engaged in specified activities (2016 NCVS)¹⁴

	Safe or Very Safe	Unsafe or Very Unsafe
Walking alone in your community in the day	95.5	3.6
Walking alone in your community after dark	81.7	16.8
Using public transportation alone after dark	73.5	23.5
Home alone in the evening or night	87.9	10.7
Shopping alone after dark	73.5	23.5
Going to a restaurant alone after dark	72.5	24.1
Going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert etc.	69.8	25.7
Going to work or school at night	71.8	24.3

A comparison of the levels of concern shared by residents indicated that invariably the level of fear has declined in Jamaica from the time of the 2006 NCVS to the present (see Table 7.4 and Figure 7.4). The declines were strongest for using public transportation alone after dark, shopping alone after dark, going to a restaurant alone after dark, going to work or school at night, and going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert or stage show. When we consider using

¹⁴ Percentages do not sum to 100% since a few respondents did not know or refused to answer the questions.

public transportation alone after dark, for example, in 2006 50.6% of respondents felt unsafe or very unsafe while engaged in this activity. This declined to 45.4% in 2009, and further declined to 30.3% in 2013 and reached a low of 23.5% in 2016. With respect to shopping alone after dark, in 2006 44.8% of respondents indicated that they felt unsafe or very unsafe while engaged in this activity. This declined to 40.8% in 2009, 30.5% in 2013 and 23.5% in 2016. The least pronounced decline in levels of fear occurred with walking in their communities during the day. Across surveys the level of fear for this activity was already very low, and it is therefore not surprising that a strong decline was not observed.

Table 7.4: Percent of respondents who feel unsafe or very unsafe when they engage in specific activities (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

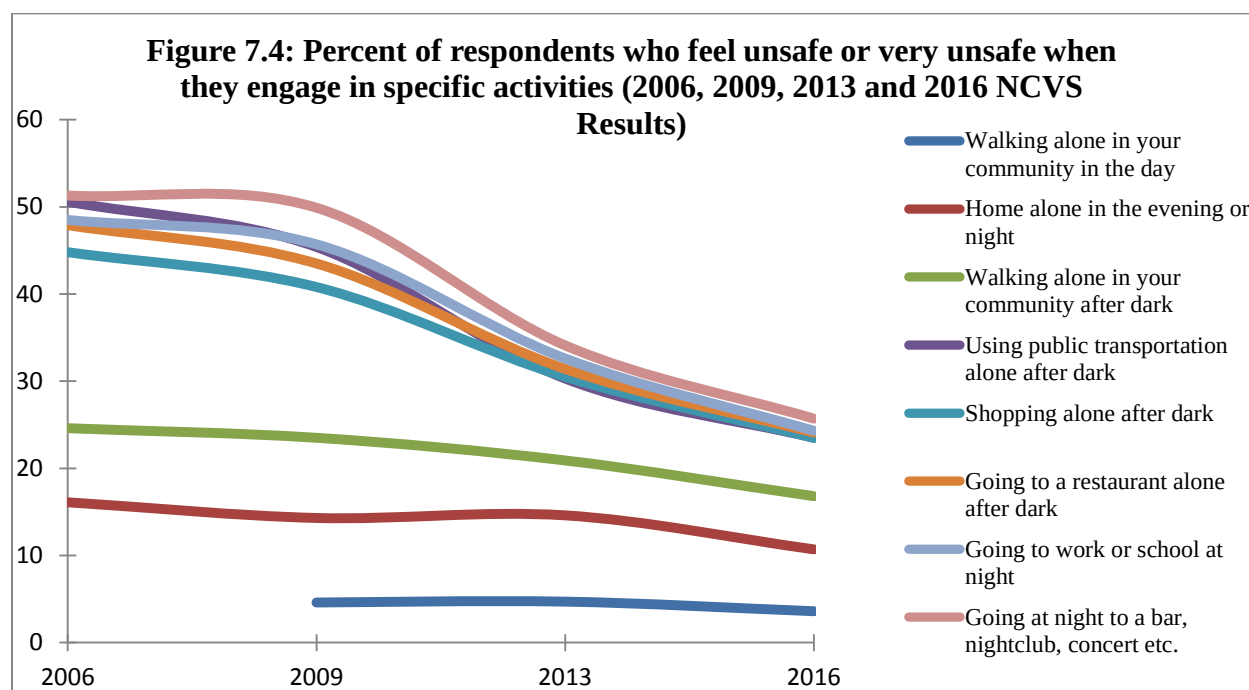
<i>How safe would you feel ...</i>	2006	2009	2013	2016
Walking alone in your community in the day	NA	4.6	4.7	3.6
Home alone in the evening or night	16.1	14.3	14.6	10.7
Walking alone in your community after dark	24.6	23.5	20.9	16.8
Using public transportation alone after dark	50.6	45.4	30.3	23.5
Shopping alone after dark	44.8	40.8	30.5	23.5
Going to a restaurant alone after dark	47.9	43.5	31.4	24.1
Going to work or school at night	48.5	45.7	32.6	24.3
Going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert etc.	51.3	49.9	34.1	25.7

NA = Question was not asked in the 2006 NCVS

Overall, the results from 2006 to 2016 underscore that feelings of safety have improved dramatically in Jamaica. This is consistent with the observed declines in official crime data as well as declines in crime in the community (Figure 3.5), declines in the proportion of persons who have left their community because of crime (Figure 3.6), an increase in the proportion of residents who felt that their friends and relatives would be very safe if they visited their

community (Figure 3.9), a decline in the proportion of persons who feel that corner crews, criminal gangs and area dons existed in their communities (Figure 3.14), declines in witnessing crime in respondents' lifetime and in the past year (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) and declines in the proportion of persons who reported that family members or friends had been the victim of crime (Table 6.9). All of these factors point to a consistent improvement in security and safety in Jamaica.

When perceptions of safety are disaggregated by gender it was found, consistent with the results of past National Crime Victimization Surveys, that females were more fearful of engaging in activities in public spaces than males (Figure 7.5). For example, while 12.6% of males felt unsafe or very unsafe when walking alone in their community after dark, 20.5% of females felt similarly. With respect to using public transportation after dark, 18.3% of males compared to 28.5% of females felt unsafe or very unsafe.



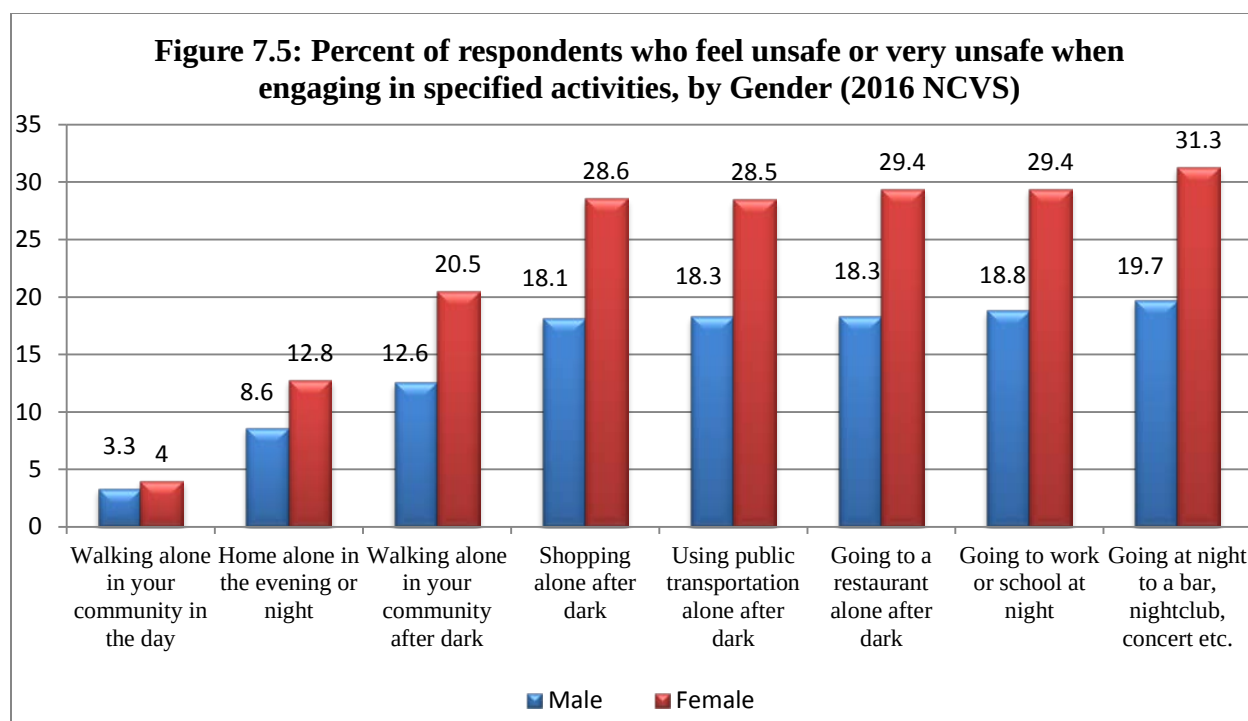


Table 7.5: Percent of respondents who feel unsafe or very unsafe when they engage in specific activities, by Age (2016 NCVS)

	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	> 60
Walking alone in your community in the day	3.3	4.7	3.6	4.1	3.2	2.0
Walking alone in your community after dark	21.4	18.4	17.6	15.8	12.3	15.7
Using public transportation alone after dark	34.1	26.3	23.9	21.5	18.7	21.7
Home alone in the evening or night	13.9	11.3	11.1	11.4	8.1	9.5
Shopping alone after dark	29.6	24.8	22.3	22.2	21.1	24.5
Going to a restaurant alone after dark	33.1	25.7	23.6	22.7	21.3	22.3
Going at night to a bar, nightclub, concert etc.	36.3	28.0	25.0	23.9	22.2	23.8
Going to work or school at night	32.6	27.5	23.6	23.0	21.2	21.4

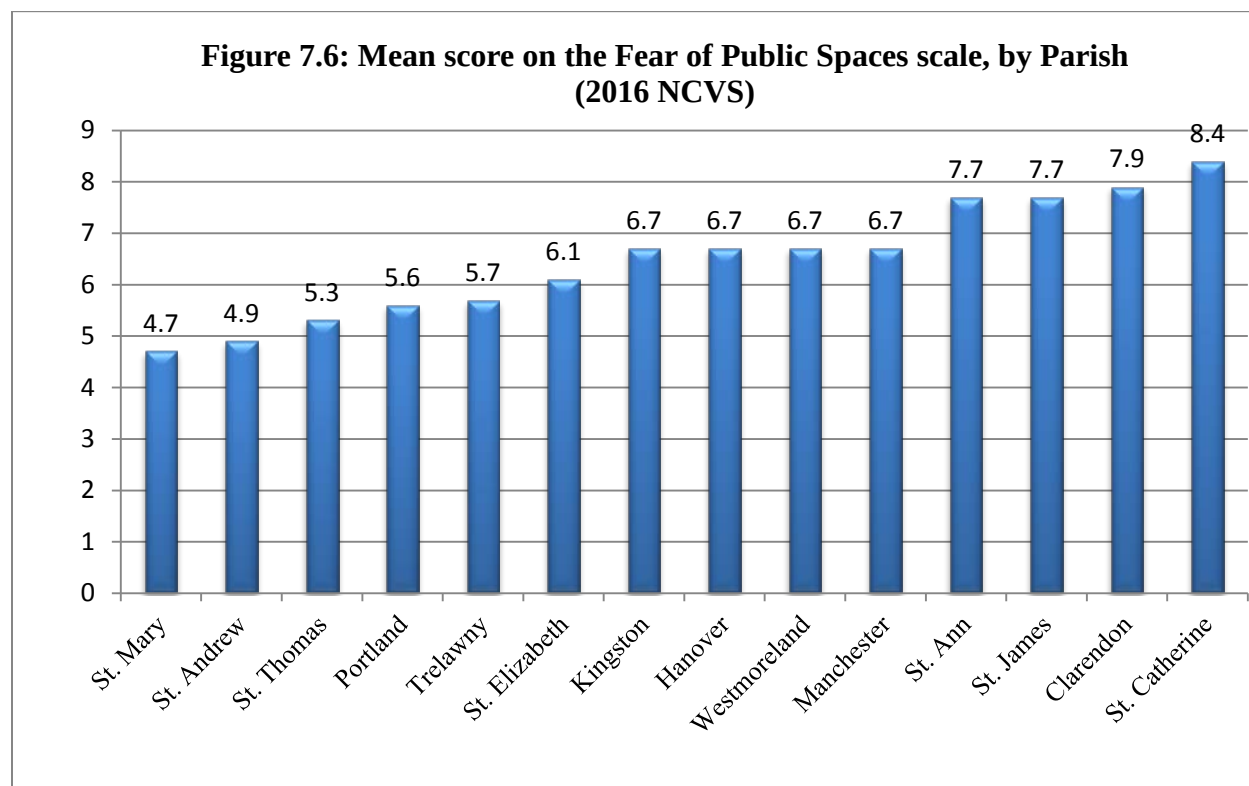
Contrary to survey results in United States, Canada and the UK, disaggregation of perceptions of safety according to the age of the respondent revealed that almost invariably, younger persons were more fearful than older persons, though there is a slight reversal in this

trend with the oldest age range (Table 7.5). More specifically, with all activities except walking alone in the community during the day, the proportion of persons who feel unsafe or very unsafe consistently declined as persons get older. This applies from the ages of 16 to 60. However, persons in the 60 and older age range consistently expressed higher levels of fear than persons in the 51-60 age range, though their levels of fear were still lower than that of persons in the youngest age range. For example, the data indicate that while 21.4% of 16-20 year olds feel unsafe or very unsafe while walking alone in their community in the night, this figure declines to 18.4% for 21-30 year olds, 17.6% for 31-40 year olds, 15.8% for 41-50 year olds and 12.3% for 51-60 year olds. In other words, there is a consistent decline in the level of fear as persons move from 16 to 60 years of age. The level of concern once again increases to 15.7% feeling unsafe or very unsafe for the oldest age group.

International research, in contrast, has found that older persons tend to feel more unsafe than younger persons. This despite the fact that older persons are much less likely to be victimized. Researchers have suggested that older persons feel higher levels of fear because they feel that they may be more vulnerable than younger persons. In the case of Jamaica the data very clearly indicate the opposite - that younger persons are more fearful. This is consistent with the earlier observation that in Jamaica younger persons are more likely to witness crimes than older persons (Tables 6.4 and 6.5). As a consequence, in Jamaica younger persons may perceive that their risk of victimization is higher and as such they may express more fear of being victimized.

In order to examine the level of fear by Parish, the responses to the above eight questions were combined into a “Fear of Public Spaces” scale. For each question, responses were coded in the following manner: 0=very safe; 1=safe; 2=unsafe; 3=very unsafe. Combining responses to the eight items produced a scale that ranges from 0 to 24 (mean = 6.5, SD = 5.5, alpha=.944). The higher the score on this scale the greater the fear of engaging in public activities. Analysis using this scale revealed that fear of public places varies by parish in Jamaica ($F(13, 3466) = 18.9, p < .001$, see Figure 7.6). Parishes with the highest levels of fear of public spaces are St. Catherine (with a mean score of 8.4), Clarendon (7.9), St. James (7.7) and St. Ann (7.7). Parishes

with the lowest levels of fear of public spaces are St. Mary (4.7), St. Andrew (4.9) and St. Thomas (5.3).

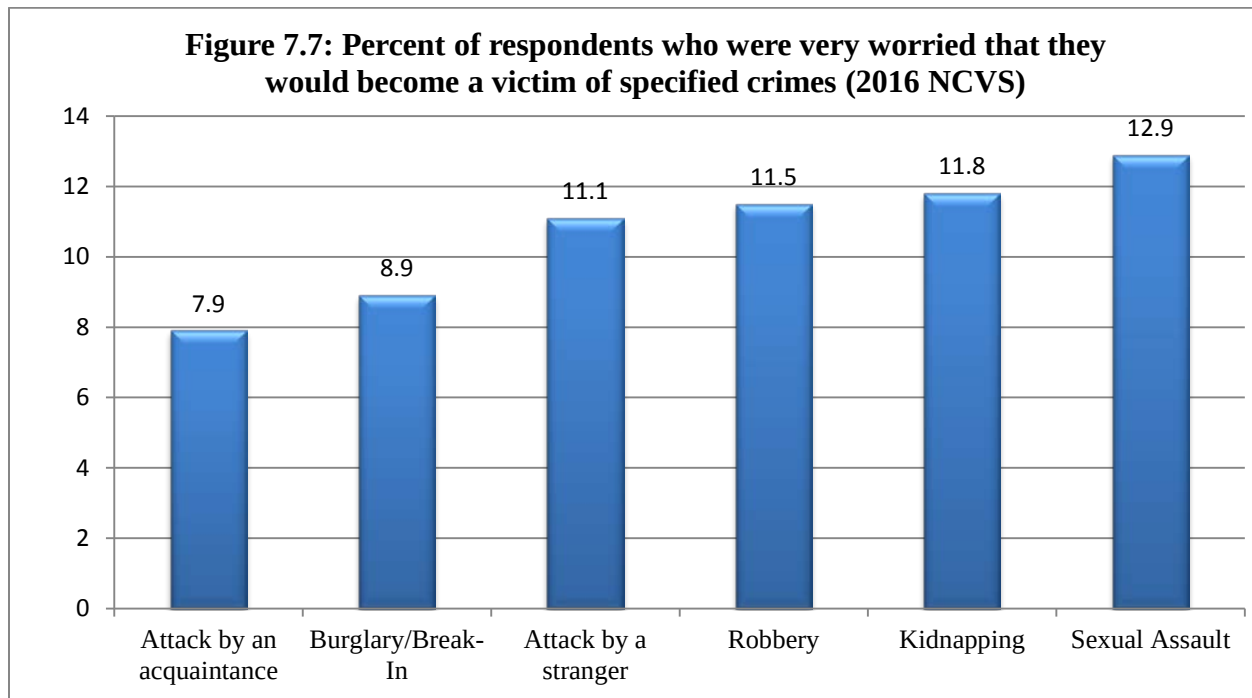


Fear of Criminal Victimization

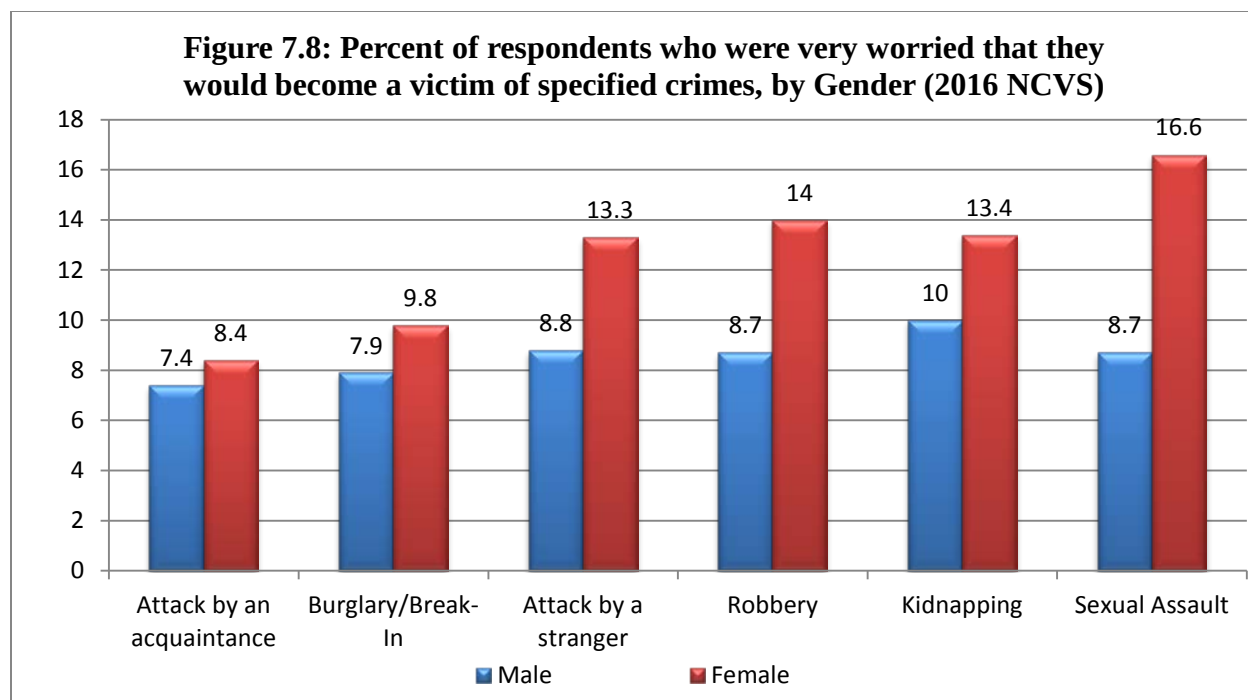
Respondents were asked to indicate how worried they were about becoming the victim of six different types of criminal offence: 1) Burglary/Break and Enter; 2) Robbery 3) Being attacked by a stranger; 4) Being attacked by someone they know; 5) Sexual Assault and 6) Kidnapping.

The results of the 2016 NCVS reveal that the greatest level of fear applied to sexual assault where 12.9% of respondents were very worried that this would happen to them (Figure 7.7). Another 15.7% said that they were a little worried. However, the majority of respondents were not worried about this form of victimization. More specifically, 20.7% were not very

worried and another 49.5% were not worried at all. The next most important crime was kidnapping where 11.8% of respondents indicated that they were very worried that this would happen to them. This was followed by robbery at 11.5%. The crime which least concerned respondents was being attacked by someone they knew. Approximately 7.9% of respondents indicated that they were very worried about this.



When these results are disaggregated by gender it was discovered that females were more fearful than males for all crimes which were assessed (Figure 7.8). The largest disparities in the levels of fear applied to sexual assault where 16.6% of females indicated that they were very worried that they would become a victim compared to 8.7% of males. Robbery also had a large disparity with 14% of females versus 8.7% of males indicating that they were very worried that they would become a victim of this.



The results of the 2016 NCVS indicate that the classic age-fear relationship which has been consistently found in international literature does not exist in Jamaica. Such literature has shown that older persons tend to be more fearful than younger persons. In Jamaica the opposite is true. Similar to the results of the 2013 NCVS, the present survey found that younger persons were more fearful than older persons, and this applied regardless of the type of crime (Table 7.6). for example, the data indicate that while 20.3% of 16-20 year olds are very worried about becoming a victim of sexual assault, this figure declines to 16.5% for 21-30 year olds, and further declines to 14.5% (31-40 year olds), 10.7% (41-50 year olds), 8.9% (51-60 year olds) and reaches its lowest level for persons older than 60 years of age (7.7%). Similar declines are observed for all of the crimes which were examined.

Table 7.6: Percent of respondents who are very worried that they may become the victim of specified crimes, by Age (2016 NCVS)

<i>How worried are you about...</i>	16-20 yrs	21-30 yrs	31-40 yrs	41-50 yrs	51-60 yrs	61 or older
Attack by an acquaintance	11.2	8.4	8.9	6.4	6.6	7.7
Burglary/Break-In	11.5	8.5	10.1	8.0	7.2	8.7
Attack by a stranger	16.1	12.3	12.2	8.7	9.1	9.5
Robbery	16.8	10.4	12.9	9.8	9.3	11.5
Kidnapping	17.1	13.1	13.9	9.0	9.4	9.5
Sexual Assault	20.3	16.5	14.5	10.7	8.9	7.7

To analyse fear of criminal victimization by parish, the responses to the above six questions were combined into a “Fear of Criminal Victimization” scale. For each question, responses were coded in the following manner: 0=Not worried at all; 1=Not very worried; 2=A little worried; 3=Very worried. Combining responses to the six items that measure fear of criminal victimization produces a scale that ranges from 0 to 18 (mean=5.64, SD=5.32, alpha=.924). The higher the score on this scale the greater the fear of criminal victimization. An analysis of this scale reveals that fear of criminal victimization varies significantly by parish ($F(13, 3466) = 15.4, p < .001$ - see Figure 7.9). For example, fear of criminal victimization is highest in St. James (a mean score of 7.9), Trelawny (7.7), Clarendon (7.2) and St. Catherine (7). Fear of criminal victimization is lowest in St. Elizabeth (3.5), Westmoreland (4.2) and Kingston (4.6).

While many respondents expressed their fear about being victimized, a comparison of trends from past surveys indicates that levels of fear have been consistently declining in Jamaica. The 2016 survey recorded the lowest proportion of persons who indicated that they were very worried about being victimized. This applied to all of the crimes that were assessed (Table 7.7). For example, in 2006 24.5% of respondents indicated that they were very worried about being

robbed. This declined to 17.2% in 2009 and further declined to 15.9% in 2013 and 11.5% in 2016. Similarly with sexual assault, in 2006 25.4% indicated that they were very worried about becoming a victim of this crime. This figure declined to 19.6% in 2009, 18.7% in 2013 and 12.9% in 2016.

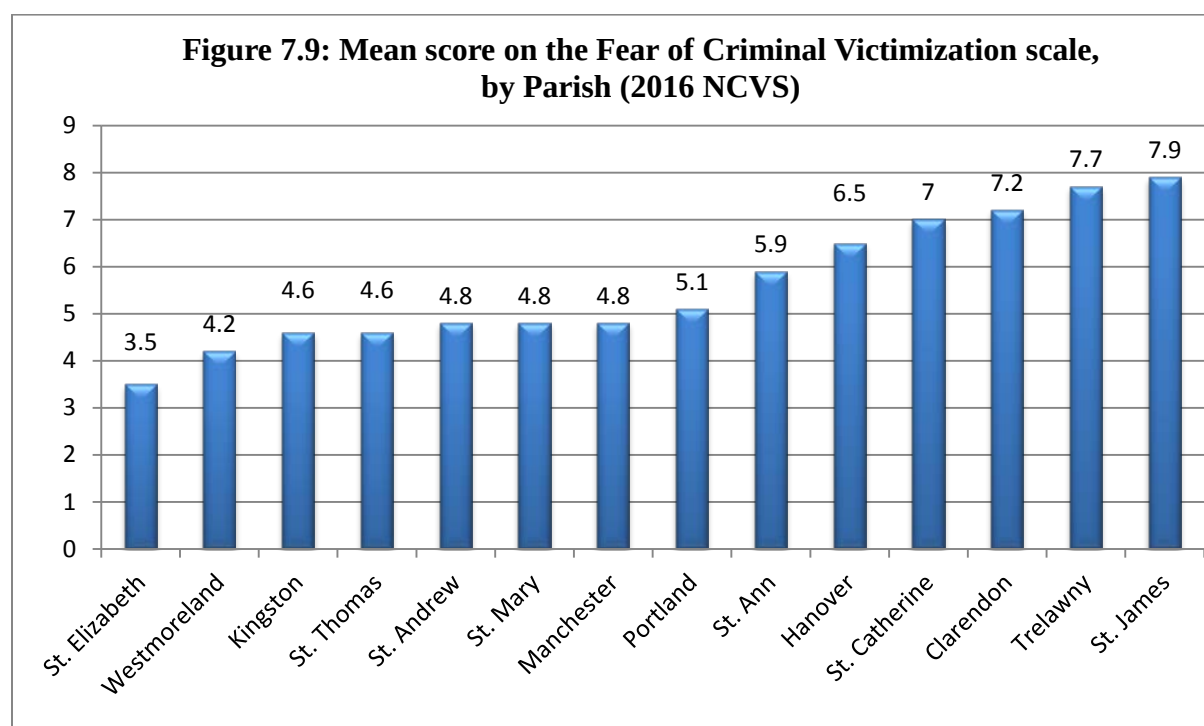


Table 7.7: Percent of respondents who are very worried that they may become the victim of different types of crime (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS results)

<i>How worried are you about...</i>	2006	2009	2013	2016
Being attacked by someone you know	14.4	10.3	12.4	7.9
Burglary/Break and Enter	21.2	13.8	12.8	8.9
Robbery	24.5	17.2	15.9	11.5
Being attacked by a stranger	26.4	18.1	16.1	11.1
Sexual Assault	25.4	19.6	18.7	12.9
Kidnapping	NA	19.9	19.9	11.8

NA = Question was not asked in the 2006 NCVS

Changing Behaviour Due to Fear of Crime

Fear of crime can lead to alterations in behaviour. More specifically it may lead to behaviours which curtail movement and time spent in public places in order to reduce one's chances of becoming a crime victim. At the same time, this undermines economic development and stifles activities which engender social interaction. In order to examine how fear may impact the behaviour of Jamaicans the following questions were asked: 1) *Do you ever stay at home during the daytime because you are afraid of becoming the victim of a crime or violence?*, 2) *Do you ever stay at home at night because you are afraid of becoming the victim of a crime or violence?*, and 3) *Have you ever deliberately cancelled plans to go out because of fear of becoming the victim of crime or violence?*

The findings indicate that a large proportion of persons do not alter their behaviours as a result of fear of crime (Figure 7.10). This is consistent with earlier findings that the fear of criminal victimization is declining in Jamaica. For example, 89% of respondents indicated that they do not stay at home during the day as a result of fear of crime, while 84.1% do not stay at home during the night as a result of fear of crime. In addition, 84.7% indicated that they never cancel plans due to fear of crime. Nevertheless, there is a small proportion of persons who still alter their behaviour as a result of fear of crime. More specifically, 2.3% of respondents indicated that they often or very often stay at home during the day as a result of fear of crime while 4.7% often or very often stay at home during the night as a result of fear of crime. In addition, 3.9% often or very often cancel plans as a result of fear of crime.

When these results are disaggregated by gender it was found that females were more likely than males to alter their behaviour as a result of fear of criminal victimization (Figure 7.11). For example, while 2.2% of males often or very often stayed at home during the day because of fear of crime, 2.5% of females did likewise. A bigger difference was observed with staying at home during the night. A total of 3.9% of males and 5.5% of females often or very often stay at home during the night as a result of fear of criminal victimization.

Figure 7.10: Percent of respondents who stay at home during the day and the night and who cancel plans as a result of fear of crime (2016 NCVS)

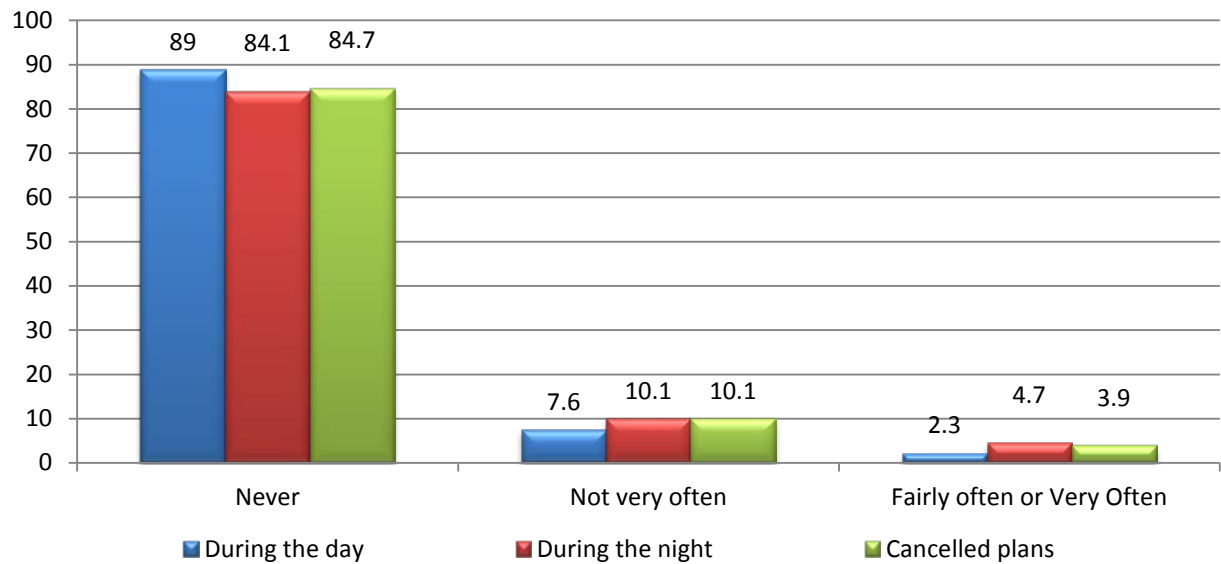
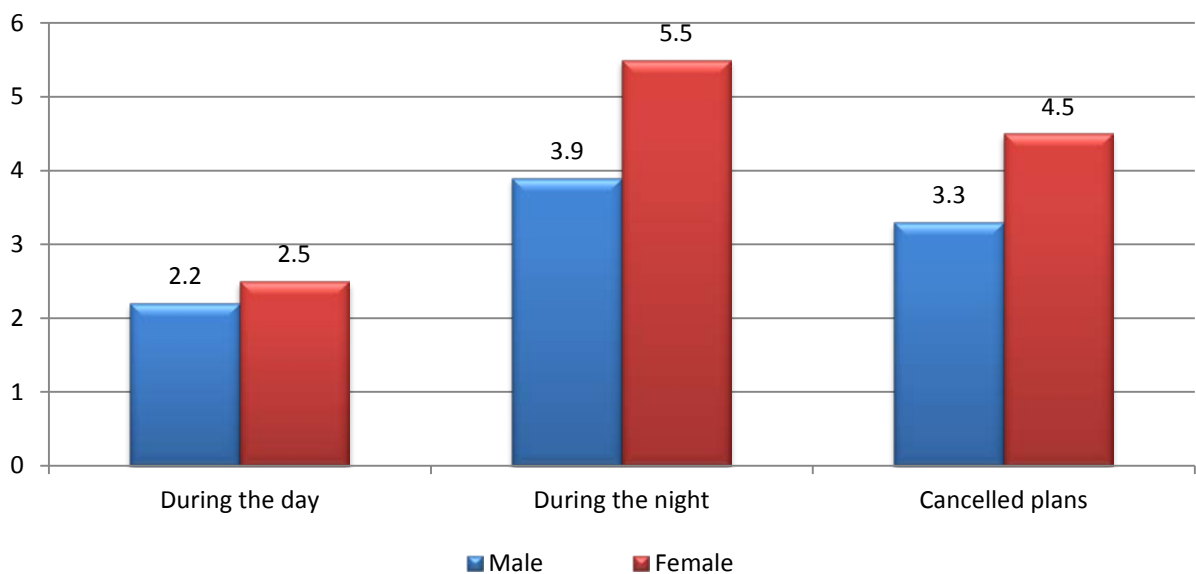
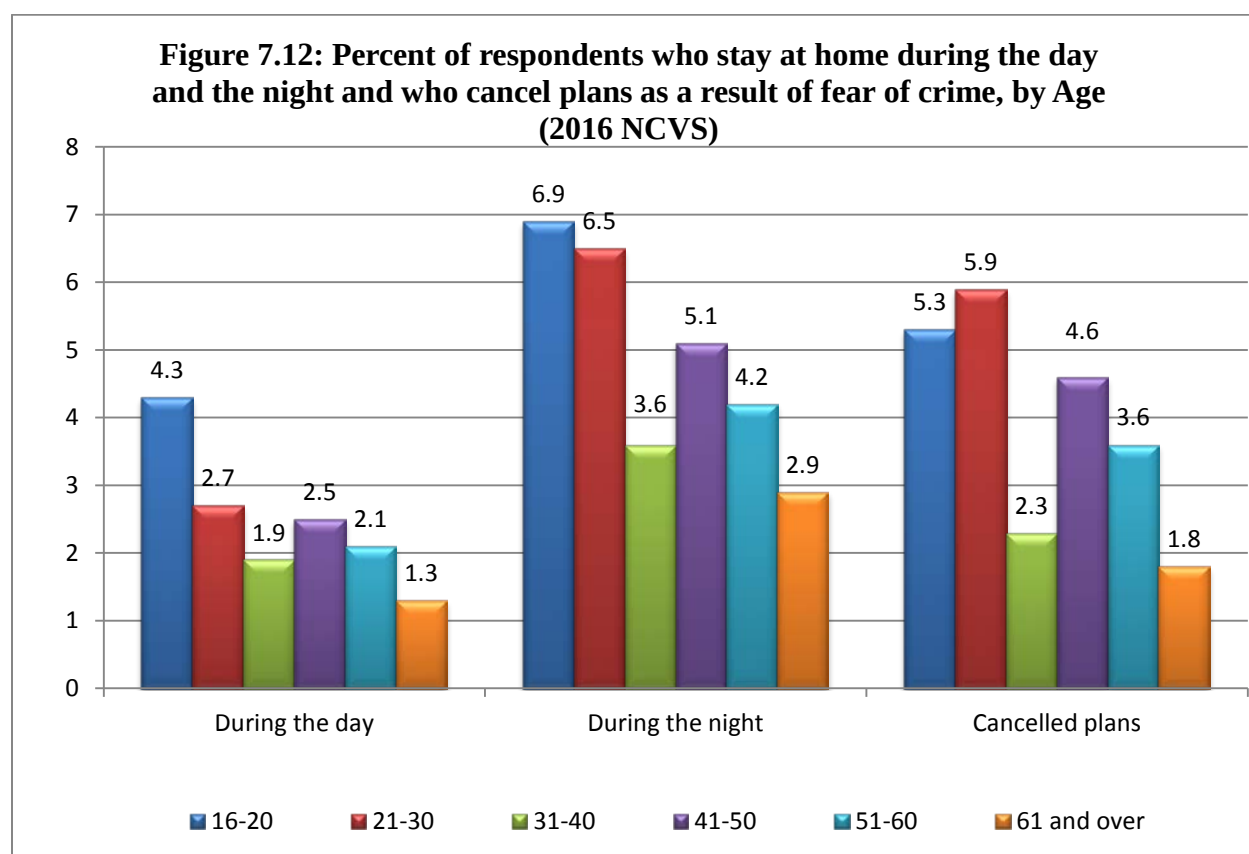


Figure 7.11: Percent of respondents who stay at home during the day and the night and who cancel plans as a result of fear of crime, by Gender (2016 NCVS)



When the data were disaggregated by age it was discovered that younger persons were more likely than older persons to curtail behaviour as a result of fear of criminal victimization (Figure 7.12). For example, while 4.3% of 16-20 year olds indicated that they often or very often stayed at home during the day as a result of fear of criminal victimization, this figure declines as persons get older to reach the lowest rate of 1.3% for persons older than 60 years of age. Similarly, while 6.9% of 16-20 year olds often or very often stay at home during the night as a result of fear of crime, this figure declines to a low of 2.9% for persons older than 60 years of age. A similar pattern is observed for the cancellation of plans. These findings are contrary to much international research but are consistent with other findings of this survey, and particularly those which show that younger persons have higher levels of fear of crime than older persons (see Table 7.5).

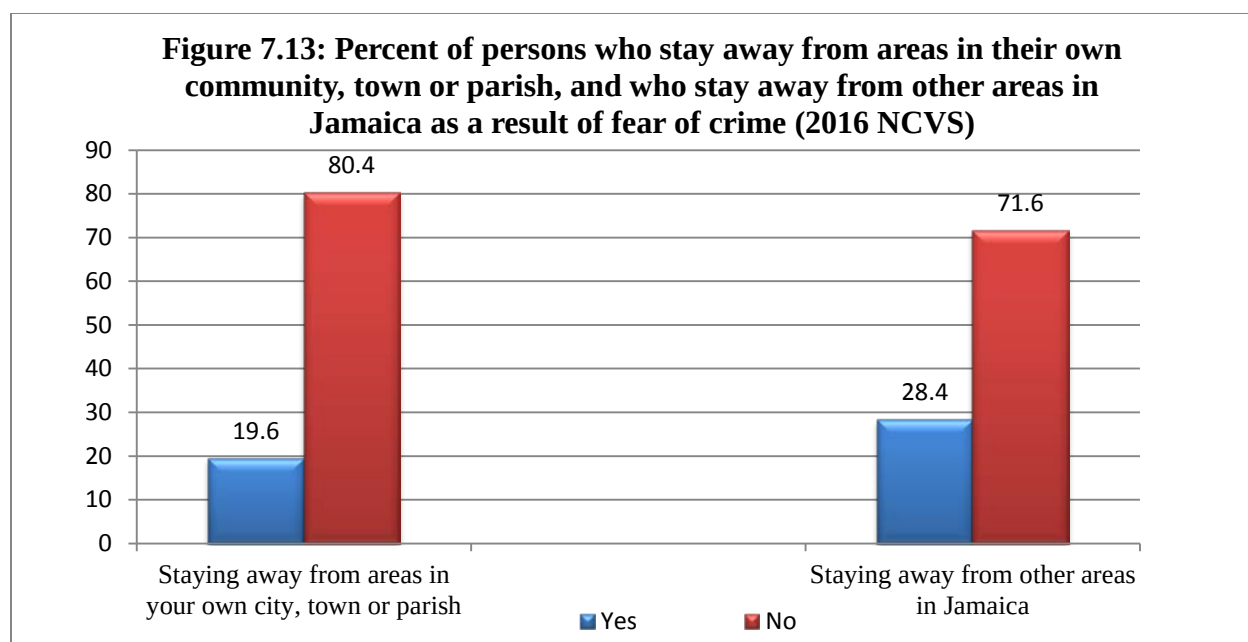


When the results were disaggregated by parish it was discovered that there were differences in the proportion of persons who curtailed activities as a result of fear of crime (Table 7.8). Parishes with the highest proportion of residents who often or very often stay at home during the day as a result of fear of crime are Hanover (6.1%), St. James (5.3%) and Portland (3.9%). Parishes with the highest proportion of residents who stay at home during the night as a result of fear of crime are St. James (9.1%), Hanover (8.7%) and St. Elizabeth (7%). Parishes with the highest proportion of residents who cancelled plans as a result of fear of crime are St. James (8.4%), St. Ann (7%) and Kingston (6.7%).

In order to further assess fear of crime, respondents were asked to indicate whether they avoided certain areas in their own neighbourhood, town or parish and whether they avoided other areas in Jamaica as a result of crime (Figure 7.13). The results indicate that 19.6% of respondents avoided areas in their own community, town or parish as a result of crime. A somewhat larger proportion (28.4%) avoided other areas in Jamaica as a result of crime.

Table 7.8: Percent of respondents who stay at home during the day and night, and who cancel plans due to fear of criminal victimization, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

	During the day	During the night	Cancelled plans
Hanover	6.1	8.7	4.7
St. James	5.3	9.1	8.4
Portland	3.9	4.6	3.3
St. Thomas	3.7	5.6	5.1
St. Catherine	3.2	6.6	4.7
Kingston	3.1	4.9	6.7
Manchester	2.7	6.3	2.7
St. Elizabeth	1.6	7.0	4.7
Westmoreland	1.6	1.6	1.6
Clarendon	1.4	5.4	5.1
St. Andrew	1.3	1.8	1.9
St. Ann	1.0	6.9	7.0
St. Mary	0.9	1.7	2.6
Trelawny	0.0	2.6	0.0



When the results were disaggregated by parish (Table 7.9) it was discovered that in the parishes of St. James, Clarendon, St. Ann and St. Catherine a larger proportion of respondents avoided certain areas in their own community, town or parish because of fear of crime (range = 43.8% to 26.7%) than in other parishes in Jamaica. In contrast, a large proportion of the residents in Portland (50.3%), Trelawny (43%), St. Thomas (41.9%) and St. Elizabeth (39.8%) avoided other areas in Jamaica as a result of fear of crime.

Table 7.9: Percent of respondents that avoid certain areas of Jamaica because of fear of crime, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

Parish	Percent of respondents who avoid certain areas of their city, town or parish because of fear of crime	Percent of respondents who avoid other areas of Jamaica because of fear of crime
St. James	43.8	26.3
Clarendon	30.1	26.1
St. Ann	26.7	38.8
St. Catherine	26.7	20.4
Westmoreland	23.9	27.6
St. Thomas	19.7	41.9
Kingston	17.9	19.6
Hanover	17.3	30.9
Trelawny	15.2	43.0
Portland	14.5	50.3
St. Andrew	13.6	15.5
Manchester	11.1	29.1
St. Mary	10.8	39.6
St. Elizabeth	7.9	39.8

PART EIGHT

CRIME CAUSATION AND CRIME PREVENTION

Part 8 of this report examines public perceptions of crime causation and crime prevention. It begins by examining various crime prevention strategies and assesses respondents' opinions about the effectiveness of each of these strategies. This section also considers the strategies that respondents offered and examines the areas that respondents think are lacking in the fight against crime. This section also looks at personal crime prevention strategies and concludes by examining beliefs about the causes of crime in Jamaica.

While respondents are more strongly in support of social and preventative policy options as a means of reducing crime, there is also a sizeable proportion of persons who are in support of law enforcement options. The largest proportion of respondents (95.1%) agreed or strongly agreed that creating more jobs would have a positive effect on crime reduction. Improving the educational system received the second highest level of support (91.4% agreed or strongly agreed), followed by helping convicted criminals find jobs after they were released from prison (86.2%). When law enforcement policy options are considered separately, the most important ones were creating a better witness protection program (83.2%), offering better training to police officers (82.3%) and developing a task force to fight gangs and organized crime (78%). The majority of persons interviewed identified a range of areas for which they felt that the government was not doing enough and should place greater emphasis on in the fight against crime. Suggestions included the provision of jobs, providing better education and making a more concerted effort to reduce poverty. This section of the report also found that within their lifetime 35.7% of respondents have taken one or more measures in order to protect themselves from crime while within the past year 12.4% of respondents have taken protective measures.

Public Support for Government Crime Prevention Policies

All respondents were asked to indicate whether they agreed or disagreed with fifteen different policy statements dealing with the issue of crime prevention. Some of these statements dealt with crime prevention through law enforcement and the criminal justice process, while other statements dealt with crime prevention through economic and social development (Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1).

The results indicate that while Jamaicans are more strongly in support of social and preventative policy options, there is also a sizeable proportion of persons who are in support of law enforcement options as a means of reducing crime. For example the largest proportion of respondents (95.1%) agreed or strongly agreed that creating more jobs would have a positive effect on crime reduction. Improving the educational system received the second highest level of support (91.4% agreed or strongly agreed), followed by helping convicted criminals find jobs after they were released from prison (86.2%). Next in line was the development of programs to help young parents to better raise their children (85.8%). As indicated, law enforcement and suppressive type strategies received some support. For example 24.1% of those interviewed thought that building more prisons was the solution. In addition, 55.4% of respondents felt that hiring more police officers would be beneficial. Other law enforcement strategies which received some public support were providing better equipment for police officers and spending more money in the development of treatment and rehabilitation programs for offenders.

When law enforcement policy options are considered separately, the most important ones are creating a better witness protection program (with 83.2% of respondents agreeing or strongly agreeing that this was important in the fight against crime), offering better training to police officers (82.3%) and developing a task force to fight gangs and organized crime (78%). The least important law enforcement options were building more prisons (24.1%) and hiring more police officers (55.4%). When only social policy alternatives are considered, the most important ones were creating more jobs (95.1%), improving the education system (91.4%) and helping convicted criminals find jobs when they are released from prison (86.2%). The least important social interventions involved offering welfare payments to the poor (70.2%) and reducing poverty (73.8%). Still, even here, a sizeable proportion of persons thought that these were

important measures. This underscores the finding that social interventions were seen as very important in helping to prevent crime.

According to the survey results, there are very few gender differences with respect to the effectiveness of different crime prevention strategies (Table 8.2). The only crime prevention strategy for which a somewhat larger proportion of males than females agreed related to spending more money on treatment and rehabilitation programs for convicted criminals. A total of 69.5% of males and 65.4% of females agreed or strongly agreed that this was important. In contrast more females than males (77.3% vs. 70.8%) agreed or strongly agreed that judges needed to give out harsher sentences to convicted offenders. Similarly more females than males (67.5% vs. 63%) agreed or strongly agreed that providing the police with better equipment would aid in the fight against crime.

Table 8.1: Percent of respondents who agree or disagree with various government crime prevention policies (2016 NCVS)

Crime Prevention Policy	Agree or Strongly Agree	Disagree or Strongly Disagree
Need to hire more police officers	55.4	41.9
Police need better equipment	64.9	32.9
Jamaica needs to build more prisons	24.1	72.6
Judges need to give out harsher sentences	73.2	22.0
Government needs to create more jobs	95.1	3.4
Need to improve the education system	91.4	6.8
Give out welfare payments to the poor	70.2	26.1
Reducing poverty will be more effective than hiring more police officers	73.8	17.8
Police officers need better training	82.3	14.5
Stop deporting criminal offenders to Jamaica	75.7	19.3

Crime Prevention Policy	Agree or Strongly Agree	Disagree or Strongly Disagree
Develop a special task force to fight gangs and organized crimes	78.0	17.9
Spend more money on treatment and rehabilitation programs for convicted criminals	66.1	27.2
Help convicted criminals find jobs when released from prison	86.2	10.1
Create programs to help young parents raise their children	85.8	12.0
Create a better witness protection program	83.2	8.8

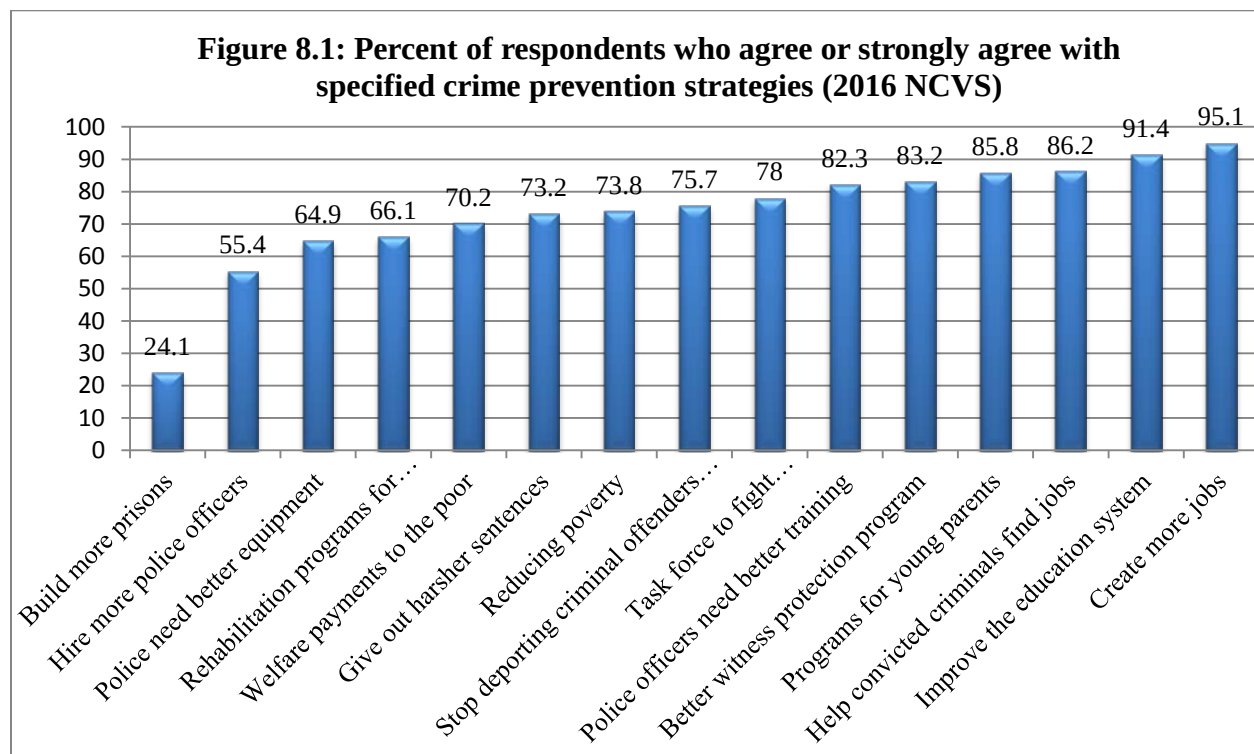


Table 8.2: Percent of respondents who agree or strongly agree with various strategies for crime prevention, by Gender (2016 NCVS)

Crime Prevention Policy	Male	Female
Need to hire more police officers	54.4	57.1
Police need better equipment	63.0	67.5
Jamaica needs to build more prisons	24.0	25.0
Judges need to give out harsher sentences	70.8	77.3
Government needs to create more jobs	96.4	95.8
Need to improve the education system	92.4	92.4
Give out welfare payments to the poor	72.1	70.3
Reducing poverty will be more effective than hiring more police officers	76.1	74.5
Police officers need better training	82.8	83.8
Stop deporting criminal offenders to Jamaica	75.6	77.6
Develop a special task force to fight gangs and organized crimes	78.2	80.1
Spend more money on treatment and rehabilitation programs for convicted criminals	69.5	65.4
Help convicted criminals find jobs when released from prison	88.0	87.2
Create programs to help young parents raise their children	86.7	86.6
Create a better witness protection program	84.5	84.4

Disaggregation of the results according to the age of the respondents indicates that with few exceptions, persons share very similar opinions regardless of their age (Table 8.3). For example, a very similar proportion of respondents within each age range believed that government needs to create more jobs in order to reduce crime (range = 95% to 96.8%).

Similarly, regardless of age, a similar proportion of residents believe that reducing poverty will be more effective at reducing crime than hiring more police officers or increasing the severity of punishments (range = 73.9% to 77.4%). However, there were a few policy options which showed an increase in support as persons got older. For example, while 69.3% of 16-20 year olds agreed or strongly agreed that judges needed to give out harsher sentences, this increased to 71.5% for 21-30 year olds, 72.7% for 31-40 year olds, 76.9% for 41-50 year olds, 76.4% for 51-60 year olds, and reached a high of 78.5% for persons older than 60 years of age. Other policy options which exhibited an increase in support as persons got older included the need for better equipment for the police, and reducing the number of persons deported to the country.

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they felt that there was anything that the Jamaican government was not doing, or could do better to reduce or prevent crime (Table 8.4). A very small proportion of persons (6.1%) felt that there was nothing more that the government could do to reduce crime. However, the majority of persons interviewed identified a range of areas for which they felt that the government was not doing enough and should place greater emphasis on in the fight against crime. For example, 82.1% of respondents felt that more emphasis should be given to the provision of jobs while 51.8% felt that the government could provide better education and training to citizens. However 36.4% felt that the government should make a more concerted effort to reduce poverty while 33.8% felt that improvement in the economy was needed.

Table 8.3: Percent of respondents who agree or strongly agree with various strategies for crime prevention, by Age (2016 NCVS)

Crime Prevention Policy	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and over
Need to hire more police officers	59.3	54.4	56.6	51.9	56.0	59.3
Police need better equipment	60.3	60.9	66.8	65.6	65.9	71.9
Jamaica needs to build more prisons	27.7	23.0	23.6	23.6	23.3	28.4

Crime Prevention Policy	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	61 and over
Judges need to give out harsher sentences	69.3	71.5	72.7	76.9	76.4	78.5
Government needs to create more jobs	96.4	96.8	95.5	96.2	96.4	95.0
Need to improve the education system	90.5	93.6	93.5	92.7	92.3	89.9
Give out welfare payments to the poor	76.0	73.5	70.3	68.6	67.0	72.8
Reducing poverty will be more effective than hiring more police officers or increasing punishment	74.6	73.9	77.4	74.5	75.6	74.8
Police officers need better training	80.3	83.7	85.1	85.1	82.9	81.9
Stop deporting criminal offenders to Jamaica	72.9	75.6	75.6	79.5	76.4	78.5
Develop a special task force to fight gangs and organized crimes	82.1	81.0	78.6	78.2	75.5	80.8
Spend more money on treatment and rehabilitation programs for convicted criminals	59.3	67.1	68.8	72.5	65.2	66.5
Help convicted criminals find jobs when released from prison	84.1	88.8	88.1	88.4	87.7	86.0
Create programs to help young parents raise their children	85.5	89.5	86.2	87.4	84.8	84.6
Create a better witness protection program	81.8	86.6	82.4	84.7	86.1	83.7

Table 8.4: Percent of respondents who agree that the government should utilize specified strategies to reduce crime (2016 NCVS)

Strategy	Percent
The government could provide more jobs	82.1
The government could provide better education and training	51.8
Alleviate poverty	36.4
Improve the economy	33.8
The government could improve the justice system	23.5
Resume hanging	23.1
Reduce corruption	22.6
Harsher punishments for criminals	20.2

Strategy	Percent
Improve the police force (more police, better equipment etc.)	19.1
Stop accepting deported criminals	15.2
Rehabilitate criminals	15.0
Better witness protection	13.3
The government cannot do anything more to reduce crime	6.1

Personal Crime Prevention Strategies

Respondents were asked whether they had ever engaged in fourteen different crime prevention strategies to protect themselves or their family from criminal victimization. These strategies include: 1) changing routine activities or avoiding certain areas; 2) installing new locks; 3) installing security bars; 4) Installing a security fence; 5) Installing a security system; 6) Taking a self-defense course; 7) Obtaining a guard dog; 8) Obtaining a gun; 9) Carrying a gun in public; 10) Carrying another type of weapon (knife, pepper spray, etc.) in public; 11) Moving or changing one's address; 12) Staying away from one's own neighbourhood; 13) Hiring a security guard; and 14) Becoming involved with a vigilante group.

The results indicate that in their lifetime 35.7% of respondents have taken one or more measures in order to protect themselves from crime (Table 8.5). Within the past year 12.4% of respondents have taken protective measures. The most widely used measures were changing routine or normal activities (18.3% lifetime usage and 5.4% past year usage), installing new locks (15.4% lifetime usage and 3.4% past year usage), carrying weapons apart from firearms (14.5% lifetime usage and 5.1% past year usage) and installing security bars (10.6% lifetime usage and 1% past year usage). The strategies which were utilized the least were hiring a security guard (3.3% lifetime usage and 0.1% past year usage), joining a vigilante group (3.5% lifetime usage and 0.1% past year usage), and obtaining a gun (4.2% lifetime usage and 0.3% past year usage). It should be noted here that 4.5% of respondents indicated that they carried a gun at some point in their lives as a means of protection while 0.6% did this within the last year.

Table 8.5: Percent of respondents who have used various strategies in order to prevent criminal victimization (2016 NCVS)

Crime prevention strategies	Ever	In the past twelve months
Changed routine or normal activities	18.3	5.4
Installed new locks	15.4	3.4
Installed security bars on home or business	10.6	1.0
Installed a security fence around property	8.3	0.9
Installed an alarm or security system	5.9	0.7
Taken a self-defense course	4.2	0.3
Obtained a guard dog	7.2	1.0
Obtained a gun	4.2	0.3
Carried a gun in public	4.5	0.6
Carried another type of weapon in public	14.5	5.1
Moved or changed address	4.3	0.1
Stayed away from own neighbourhood	4.5	0.4
Hired a security guard	3.3	0.1
Joined a vigilante group	3.5	0.1
Used one or more crime prevention strategy	35.7	12.4

A comparison of the use of crime prevention strategies across National Crime Victimization Surveys indicates that with few exceptions, the use of various strategies declined from 2006 to 2013, but once again increased in 2016 (Table 8.6). Strategies which exhibited this pattern of change include installing alarms and security systems, taking a self-defense course, obtaining a guard dog, obtaining a gun, carrying a gun in public, moving or changing address, staying away from one's own neighbourhood and hiring a security guard. For example, when we consider taking a self-defense course, 2.2% of respondents indicated that they did this in the 2006 NCVS. This declined to 1.7% in 2009 and 1.8% in 2013, but rose to 4.2% in 2016. In contrast, there was a general decline from 2006 to 2016 in changing routine activities and in installing security bars.

In order to further investigate the usage of crime prevention strategies a "Lifetime Crime Prevention Strategy Scale" and a "Past Year Crime Prevention Strategy Scale" was constructed. These were constructed as the number of strategies which each person used. Here, responses of "Yes" which indicates that a strategy was used was coded as 1, while responses of "No" were

coded as 0. This scale was constructed as the sum of the responses to the fourteen items which specified the crime prevention strategies. The Lifetime Crime Prevention Strategy Scale ranged from 0 to 14 (mean=1.088, SD =2.54) while the Past Year Crime Prevention Strategy Scale ranged from 0 to 14 (mean=0.193, SD =0.622).

Using this scale it was discovered that males were more likely than females to utilize crime prevention strategies within their lifetime ($F(1, 3478)=7, p < .008$) but not within the past year ($F(1, 3478)=.310, ns$). Strategies which were used more often by males including installing security fences, installing burglar alarms and security systems, taking a self-defense course, obtaining a guard dog, obtaining and carrying a gun in public, carrying other types of weapons, changing their address, hiring a security guard and joining a vigilante group.

Analysis involving the age of the respondents revealed that while there were no age differences in the lifetime usage of various crime prevention strategies, there were significant differences in the usage of such strategies within the past year ($F(5, 3439) = 3.52, p < .004$). The data indicate that within the past year, younger persons were more likely than older persons to utilize various crime prevention strategies.

Analyses at the parish level revealed that there were significant differences in the usage of crime prevention strategies within respondents' lifetime ($F(13, 3466)=5.64, p < .001$) and within the past year ($F(13, 3466)=3.72, p < .001$). Lifetime usage of crime prevention strategies were highest in St. Catherine, St. James, Kingston and Hanover and were lowest in, St. Elizabeth, St. Thomas, St. Mary and Trelawny. Past year usage of crime prevention strategies were highest in Hanover, Clarendon, St. Catherine and Kingston and were lowest in St. Thomas, St. Elizabeth, Trelawny and St. Mary.

Table 8.6: Percent of respondents who used various strategies in order to prevent criminal victimization (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Crime prevention strategies	2006	2009	2013	2016
Changed routine or normal activities	27.3	23.6	22.7	18.3
Installed new locks	20.3	14.5	14.7	15.4
Installed security bars on home or business	16.2	11.5	12.5	10.6
Installed a security fence around property	7.6	6.3	6.1	8.3
Installed an alarm or security system	3.7	2.0	3.4	5.9
Taken a self-defense course	2.2	1.7	1.8	4.2
Obtained a guard dog	4.6	4.2	4.6	7.2
Obtained a gun	2.4	1.3	2.0	4.2
Carried a gun in public	2.9	1.8	2.2	4.5
Carried another type of weapon in public	15.3	16.3	12.6	14.5
Moved or changed address	2.6	1.9	2.4	4.3
Stayed away from own neighbourhood	3.3	1.9	2.3	4.5
Hired a security guard	NA	0.4	1.0	3.3
Joined a vigilante group	NA	NA	1.2	3.5

Beliefs about the Causes of Crime in Jamaica

Respondents were asked the following question about the causes of crime: “*What do you think are the major causes of or reasons for crime and violence in Jamaica? Please list as many causes or reasons that you like*” (Table 8.7). Respondents in the 2016 NCVS cited unemployment as the most important cause of crime and violence in Jamaica. Fully 78.7% of respondents provided this response. This was followed by poverty (70.3%), a poor educational system (37.1%) and gangs and gang culture (34.5%). Very few respondents felt that an important reason for crime in Jamaica was that the government did not care (7.2%), that hopelessness and alienation were causes (8.6%) and that the influence of foreign cultures had an impact on crime (9.1%). It is interesting to note that the top two reasons relate to the economic condition of Jamaica. Despite this a notable proportion of respondents felt that family factors were important. These included poor parenting (26.9%), absent fathers (20.2%) and family breakdown (17%).

Political issues were also important. For example 23.7% indicated that political corruption was an issue, and 7.2% felt that the government did not care about the country.

Table 8.7: Percent of respondents who believe that certain factors are a major cause of crime in Jamaica (2016 NCVS)

Cause of Crime	Percent
Unemployment	78.7
Poverty	70.3
Poor educational system	37.1
Gangs – gang culture	34.5
Poor parenting	26.9
Drugs – drug addiction	26.2
Politics – political corruption	23.7
Greed – Desire for easy money	22.7
Absent fathers	20.2
Poor morals or values	19.1
Family breakdown	17.0
Deportation from other countries	15.7
Influence of music, television or movies	13.0
Lack of religion	10.2
Youth culture	9.4
Influence of foreign cultures	9.1
Hopelessness or alienation	8.6
Government does not care	7.2

Disaggregation of the data by gender revealed that males and females had very similar opinions about the importance of various factors as causes of crime and violence in Jamaica (Table 8.8). The greatest difference between males and females occurred for family breakdown where 15.4% of males cited this as important as opposed to 18.4% of females. The second

largest difference occurred with absent fathers where 18.6% of males versus 21.5% of females cited this as important. Some of the causes which were seen as equally important by males and females include having a poor educational system, gangs and gang culture, deportation of criminal offenders to Jamaica, the influence of music, television and movies, drugs and drug addiction, unemployment and hopelessness and alienation.

Table 8.8: Percent of respondents who believe that certain factors are a major cause of crime in Jamaica, by Gender (2016 NCVS)

Cause of Crime	Male	Female
Unemployment	78.3	79.0
Poverty	71.8	69.0
Poor educational system	37.5	36.7
Gangs – gang culture	34.9	34.2
Poor parenting	26.0	27.6
Drugs – drug addiction	26.5	26.0
Politics – political corruption	24.5	22.9
Greed – Desire for easy money	23.7	21.9
Absent fathers	18.6	21.5
Poor morals or values	18.2	19.8
Family breakdown	15.4	18.4
Deportation from other countries	16.0	15.4
Influence of music, television or movies	13.4	12.8
Lack of religion	9.5	10.8
Youth culture	10.5	8.5
Influence of foreign cultures	9.7	8.6
Hopelessness or alienation	8.6	8.5
Government does not care	7.5	6.9

The relationship between age and opinions about the causes of crime is shown in Table 8.9. The data reveal that there is a general decrease in the proportion of persons who believe that various factors are important as persons get older. That is, younger persons are more likely to report that the listed factors are important as causes of crime than older persons. These include unemployment, poverty, a poor educational system, gangs and gang culture, and greed and the desire for easy money. As an example, when we consider gangs and gang culture, 40.3% of 16-20 year olds believed that this is an important cause of crime and violence in Jamaica. This

figure declines to 40.1% for 21-30 year olds, 35.8% for 31-40 year olds, 33.8% for 41-50 year olds, 29.1% for 51-60 year olds and reaches a low of 28.3% for persons older than 60 years of age. While the decline in the proportion of older persons who indicate that specified causes of crime are important may not be as strong for all of the reasons cited in Table 8.9, there are no examples where there is a significant increase in the proportion of persons citing specific responses as persons get older. It may be possible that younger persons are simply more aware of some of the potential causes of crime in Jamaica, and are therefore more likely to cite them as probable causes. It may also be that younger persons experience some of these issues to a greater degree (for example economic pressures) than older persons, thus increasing the likelihood that they may report them as probable causes of crime.

Table 8.9: Percent of respondents who believe that certain factors are a major cause of crime in Jamaica, by Age (2016 NCVS)

Cause of Crime	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-60	>60
Unemployment	78.7	81.3	79.9	78.7	76.4	75.1
Poverty	72.8	74.5	73.8	68.1	66.9	63.8
Poor educational system	40.7	40.5	40.8	36.4	36.1	27.9
Gangs – gang culture	40.3	40.1	35.8	33.8	29.1	28.3
Poor parenting	34.4	28.1	26.5	24.7	25.5	25.8
Drugs – drug addiction	31.5	25.8	27.8	26.7	24.7	23.1
Politics – political corruption	27.9	29.1	22.0	22.3	21.3	20.0
Greed – Desire for easy money	28.9	28.9	23.3	19.2	19.8	16.4
Absent fathers	24.6	24.4	21.4	18.5	16.9	15.3
Poor morals or values	18.0	23.0	20.0	15.6	18.1	18.2
Family breakdown	16.7	18.0	20.1	15.1	16.5	14.4
Deportation from other countries	12.8	17.4	16.1	16.9	15.2	13.9
Influence of music, television or movies	14.1	14.6	14.1	10.9	10.5	13.7
Lack of religion	9.5	9.9	12.0	8.5	9.9	10.8
Youth culture	13.1	12.3	9.3	8.8	5.7	7.2
Influence of foreign cultures	11.8	11.4	11.0	7.0	6.1	6.8
Hopelessness or alienation	11.1	9.9	8.4	6.5	7.8	8.3
Government does not care	9.5	9.8	6.8	6.3	4.6	5.4

PART NINE

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLICE, CRIMINAL COURTS AND CORRECTIONS

Public perceptions about the criminal justice system form an important dimension in the administration of justice. Previous research has suggested that people who have a low opinion of the justice system are less likely to cooperate with police investigations or to provide testimony in court. Other research suggests that people who have a low opinion about the criminal justice system, or who view the justice system as biased or unfair, are more likely to become involved in criminal behaviour (see review in Wortley and Tanner 2008). In order to address this important issue, the NCVS 2016 explored attitudes towards the police, the criminal courts and the correctional system.

Public Perceptions of the Police

All respondents to the 2016 NCVS were asked eleven questions about the performance of the police. Respondents were asked whether, in their opinion, the police were doing a good job, an average job or a poor job: 1) Enforcing the law; 2) Responding quickly when called; 3) Being approachable and easy to talk to; 4) Supplying information on how to reduce crime; 5) Ensuring the safety of community residents; 6) Treating people fairly and with respect; 7) Patrolling neighbourhoods; 8) Fighting criminal gangs; 9) Preventing police brutality; 10) Preventing police corruption; and 11) Dealing with public complaints.

The results suggest that most respondents feel that the police are doing either a “good job” or “an average job” performing their various duties (see Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1). For example, eight out of ten NCVS respondents (78.2%) feel that the police are doing either a good job (36.9%) or an average job (41.3%) patrolling their neighbourhood. By contrast, 19.6%

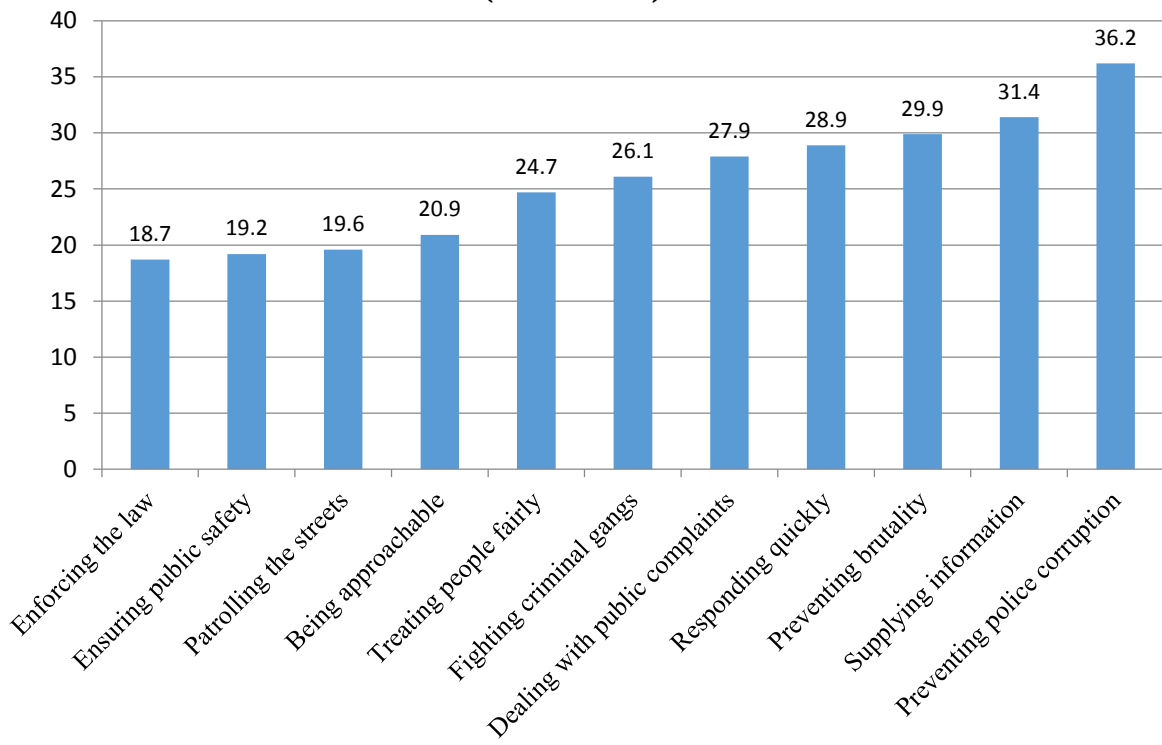
believe that the police are doing a poor job performing their patrol duties. Similarly, over seventy percent of respondents believe that the police are doing a good or average job ensuring community safety (78.5%), enforcing the law (79.1%), being approachable (76.8%) and treating people fairly (73.0%). The percentages are somewhat lower with respect to the other six police activities covered by the 2016 survey. For example, just over half the respondents (55.2%) believe that the police are doing either a good job (17.4%) or average job (37.8%) preventing police corruption.

It is also important to note that while a relatively high proportion of NCVS respondents rate the performance of the police as “average,” a minority believe that the police are doing a “poor job” (see Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1). Respondents are most likely to report that the police are doing a “poor job” when it comes to preventing police corruption (36.2%), providing information on how to reduce crime (31.4%), preventing police brutality (29.9%), responding quickly when called (28.9%) and dealing with public complaints (27.9%). By contrast, respondents are least likely to report that the police are doing a poor job enforcing the law (18.7%), ensuring public safety (19.2%) and patrolling the streets (19.6%).

Table 9.1: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties (2016 NCVS Results)

Law Enforcement Duty	A Good Job	Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Enforcing the law.	32.4	46.7	18.7	2.2
Responding quickly when they are called.	24.1	43.5	28.9	3.6
Being approachable and easy to talk to?	29.4	47.4	20.9	2.3
Supplying information on ways to reduce crime.	21.8	41.2	31.4	5.6
Ensuring the safety of people your community.	33.4	45.1	19.2	2.3
Treating people fairly and with respect.	25.9	47.1	24.7	2.3
Patrolling your neighbourhood.	36.9	41.3	19.6	1.9
Managing or fighting criminal gangs.	24.0	42.2	26.1	7.6
Preventing police brutality.	21.0	41.5	29.9	7.7
Preventing corruption among police officers.	17.4	37.8	36.2	8.5
Dealing with public complaints.	20.0	46.2	27.9	6.0

Figure 9.1: Percent of Respondents Who Think the Police are Doing a "Poor Job" Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties (2016 NCVS)



A comparison with the results of previous NCVS surveys suggests that public opinion with respect to the performance of the police improved quite dramatically between 2006 and 2016 (see Table 9.2). Indeed, regardless of the law enforcement task identified by the survey, the proportion of respondents who feel that the police are doing a “good job” increased over this ten year period. By contrast, the proportion of respondents who feel that the police are doing a “poor job” performing specific duties declined. For example, in 2006, 29.3% of respondents felt that the police were doing a good job enforcing the law. This figure drops to 26.6% in 2009 before rising to 33.7% in 2013, and remained relatively stable (32.4%) in 2016. In 2009, 31.8% of the respondents felt that the police were doing a good job patrolling the streets, increasing to 42.6% in 2013 and declining to 36.9% in 2016. As another illustration of this generally positive trend, in 2009, over half of the respondents (56.6%) felt that the police were doing a poor job preventing police corruption. This figure drops to 39.1% in 2013 and 36.2% in 2016. Likewise, in 2009, 50.1% of respondents felt that the police were doing a poor job preventing police

brutality. This figure drops to only 32.4% in 2013 and 29.9% in 2016. In sum, the data strongly indicate that public perceptions of police effectiveness have increased since the first NCVS was conducted in 2006. It is impossible to entirely explain this positive trend. However, it is possible that recent improvements in police training and policing standards are having a positive impact on the quality of policing in Jamaica.

Table 9.2: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

	YEAR	Good Job	Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Enforcing the law.	2006	29.3	37.0	30.6	3.2
	2009	26.6	41.8	28.3	3.2
	2013	33.7	42.6	21.5	2.2
	2016	32.4	46.7	18.7	2.2
Responding quickly when called.	2006	19.9	29.9	45.1	5.0
	2009	18.2	36.6	38.3	6.9
	2013	25.4	38.1	32.2	4.2
	2016	24.1	43.5	28.9	3.6
Being approachable and easy to talk to.	2006	26.3	42.7	27.7	3.3
	2009	25.1	44.4	25.9	4.5
	2013	30.2	46.6	20.6	2.6
	2016	29.4	47.4	20.9	2.3
Supplying crime prevention information.	2006	17.4	30.5	44.1	8.1
	2009	13.2	34.1	42.4	10.3
	2013	21.9	37.2	34.5	6.5
	2016	21.8	41.2	31.4	5.6
Ensuring public safety.	2006	29.0	35.8	30.4	4.8
	2009	26.1	42.8	27.4	3.8
	2013	35.5	43.0	18.9	2.7
	2016	33.4	45.1	19.2	2.3
Treating people fairly and with respect.	2006	18.3	41.5	36.4	3.8
	2009	17.6	45.2	33.6	3.5
	2013	26.0	47.1	25.0	2.0
	2016	25.9	47.1	24.7	2.3
Patrolling the streets.	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	31.8	36.2	29.4	2.6
	2013	42.6	36.7	19.0	1.7
	2016	36.9	41.3	19.6	1.9

	YEAR	Good Job	Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Managing or fighting criminal gangs.	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	19.4	35.1	34.8	10.6
	2013	26.9	40.0	24.7	8.2
	2016	24.0	42.2	26.1	7.6
Preventing police brutality.	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	10.1	31.7	50.1	8.0
	2013	20.9	41.0	32.4	5.8
	2016	21.0	41.5	29.9	7.7
Preventing police corruption.	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	7.9	27.0	56.6	8.5
	2013	17.4	36.8	39.1	6.8
	2016	17.4	37.8	36.2	8.5
Dealing with public complaints.	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	12.2	44.6	36.6	6.6
	2013	21.0	46.6	27.6	4.8
	2016	20.0	46.2	27.9	6.0

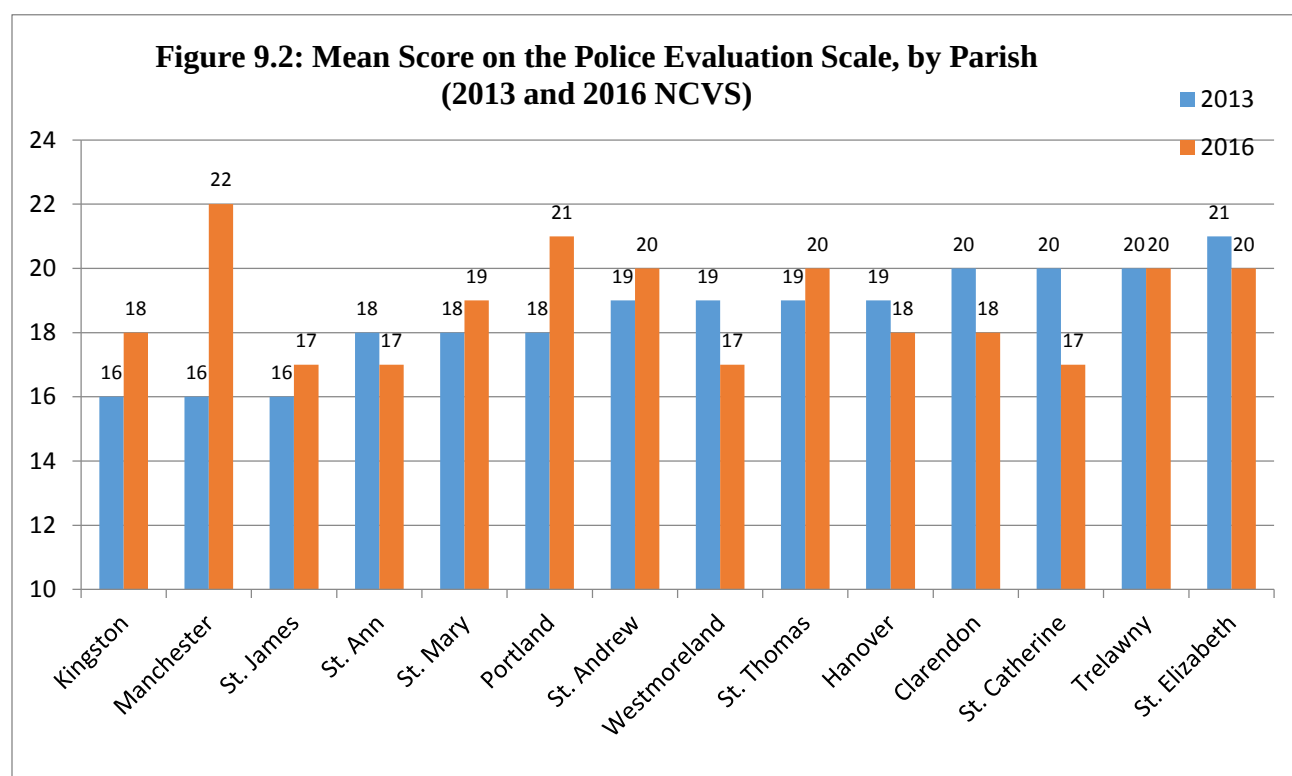
NA = Question was not asked in the 2006 NCVS

In order to better summarize responses to the eleven questions about police performance we created a Police Evaluation Scale (see Figure 9.2). The eleven original questions were first recoded (0=a poor job; 1=don't know; 2=an average job; 3=a good job) and then summed to create a scale ranging from 0 to 33. The higher the score on this measure the higher the respondent's overall evaluation of police performance ($\alpha=.921$). According to the 2016 NCVS data, the average score on the Police Evaluation Scale is 18.74. This is up significantly from only 15.32 in 2009 and 18.63 in 2013 (a 22 percent improvement over this seven year period).¹⁵ Further analysis reveals that public perceptions of police effectiveness vary dramatically from Parish to Parish. The residents of Manchester (mean=21.6) and Portland (mean=20.5) score highest on the Police Evaluation Scale, followed closely by the residents of St. Andrew (mean=20.1), Trelawny (mean=20.0) and St. Elizabeth (mean=20.0). By contrast, respondents from Westmoreland (mean=16.7), St. James (mean=16.8), St. Catherine (mean=17.0) and St. Ann (mean=17.1) produced the lowest average scores on the Police Evaluation Scale. All other Parishes produced mean scores on the Police Evaluation Scale that

¹⁵ Scores on the Police Evaluation Scale were not calculated for the 2006 survey because only six of the eleven questions were asked.

were either slightly above (St. Mary, St. Thomas) or slightly below the national average (Kingston, Hanover, Clarendon).

A comparison of the 2013 and 2016 datasets reveals that seven out of the fourteen Parishes (50%) improved their score on the Police Evaluation Scale over this three year period. The greatest improvements were seen in Manchester (from 15.8 to 21.6), Kingston (from 15.6 to 18.1) and Portland (from 18.4 to 20.5). On the other hand, five Parishes (St. Ann, Westmoreland, Hanover, Clarendon and St. Catherine) all saw their scores decline between 2013 and 2016 (see Figure 9.2). St. Catherine experienced the greatest decline (from 19.8 to 17.0).



Additional analysis reveals very few gender differences with respect the evaluation of police performance in Jamaica (see Table 9.3). Although males (mean=18.91) score slightly higher on the Police Evaluation Scale than their female counterparts (mean=18.58), this difference does not reach statistical significance.

While the relationship between gender and perceptions of police effectiveness is weak, the data suggest that there is a strong, positive relationship between age and opinions about police performance (Table 9.4). In general, older respondents hold much more positive views about the police than younger respondents. For example, those in the oldest age category (61 years of age or older) score significantly higher on the Police Evaluation Scale (mean=20.90) than either 16-20 year-olds (mean=17.26) or those who are 21-30 years of age (mean=16.93). As further illustration, the data suggest that 42.2% of those 61 years of age or older feel that the police are doing a good job enforcing the law, compared to 28.3% of those 16-20 years of age and 24.5% of those between 21 and 30 years-old. Similarly, almost half of respondents 61 years of age or older (42.2%) feel that the police are doing a good job ensuring public safety. This figure drops to 32.4% among 16-20 year-olds and 27.1% among those in the 21-30 category. This basic relationship exists for all other law enforcement activities.

Table 9.3: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties, by Gender (2016 NCVS)

<i>Do you think the local police are doing a Good job.....</i>	Male	Female
Enforcing the law?	32.8	32.0
Responding quickly when they are called?	25.4	22.9
Being approachable and easy to talk to?	28.7	30.0
Supplying information to the public on ways to reduce crime?	23.8	20.0
Ensuring the safety of the people who live in your community?	34.0	32.9
Treating people fairly and with respect?	26.9	25.1
Patrolling your neighbourhood?	36.8	37.1
Managing or fighting criminal gangs?	25.2	23.0
Preventing police brutality?	21.2	20.7
Preventing corruption and crime among police officers?	17.1	17.8
Dealing with public complaints?	19.4	20.5
MEAN SCORE ON THE POLICE EVALUATION SCALE	18.91	18.58

Table 9.4: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties, by Age (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the local police are doing a Good job.....</i>	16-20 YRS	21-30 YRS	31-40 YRS	41-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	61+ YRS
Enforcing the law?	28.3	24.5	29.4	34.0	40.1	42.2
Responding quickly when they are called?	18.4	18.3	22.9	24.6	28.9	32.9
Being approachable and easy to talk to?	27.1	21.4	28.2	30.7	32.5	40.4
Supplying information crime prevention?	20.3	16.3	20.3	21.4	24.5	31.3
Ensuring public safety?	32.4	27.1	31.9	32.9	37.6	42.2
Treating people fairly and with respect?	21.7	20.4	23.6	25.5	30.4	36.7
Patrolling your neighbourhood?	35.7	31.3	36.9	35.9	39.2	45.5
Managing or fighting criminal gangs?	22.9	17.3	24.8	27.0	26.0	29.8
Preventing police brutality?	19.9	15.2	20.7	22.4	22.8	27.9
Preventing corruption?	17.2	12.9	17.2	18.0	19.3	23.5
Dealing with public complaints?	18.8	15.8	18.0	22.1	21.8	26.7
MEAN SCORE ON THE POLICE EVALUATION SCALE	17.26	16.93	18.89	18.90	19.85	20.90

Analysis of the 2016 NCVS results suggests that there is also a negative relationship between educational attainment and evaluations of police performance (see Table 9.5). In general, those with higher levels of education are more critical of the police than those with lower levels of educational attainment. For example, respondents in the lowest educational category (primary school or less) scored significantly higher on the Police Evaluation Scale (mean=20.15) than those with a university degree (mean=18.09). As further illustration, 45.0% of respondents with primary school or less feel that the police are doing a good job patrolling their neighbourhood, compared to 30.1% of those with a university education. Similarly, 34.0%

of respondents with primary school or less feel that the police are doing a good job treating people fairly, compared to 24.1% of those who have attended university. Once again, this general pattern exists for all other questions about police performance.

Table 9.5: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties, by Level of Education (2016 NCVS)

<i>Do you think the local police are doing a Good job.....</i>	Primary School or Less	High School	College	University
Enforcing the law?	42.7	30.7	26.8	29.6
Responding quickly when they are called?	32.2	23.2	17.5	21.8
Being approachable and easy to talk to?	37.7	28.7	22.9	25.9
Supplying information on crime prevention?	29.0	21.1	15.9	19.5
Ensuring public safety?	39.8	32.1	30.5	32.6
Treating people fairly and with respect?	34.0	25.3	19.0	24.1
Patrolling your neighbourhood?	45.0	36.1	33.0	30.1
Managing or fighting criminal gangs?	30.0	23.4	19.2	21.7
Preventing police brutality?	25.4	21.5	15.8	14.8
Preventing corruption?	22.8	16.9	14.1	13.5
Dealing with public complaints?	25.5	19.6	15.5	16.6
MEAN SCORE ON THE POLICE EVALUATION SCALE	20.15	18.47	18.13	18.09

The results reveal little difference with respect to social class. However, respondents who report “upper-class” status tend to evaluate the police slightly more positively than “lower” or “middle-class” respondents (see Table 9.6). For example, respondents who classify themselves as “upper-class” produced the highest score on the Police Evaluation Scale (mean=19.06), followed by closely by “middle-class” respondents (mean=18.81) and those who

consider themselves to be “poor” (mean=18.72). As a further illustration of this general pattern, 43.9% of upper-class respondents feel that the police are doing a good job ensuring public safety, compared to 33.1% of middle-class respondents and 33.8% of lower-class respondents.

Table 9.6: Percent of Respondents Who believe that the Police are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Law Enforcement Duties, by Social Class (2016 NCVS)

<i>Do you think the local police are doing a Good job.....</i>	Poor	Middle-Class	Upper-Class
Enforcing the law?	34.6	30.2	36.2
Responding quickly when they are called?	25.2	23.0	31.3
Being approachable and easy to talk to?	30.0	28.6	38.8
Supplying information on crime prevention?	22.5	21.0	25.2
Ensuring public safety?	33.8	33.1	43.9
Treating people fairly and with respect?	26.9	25.5	30.4
Patrolling your neighbourhood?	38.8	35.0	45.2
Managing or fighting criminal gangs?	25.0	23.2	25.0
Preventing police brutality?	22.5	19.2	24.1
Preventing corruption?	17.4	17.1	23.9
Dealing with public complaints?	20.0	19.8	22.1
MEAN SCORE ON THE POLICE EVALUATION SCALE	18.72	18.40	19.06

Perceptions of Police Bias

The results of the 2016 NCVS suggest that many Jamaicans believe that the police treat some people better than others (see Figure 9.3 and Table 9.7)). For example, seven out of every ten respondents to the 2016 survey (69.2%) believe that the police treat poor people worse or much worse than wealthy people, two-thirds (63.3%) believe that the police treat younger people worse or much worse than older people and two-thirds (62.5%) believe that the police treat men worse or much worse than women.

The 2016 version of the NCVS also asked respondents about the perceived police treatment of Jamaica's homosexual population. Interestingly, relatively few respondents (22.6%) believe that homosexuals are treated worse by the police than heterosexuals. In fact, 13.3% of respondents believe that homosexuals are actually treated better than heterosexuals (see Table 9.7). Furthermore, a third of respondents (29.9%) claimed that they "don't know" how the police treat homosexuals. This "don't know" figure is much higher for the question about homosexual treatment than for any of the other group comparisons covered by the survey. For example, 5.3% of respondents stated that they "don't know" how men are treated by the police compared to women. This finding may reflect the fact that many respondents either do not know members of the Gay or Lesbian community, and thus cannot comment on their relative treatment by the police, or that persons were simply unwilling to discuss this issue.¹⁶

Further analysis reveals that public perceptions of police bias in Jamaica have declined somewhat between 2006 and 2016. For example, in 2009, 76.2% of NCVS respondents reported that the police treat poor people worse or much worse than wealthy people. This figure drops to 69.2% in 2016 (see Table 9.7).

The data suggest that perceptions of police bias vary significantly by Parish (see Table 9.8). For example, over seventy percent of the respondents from Kingston, Manchester, Clarendon and St. Catherine believe that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people. By contrast, this figure drops to 64.0% in St. Elizabeth and 57.4% in Westmoreland. Similarly,

¹⁶ It is quite possible that a relatively higher number of persons were uncomfortable answering questions about Jamaica's homosexual community.

27.5% of St. Thomas residents believe that the police treat homosexuals worse than heterosexuals, compared to 11.8% of respondents from Portland. However, regardless of Parish, respondents tend to view more police bias with respect to social class position than bias based on age, gender or sexuality.

The data also suggest that men are slightly more likely to perceive police bias than women (see Table 9.8). For example, 71.8% of male respondents feel that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people, compared to 67.0% of female respondents. Male respondents are also more likely than female respondents to perceive police bias against young people (66.7% vs. 60.3%) and men (66.0% vs. 59.6%). Men and women, however, are equally likely to perceive police bias against Jamaica's homosexual community.

Overall, perceptions of police bias appear to be greater among young people than older Jamaicans (see Table 9.8). For example, 72.7% of 16-20 year-olds and 72.4% of 21-30 year-olds feel that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people, compared to 62.0% of those 61 years of age or older. Similar age differences exist with respect to perceived police bias against younger people, males and members of the homosexual community.

The data reveal a mixed relationship between education and perceptions of police bias. In general, those with the lowest and highest levels of education are less likely to perceive police bias than those in the middle range (see Table 9.8). For example, 67.1% of respondents with a primary-level education or less feel that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people. This figure rises to 71.9% for those with a high school education, but drops down to 58.1% among those with a university degree. A similar pattern emerges with respect to both age and gender-related bias. Education, however, appears to be unrelated to perceived police bias against Jamaica's homosexual community.

Finally, the data suggest that respondents who self-report their economic situation as "upper class" are less likely to perceive police bias than people who rate themselves as "middle-class" or "poor." For example, 71.0% of "poor" respondents and 68.2% of "middle-class" respondents feel that the police treat poor people worse than wealthy people. By contrast, this perception is held by 59.5% of "upper-class" respondents. Similar social class differences exist with respect to perceived police bias against younger people, males and members of the homosexual community.

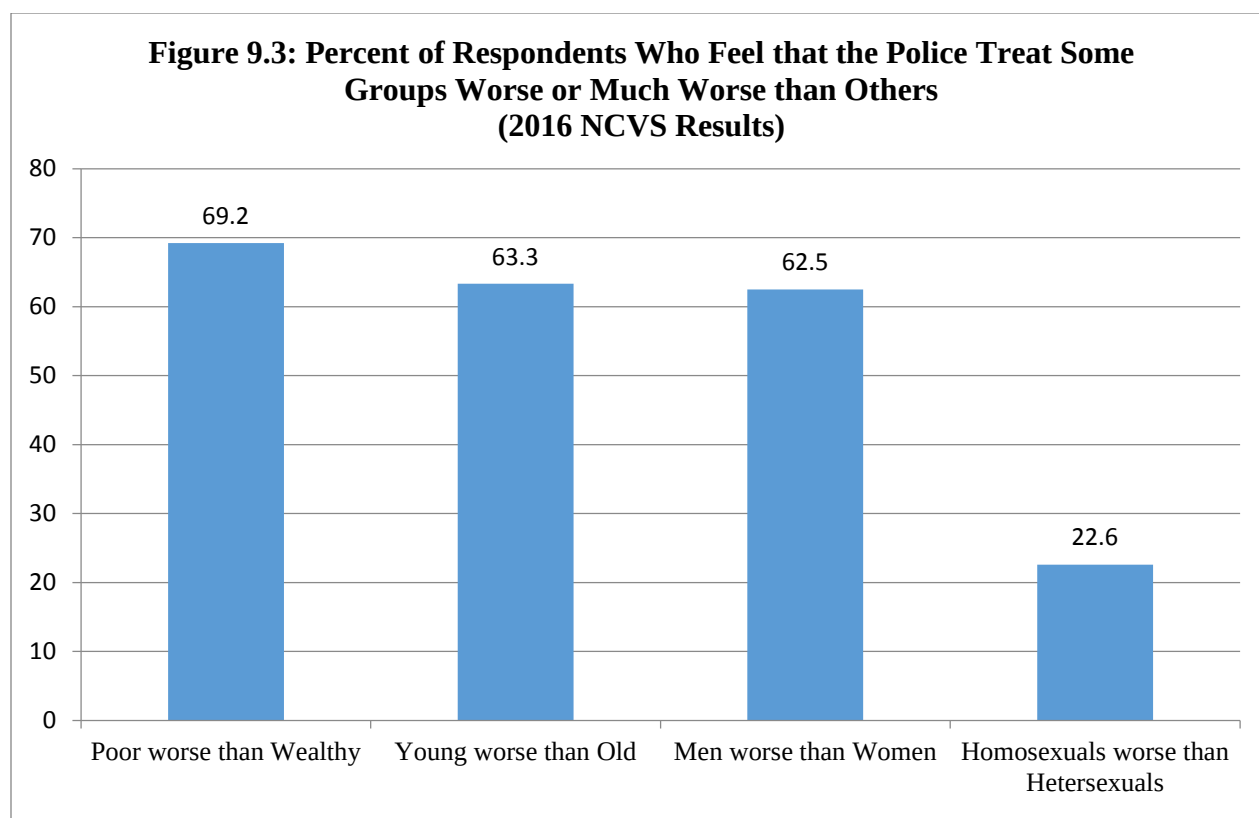


Table 9.7: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that the Police Treat Some People Better or Worse than Others, 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results

<i>Do you think the Jamaican Police treat...</i>	YEAR	Much Better	Better	The Same	Worse	Much Worse
Poor people better, worse or the same as wealthy people?	2006	0.4	0.8	18.2	52.1	22.3
	2009	0.4	0.5	16.8	45.4	30.7
	2013	0.2	0.6	19.6	47.5	28.0
	2016	0.3	1.4	22.8	42.9	26.3
Young people better, worse or the same as older people?	2006	0.5	1.3	29.8	50.0	12.8
	2009	0.3	0.9	26.8	45.4	21.4
	2013	0.2	1.0	26.6	49.4	19.3
	2016	0.2	1.8	28.2	45.2	18.1
Men better, worse or the same as women?	2006	0.5	1.3	30.8	45.3	17.5
	2009	0.3	0.6	28.3	40.5	25.7
	2013	0.1	0.6	31.1	44.3	20.6
	2016	0.5	2.2	29.5	40.2	22.3
Homosexuals better, worse or the same as heterosexuals?	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2013	4.6	14.9	29.6	14.3	7.8
	2016	3.1	10.2	34.2	13.7	8.9

Table 9.8: Percent of Respondents that Believe that the Police Treat Some People Worse than Others, by Selected Respondent Characteristics (2016 NCVS Results)

Respondent Characteristics	Poor Worse than Wealthy	Young Worse than Old	Men Worse than Women	Homosexuals Worse than Heterosexuals
<u>Parish</u>				
Kingston	70.0	60.1	65.0	21.2
St. Andrew	69.8	63.6	64.8	21.7
St. Thomas	67.3	60.0	56.7	27.5
Portland	61.4	65.3	66.7	11.8
St. Mary	68.3	57.7	58.8	18.4
St. Ann	68.8	67.1	63.8	18.0
Trelawny	65.8	65.4	65.6	12.8
St. James	67.7	69.2	61.8	36.4
Hanover	67.8	68.2	75.5	35.8
Westmoreland	57.4	59.8	56.6	15.5
St. Elizabeth	64.0	60.9	63.7	22.7
Manchester	70.1	60.6	59.5	26.2
Clarendon	79.8	65.2	58.8	21.3
St. Catherine	72.9	64.1	62.1	26.6
<u>Gender</u>				
Male	71.8	66.7	66.0	23.5
Female	67.0	60.3	59.6	21.9
<u>Age Group</u>				
16-20 years	72.7	64.5	67.4	25.3
21-30 years	72.4	68.0	68.6	24.9
31-40 years	66.7	60.5	62.0	23.7
41-50 years	70.2	64.0	60.7	23.0
51-60 years	72.5	65.2	61.5	20.7
61 years or more	62.0	57.1	54.1	18.1
<u>Education</u>				
Primary or Less	67.1	59.1	55.9	20.5
High School	71.9	66.3	65.3	22.9
College/Training	66.8	62.3	62.6	24.0
University	58.1	51.6	58.3	22.6
<u>Social Class</u>				
Poor	71.0	63.9	62.9	22.2
Middle-Class	68.2	63.5	63.1	23.5
Upper-Class	59.5	57.0	61.1	20.9

Perceptions of the Criminal Courts

All respondents were asked whether they thought the criminal courts in Jamaica were doing a good job, an average job or a poor job performing three different legal duties: 1) Providing justice quickly, 2) Helping crime victims; and 3) Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime. The results suggest that very few respondents think that the criminal courts are doing a “good job” (see Table 9.9). For example, 14.4% think the courts are doing a good job helping crime victims, 15.3% think the courts are doing a good job providing justice quickly and 16.7% think the courts are doing a good job ensuring fair trials.

While very few respondents feel that the criminal courts in Jamaica are doing a good job, a significant proportion (about one-third) rate the court’s performance as “average.” However, an equally high proportion of respondents feel that the criminal courts are doing a poor job. For example, 31.3% of respondents feel that the courts are doing a poor job providing justice quickly, 29.6% think the courts are doing a poor job helping victims and 25.5% feel that the courts are doing a poor job ensuring fair trials. In general, it appears that respondents are significantly less enthusiastic about the performance of the criminal courts than the performance of the police.

Nonetheless, as with perceptions of the police, it appears that perceptions of the criminal courts have improved somewhat between 2006 and 2016 (see Table 9.10). Overall, the proportion of respondents stating that the courts are doing a good job has remained about the same. However, 2016 respondents are more likely to report that the courts are doing an “average” rather than a “poor” job. For example, in 2006, 45.2% of NCVS respondents reported that the courts were doing a poor job providing justice quickly, compared to 31.3% in 2016. Similarly, in 2006, 39.9% of respondents claimed that the courts were doing a poor job helping crime victims. By 2016 this figure drops to 29.6%. Finally, in 2006, 34.4% of respondents thought the courts were doing a poor job ensuring fair trials, compared to 25.5% in 2016.

Table 9.9: Percent of Respondents that believe that the Criminal Courts are doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Legal Duties, 2016 NCVS Results

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job, a Poor job or an Average job.....</i>	A Good Job	An Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Providing justice quickly?	15.3	38.9	31.3	14.5
Helping crime victims?	14.4	39.5	29.6	16.5
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	16.7	41.3	25.5	16.4

Table 9.10: Percent of Respondents That Believe that the Criminal Courts are Doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Legal Duties, 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job, a Poor job or an Average job.....</i>	YEAR	A Good Job	An Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Providing justice quickly?	2006	14.5	31.5	45.2	8.8
	2009	12.7	36.6	39.8	10.9
	2013	15.5	30.8	43.1	10.5
	2016	15.3	38.9	31.3	16.4
Helping crime victims?	2006	14.4	34.3	39.9	11.5
	2009	12.1	40.7	34.5	12.8
	2013	15.5	36.4	35.3	12.8
	2016	14.4	39.5	29.6	16.5
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	2006	17.9	37.5	34.4	10.1
	2009	16.1	45.6	27.0	11.4
	2013	17.0	39.5	31.2	12.2
	2016	16.7	41.3	25.5	16.4

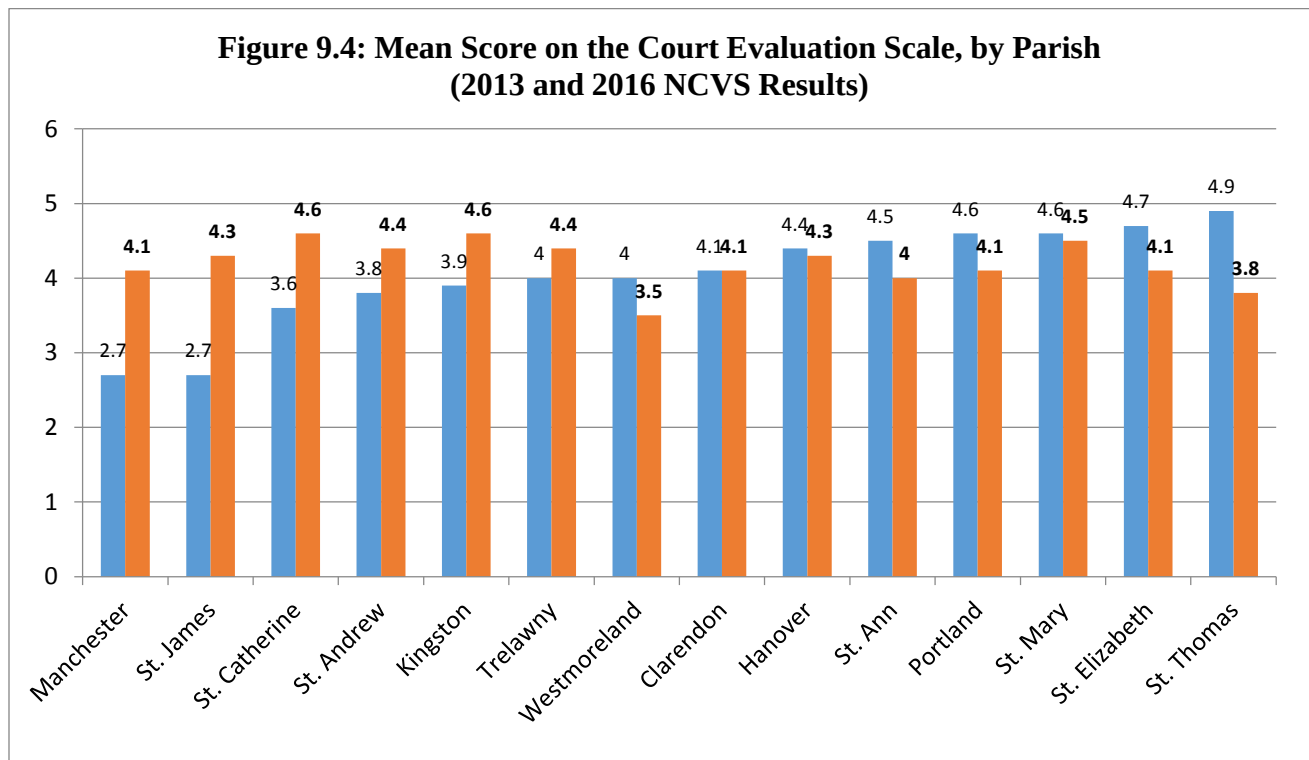
In order to summarize responses to the three questions about the performance of the criminal courts, we created a Court Evaluation Scale (see Figure 9.4). The three original questions were first recoded (0=a poor job; 1=don't know; 2=an average job; 3=a good job) and then summed to create a scale ranging from 0 to 9. The higher the score on this index the higher the respondent's overall evaluation of the criminal court's performance (alpha=.810). Analysis

reveals that the residents of St. Catherine score highest on the 2016 Court Evaluation Scale (mean score=4.65). Respondents from Kingston (mean=4.63), St. Mary (mean=4.55), Trelawny (mean=4.38) and St. Andrew (mean=4.37) all produced scores on the Court Evaluation Scale that are significantly above the national average (mean=4.26). By contrast, respondents from Manchester (mean=4.06), Westmoreland (mean=3.52), St. Ann (mean=3.97), Clarendon (mean=4.09), Portland (mean=4.09), St. Elizabeth (mean=4.09) and St. Thomas (mean=3.78) all produced scores on the Court Evaluation Scale that are relatively low compared to other regions of Jamaica. All other Parishes produced scores that are either at or close to the national average.

A comparison of the 2013 and 2016 data (see Figure 9.4) reveals that scores on the Court Evaluation Scale increased for six of the fourteen Parishes (43%) during this three year period. The greatest improvements were observed in St. James (from 2.73 in 2013 to 4.30 in 2016) and Manchester (from 2.71 in 2013 to 4.06 in 2016). St. Catherine, St. Andrew, Kingston and Trelawny also recorded increases. By contrast, the residents of St. Thomas experienced the greatest decline in the score on Court Evaluation Scale (from a mean of 4.9 in 2013 to 3.8 in 2016). Four other Parishes (St. Elizabeth, St. Mary, Portland and St. Ann) experienced smaller decreases.

Gender and age differences in the perceived effectiveness of Jamaica's criminal courts are not statistically significant (see Table 9.11 and Table 9.12). The results do suggest, however, that there is a negative relationship between education and the perceived effectiveness of the criminal courts in Jamaica (see Table 9.13). In general, respondents with a university education tend to evaluate the court's performance less favourably than those with lower levels of educational attainment (see Table 9.14). For example, respondents with a university education produced a significantly lower score on the Court Evaluation Scale (mean=4.06) than those with a primary school or less (mean=4.41). Finally, respondents who report that they are "poor" or "middle-class" tend to be the more negative about the criminal court system in Jamaica than those from "middle" and "upper-class" backgrounds (see Table 9.14). Overall, poor respondents scored lowest on the Court Evaluation Scale (mean=4.08), followed by upper-class (mean=4.31) and middle-class respondents (mean=4.47). In sum, demographic differences with respect to the evaluation of the criminal courts are quite small and mostly insignificant. Regardless of area of residence, gender, age, education and social class, the results of the 2016 NCVS indicate that the

vast majority of residents believe the criminal courts are doing a “poor” or “average” job with respect to providing justice quickly, helping crime victims and ensuring fair trials.



**Table 9.11: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Criminal Courts are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Legal Duties, by Gender
(2016 NCVS Results)**

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job.....</i>	Male	Female
Providing justice quickly?	16.0	14.7
Helping crime victims?	14.9	14.0
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	17.6	16.1
MEAN SCORE ON THE COURT EVALUATION SCALE	4.32	4.21

Table 9.12: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Criminal Courts are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Legal Duties, by Age (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job.....</i>	16-20 YRS	21-30 YRS	31-40 YRS	41-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	61+ YRS
Providing justice quickly?	17.4	15.3	14.3	15.5	15.1	15.6
Helping crime victims?	17.1	13.4	14.7	15.1	12.7	15.1
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	21.3	15.2	16.4	15.7	18.2	18.1
MEAN SCORE ON THE COURT EVALUATION SCALE	4.46	4.21	4.35	4.17	4.17	4.35

Table 9.13: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Criminal Courts are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Legal Duties, by Level of Education (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job.....</i>	Primary School or Less	High School	College/ Training	University
Providing justice quickly?	17.5	15.2	14.4	13.0
Helping crime victims?	17.4	14.5	11.8	12.5
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	19.6	16.4	16.3	13.5
MEAN SCORE ON THE COURT EVALUATION SCALE	4.41	4.18	4.45	4.06

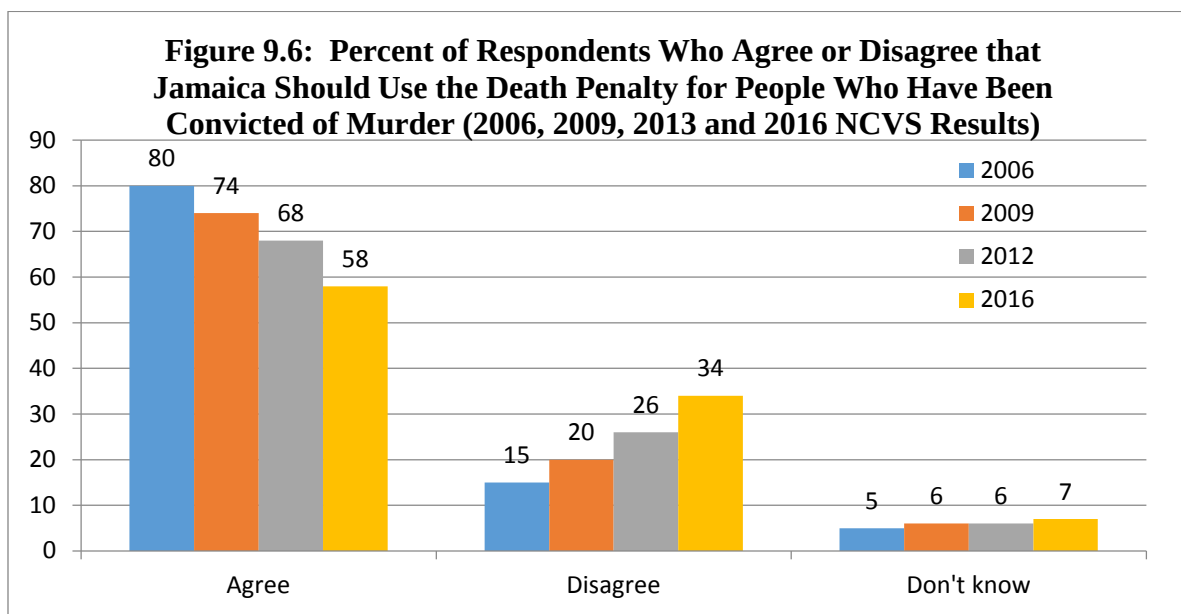
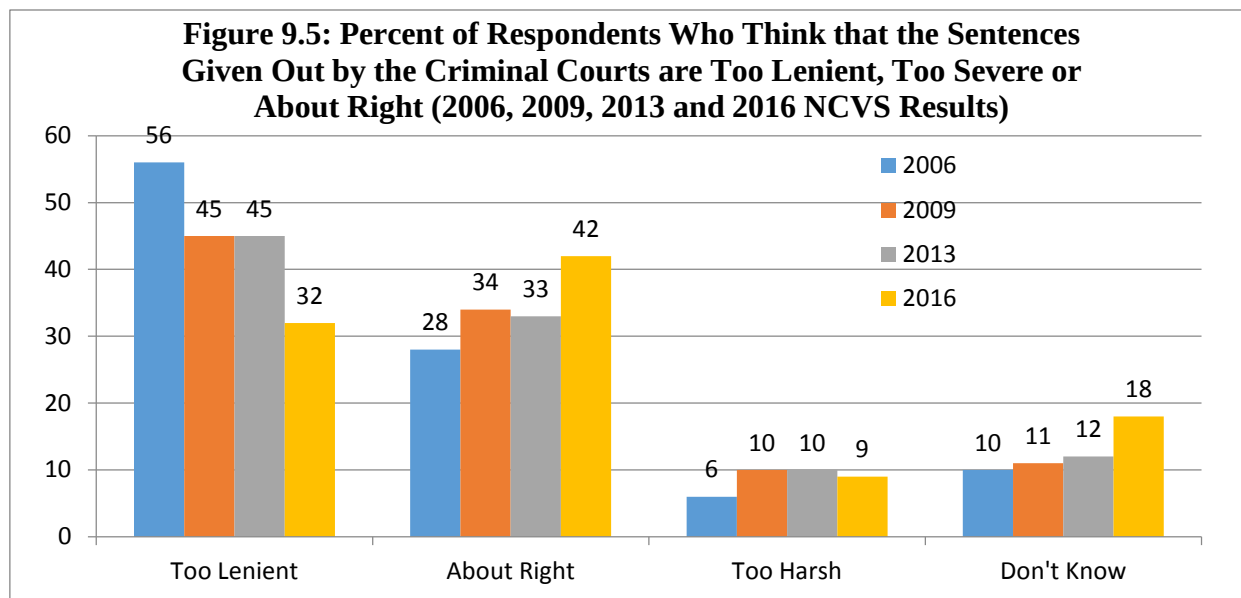
Table 9.14: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Criminal Courts are doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Legal Duties, by Social Class (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the criminal courts are doing a Good job.....</i>	Poor	Middle Class	Upper Class
Providing justice quickly?	14.5	15.9	16.7
Helping crime victims?	14.2	14.8	14.9
Ensuring a fair trial for people charged with a crime?	16.3	17.1	20.0
MEAN SCORE ON THE COURT EVALUATION SCALE	4.08	4.47	4.31

Public Opinion about Criminal Sentencing

Respondents were also asked two questions about the sentencing of offenders by the criminal courts: 1) Are sentences handed down by the courts in Jamaica too lenient or too harsh? and 2) Should the courts use the death penalty for people convicted of murder? Less than one-third of the respondents (31.6%) to the 2016 survey feel that the sentences handed down by the criminal courts in Jamaica are too lenient (see Figure 9.5). An additional 41.9% believe the sentences are “about right.” By contrast, 8.7% feel that that the sentences handed down in Jamaica are too harsh. It is also important to note that the perception that the sentences handed out by the criminal courts are too lenient seems to have declined significantly between 2006 and 2016. For example, in 2006, 56% of the NCVS survey respondents felt that criminal sentences in Jamaica were too lenient. By 2016 this figure drops to 31.6% -- a notable decline of twenty-four percentage points over this ten year period.

Over half of the respondents to the 2016 NCVS (58.2%) believe that death penalty should be used in Jamaica for individuals convicted of murder. By contrast, a third (34.4) % believe that the death penalty should be banned (see Figure 9.6). However, it is important to note that public support for the death penalty in Jamaica appears to have declined significantly between 2006 and 2016. In 2006, for example, 80% of respondents supported the death penalty. By 2016 this figure drops to 58% -- a decline of twenty-two percentage points over the past decade. Clearly, the trend data suggest that Jamaicans are becoming more moderate with respect to their beliefs about criminal punishment.



The percent of respondents who feel that criminal sentences are “too lenient” varies by Parish of residence – as does support for the death penalty (see Table 9.15). For example, more than forty percent of the respondents from St. Ann (42.5%), Trelawny (43.7%), St. Elizabeth

(43.0%) and Clarendon (50.3%) feel that criminal sentences are too lenient, compared to 23.9% of Kingston residents and 19.9% of respondents from St. Andrew. Similarly, almost three-quarters of the respondents from Clarendon (72.2%) support the death penalty, compared to half of 41.5% of Kingston residents.

Gender differences with respect to attitudes towards criminal sentencing are not statistically significant (see Table 9.15). Females, however, are slightly more likely than men (30.7% vs. 32.3%) to feel that criminal sentences are too lenient. Female respondents (59.5%) are also slightly more likely than male respondents (56.7%) to support the death penalty.

The data also indicate that the perception that criminal sentences are too lenient in Jamaica tends to increase with age. There is also a positive relationship between age and support for the death penalty (see Table 9.15). For example, 38.6% of respondents 61 years of age or older feel that criminal sentences are too lenient in Jamaica, compared to 25.2% of 21-30 year-olds. Similarly, seven out of ten respondents 61 years of age or older (69.2%) support the death penalty, as do 62.5% of 51-60 year-olds. By contrast, support for the death penalty drops to 52.2% among 16-20 year-olds and 49.2% among respondents between 21 and 30 years of age.

The results suggest that the belief that sentences are too lenient tends to decrease with education. For example, 35.8% of respondents with a primary school education feel that criminal sentences in Jamaica are too lenient -- compared to 27.1% of respondents with a university degree. Support for the death penalty also declines with level of education. For example, two-thirds of respondents with primary education or less support the death penalty, compared to 53.3% of respondents with a university education (see Table 9.15).

Finally, the data indicate that there is a positive relationship between social class position and the belief that criminal sentences in Jamaica are too lenient (see Table 9.15). For example, 26.3% of respondents who report an "upper-class" background feel that criminal sentences are too lenient -- compared to 29.3% of middle-class and 34.3% of poor respondents. Support for the death penalty follows the same pattern. Poor respondents (60.7%) are most likely to support the death penalty, followed closely by those from Middle-class backgrounds (57.0%). Approximately 46.1% of upper class respondents share the same view.

Table 9.15: Public Attitudes towards Criminal Sentences and the Death Penalty in Jamaica, by Selected Respondent Characteristics (2016 NCVS Results)

Respondent Characteristics	Percent Who Think That Sentences are Too Lenient	Percent Who Think Jamaica Should Use the Death Penalty for Convicted Murders
<u>Parish</u>		
Kingston	23.9	41.5
St. Andrew	19.9	42.2
St. Thomas	34.9	55.9
Portland	31.1	66.4
St. Mary	34.9	67.0
St. Ann	42.5	60.1
Trelawny	43.7	64.7
St. James	36.7	65.4
Hanover	28.2	61.7
Westmoreland	29.9	61.5
St. Elizabeth	43.0	59.8
Manchester	31.7	65.8
Clarendon	50.3	72.2
St. Catherine	24.5	60.4
<u>Gender</u>		
Male	30.7	56.7
Female	32.3	59.5
<u>Age Group</u>		
16-20 years	25.8	52.2
21-30 years	25.2	49.2
31-40 years	30.8	56.1
41-50 years	33.6	62.8
51-60 years	35.9	62.5
61 years or more	38.6	69.2
<u>Education</u>		
Primary or Less	35.8	66.4
High School	31.9	57.1
College/Training	26.4	54.1
University	27.1	53.3
<u>Social Class</u>		
Poor	34.3	60.7
Middle-Class	29.3	57.0
Upper-Class	26.3	46.1

Public Perceptions of the Correctional System

All respondents were asked whether they thought the correctional system is doing a good job, an average job or a poor job performing five different corrections-related duties: 1) Supervising and controlling offenders in prison; 2) Punishing or deterring criminals so they won't commit future crimes; 3) Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won't commit future crimes; 4) Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison; and 5) Monitoring and supervising offenders who have been released back into the community.

As with the performance of the police and the criminal courts, the data suggest that very few respondents feel that the correctional system is doing "a good job" performing various duties (see Table 9.16). For example, 14.2% of respondents feel that the system is doing a good job deciding when to release offenders, 13.8% feel the system is doing a good job controlling offenders in prison, 13.0% think the system is doing a good job monitoring offenders after they have been released from prison, 12.8% feel that the system is doing a good job punishing or deterring criminals and 11.8% feel the system is doing a good job rehabilitating offenders. Nonetheless, over a third of respondents believe that the correctional system is at least doing an "average" job performing these various functions. In fact, more respondents feel that the system is doing an average job than a poor job.

The data also reveal that the reputation of the correctional system has improved somewhat since 2006 (see Table 9.17). Indeed, compared to 2006 NCVS respondents, 2016 respondents are much less likely to report that the correctional system is doing a poor job. For example, in 2006, 49.0% of respondents felt that the system was doing a poor job deterring criminals. By 2016 this figure drops to 31.2%. Similarly, in 2006, 40.6% of respondents felt that the correctional system was doing a poor job monitoring offenders once released into the community. By 2016 this figure drops to 23.7%. Similar results are found for controlling offenders in prison, rehabilitating offenders so they don't offend in the future and deciding when offenders should be released from prison. It should be noted, however, that the percentage of respondents who believe that the correctional system is doing "a good job" remained relatively unchanged between 2006 and 2016. Thus, the improved rating of the correctional system by NCVS respondents stems largely from a drop in the percentage of respondents who think the

system is doing “a poor job” and an increase in the number of respondents who feel the system is doing “an average job.”

Table 9.16: Percent of Respondents Who Believe that the Correctional System is Doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Duties (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job, a Poor job or an Average job.....</i>	A Good Job	An Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	13.8	39.5	29.3	17.4
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won't commit future crimes?	12.8	38.9	31.2	17.1
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won't commit future crimes?	11.5	39.2	30.3	19.0
Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison?	14.2	36.3	20.1	29.4
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	13.0	33.8	23.7	29.5

Table 9.17: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Correctional System is doing a Good Job, an Average Job or a Poor Job Performing Various Duties (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job, a Poor job or an Average job.....</i>	YEAR	A Good Job	An Average Job	A Poor Job	Don't Know
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	2006	14.3	28.4	43.6	13.7
	2009	17.7	38.4	28.4	15.5
	2013	15.2	35.8	33.4	15.7
	2016	13.8	39.5	29.3	17.4
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won't commit future crimes?	2006	12.4	27.1	49.0	11.5
	2009	12.3	36.7	40.3	10.6
	2013	13.5	35.5	36.4	14.7
	2016	12.8	38.9	31.2	17.1
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won't commit future crimes?	2006	NA	NA	NA	NA
	2009	10.9	37.5	38.3	13.2
	2013	12.8	33.8	37.4	16.0
	2016	11.5	39.2	30.3	19.0
Deciding when it is safe to	2006	13.2	27.4	33.1	26.4

release offenders from prison?	2009	13.6	36.2	22.6	27.6
	2013	18.0	32.9	25.0	24.0
	2016	14.2	36.3	20.1	29.4
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	2006	10.7	22.0	40.6	26.6
	2009	12.4	27.7	31.2	28.8
	2013	13.9	32.1	29.0	25.0
	2016	13.0	33.8	23.7	29.5

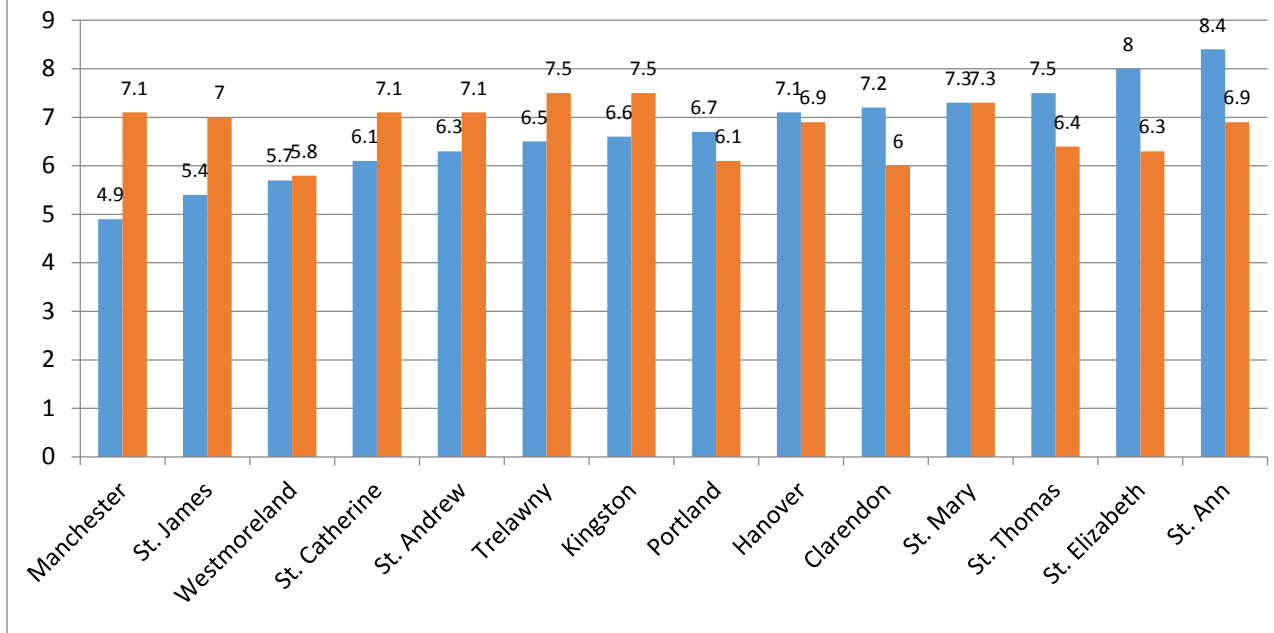
NA = Question was not asked in the 2006 NCVS

In order to summarize responses to the five questions about the performance of the correctional system, we created a Corrections Evaluation Scale (see Figure 9.7). The five original questions were first recoded (0=a poor job; 1=don't know; 2=an average job; 3=a good job) and then summed to create a scale ranging from 0 to 15. The higher the score on this index the higher the respondent's overall evaluation of Jamaica's correctional system ($\alpha=.784$).

As with the Police and Court Evaluation Scales, the results suggest that evaluations of the correctional system vary significantly from Parish to Parish. The most favourable perceptions are held by the residents of Kingston (mean=7.49) and Trelawny (mean=7.46). The residents of St. Mary (mean=7.28), St. Catherine (mean=7.09), St. Andrew (mean=7.06), Manchester (mean=7.06) and St. James (mean=7.03) also produced scores on the Corrections Evaluation Scale that are significantly above the national average (mean=6.85). By contrast, the residents of Westmoreland (mean=5.82), Clarendon (mean=5.97), Portland (mean=6.08), St. Thomas (mean=6.36) and St. Elizabeth (mean=6.35) fall below this standard.

Further analysis reveals that seven of the fourteen Parishes (50%) scored higher on the Corrections Evaluations Scale in 2016 than 2013 (see Figure 9.7). The largest improvements were seen in Manchester (from 4.89 in 2013 to 7.06 in 2016) and St. James (from 5.36 to 7.03). On the other hand, five Parishes scored lower on this scale in 2016 than 2013. The greatest declines were experienced in St. Ann (from 8.39 in 2013 to 6.89 in 2016) and St. Elizabeth (from 8.02 to 6.35).

Figure 9.7: Mean Score on the Corrections Evaluation Scale, by Parish (2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)



Overall, the data reveal slight gender differences with respect to overall evaluations of the correctional system (see Table 9.18). Male respondents, however, score somewhat higher than female respondents on the overall Corrections Evaluation Scale (mean score=7.01 vs. 6.68). Age, on the other hand, has very little impact on perceptions of the corrections system. In fact, age differences with respect to average scores on the Corrections Evaluation Scale do not reach statistical significance (see Table 9.19). Nonetheless, the data suggest that middle-aged respondents (41-50 years of age) tend to evaluate corrections more negatively than respondents from other age groups. For example, 41-50 year-olds produced a mean score of 6.63 on the Corrections Evaluation Scale, compared to 7.07 for 16-20 year-olds and 7.01 for those 31-40 years.

Additional analysis reveals that the perceived effectiveness of Jamaica's correctional system is not strongly related to educational attainment (see Table 9.20). However, the data also suggests that the perceived effectiveness of the corrections system improves slightly with social class position (see Table 9.21). For example, those who rate themselves as poor recorded an average score of 6.55 on the Corrections Evaluation Scale, compared to 7.13 for middle-class

respondents and 7.74 for upper-class respondents. As a further example of this general pattern, 12.8% of poor respondents think the corrections system is doing a good job deterring criminals, compared to 20.9% of upper-class respondents.

In sum, demographic differences with respect to the evaluation of the correctional system are quite small. Regardless of area of residence, gender, age, education and social class, the results of the 2016 NCVS indicate that the vast majority of residents believe the correctional system is doing a “poor” or “average” job with respect to controlling offenders in prison, deterring criminals from future offending, rehabilitating or treating offenders, deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison and monitoring offenders once they have been released back into the community.

Table 9.18: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Correctional System is doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Duties, by Gender (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job.....</i>	Male	Female
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	14.3	13.0
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	12.8	12.8
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	11.7	11.3
Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison?	16.0	12.6
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	13.8	12.3
MEAN SCORE ON THE CORRECTIONS EVALUATION SCALE	7.01	6.68

Table 9.19: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Correctional System is doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Duties, by Age (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job.....</i>	16-20 YRS	21-30 YRS	31-40 YRS	41-50 YRS	51-60 YRS	61+ YRS
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	16.3	13.3	12.2	15.4	14.1	13.2
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	14.4	12.3	11.4	12.8	13.4	13.2
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	11.6	10.9	12.0	11.6	11.2	11.5
Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison?	17.5	13.0	14.5	13.3	15.4	14.3
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	15.5	12.5	13.3	10.8	13.9	13.2
MEAN SCORE ON THE CORRECTIONS EVALUATION SCALE	7.07	6.83	7.01	6.63	6.79	6.80

Table 9.20: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Correctional System is doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Duties, by Level of Education (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job.....</i>	Primary School or Less	High School	College/ Training	University
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	14.6	14.4	12.6	10.7
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	15.1	13.0	11.2	8.9
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	11.8	11.9	10.9	9.4
Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison?	14.8	15.1	12.3	9.0
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	14.5	12.8	12.7	10.4
MEAN SCORE ON THE CORRECTIONS EVALUATION SCALE	6.81	6.77	7.16	6.70

Table 9.21: Percent of Respondents who believe that the Correctional System is doing a “Good Job” Performing Various Duties, by Social Class (2016 NCVS Results)

<i>Do you think the Correctional System is doing a Good job.....</i>	Poor	Middle Class	Upper Class
Supervising and controlling offenders in prison?	13.8	14.0	17.2
Punishing or deterring criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	12.8	12.5	20.9
Treating or rehabilitating criminals so they won’t commit future crimes?	11.1	11.9	15.8
Deciding when it is safe to release offenders from prison?	13.9	14.6	14.8
Monitoring/supervising offenders released into the community?	12.0	13.8	18.4
MEAN SCORE ON THE CORRECTIONS EVALUATION SCALE	6.55	7.13	7.74

Public Perceptions of Prison Conditions

Respondents to the 2016 NCVS are quite split in their assessment of prison conditions within Jamaica. While 27.6% believe that prison conditions are “about right,” 21.9% believe prison conditions are too harsh and 29.7% feel that prison conditions are not harsh enough. Further analysis reveals that public opinion with respect to prison conditions in Jamaica has changed somewhat since 2006 (see Figure 9.8). For example, there has been a decline in the percentage of respondents who believe prison conditions are not harsh enough (from 40% in 2006 to 29.7% in 2016) and a slight increase in the percentage of respondents who feel that prison conditions are “about right” (from 19% in 2006 to 28% in 2016). The percentage of respondents who feel that prison conditions are too harsh has remained relatively unchanged (from a high of 24% in 2006 to 22% in 2016).

Additional analysis reveals that respondents overwhelmingly support the idea of offender rehabilitation or treatment. For example, 88.1% of the respondents to the 2016 NCVS feel that convicted criminals should receive counselling or treatment while in prison. By contrast, 6.2% feel that prison inmates should not receive any treatment at all (see Figure 9.9). Support for

rehabilitation efforts dropped only slightly over the past decade -- from 93% in 2006 to 88% in 2016.

Finally, respondents remain divided when it comes to increased government funding for prison rehabilitation programs. For example, 40.1% of the respondents to the 2016 NCVS feel that more government funds should be spent on prison rehabilitation programs. This figure is up from the 33% reported during both the 2009 and 2013 surveys. The proportion of the sample who feel that less money should be spent on rehabilitation has also dropped from 30% in 2013 to 17.0% in 2016 (see Figure 9.10). A third of respondents (31.4%) feel that current rehabilitation spending levels should be maintained. This is up slightly from 2013.

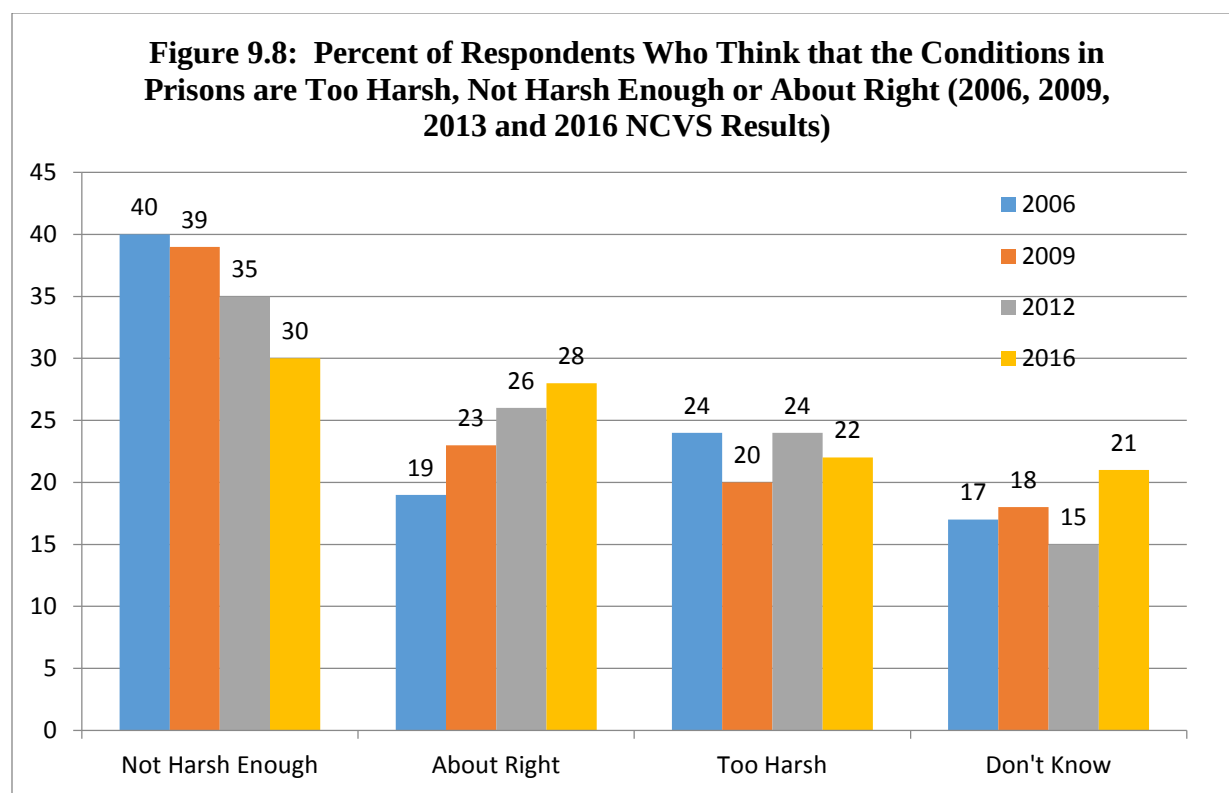


Figure 9.9: Percent of Respondents Who Think That Offenders Should Get Counselling or Treatment When They Go to Prison (2016 NCVS Results)

■ Should receive treatment ■ Should not receive treatment ■ Don't know

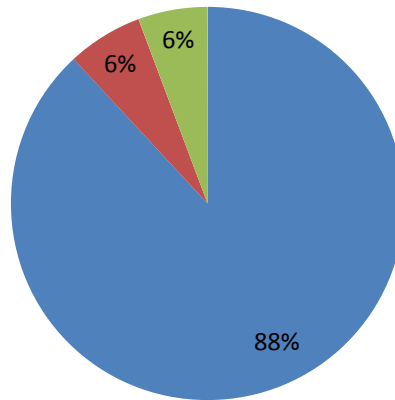
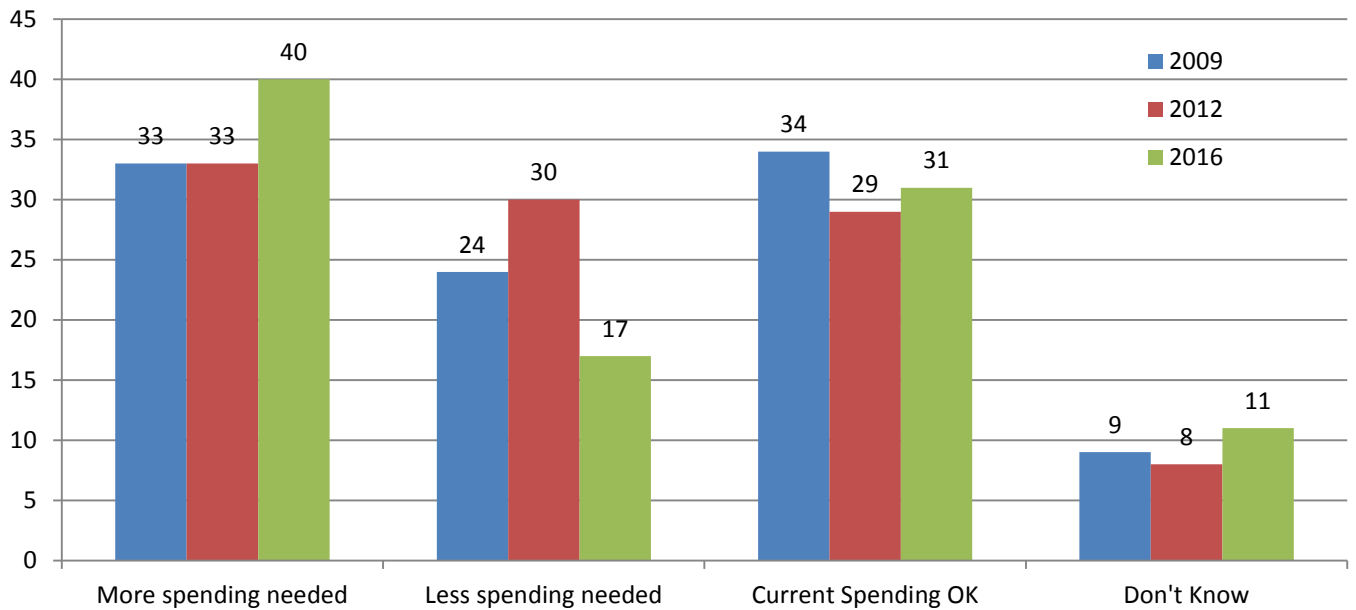


Figure 9.10: Percent of Respondents Who Think that More Money Should be Spent on Prison Rehabilitation Programs in Jamaica (2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)



The data from the 2016 NCVS reveal that beliefs regarding prison conditions vary considerably from Parish to Parish (see Table 9.22). For example, 42.1% of St. James residents and 40.0% of the respondents from Clarendon feel that prisons are not harsh enough. By contrast, this view is held by 18.1% of respondents from Westmoreland. Additional analysis reveals that 94.4% of Kingston residents believe that offenders should get rehabilitation or treatment while serving time in prison. Indeed, approximately 90.0% of the respondents from most other Parishes agree that prisoners should be offered rehabilitation services. The only Parishes where support for rehabilitation falls below 80% are Trelawny (77.5%) and Westmoreland (78.6%). While the vast majority of respondents from each Parish feel that rehabilitation should be provided – attitudes towards the funding of treatment programs varies dramatically from region to region. For example, 21.1% of St. Ann residents believe the Government of Jamaica should spend more money on rehabilitation. However, support for increased funding rises to 54.9% among Kingston residents and to 54.3% among respondents from St. Andrew.

The results of the 2016 NCVS indicate that attitudes towards prisons and prison rehabilitation programs vary little by gender (see Table 9.22). However, male respondents (42.7%) are slightly more likely than females (37.9%) to support increased government funding for offender treatment programs. Additional analysis also reveals few age differences with respect to prison-related beliefs. An equal proportion of both young and old respondents feel that prisons are too harsh, that offenders should receive treatment in prison and that the government should spend more money on rehabilitation programs. As an illustration of this general pattern, 31.3% of 16-20 year-olds feel that prisons are too lenient, as do 29.1% of respondents 61 years of age or older (a difference of less than two percentage points). Similarly, 87.4% of 16-20 year-olds feel that offenders should receive rehabilitation services while incarcerated, compared to 88.8% of those 61 years of age or older (a difference of 1.4 percentage points).

Finally, while the data suggest that education has little impact on attitudes towards prisons, opinions do vary slightly according to social class position. Compared to poor and middle-class respondents, upper-class respondents are slightly more likely to support mandatory

treatment for offenders, but are less likely to support increased government funding for treatment initiatives.

Table 9.22: Public Perceptions of Specific Correctional Issues, By Selected Respondent Characteristics (2016 NCVS)

Respondent Characteristics	Percent Who Feel that Prisons are not Harsh Enough	Percent Who Feel that Inmates Should get Counseling or Treatment in Prison	Percent Who Feel that More Government Money Should be Spent on the Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders
<u>Parish</u>			
Kingston	22.8	94.4	54.9
St. Andrew	26.9	90.2	54.3
St. Thomas	36.0	90.4	39.9
Portland	30.9	94.7	38.3
St. Mary	23.4	91.2	36.7
St. Ann	35.7	84.2	21.1
Trelawny	30.9	77.5	29.6
St. James	42.1	90.6	40.5
Hanover	22.5	89.8	29.8
Westmoreland	18.1	78.6	29.3
St. Elizabeth	29.7	88.2	44.5
Manchester	29.7	82.4	39.1
Clarendon	40.0	86.8	31.6
St. Catherine	30.3	88.9	41.2
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	29.9	88.7	42.7
Female	29.5	87.6	37.9
<u>Age Group</u>			
16-20 years	31.3	87.4	37.9
21-30 years	29.4	84.5	40.3
31-40 years	32.1	87.2	39.9
41-50 years	27.5	89.5	41.6
51-60 years	29.7	92.3	42.9
61 years or more	29.1	88.8	37.4
<u>Education</u>			
Primary or Less	30.6	87.5	39.5
High School	30.3	88.2	41.5
College/Training	26.3	87.5	35.9
University	31.1	91.8	40.4
<u>Social Class</u>			

Respondent Characteristics	Percent Who Feel that Prisons are not Harsh Enough	Percent Who Feel that Inmates Should get Counseling or Treatment in Prison	Percent Who Feel that More Government Money Should be Spent on the Rehabilitation of Criminal Offenders
Poor	29.8	87.5	40.7
Middle-Class	30.6	88.9	39.9
Upper-Class	28.4	92.0	38.1

PART TEN

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES WITH POLICE CORRUPTION, POLICE BRUTALITY AND THE POLICE COMPLAINTS SYSTEM

Government corruption, police corruption and police brutality have emerged as major issues in many countries. This section of the report begins by exploring public perceptions of police corruption and brutality in Jamaica. We then explore actual experiences with corruption and brutality before investigating public perceptions and experiences with the police complaints system.

Public Perceptions of Police Corruption and Brutality

All respondents to the 2016 National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) were asked whether they thought police corruption, brutality and harassment were problems within Jamaica. The results indicate that the respondents feel that police corruption is a much bigger problem than either police brutality or harassment (see Figure 10.1). For example, one out of every two NCVS respondents (53.5%) feel that police corruption is either a big (22.9%) or very big problem (30.6%) in their local community. In contrast, one out of every six respondents (15.5%) feels that police brutality is a big or very big problem. Similarly, 15.6% feel that police harassment is a big problem. Indeed, the data further suggest that two-thirds of respondents feel that police brutality and police harassment are not problems at all in Jamaica. By contrast, 19.9% feel that corruption is not a problem.

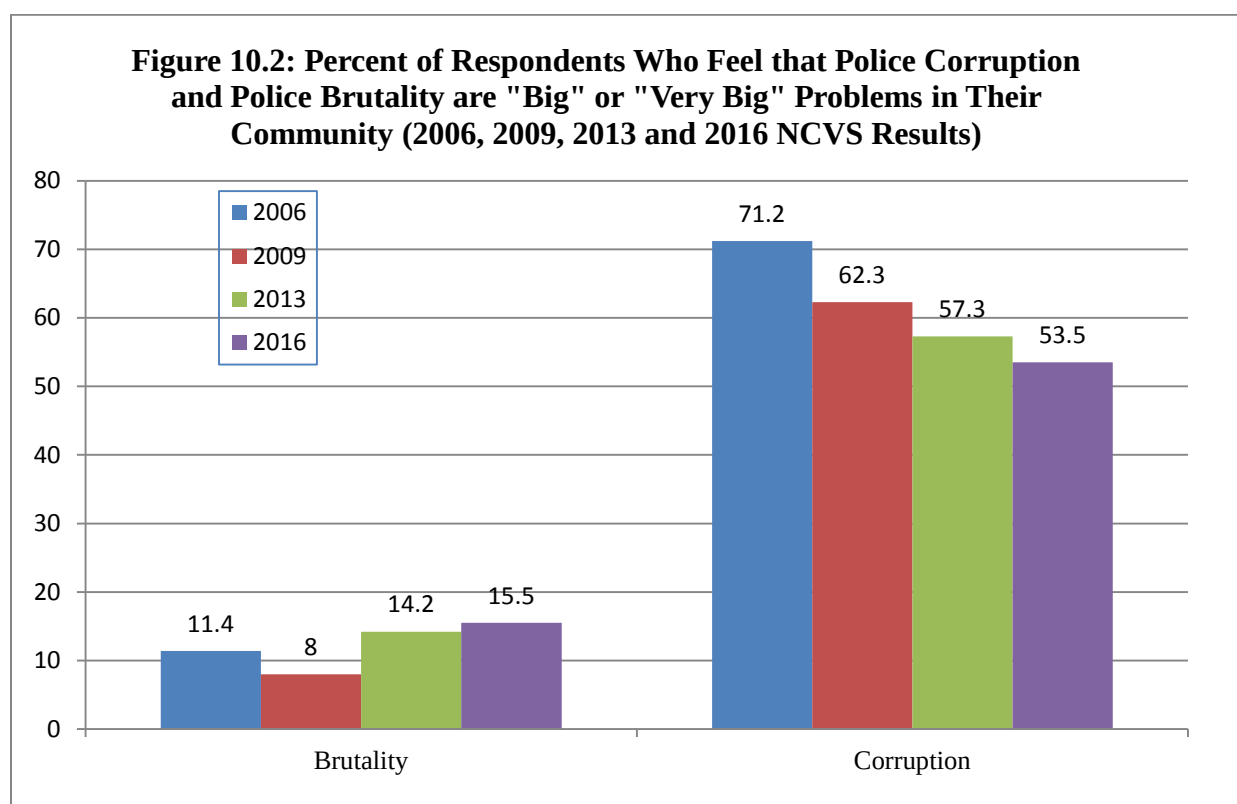
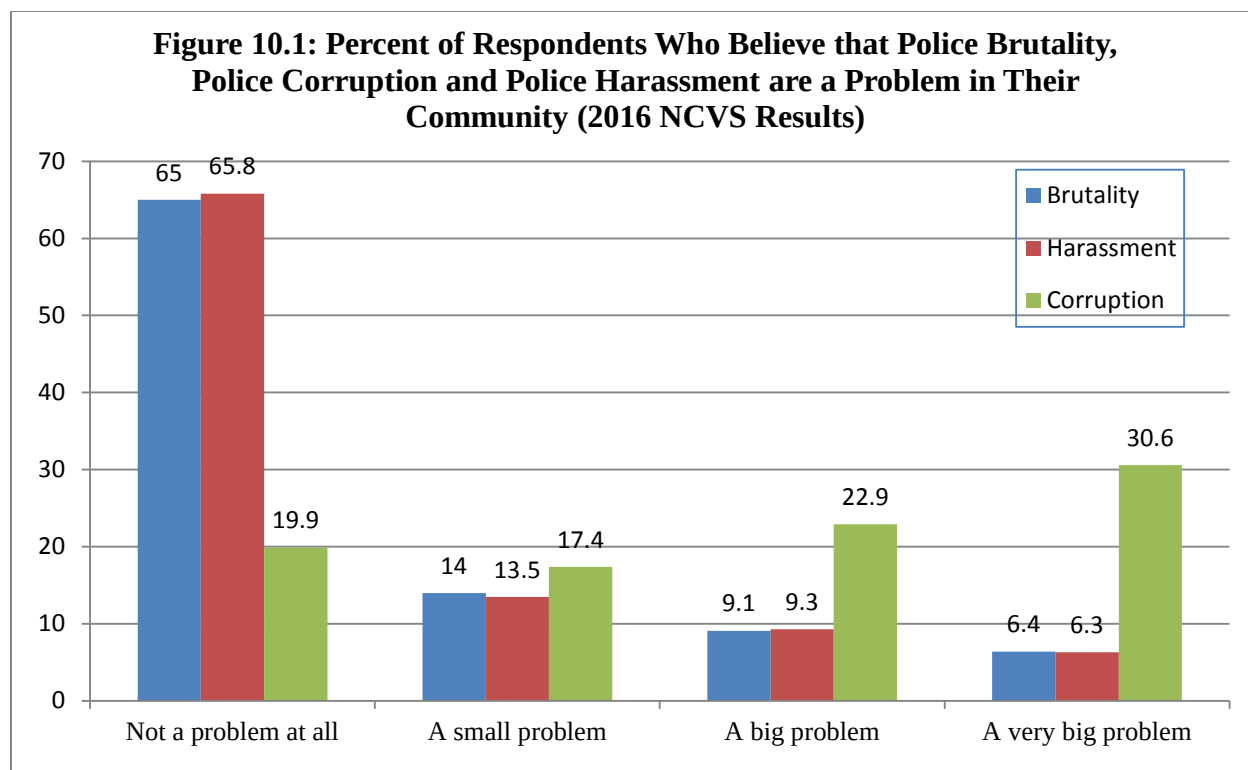
A comparison with the results of the previous National Crime Victimization Surveys reveals that public concerns about police corruption have declined significantly between 2006 and 2016 (see Figure 10.2). For example, in 2006, 71.2% of survey respondents felt that police corruption was a big or very big problem in Jamaica. By 2016 this figure drops to 53.5% -- a

decline of almost eighteen percentage points over the past ten years. However, while perceptions of police corruption have declined over the past decade, perceptions of police brutality have increased since 2009. Data from across all surveys show that, in 2006, 11.4% of respondents thought that police brutality was a big or very big problem in Jamaica. This figure dropped to 8.0% in 2009 before rising again to 14.2% in 2013 and to 15.5% in 2016. In other words, between 2009 and 2016, the percentage of respondents who view police brutality as a significant social problem almost doubled.¹⁷

Public perceptions concerning police corruption, harassment and brutality vary considerably from Parish to Parish (see Table 10.1). For example, two-thirds of the respondents from Westmoreland (68.2%), St. Thomas (64.2%), St. Catherine (64.7%) and St. James (61.7%) view police corruption as a major problem in Jamaica. However, this view is shared by one-third of the respondents from Portland (33.3%) and 41.4% of the residents of both St. Elizabeth and Manchester. Similarly, while a third of Kingston residents (30.2%) view police brutality as a big or very big problem, this view is shared by 2.6% of Portland residents and 4.4% of Trelawny residents. A similar pattern exists with respect to police harassment, with Kingston residents (32.9%) most likely to see such behaviour a major problem and Portland residents (2.0%) the least likely to see this as an important policing issue.

Further analysis of the data indicates that men are just as likely as women to view police corruption, brutality and harassment as problems in their communities (see Table 10.1). Male respondents are slightly more likely than females to view corruption, brutality and harassment as big problems within Jamaica. Younger respondents, however, are somewhat more likely than older respondents to feel that police are corrupt (see Table 10.1). For example, 55.5% of 21-30 year-olds feel that police corruption is a big or very big problem in their community, compared to 49.4% of respondents who are sixty-one years of age or older. Similarly, 20.3% of 21-30 year-olds feel that police brutality is a major problem, compared to 12.3% of respondents in the oldest age category. Finally, 21.1% of 21-30 year-olds feel that police harassment is a problem in their community, compared to 11.8% of those over sixty years of age.

¹⁷ The question about police harassment was not asked in the 2006 or 2009 surveys. However, the data suggest that a slightly higher proportion of 2016 respondents (15.6%) than 2013 respondents (13.2%) feel that police harassment is a big or very big problem in Jamaica. .



The results with respect to education are mixed (see Table 10.1). In general, respondents with a primary school education (50.8%) are somewhat less likely to perceive a problem with police corruption than those with a high school (53.5%), college (54.3%) or university education (54.8%). However, those with a primary school education or a university degree are actually less likely than other respondents to view police brutality and harassment as major issues. Finally, respondents who define themselves as “upper-class” are less likely to identify police corruption, brutality and harassment as “problems” than people who self-identify as “poor” or “middle-class.”

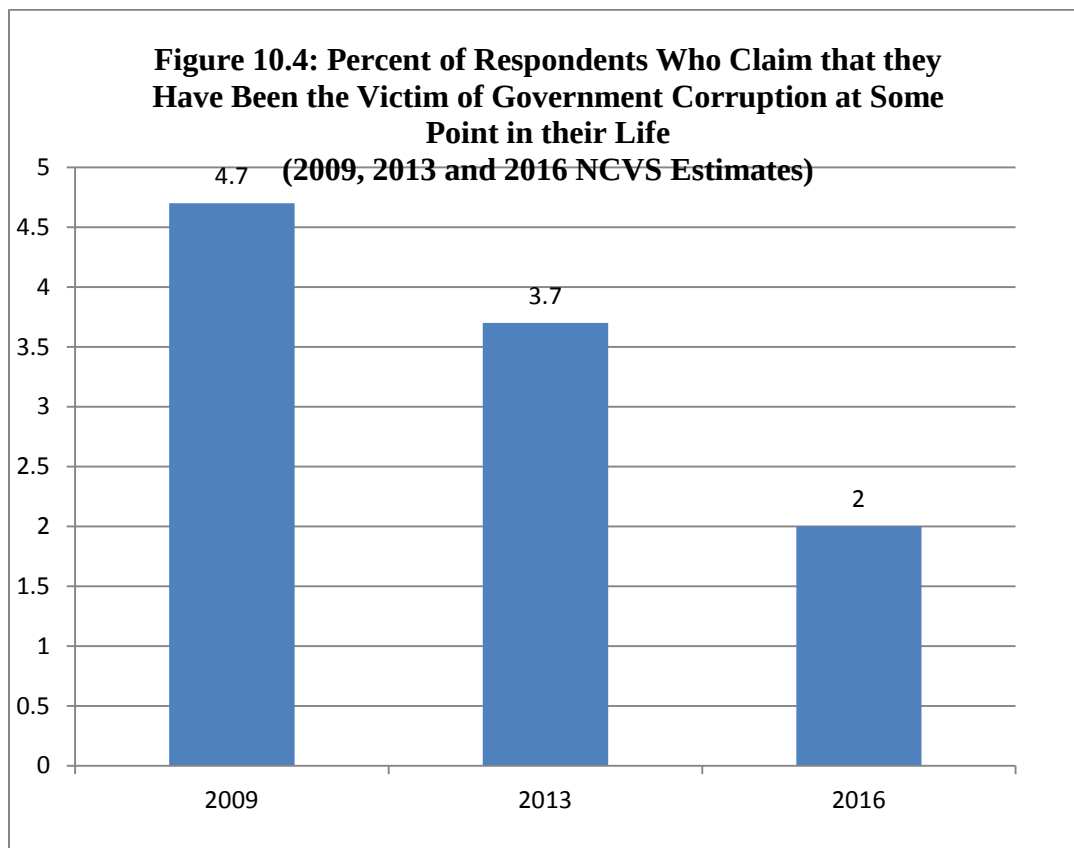
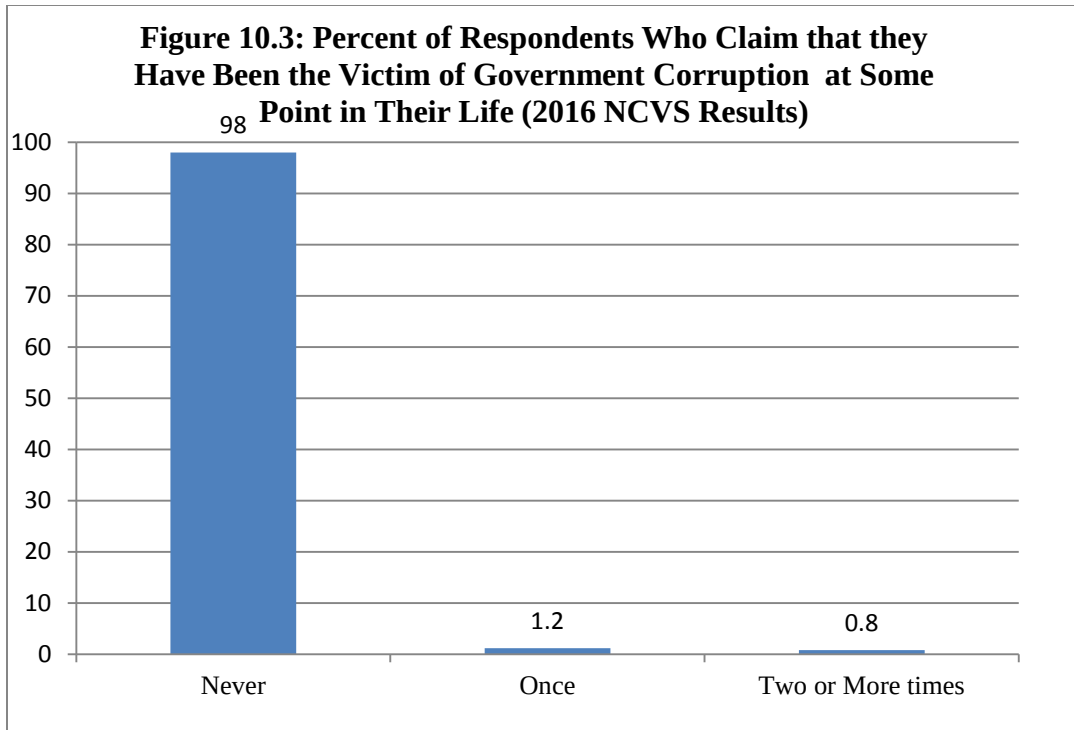
Table 10.1: Percent of Respondents who feel that Police Corruption and Police Brutality are “Big” or “Very Big” Problems in Their Community, by Selected Respondent Characteristics (2016 NCVS Results)

Respondent Characteristics	Police Corruption	Police Brutality	Police Harassment
<u>Parish</u>			
Kingston	52.0	30.2	32.9
St. Andrew	47.6	22.3	22.6
St. Thomas	64.2	15.3	14.9
Portland	33.3	2.6	2.0
St. Mary	47.7	7.2	6.0
St. Ann	54.1	6.7	7.2
Trelawny	48.1	4.4	1.9
St. James	61.7	19.5	18.0
Hanover	53.3	19.7	23.0
Westmoreland	68.2	14.6	22.4
St. Elizabeth	41.4	1.6	2.3
Manchester	41.4	9.3	10.6
Clarendon	53.2	12.7	10.4
St. Catherine	64.7	20.4	17.9
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	53.8	16.5	16.2
Female	52.4	14.4	14.8
<u>Age Group</u>			
16-20 years	54.7	15.7	15.7
21-30 years	55.5	20.3	21.1
31-40 years	52.3	16.4	16.4
41-50 years	55.5	14.0	13.8
51-60 years	52.4	11.6	11.6
61 years or more	49.4	12.3	11.8
<u>Education</u>			
Primary or Less	50.8	11.9	11.0

Respondent Characteristics	Police Corruption	Police Brutality	Police Harassment
High School	53.5	15.9	16.0
College/Training	54.3	18.6	19.9
University	54.8	13.4	13.4
<u>Social Class</u>			
Poor	52.8	13.4	13.8
Middle-Class	54.6	17.7	17.4
Upper-Class	48.3	12.9	13.8

Personal Experiences with Corruption

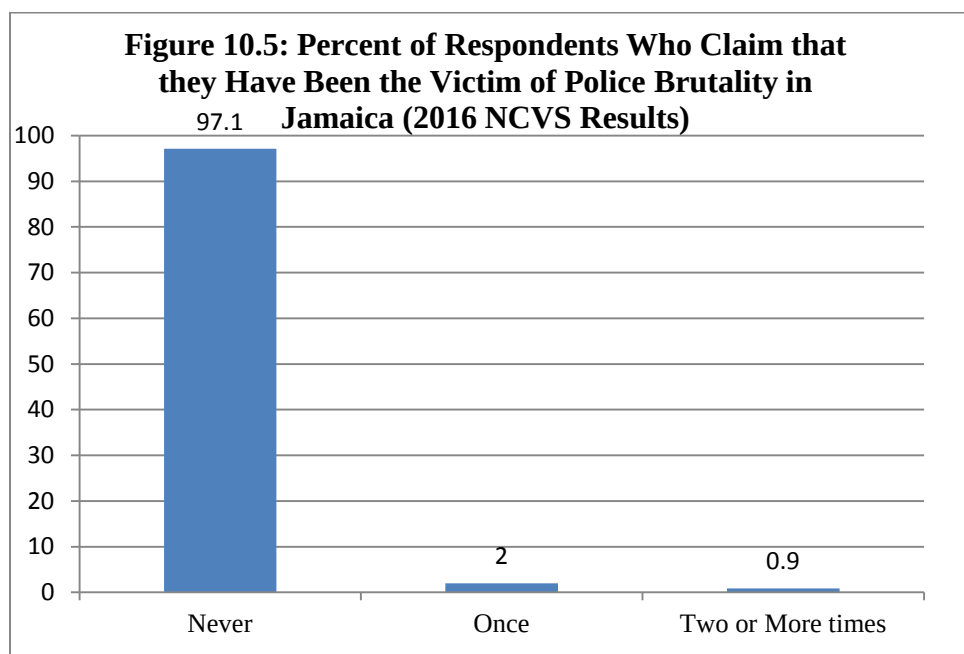
Respondents were asked the following question about their personal experiences with corruption: *In some countries there is a problem with corruption among government or public officials. Has a government official – like a police officer, customs officer, politician or inspector – ever asked you or expected you to pay a bribe or tried to unfairly take money or something else from you?* Although the majority of respondents to the 2016 NCVS feel that corruption is a major problem in Jamaica (see discussion above), very few actually report that they themselves have been the victim of government corruption at some time in their life (see Figure 10.3). Indeed, 2.0% of respondents report that they have been a victim of government corruption at some time in their life and less than one percent (0.8%) have been a victim of corruption on more than one occasion. This figure is down slightly from 2009 – the first time this question was asked (see Figure 10.4). In 2009 4.7% of respondents claimed that they had been the victim of government corruption at some point in their life. This figure drops to 3.7% in 2013 and 2.0% in 2016.

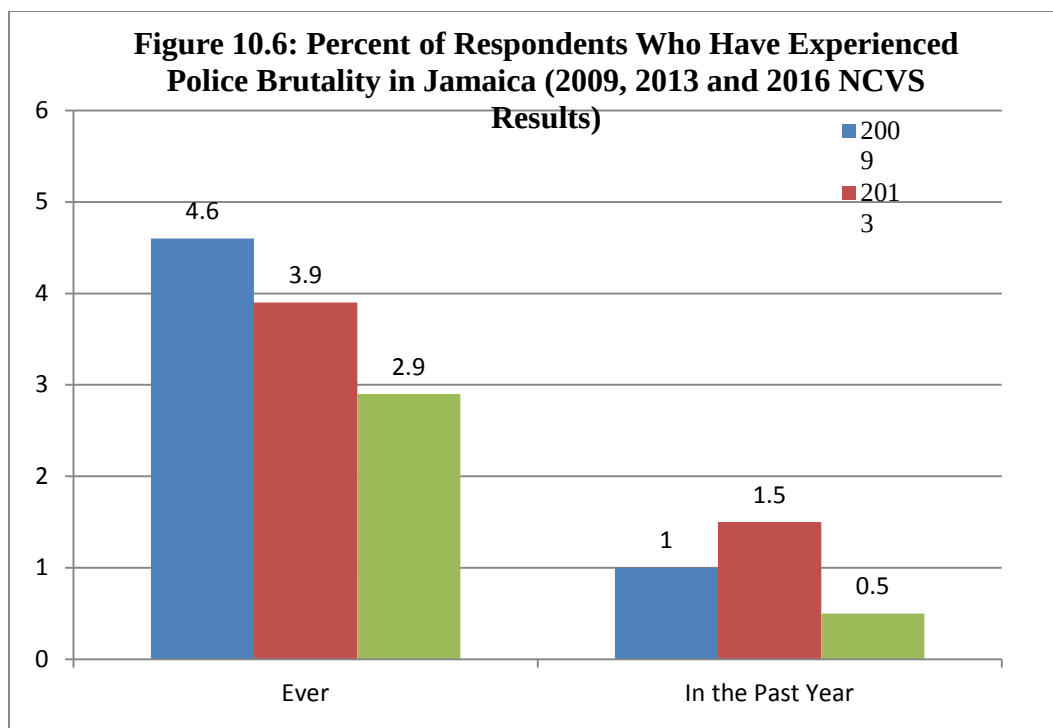


Personal Experiences with Police Brutality

All respondents were asked the following question about police use of force: *Police brutality refers to cases in which the police unfairly use physical force or weapons against a civilian without a good reason. In your opinion, have you ever been a victim of police brutality?* The results suggest that very few residents have ever been the victim of police brutality (see Figure 10.5). One out of every thirty-four respondents (2.9%) reports being a victim of police brutality at some point in their life. However, one out of every two hundred respondents (0.5%) indicates that they were the victim of police brutality in the past year. These findings are completely consistent with the fact that the vast majority of respondents feel that police brutality is not a major problem in Jamaica (see discussion above).

A comparison of results from the 2009, 2013 and 2016 surveys suggest that police brutality in Jamaica is not only rare – it is decreasing (see Figure 10.6). For example, in 2009, 4.6% of respondents indicated that they had been the victim of police brutality at some point in their life, compared to 2.9% in 2016. Similarly, in 2013, 1.5% of respondents indicated that they had been a victim of police brutality in the past 12 months. This figure drops to a half a percent (0.5%) in 2016.





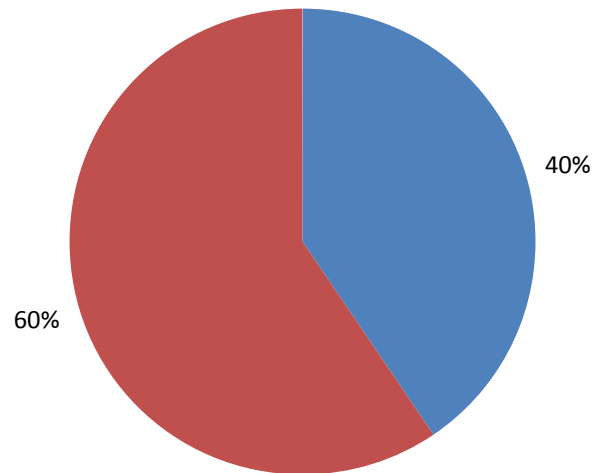
Public Perception and Experiences with the Police Complaints Process

The investigation into public perceptions of Jamaica’s police complaints process began by asking the following question: *Do you know where citizens can go to make a complaint against the police?* The results suggest that two-fifths of the population (40.0%) know where to file a complaint against the police (see Figure 10.7). This figure is down from 51.0% in 2006. This finding suggests that members of the population have become somewhat less knowledgeable about where to file a complaint against the police over the past decade.

Further analysis reveals that knowledge about where to file a complaint against the police is unrelated to Parish of residence, gender or age. However, respondents with higher levels of education are more likely to report that they know where to file a complaint. For example 50.2% of respondents with a university education reported that they know where to file a formal complaint against the police, compared to 38.8% of people with a high school education or less.

Figure 10.7: Percent of Respondents Who Claim that They Know Where to File a Complaint Against the Police (2016 NCVS Results)

■ Know where to file a complaint ■ Don't know where to file a complaint



The 1,391 respondents who indicated that they knew where to file a complaint against the police were subsequently asked to name all of the organizations where a citizen of Jamaica could file a complaint (see Figure 10.8). Almost half of these respondents (44.0%) reported that a civilian could file a complaint at INDECON. The local police station was the next most popular destination to file a complaint (41.4%), followed by the Police Complaints Authority (19.1%). Other reported sites for filing complaints against the police included the Bureau of Special Investigations (13.9%), human rights organizations (10.7%) and the Office of the Public Offender (10.4%). A small minority of respondents also identified that they would report complaints to the Office of Professional Responsibility (3.1%) or directly to Police Headquarters and/or the Police Commissioner (2.1%).

Although 40.0% of NCVS respondents know where they would make a complaint against the police, further analysis reveals that 115 individuals (3.4% of all respondents) have actually filed a formal complaint against the police at some point in their life (see Figure 10.9). The

majority of these complaints involved allegations of police brutality (28.9%), unfair or disrespectful treatment (39.1%) or charges of police corruption or extortion (15.6%). .

All 115 respondents who indicated that they had filed a formal complaint against the police were asked the following question: “*Were you satisfied with the way your complaint was handled by the police?*” The results suggest that the majority of complainants (50/5%) were “not at all satisfied” with how their complaint was handled (see Figure 10.10). An additional 16.2% were somewhat satisfied. On the other hand, one-third of all complainants (32.4%) were either satisfied (16.2%) or very satisfied (16.2%) with how their case was resolved. Importantly, the percentage of complainants who were at least somewhat satisfied with how their case was handled increased slightly from 39.6% in 2009 to 48.6% in 2016.

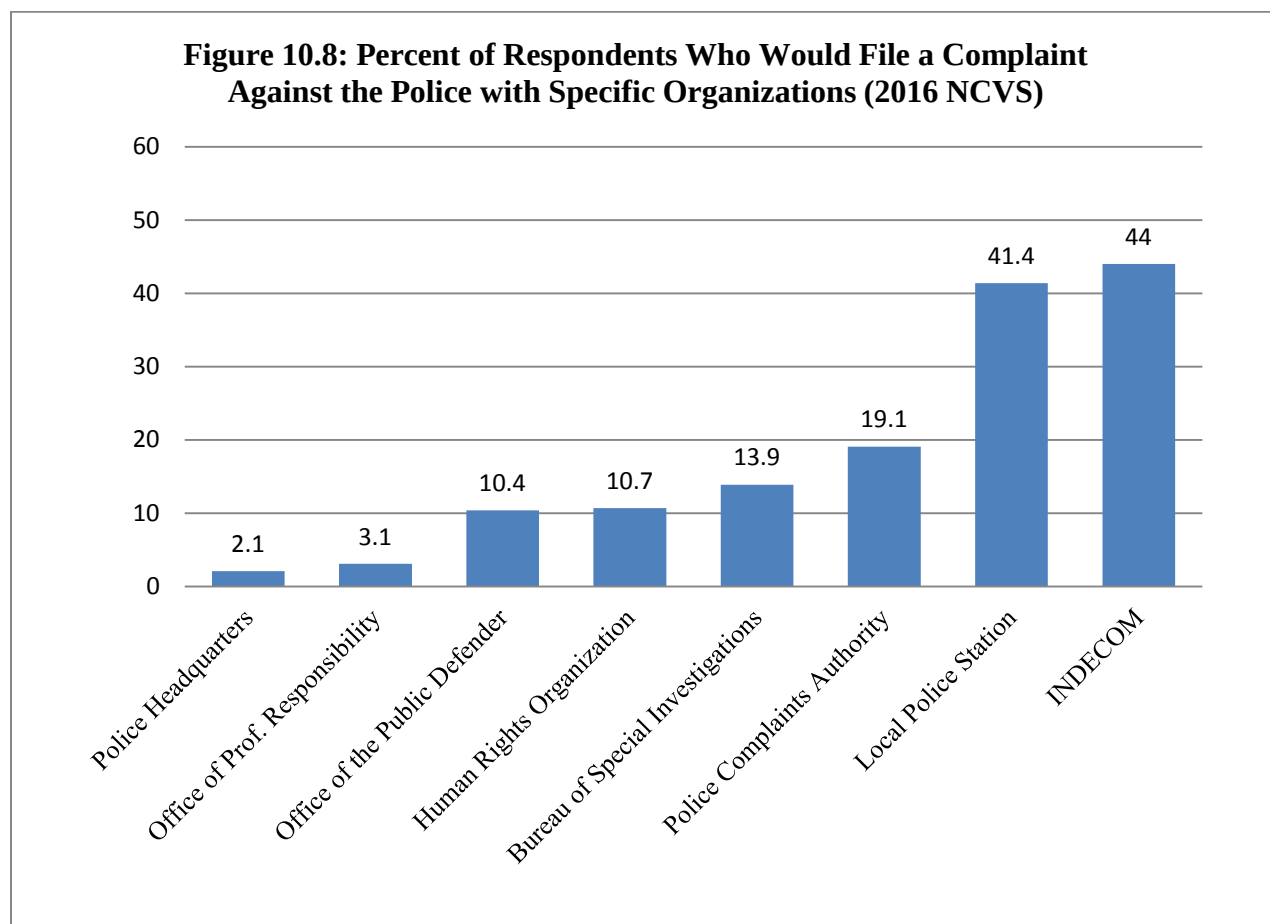


Figure 10.9: Percent of Respondents Who Have Ever Filed a Formal Complaint Against the Police in Jamaica (2016 NCVS Results)

■ Have Never Filed a Complaint ■ Have Filed a Complaint

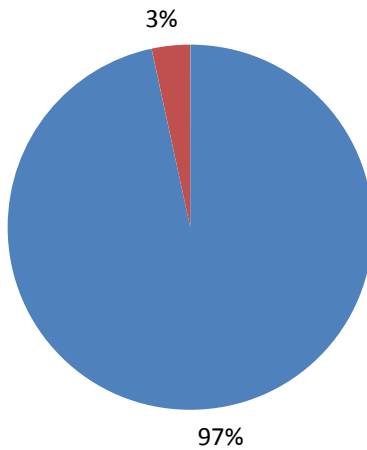
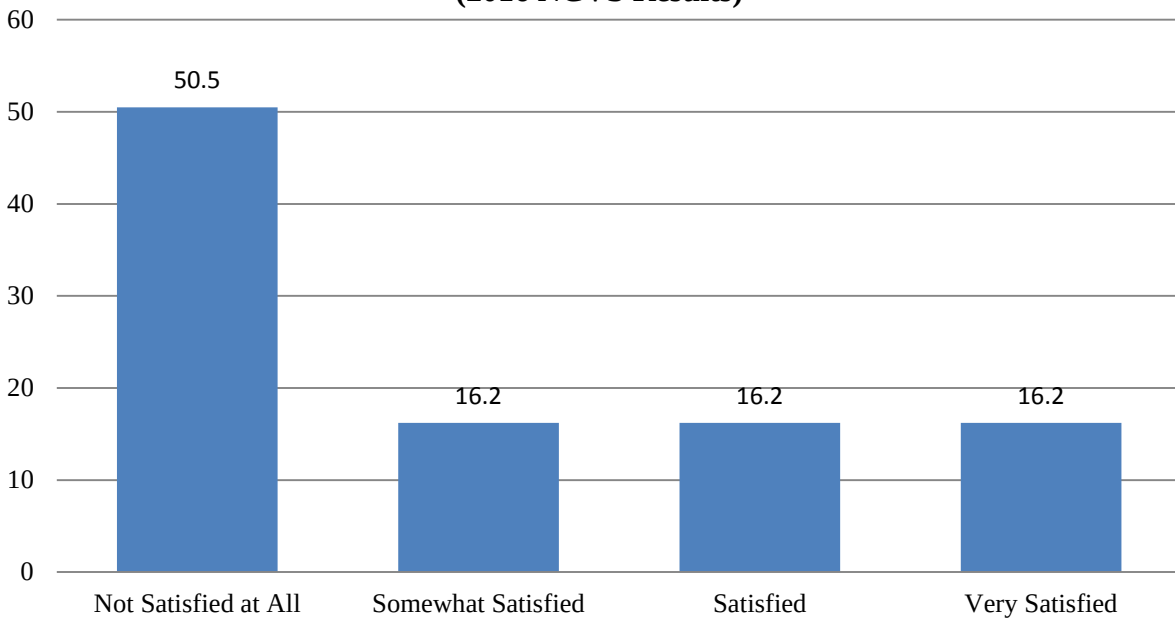
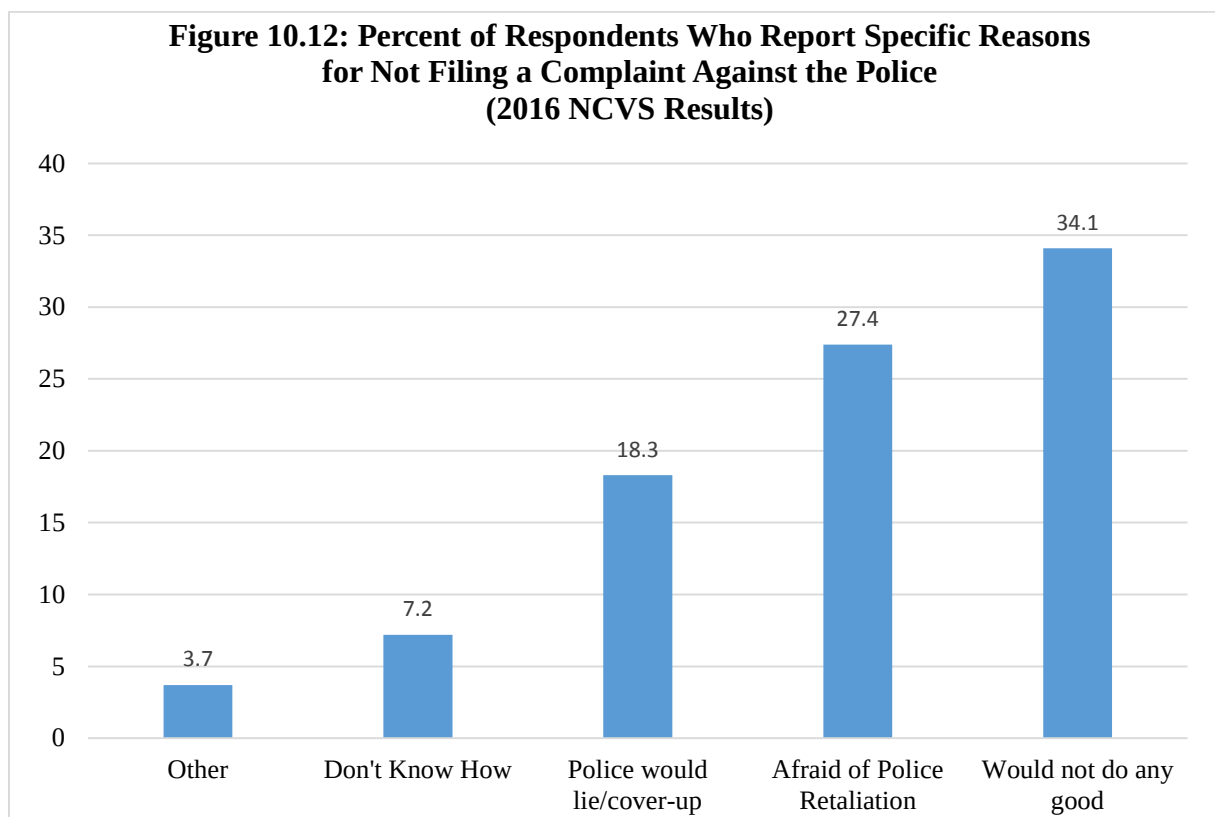
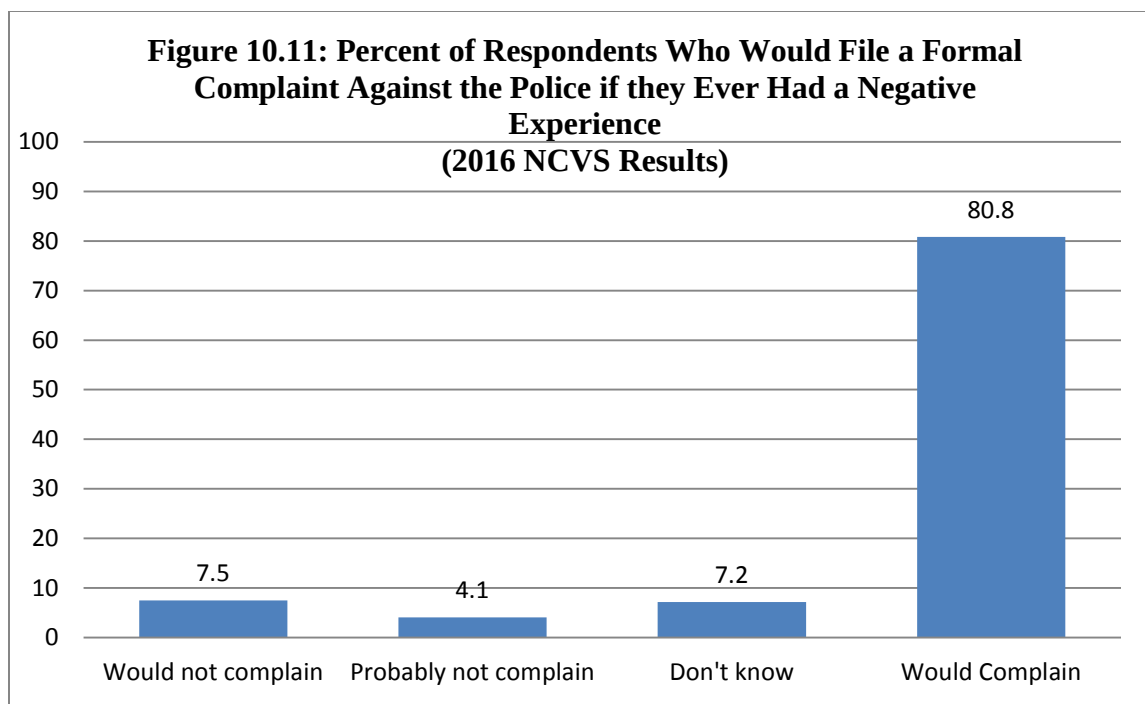


Figure 10.10: Percent of Respondents (Who Filed a Complaint) that were Satisfied with How The Police Handled Their Case (2016 NCVS Results)



In order to further test public confidence in Jamaica's police complaints process, all respondents were asked the following question: *In the future, if you ever had a negative experience with the police, would you make a complaint to the Police Public Complaints Authority or some other organization? For example, if you were the victim of unfair treatment, police brutality or police harassment, would you file a complaint or would you remain silent about it?* In response to this question, the vast majority of respondents (80.5%) indicated that they would indeed file a formal complaint if they ever had a negative experience with the police (see Figure 10.11). This figure is down slightly from 87.3% in 2013. This finding, nonetheless, suggests that the majority of residents have confidence in the police complaints process. However, a significant minority of respondents stated that they would either not complain (7.5%), probably would not complain (4.1%) or don't know if they would complain or not (7.4%).

Finally, all respondents who indicated that they would not or might not file a formal complaint against the police (sample size=569) were asked why they might not make a complaint (see Figure 10.12). One quarter of these respondents (27.4%) indicated that they would not complain because they are afraid of possible police retaliation. This is down from 51.9% in 2013. An additional third of respondents (34.1%) indicated that they would not complain because they felt that complaining would not do any good. Similarly, a fifth of respondents (18.3%) stated that they would not complain because they believe the police would lie in order to cover up their wrong doings. These respondents generally expressed the belief that the police would lie to protect themselves and their colleagues and that ultimately, nothing positive would result from making a complaint. Finally, one out of every thirteen respondents (7.5%) indicated that they would not complain because they do not know how to formally file a complaint against the police.



PART ELEVEN

PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF THE CITIZEN SECURITY AND JUSTICE PROGRAM

This section reports on the respondents' level of awareness, details of service usage and satisfaction with the CSJP as well as the possible effects of the programme on public safety outcomes. Comparisons of community types, demographics, situational factors, and change over time form the basis of the analysis. Survey findings indicate strong approval and support for the CSJP and its activities among the general public and service beneficiaries. There are however, few observed real differences between beneficiary and non-beneficiary communities, and questions remain as to whether current awareness and service usage levels are satisfactory.

Public Awareness of the Citizen Security and Justice Programme

“Have you ever heard of the Citizenship Security and Justice Program (CSJP)?” Nearly one in five respondents (17.9%) in the 2016 survey answered this question in the affirmative, which represents a slight increase in public awareness levels compared with the 2013 survey's finding (16.8%) (See Figure 11.1). Awareness levels were positively influenced by programme availability in the respondent's parish as persons living in parishes where the programme is offered were more than twice as likely (22.9%) to know of its existence than persons living in parishes where the programme is not currently offered (11.1%). In particular, awareness levels were highest in Clarendon (28.6%), St. Catherine (24.7%), St. James (23.3%) and Kingston (22.9%) (See Table 11.1). The parishes where CSJP was least known were Trelawny (7.2%), St. Mary (8.2%), Westmoreland (8.4%), and St. Thomas (8.5%). Living in a CSJP community had a similarly positive influence on levels of awareness as almost three in ten persons (28.8%) living in these communities knew of the programme while persons living in non-CSJP communities were less likely (16.8%) to know of its existence¹⁸. These estimates also agree with the 2013

¹⁸ A 2013 Baseline survey of CSJP communities conducted after the 2013 JNCVS found that 35.4% of CSJP community members knew about the programme as opposed to 16.8% of Non-CSJP community members. The baseline survey data is a more accurate portrayal of CSJP community awareness levels given its sample was specifically designed to be representative at the community level while this survey seeks to do so nationally.

survey findings where CSJP community members (27.5%) were more likely to know about the programme than non-CSJP community members (15.6%) (See Figure 11.1).

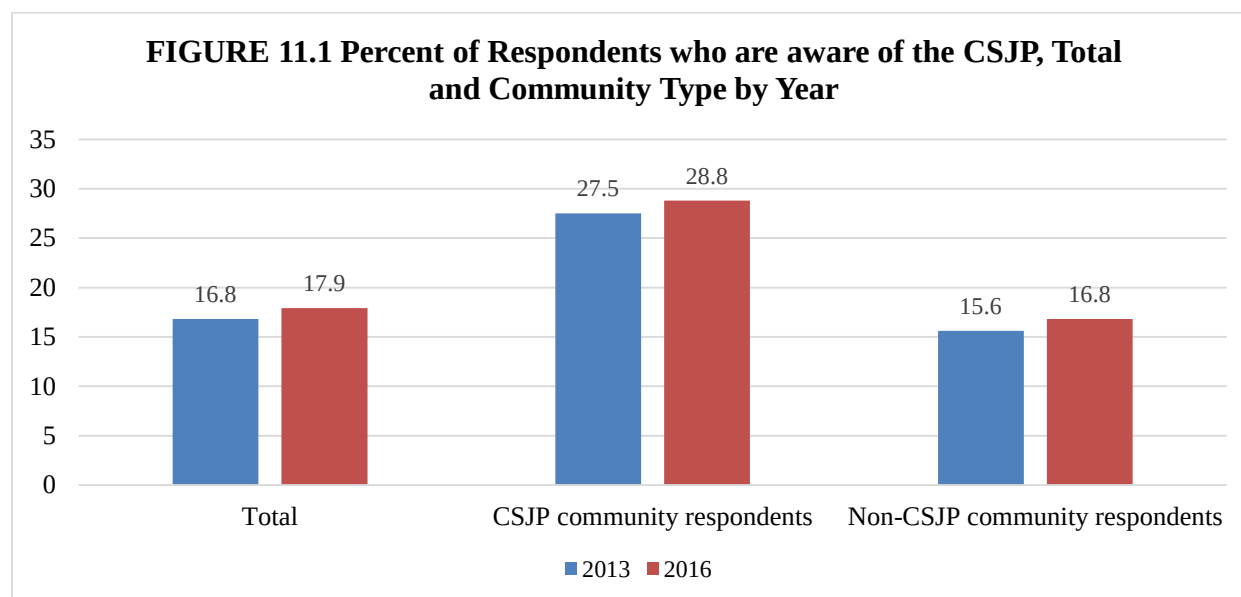


Table 11.1: Percent of Respondents who are aware of the CSJP, by Parish by Year

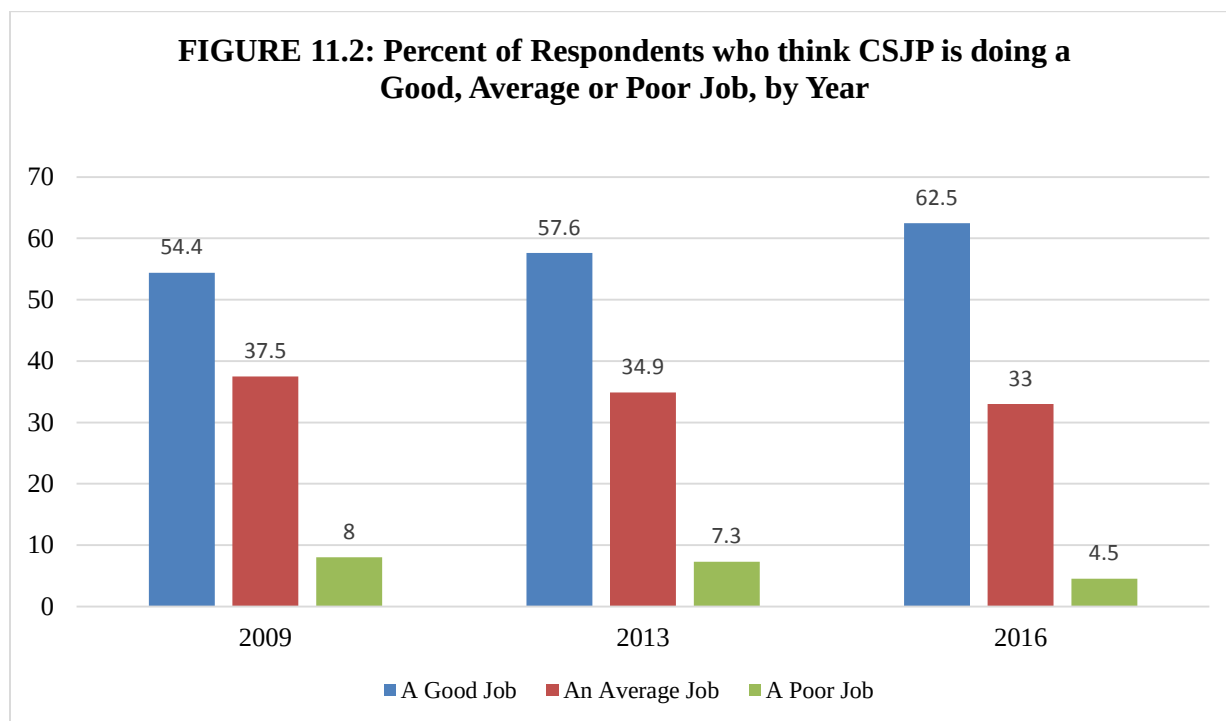
Parish	2013 (%)	2016 (%)	Change (%)
Kingston	28.7	22.9	-5.8
St. Andrew	20.6	20.4	-0.2
St. Thomas	14.7	8.5	-6.2
Portland	11.2	11.2	0.0
St. Mary	11.8	8.2	-3.6
St. Ann	19.3	17.2	-2.1
Trelawny	3.1	7.2	4.1
St. James	24	23.3	-0.7
Hanover	16.3	13.8	-2.5
Westmoreland	12.8	8.4	-4.4
St. Elizabeth	7.6	17.3	9.7
Manchester	14.7	16.2	1.5
Clarendon	20.1	28.6	8.5
St. Catherine	15.7	24.7	9

Comparing change in awareness levels over time, we see notable variations across the parishes (See Table 11.1). St. Elizabeth (17.3%) recorded the largest increase in awareness over its 2013 levels (7.6%) and respondents from St. Catherine (9%) and Clarendon (8.5%) registered the next largest increases in awareness. On the other hand, St. Thomas (-6.2%), Kingston (-5.8%) and Westmoreland (-4.4%) were the parishes with the largest declines in awareness. Although it is unlikely that these variations in awareness levels are due to changes in local conditions in these parishes over such a short period, or to differences in sample design between the two waves of the survey, more detail would be necessary to attribute these changes to programmatic elements such as public awareness campaigns or expansions in service delivery options.

Awareness levels were not related to individual-level characteristics such as gender, employment status and duration of residence in one's community, with the exception of age and education. For example, teens (21%) and persons under thirty years old (20.7%) were more aware of the programme than senior citizens aged 65 years and older (11.7%). In a similar manner, individuals completing education at the tertiary level (36.9%) were more likely to know about the programme than persons with little or no schooling (11.2%).

Public Evaluations of the Programme

The 616 respondents that knew of the programme expressed views on the programme's performance, its case for continued funding and its value for money. Practically two out of three respondents (62.5%) believed CSJP was doing a good job providing appropriate crime prevention initiatives to the communities it serves while, at the other end of the spectrum, 4.5% of respondents viewed CSJP as doing a poor job (See Figure 11.2). Positive regard for the programme's performance is higher than in previous years when over half of the respondents in 2009 (54.4%) and 2013 (57.6%) considered the programme to be doing a good job helping to prevent crime (See Figure 11.2). Respondents in the current survey were more likely to give a positive evaluation if they lived in CSJP communities (72.0%), lived in their community for less than two years (71.0%) were currently unemployed (70.7%) or lived in CSJP parishes (65.1%). At the same time, other factors such as gender, age and level of education had no bearing on how respondents evaluated the programme.



Virtually all respondents (98.8%) believed that the government should increase or maintain funding levels for CSJP activities. Of this number, more than two out of three respondents (69.0%) endorsed increased government funding for the programme, and nearly a third of respondents (29%) called for funding levels to be maintained. These figures are all up from the 2013 figures (95.3%), which incorporated 46.3% of persons asserting that funding should be increased and 49.1% believing that funding levels should remain the same. When respondents were asked “Do you think the CSJP is a good way to spend taxpayers’ money?” 95.3% of persons answered in the affirmative, with almost half (49.4%) seeing the CSJP as an excellent use of public funding and a similar share (46.0%) seeing the programme as a good way to spend public resources. These figures also represent increases over the 2013 estimates when 24.8% of persons viewed the programme as an excellent use of public funds and 65.7% expressed that it was a good way to spend tax dollars for an overall expression of positive sentiment from 90.5% of respondents.

Evaluations of CSJP in the Community

About half of the 104 respondents (49.0%) living in CSJP communities who were aware of the programme also knew that the programme operated in their communities, which means that the share of well-informed community members has remained essentially unchanged since 2013 (50.0%). At the same time, one in five respondents (20.0%) who were aware of CSJP but did not live in CSJP communities mistakenly believed the programme was active in their locale.

For the 51 respondents who answered correctly regarding CSJP's presence, the survey asked them to describe the types of services the programme provided to their community. CSJP community members were most likely to identify 'Parenting Education' (58.8%), 'Math and English Classes' (52.9%) and 'Help finding Employment' (49%) as CSJP services to the community but least likely to recognise 'Theatre Skills' (3.9%), 'Rapid Impact Projects' (2.0%) and 'Home Visits' (0.0%) as service offerings (See Table 11.2).

Table 11.2: What type of services does the CSJP provide in your community?

Type of Service	%
Parenting Education	58.8
Conflict Resolution	35.3
Remedial/Lifelong Learning	27.5
Mentoring	19.6
Homework Assistance	25.5
Classes in CXC English and Mathematics	52.9
Peace Education	27.5
Remedial Reading	15.7
Counselling	17.6
Organizational Development	13.7
Home Visits	0.0
Theatre Skills	3.9
Corner Meetings with At-risk Youth	17.6
Multi-purpose Centres	21.6
Rapid Impact Project	2.0
Help with Finding Employment	49.0

Forty one out of forty four of these individuals (93.2%) who responded to the question “Do you strongly disagree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree that the CSJP has made your community a better place to live?” believed that the CSJP had made their community a better place to live. Indeed, almost two out of three respondents (62.7%) surmised that CSJP had reduced crime and violence in their community a great deal. When asked which other ways they saw CSJP contributing to a better community they identified work done enhancing parenting skills (62.7%), and helping people find jobs (54.9%) (See Table 11.3). Conversely, two out of five respondents (19.6%) in this group mentioned CSJP’s work providing emotional and coping support to community members and three in ten respondents (29.4%) recognised CSJP’s efforts developing community governance structures. These estimates are consistent with the service awareness levels noted earlier, which suggests that CSJP community members, once aware of the programme’s activities in their community, seem to prioritize the value of programme services based on their educational value whether for formal certification or personal development.

Table 11:3 Percent of Respondents who perceive the CSJP helping the Community in Specific Ways

How has CSJP helped Community	(%)
Helped resolve conflict in the community	43.1
Helped establish a Community Action Committee	29.4
Helped provide educational support for youth in the community	64.7
Provided parenting skills	62.7
Provided leisure activities for youth	43.1
Helped people cope emotionally	19.6
Helped people find jobs	54.9
Helped reduce crime	35.3

Accessing CSJP Services

Overall, 61 persons attested to accessing CSJP services at some stage in their life, which represents 1.8% of the entire sample and one in every ten persons (10.8%) who knew about the CSJP. The rate of service usage was twice as high for persons living in CSJP communities (19%) as the rate for persons living in Non-CSJP communities (8.9%). Of the 51 respondents who recognised CSJP's presence in their communities, one in three (34.0%) also reported previously accessing services.

Table 11.4: Percent of Respondents who access Services provided by the CSJP

Type of Service accessed	(%)
Parenting Education	36.1
Conflict Resolution	11.5
Remedial/Lifelong Learning	8.2
Mentoring	4.9
Homework Assistance	13.1
Classes in CXC English and Mathematics	34.4
Peace Education	13.1
Remedial Reading	4.9
Counselling	9.8
Organizational Development	11.5
Home Visits	0
Theatre Skills	3.3
Corner Meetings with At-risk Youth	11.5
Multi-purpose Centres	14.8
Rapid Impact Project	4.8
Help with Finding Employment	18

Satisfaction with Programme Services

Satisfaction levels with the respective services were uniformly high. On average nine out of ten service recipients (90%) were satisfied with the services they received, with 5 persons (10%) expressing a negative assessment of CSJP services. Ideally, perceptions of service satisfaction would be disaggregated by demographic and other such variables to understand what determines positive views of service provision. However, the fairly small number of respondents to these queries restricts us from making such an analysis meaningful.

Use of Other Social Intervention Programmes

Three CSJP beneficiaries (5.2%) attested to accessing services from other intervention programmes. This estimate is lower than the 2013 survey's estimate of 12.5%. The two programmes mentioned by the beneficiaries were the H.E.A.R.T. Trust and the National Youth Service (NYS).

Effect of CSJP Services on Community Members

The descriptive analysis from the survey points to a well-regarded and influential programme. Coupled with the low levels of service overlap with other intervention programmes, this makes it possible to explore the unique contribution of the programme to improving the public safety outcomes for individuals within their communities. This section analyses survey data on community order and personal safety to see if accessing services leads to improved outcomes.¹⁹ Table 11.5 denotes the specific outcomes of interest and how they are represented in the survey.

Table 11.5: Outcomes of Interests for assessing the Effect of CSJP Services

Variables	Survey Measure
Community Disorder	How safe would your visitors be in your community? Has crime increased, decreased or remained the same in your area? Are there areas that you avoid out of fear of victimization?
Personal Safety	Have you been the victim of a crime in the past year? How safe do you feel walking alone in your community at dark?
Police-Citizen Relations	Do the police do a good job ensuring safety in your area?
Gang Membership	Are you a member of a gang?

¹⁹ Comparing outcomes across community types may lead to erroneous findings as relationships observed in the data may be driven by pre-existing, individual-level factors such as education and employment and not by any inherent influence of the Programme's services. Statistical matching techniques or experimental designs would be more appropriate in helping to account for pre-selection biases.

Community Disorder

All survey respondents were asked “...if relatives or friends who do not live in this community came to visit you in your neighbourhood (or area) would they be very safe, safe, unsafe or very unsafe?” Almost nine out of ten persons (89.9%) living in CSJP communities thought visitors to their community would be safe with one in three persons (32.7%) thinking visitors would be very safe. Likewise, respondents from non-CSJP communities were even more likely to believe their visitors would be safe (95.4%) with nearly half (47.8%) being confident their visitors would be very safe visiting them in their communities.

In a similar manner, respondents from both CSJP and Non-CSJP communities perceived improvements in the safety of their locales. Almost seven in ten respondents (69.9%) from CSJP communities believed that crime had declined in their community relative to other areas in Jamaica while a slightly larger proportion of persons (73.2%) living in Non-CSJP communities shared that same sentiment. On the other hand, CSJP community members were almost twice as likely (9.7%) to believe that crime had increased in their area than their counterparts living in Non-CSJP areas (5.7%) (See Table 11.6). These figures are also consistent with the 2013 survey findings where 4.8% of respondents from Non-CSJP communities perceived an increase in community crime levels compared to 8.6% of respondents from CSJP communities.

Table 11.6: Percent of Respondents Who perceive a Change in Community Crime Levels, by Respondent Type

Respondent Type	More	Less	Same	Not Sure
Non-CSJP Community Members	5.7	73.2	16.6	4.2
CSJP Community Members	9.7	69.1	16.3	4.6
Total	6.2	72.7	16.6	4.3

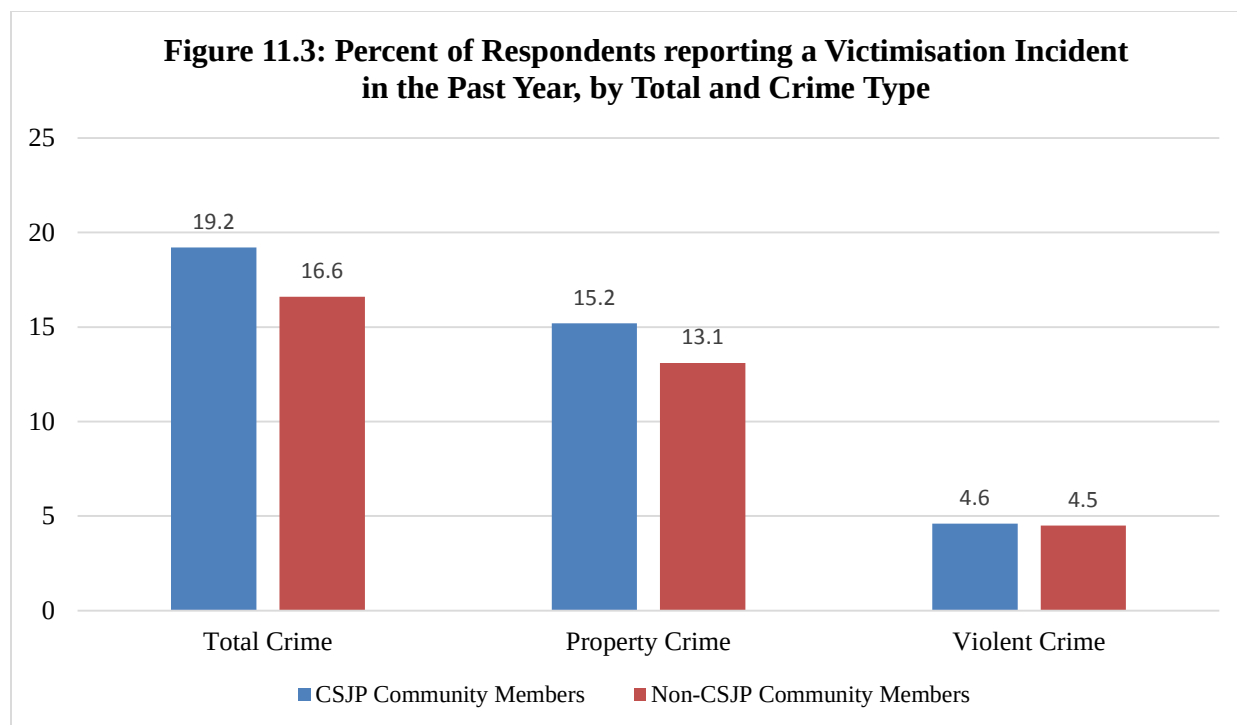
A final point of comparison for community disorder was the expression of area avoidance by the two types of community members. Members of CSJP communities were more likely

(23.4%) to report avoiding areas in their environs due to fear of criminal victimization than their counterparts in Non-CSJP communities (19.5%). When further disaggregated by gender, we see that approximately one in four women (24.5%) in CSJP communities avoided areas out of fear of victimization compared with the more than one in five women (21.4%) in Non-CSJP communities. Men in the two community types were less on par in their area avoidance behaviour as 22.1% of male respondents from the CSJP communities avoided certain areas compared with 17.3% of male respondents in Non-CSJP communities.

Personal Safety

When we examine the victimization rates between residents and non-residents of CSJP communities we see disparities as well as similarities. Nearly one in five respondents from CSJP communities (19.2%) reported being victimized during the past year and this was higher by 2.6 percentage points than the estimated victimization rate for Non-CSJP community members (16.6%) (See Figure 11.3). Female residents of CSJP communities were more likely (20.9%) to be victimized than their counterparts in Non-CSJP communities (14.9%) while the male residents in CSJP (17.1%) and Non-CSJP (18.6%) communities shared more similar levels of victimization. Property crime victimization was also higher in CSJP communities as nearly one in seven persons (15.2%) from these areas reported a crime against their property compared to the nearly one in eight persons living in other areas (13.1%). In the case of violent victimization rates, the two types of respondents were essentially the same as 4.6% of CSJP community members reported a recent incident and 4.5% of Non-CSJP community members responded likewise.

When these figures are compared to the 2013 survey estimates we see declines across all three data points for both types of community members. For example, the 2013 estimates for overall crime victimization were 24.4% and 21.4% for CSJP and Non-CSJP community respondents respectively. This shared pattern in declines would then suggest that whatever the phenomena may be that are driving declines in victimization they are operating with the same effect in CSJP and Non-CSJP communities alike.

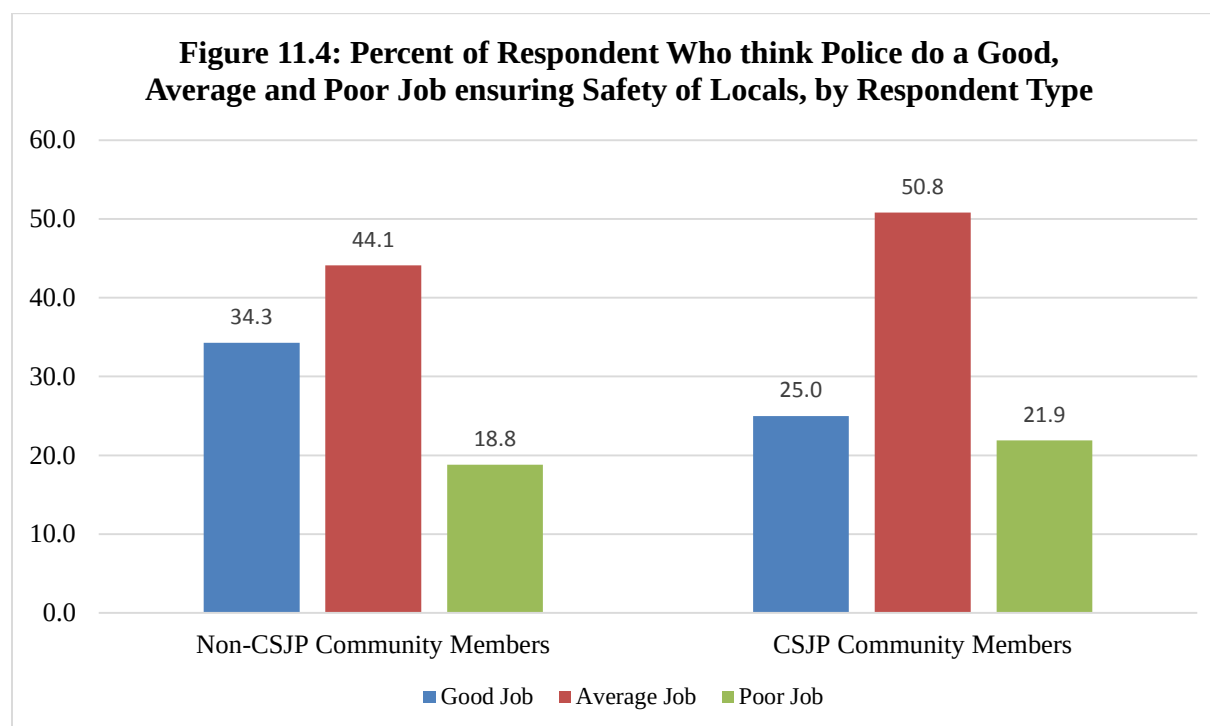


Perceptions of personal safety were also related to the type of community in which the resident lived. Essentially three out of four respondents (75.5%) from CSJP communities felt safe walking alone in their community after dark while more than four out of five respondents (84.0%) from Non-CSJP communities expressed this sentiment. Female respondents in CSJP communities (74.8%) and female respondents in Non-CSJP communities (79.9%) shared closer levels of safety than their male peers. Male respondents from CSJP communities (76.4%) and male respondents from Non-CSJP communities (88.9%) were more distinct in their perceptions of safety when alone in their community after dark.

Police-Citizen Relations

An important element of CSJP's work is improving the working relationship between community members and law enforcement in the fight against crime. The survey findings indicate that residents of CSJP communities are not as favourable in their views of local law enforcement when compared to residents in other areas. One in three respondents (34.2%) of

respondents from Non-CSJP communities believe their local police do a good job ensuring the safety of people in their community and almost half of these persons (44.1%) consider the work of the police to be average. In contrast, exactly half of the respondents from CSJP communities (50.8%) consider their local police to be doing an average job while one in four (25.0%) were willing to say the police were doing a good job.



Gang Membership

Even with the expectation of under-reporting considered, we see a difference across the two types of communities in the proportions of respondents who report that they are members of criminal gangs. Residents of CSJP communities were estimated as twice as likely (3.4%) to acknowledge their gang membership than residents in other communities (1.4%). These estimates are both higher than the corresponding 2013 estimates for the respective community types. Previously, 1.1% of respondents from CSJP communities were self-proclaimed gang members and 0.5% of Non-CSJP community members responded in a similar manner (See Table

11.7). Despite this apparent increase over time and across community types, it remains doubtful these variations reflect real differences that warrant further analysis or intervention. Only three persons in the entire sample identified themselves as gang members, which represents a miniscule figure of .008%. Statistical analysis of this difference across the two communities would therefore not provide substantive analysis for policy or research purposes.

Table 11.7: Percent of Respondents Reporting Gang Membership, by Respondent Type

Respondent Type	2013	2016
CSJP Community Members	1.1	3.4
Non-CSJP Community Members	0.5	1.4

PART TWELVE

SELF-REPORTED CRIMINAL ACTIVITY AND SUBSTANCE ABUSE

The 2016 NCVS documented gang membership, self-reported drug and alcohol use and personal involvement in various criminal activities. This data, and particularly those on self-reported criminal offending, can be used as an alternative source of crime data. Official crime data, which are based on police records, only capture crimes known to the police. Self-report data, in contrast, also capture criminal offences which are not known to the police and therefore provide an important source of data. This section of the report begins by exploring gang membership among respondents. The report then examines the extent to which survey respondents have personally engaged in fourteen different types of criminal behaviour. This section concludes by looking at drug and alcohol use among respondents. An analysis of gender, age and regional differences is provided.

Gang Membership

All respondents were asked to indicate: 1) whether they had ever been a member of a criminal gang, 2) whether they were currently in a criminal gang, and 3) whether they had any family members or friends who were gang members. Thirty-four persons or 1% of the sample indicated that they had been in a criminal gang at some time previously, while 3 persons or 0.1% indicated that they were currently in a criminal gang. In addition, 3.4% of the sample indicated that they had family or friends who were gang members.

Figure 12.1 shows the proportion of respondents who reported that they were ever in a gang, were current gang members and had family and friends who were gang members for the 2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS. The proportion of respondents who had ever been in a gang stood at 1.2% in 2006, and declined to 0.5% in 2009 and 0.6% in 2013 but once again rose to 1%

in 2016. Across surveys the proportion of respondents who were current gang members remained at 0.1% or lower. Overall, there was a decline in the proportion of persons who had family or friends who were gang members. In 2006 this stood at 4.7% but declined to 2.9% in 2009. This once again rose slightly to 3.8% in 2013 and stood at 3.4% in 2016.

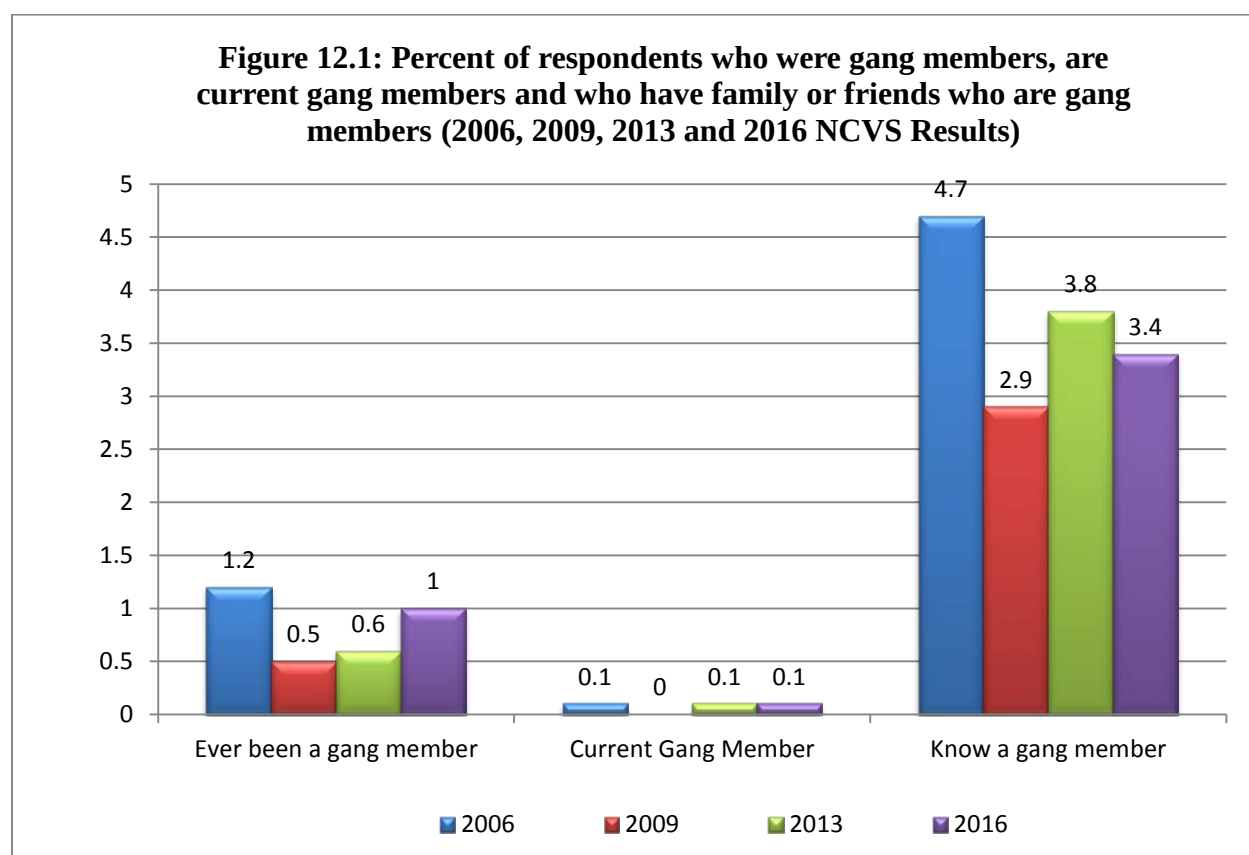


Table 12.1 shows the proportion of respondents who were gang members and who knew gang members according to the gender and age of the respondent, and according to location.²⁰ The data indicate that more males than females (1.7% vs. 0.4%) were in a gang at some point in their lives. Likewise, more males than females (4.9% vs. 2.3%) had family members or friends who were gang members.

²⁰ Reliable cross tabulations could not be conducted with current gang membership since there were too few persons who admitted to being in a gang at the time of interview. Disaggregating such small numbers would produce unreliable estimates.

The data also indicate that there was a decline in the proportion of persons who knew gang members as respondents got older. More specifically, while 4.7% of 16-20 year olds and 5.7% of 21-30 year olds knew someone who was a gang member, this figure declined to 3% and 3.7% for 31-40 and 41-50 year olds respectively, and further declines to 2.8% for 51-60 year olds and reaches a low of 0.9% for persons older than 60 years of age. There is somewhat more fluctuation in the proportion of persons who were gang members when disaggregated by age. Despite this the proportion ranges from a low of 0.2% for persons older than 60 years of age to a high of 1.6% for persons in the 41-50 age range.

The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who were gang members at some point in their lives were Hanover (2.6%), St. Mary (2.2%) and Portland (2%). The parishes with the largest proportion of persons who knew gang members were Kingston (6%), St. Ann (5.4%) and St. Catherine (5.1%).

Table 12.1: Percent of respondents who have been a gang member or know a gang member, by Gender, Age and Parish (2016 NCVS)

	Ever Been a Gang Member	Know a Gang Member
Gender		
Male	1.7	4.9
Female	0.4	2.3
Age		
16-20	1.0	4.7
21-30	1.3	5.7
31-40	0.4	3.0
41-50	1.6	3.7
51-60	1.5	2.8
61 and over	0.2	0.9
Parish		
Kingston	-	6.0
St. Andrew	1.1	3.5
St. Thomas	1.4	3.7
Portland	2.0	4.1
St. Mary	2.2	1.3

	Ever Been a Gang Member	Know a Gang Member
St. Ann	0.5	5.4
Trelawny	-	2.0
St. James	1.5	3.2
Hanover	2.6	2.7
Westmoreland	0.5	2.7
St. Elizabeth	0.8	0.8
Manchester	-	2.7
Clarendon	-	2.8
St. Catherine	1.3	5.1

Self-Reported Criminal Activity

Respondents in the 2016 NCVS were asked to indicate whether they had ever engaged in fourteen different types of criminal activity. The activities which were assessed are listed under:

1. **Motor Vehicle Theft:** Have you ever stolen a motor vehicle like a car, truck or motorcycle?
2. **Theft from Motor Vehicles:** Have you ever broken into a car or truck to steal something?
3. **Burglary:** Have you ever broken into a home or business to steal something?
4. **Shoplifting:** Have you ever stolen food or other items from a store or business?
5. **Personal Theft:** Have you ever stolen money or other items from a stranger or somebody you know?
6. **Robbery/Extortion:** Have you ever used force or the threat of force to get money or other items from another person?
7. **Fighting:** Have you ever been in a physical fight with another person?
8. **Assault:** Have you ever punched or kicked someone when they were not fighting back?
9. **Weapons Assault:** Have you ever attacked someone with a weapon and tried to seriously hurt them?
10. **Gun Carrying:** Have you ever carried a gun in public?
11. **Gun Use:** Have you ever used a gun on another person?

12. Drug Trafficking: Have you ever sold illegal drugs?

13. Prostitution: Have you ever had sex with someone for money?

14. Drug Possession: Have you ever held or carried drugs for someone else?

Those respondents who reported that they had engaged in a particular type of criminal activity at some time in their life were asked whether they had engaged in this type of behaviour in the past twelve months (Table 12.2). The data indicate that within respondents' lifetime the most frequently occurring types of offences were fighting (19.7% of respondents engaged in this in their lifetime), assault (4.9%), weapons assault (4.1%), personal theft (2.5%) and prostitution (2.4%). Within the past year, the most frequently occurring types of offences were fighting (1.9%), prostitution (0.5%), assault (0.4%) and weapons assault (0.3%).

Table 12.2: Percent of respondents who engaged in specific types of criminal activity in their lifetime and over the past year (2016 NCVS)

Crime type	Past Year	Ever
Fighting	1.9	19.7
Assault	0.4	4.9
Weapons Assault	0.3	4.1
Personal Theft	0.3	2.5
Prostitution	0.5	2.4
Drug Trafficking	0.3	2.3
Shoplifting	0.1	2.2
Drug Possession	0.3	2.2
Gun Carrying	0.1	2.0
Robbery/Extortion	0.1	1.9
Gun Use	0.1	1.7
Theft from Motor Vehicles	0.1	1.5
Burglary	0.1	1.5
Motor Vehicle Theft	0.1	1.4

An examination of trends in self-reported criminal offending indicates that invariably such offending has steadily declined from 2006 to the present (Table 12.3). For example, while

7.2% of respondents admitted to fighting in the past year in the 2006 NCVS, this figure declined to 5.4% in 2009, 3.7% in 2013 and reached a low of 1.9% in 2016. As another example in 2006 1.9% of respondents admitted to carrying a gun within the past year. This figure declined to 1.4% in 2009 and further declined to 0.7% in 2013 and 0.1% in 2016. The consistency in the declines across crimes is encouraging and is consistent with other findings in this report which provide strong evidence that crime in Jamaica is declining.

Table 12.3: Percent of respondents who engaged in specific types of criminal activity in the past twelve months (2006, 2009, 2013 and 2016 NCVS Results)

Crime Type	2006	2009	2013	2016
Motor Vehicle Theft	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.1
Theft from Motor Vehicles	0.6	0.5	0.1	0.1
Burglary	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.1
Shoplifting	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.1
Personal Theft	1.3	0.9	0.5	0.3
Robbery/Extortion	1.1	0.7	0.4	0.1
Fighting	7.2	5.4	3.7	1.9
Assault	2.0	1.3	0.9	0.4
Weapons Assault	1.6	1.4	0.9	0.3
Gun Carrying	1.9	1.4	0.7	0.1
Gun Use	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.1
Drug Trafficking	1.1	1.3	0.5	0.3
Prostitution	1.1	1.6	1.2	0.5
Drug Possession	1.0	1.3	0.3	0.3

Past year and lifetime self-reported offending according to gender are shown in Table 12.4. The results indicate that men are more likely to engage in various types of crime than women. This applies to all offences within the past year and within respondents' lifetime. For example while 23.1% of males engaged in fighting in their lifetime, the figure declines to 16.8% for females. As another example, while 0.4% of males engaged in personal theft within the past year, 0.2% of females did the same. While these differences are noted, the data also indicate that in most cases the gender differences in self-reported offending is not quite large. This applies to the majority of crimes which were committed within the past year and within respondents'

lifetime. The notable exceptions are fighting, assault, weapons assault, and carrying a gun in public, all within respondents' lifetime.

In order to further assess the relationship between gender and criminal offending a “Past Year Criminal Offending” and a “Lifetime Criminal Offending” scale were constructed. For each of the fourteen crimes, when respondents provided responses of “Yes” they were coded as 1 and responses of “No” were coded as 0. The responses were summed across the past year and lifetime measures respectively to create each variable (Past Year Criminal Offending Mean = .045, SD = .369; Lifetime Criminal Offending Mean = .502, SD = 1.72). For both scales the range was 0 to 14. Using these scales it was found that males committed significantly more criminal offences than females in the past year ($F(1, 3478)=11.43, p < .001$) and within their lifetime ($F(1, 3478)=13.16, p < .001$).

Table 12.4: Percent of respondents who engaged in specific types of criminal activity, by Gender (2016 NCVS)

Crime type	Past Year		Ever	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Motor Vehicle Theft	0.1	0.0	1.6	1.3
Theft from Motor Vehicles	0.1	0.0	1.6	1.3
Burglary	0.1	0.0	1.7	1.3
Shoplifting	0.2	0.0	2.7	1.8
Personal Theft	0.4	0.2	2.9	2.1
Robbery/Extortion	0.2	0.1	2.1	1.8
Fighting	2.3	1.5	23.1	16.8
Assault	0.6	0.3	6.5	3.6
Weapons Assault	0.6	0.1	5.9	2.6
Gun Carrying	0.2	0.0	2.8	1.4
Gun Use	0.1	0.0	2.0	1.4
Drug Trafficking	0.5	0.1	3.0	1.7
Prostitution	0.9	0.2	3.1	1.8
Drug Possession	0.4	0.2	2.7	1.7

Disaggregation of self-reported criminal offending according to the age of the respondents indicates that with few exceptions, younger persons tend to commit more offences

than older persons (Table 12.5). For example, with assaults while 0.5% of 16-29 year olds engaged in this within the past year, this declines to 0.4% for 30-49 year olds and 0.3% for persons older than 49 years of age. Likewise for assault within respondents' lifetime, while 6.4% of 16-29 year olds engaged in this, the figure drops to 4.5% for 30-49 year olds and 3.9% for persons who are older than 49 years of age. While the declines are not always discernible in past year offending because of the very low rates of commission of offences, they are clearer in the lifetime prevalence data. Using the Past Year Criminal Offending ($F(2, 3442)=5.07, p < .006$) and Lifetime Criminal Offending scales ($F(2, 3442)=7.03, p < .001$) it was confirmed that younger persons commit significantly more criminal offences than older persons.

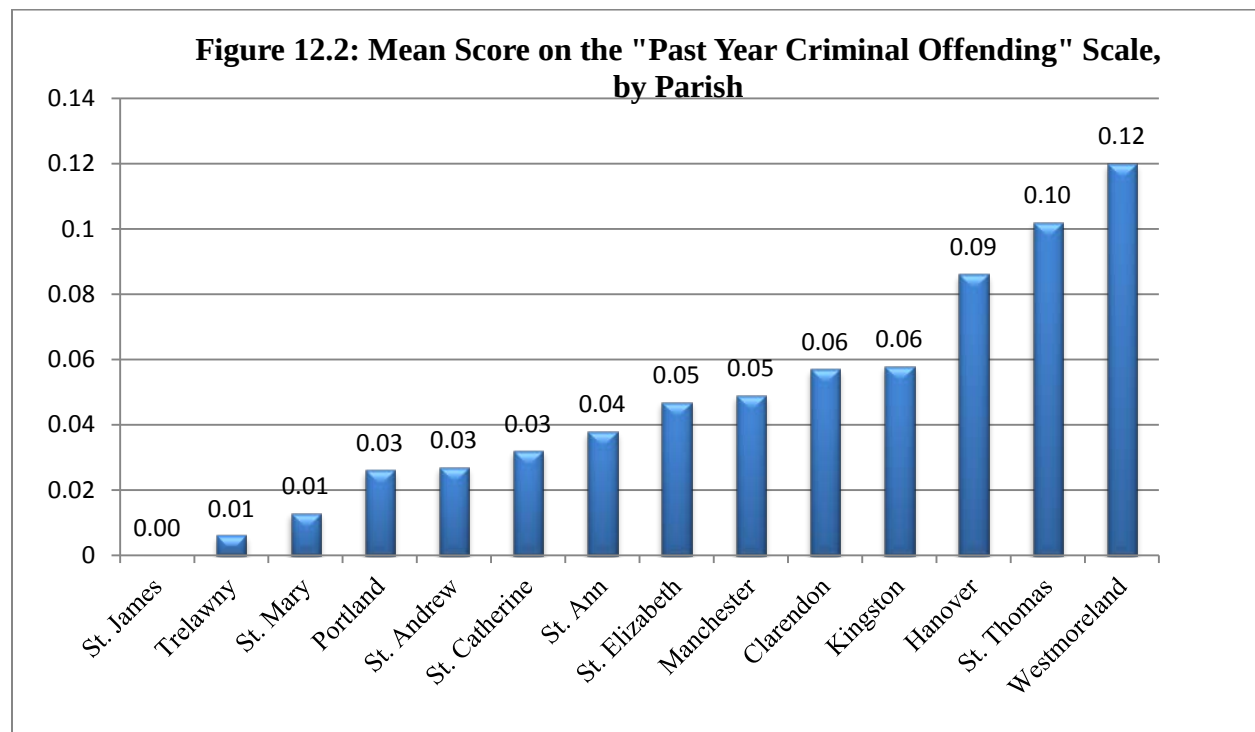
Table 12.5: Percent of respondents who engaged in specific types of criminal activity, by Age (2016 NCVS)

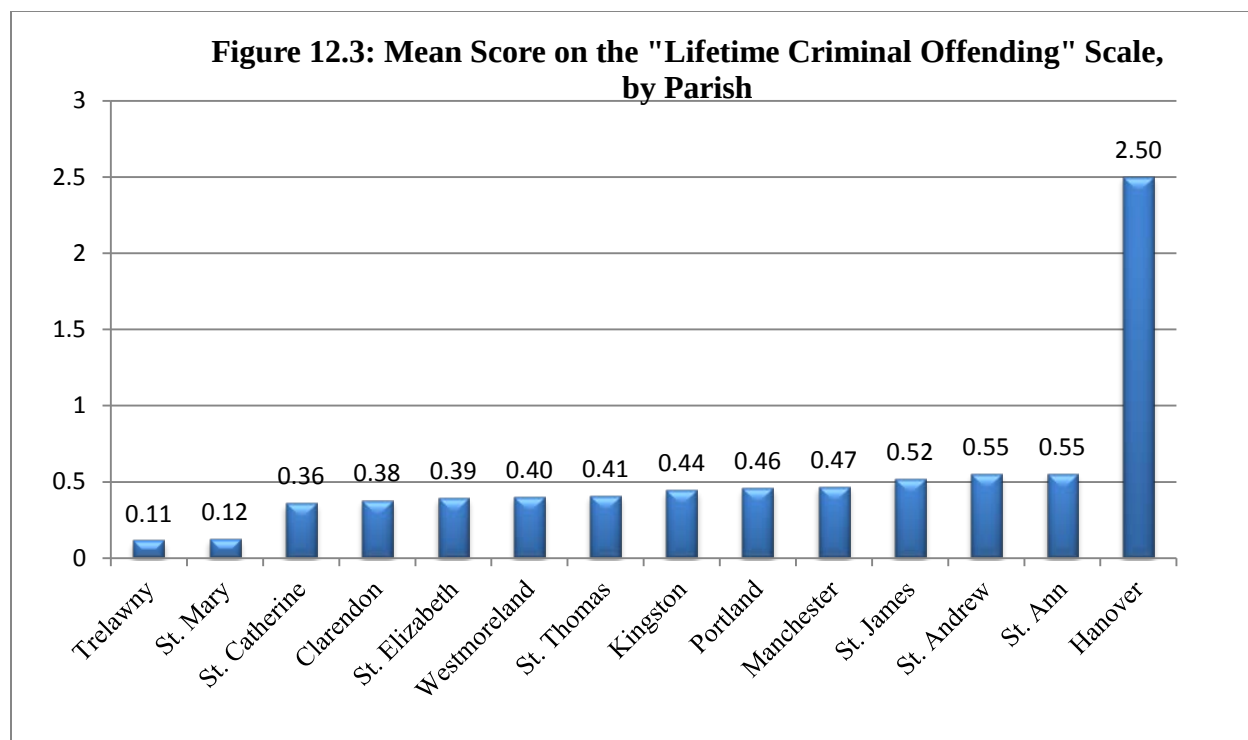
Crime type	Past Year			Ever		
	16-29	30-49	>49	16-29	30-49	>49
Motor Vehicle Theft	-	0.1	-	1.7	1.6	.8
Theft from Motor Vehicles	-	0.1	-	1.7	1.6	.9
Burglary	0.1	0.1	-	2.0	1.5	.9
Shoplifting	-	0.2	0.1	2.7	2.3	1.4
Personal Theft	0.6	0.2	0.1	3.8	2.4	1.3
Robbery/Extortion	0.3	0.1	-	2.8	1.9	.9
Fighting	3.1	1.8	0.7	24.3	18.8	16.0
Assault	0.5	0.4	0.3	6.4	4.5	3.9
Weapons Assault	0.4	0.4	0.1	4.3	5.0	2.7
Gun Carrying	0.1	0.1	0.1	2.4	2.1	1.4
Gun Use	0.1	0.1	-	1.9	1.8	1.1
Drug Trafficking	0.4	0.3	0.1	3.0	2.3	1.4
Prostitution	0.7	0.5	0.3	3.0	2.6	1.4
Drug Possession	0.6	0.1	0.1	2.8	2.3	1.2

An examination of the relationship between self-reported criminal offending and parish revealed that there were significant differences in offending levels among parishes (Figures 12.2 and 12.3). Using the Past Year Criminal Offending scale it was discovered that the parishes in which respondents had the highest average number of criminal offences committed within the past year were Westmoreland, St. Thomas, Hanover and Kingston. The parishes with the lowest

average number of criminal offences committed within the past year were St. James, Trelawny and St. Mary. The differences in the commission of crime within the past year among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 1.82, p < .035$).

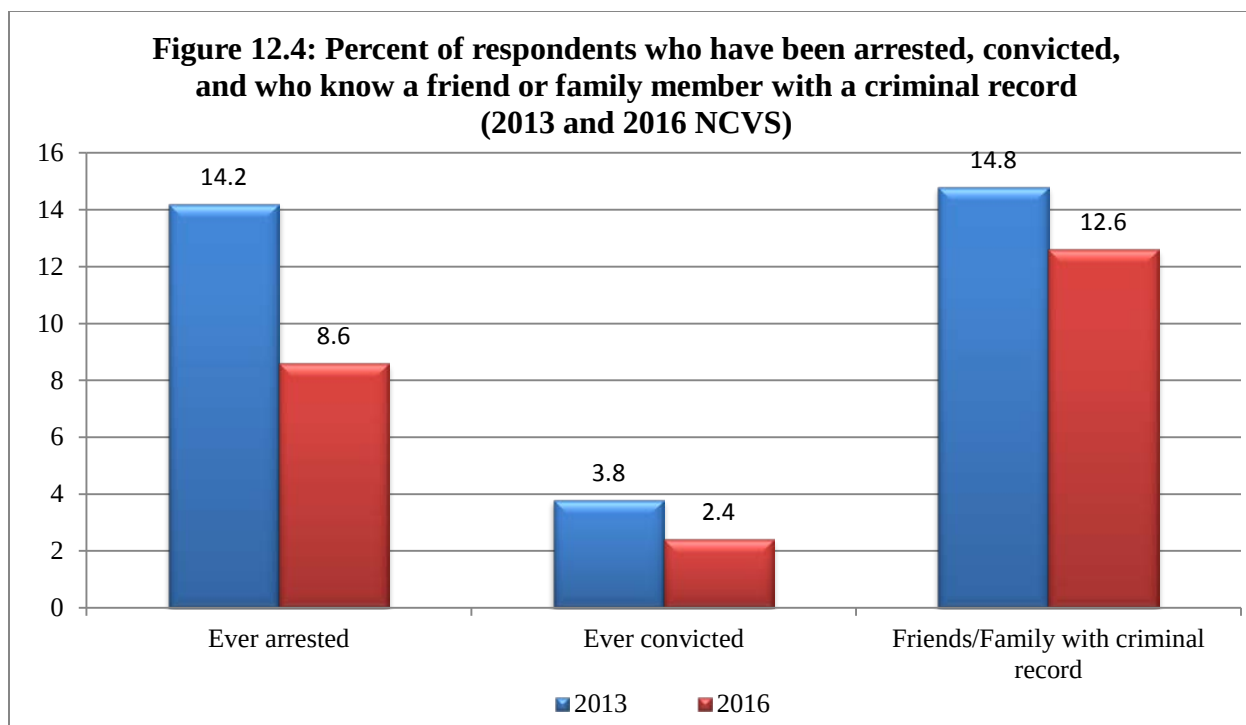
Using the Lifetime Criminal Offending scale it was discovered that the parishes with the highest average number of criminal offences committed within respondents' lifetime were Hanover, St. Ann, St. Andrew and St. James. The parishes with the lowest average number of criminal offences committed within respondents' lifetime were Trelawny, St. Mary and St. Catherine. The differences in the commission of crime within respondents' lifetime among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 19.01, p < .001$).





All respondents were asked to indicate whether they had ever been arrested by the police, if they had ever been convicted of a crime and whether they had any family members or friends with a criminal record (Figure 12.4). The results indicate that 300 respondents or 8.6% had been arrested for a crime, with a total of 82 or 2.4% being actually convicted. This represents a conviction rate of 27.3%. In 2013 14.2% of respondents indicated that they had been arrested while 3.8% had been convicted. This represents a conviction rate of 26.8% in 2013, which also indicates that there was a small improvement in overall conviction ratios in 2016. Overall these findings suggest that the commission of criminal offences declined from 2013 to 2016 and that there was a small increase in conviction rates.

Respondents in the 2016 NCVS who were convicted indicated that they were convicted for a wide range of crimes including murder (0.1%), manslaughter (0.1%), assault with a weapon (0.5%), assault without a weapon (0.3%), robbery with a weapon (0.1%), stealing / robbery without a weapon (0.1%), drug trafficking (0.1%), drug use (0.5%) and fraud (0.1%).



Disaggregation of the data by the gender of the respondent (Table 12.6) indicates that males were more likely than females to have been arrested at some point in their life (14.6% vs. 3.5%) and were more likely to have been convicted (4.2% vs. 0.8%). Males were also more likely to have friends or family members with criminal records (15.3% vs. 10.4%).

Table 12.6: Percent of respondents who have been arrested, convicted or know someone with a criminal record, by Gender, Age and Parish (2016 NCVS)

	Have Been Arrested by the Police	Have Been Convicted of a Crime	Have a Family Member or Friend with a Criminal Record
Gender			
Male	14.6	4.2	15.3
Female	3.5	0.8	10.4
Age			
16-20	3.6	.3	86.9
21-30	8.2	1.9	83.1
31-40	7.3	2.4	89.3
41-50	10.2	2.9	85.5

	Have Been Arrested by the Police	Have Been Convicted of a Crime	Have a Family Member or Friend with a Criminal Record
51-60	12.9	3.0	87.1
61 and over	7.7	2.5	93.5
Parish			
St. Thomas	18.1	5.1	84.7
Portland	13.1	8.5	84.3
Clarendon	11.4	2.7	86.6
St. Mary	10.2	1.7	92.8
St. Elizabeth	10.2	2.3	89.1
St. Andrew	9.0	1.9	88.3
Hanover	8.6	3.3	87.5
Kingston	8.4	1.8	82.2
Trelawny	7.6	2.5	87.3
St. Ann	7.2	2.9	80.4
Westmoreland	6.8	0.5	92.2
St. Catherine	5.1	0.8	87.7
Manchester	4.8	2.6	87.2
St. James	3.0	0.8	92.5

In terms of age, there was an increase in the proportion of persons who were arrested as persons got older up until the 51-60 age range, and then a decline for the oldest age range. More specifically, 3.6% of 16-20 year olds were arrested at some point in their lives. This increased to 8.2% for 21-30 year olds, and further increased to 7.3% for 31-40 year olds, 10.2% for 41-50 year olds and reaches a high of 12.9% for 51-60 year olds. The figure then declines to 7.7% for persons older than 60 years of age. A similar pattern is observed for convictions. A total of 0.3% of 16-20 year olds have been convicted. This figure increases to a high of 3% for 51-60 year olds and declines to 2.5% for persons older than 60 years of age. The proportion of persons who know someone with a criminal record is very similar regardless of age.

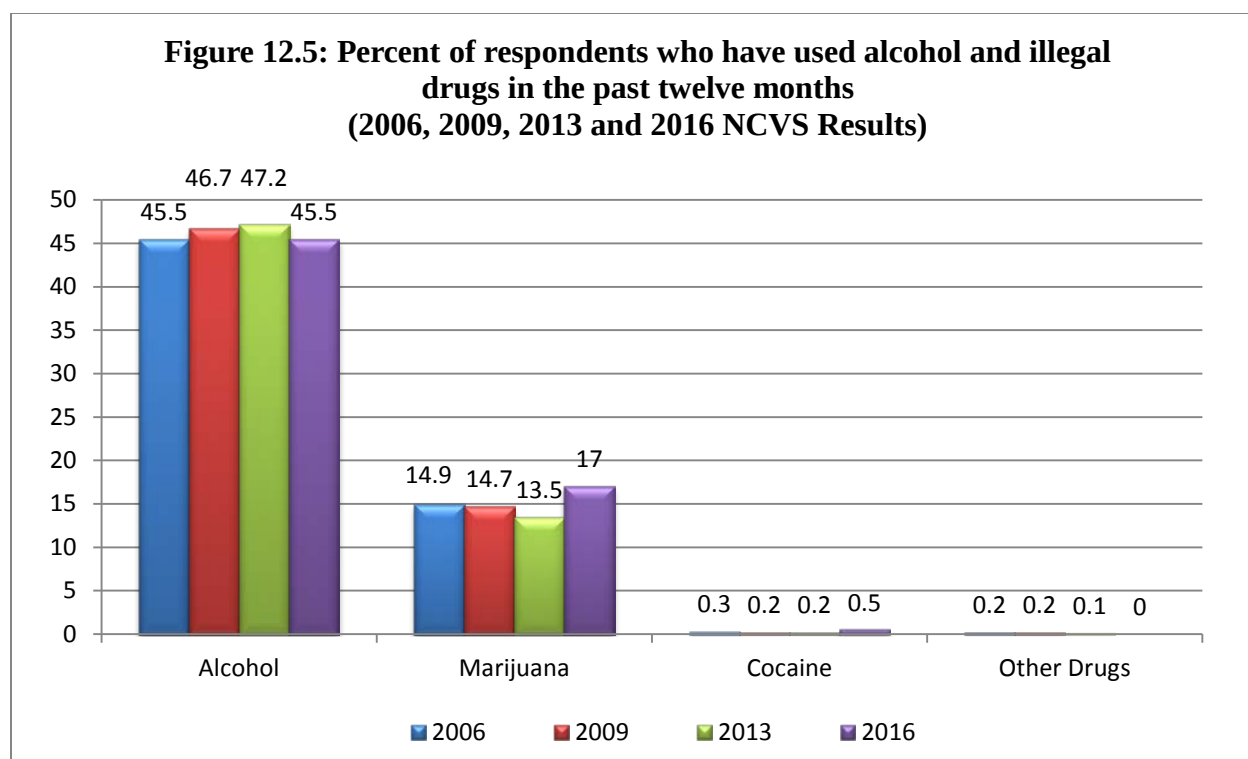
When we consider region, the parish with the highest proportion of respondents who were arrested at some point in their lives were St. Thomas (18.1%), Portland (13.1%), Clarendon (11.4%) and St. Mary (10.2%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of persons who were arrested were St. James (3%), Manchester (4.8%) and St. Catherine (5.1%). The parishes with the highest proportion of convicted persons were Portland (8.5%), St. Thomas (5.1%), Hanover (3.3%) and St. Ann (2.9%). The parishes with the lowest proportion of convicted persons were

Westmoreland (0.5%), St. James (0.8%) and St. Catherine (0.8%). With respect to having friends or relatives with a criminal record, this ranged from a high of 92.8% in St. Mary to a low of 80.4% in St. Ann.

Alcohol and Drug Use

Respondents in the 2016 NCVS were asked to indicate whether they had consumed alcohol, marijuana or cocaine in the past twelve months. Respondents were also asked if they had used any other type of illegal drug in the past year. Persons who had consumed another type of drug were asked to identify the drug that they had used.

The data indicate that the usage of alcohol exceeds the usage of other substances in Jamaica (Figure 12.5 and 12.6). The data also indicate that there is stability in the level of alcohol usage over time. More specifically, in 2006 45.5% of respondents indicated that they had used alcohol within the last year. This increased slightly to 46.7% in 2009 and 47.2% in 2013 but then declined slightly to 45.4% in 2016. There was stability in the level of marijuana usage from 2006 to 2013 but an increase in levels of usage in 2016. In 2006 14.9% of respondents had used marijuana within the last twelve months, while in 2009 this stood at 14.7% and in 2013 at 13.5%. This figure rose to 17% in 2016. The usage of other drugs is almost non-existent in Jamaica, with past year usage levels between 0.1% and 0.2% from 2006 to 2013, but reaching 0% in 2016.



When the usage of various substances was disaggregated by gender (Table 12.7) it was found that males were more likely than females to consume alcohol (57.7% vs. 35%) and marijuana (28.1% vs. 7.5%). Cocaine usage was similarly low for males and females (0.6% vs. 0.4%).

Alcohol usage was highest among the 21-30 age range (57.1% had used alcohol at least once within the last twelve months) and was lowest for persons older than 60 years of age (27.6%). Alcohol usage varied between 40.5% and 49.6% for the other age ranges. The data further indicated that the lowest levels of marijuana usage occurred among the 16-20 age range (14.8%) and with persons older than 60 years of age (7%). Marijuana usage varied between 17.1% and 23.8% for persons between 21 to 60 years of age. Cocaine usage was highest for the 41-50 age range (0.8%) but was less than 0.6% for all other age ranges. The 16-20 age range had 0% cocaine usage.

Alcohol usage ranged from a low of 32.3% in St. James to a high of 55.1% in Trelawny. Other parishes which come in at the higher levels with alcohol usage include St. Catherine

(52.8%) and Kingston (52%). Marijuana usage is highest in Hanover (25%), Kingston (22.7%), St. Andrew (20.8%) and St. Thomas (20%) and is lowest in Westmoreland (9.9%), Clarendon (11.7%) and Portland (12.4%). Cocaine usage was very low regardless of parish. The parishes with the highest levels of cocaine usage were St. Andrew (1%) and Westmoreland (1%). The parishes of Hanover, St. Thomas, St. Ann and Clarendon had 0% cocaine usage.

Table 12.7: Percent of respondents who used alcohol, marijuana and cocaine within the past twelve months, by Gender, Age and Parish (2016 NCVS)

	Alcohol	Marijuana	Cocaine
Gender			
Male	57.7	28.1	0.6
Female	35.0	7.5	0.4
Age			
16-20	44.6	14.8	0.0
21-30	57.1	23.8	0.5
31-40	49.6	17.8	0.4
41-50	45.9	17.1	0.8
51-60	40.5	17.1	0.6
61 and over	27.6	7.0	0.5
Parish			
St. Andrew	46.0	20.8	1.0
Westmoreland	41.1	9.9	1.0
St. Elizabeth	35.2	14.8	0.8
St. James	32.3	12.8	0.8
Portland	49.7	12.4	0.7
St. Catherine	52.8	18.7	0.6
Trelawny	55.1	15.8	0.6
Kingston	52.0	22.7	0.4
St. Mary	43.0	16.2	0.4
Manchester	39.6	13.2	0.4
Hanover	48.0	25.0	0.0
St. Thomas	40.5	20.0	0.0
St. Ann	42.6	13.4	0.0
Clarendon	42.8	11.7	0.0

PART THIRTEEN

MULTIVARIATE ANALYSES OF CRIMINAL VICTIMIZATION AND RELATED TOPICS

Introduction

This section of the report examines the relationship between a number of key predictor or independent variables and several selected outcomes or dependent variables. This section also looks at differences among parishes with respect to the key indicators. While the primary dependent variable of interest is the level of criminal victimization, there are other indicators of interest including fear of crime, self-reported criminal offending, crime in the community, performance of the police and reporting crime to the police. Having several measures of the dependent variable allows one to determine whether or not there are specific factors (i.e. predictors) which are consistently significant across most or all of the measures which are thought to be representative of criminal victimization. Table 13.1 lists the key variables which have been constructed and used in the analyses which follow, while Appendix 1 gives technical details on each variable, including scale computation, reliability analysis and descriptive statistics.

Regression Analysis: Predictors of key outcome variables

This section engages in a series of regression analyses in an effort to determine which variables are important predictors of the key outcomes in the study. Regression analysis allows the researcher to determine which of several predictors or independent variables are the most important for predicting a particular outcome or dependent variable.²¹ In this study, the dependent variables are indicators of the level of crime, while the independent variables are measures which are potentially useful for explaining the level of crime, and include interventions

²¹ It is important to note that regression analysis cannot be used to infer causality. While significant predictors may have a causal influence on dependent variables, other research designs are required to establish causality. As such, policy makers who wish to utilize the findings from regression analyses must independently establish the existence of causal relationships.

which are designed to reduce crime. Knowing which independent variables are most closely related to the level of crime will allow for the design of interventions which focus on those factors that are likely to have the most impact on crime reduction.

Dependent variables in this study include crime victimization within respondents' lifetime and within the past year, used as total victimization, property crime victimization and violent crime victimization. Other dependent variables include safety in the community, fear of crime, self-reported criminal offending, performance of the police and reporting crimes to the police.

Predictor or independent variables were designed around key areas which were theoretically relevant as possible causes of crime. Given that this section also examines other variables apart from crime victimization, a range of other independent variables were included to be used in such models. The independent variables are: demographic variables (age, gender, education, social class and employment status), religiosity, residential mobility (personal and community measures), personal alcohol and drug use, CSJP services (personal use of and services in the community), having family and friends with a criminal record, gunshots in the community, community disorder, presence of corner crews in the community, presence of criminal gangs in the community, presence of area dons in the community.

Table 13.1: Variables Utilized for Regression Analysis²²

Dependent Variables
Crime Victimization (lifetime)
Property Crime Victimization (lifetime)
Violent Crime Victimization (lifetime)
Crime Victimization (past year)
Property Crime Victimization (past year)
Violent Crime Victimization (past year)
Crime Witnessed (lifetime)
Victimization of family and friends
Safety in the community
Fear of Crime (safety)

²² All independent variables will not be used as predictors of each dependent variable. Instead, only those reasonably thought to be potentially useful in explaining each outcome of interest will be employed. In addition, depending on the analysis to be conducted, the same variable could be used as an independent or a dependent variable.

Fear of Crime (anxiety)
Fear of Crime (change in behaviour)
Fear of Crime (preventative actions)
Criminal offending (lifetime total)
Criminal offending (lifetime property crimes)
Criminal offending (lifetime violent crimes)
Criminal offending (past year total)
Criminal offending (past year property crimes)
Criminal offending (past year violent crimes)
Performance of the police
Reporting crimes to the police ²³
Independent Variables
Age
Gender
Education
Social class
Employment
Religiosity
Alcohol and Drug Use
Residential mobility (personal)
Family and friends with a criminal record
Residential mobility (community)
Gunshots in the community
Community disorder
Presence of corner crews in the community
Presence of criminal gangs in the community
Presence of area dons in the community
CSJP services (personal use of)
CSJP services (presence of in the community)
CSJP services (number of services offered to community)
CSJP services (help to the community)

Predictors of Crime Victimization

The regression analyses in Table 13.2 utilized a range of predictors to determine which ones were consistently related to crime victimization. The measures of crime victimization which were utilized are total lifetime crime victimization, total lifetime property crime victimization, total lifetime violent crime victimization, total crime victimization within the past year, total

²³ All analyses involving this variable will be restricted only to persons who witnessed crimes (22.4% of the sample).

property crime victimization within the past year and total violent crime victimization within the past year.

The data indicate that the predictors which were utilized were much more consistent as predictors of the lifetime crime victimization measures as opposed to the past year victimization measures. This is not surprising as the infrequent occurrence of incidents of victimization within the one-year time period defined by “past year” serves to reduce the variance in any measures created, making it less likely that statistically significant relationships could be detected. Nevertheless, the utility of the chosen predictors is underscored by the consistent results when the lifetime measures of victimization are used as dependent variables.

Consistent predictors in the regression models in Table 13.2 are age, sex, religiosity, alcohol and drug use, community disorder, police performance and having friends and family with criminal records. The positive coefficients for age indicate that older persons are more likely than younger persons to have experienced some type of victimization in their lifetime and within the past year (i.e. property and violent crime combined) while older persons were also more likely to experience property crime victimization within their lifetime and within the past year. The negative coefficients with violent crime victimization (lifetime and past year), in contrast, indicate that younger persons are more likely than older persons to experience violent crime victimization.

These findings are not surprising as it would be expected that older persons would have experienced greater overall levels of victimization simply because they have been around longer. Property crime victimization may also be more likely to have occurred with older persons since they would be more likely than younger persons to own more property. In the case of violent crime victimization, younger persons may be more likely than older persons to put up a fight in the event that there is a threat of crime victimization, increasing their risk of personal victimization. In addition, younger persons are also more likely to be in situations (out late, at bars etc.) where violent forms of victimization could occur.

In the case of gender, the coefficients indicate that males are more likely than females to be victims of total lifetime crime victimization and lifetime property crime victimization. This is consistent with established criminological research. For lifetime violent crime victimization males and females are equally likely to be victims.

Level of education is positively related to lifetime property crime victimization but negatively related to lifetime violent crime victimization. This indicates that more educated persons are more likely to be victims of property crime whereas less educated persons are more likely to be victims of violent crimes. The non-significance of education as a predictor of total lifetime crime victimization (i.e. property and violent crimes combined) would have occurred as a result of the countervailing relationships between education and the two types of crime. That is, since total crime combines property and violent crime, the positive relationship with property crimes and the negative relationship with violent crimes will cancel out any relationship between total crime and education.

The positive relationship between education and property crimes could occur since more educated persons, on average, would be expected to have higher incomes, and thus more property, increasing the likelihood that they may be targeted, and also increasing the possibility that if attempts at victimization are made, that something could actually be stolen. The negative relationship between education and violent crimes could occur because of the relationship between education and age (i.e. less educated persons are also younger and thus more likely to engage in the types of activities which would increase their risk of violent crime victimization) or possibly because of other factors, such as intelligence/IQ, which may be related to educational levels.

The positive coefficients for religiosity indicate that persons who have higher levels of religiosity (or at least who attend religious services more often) are more likely to be victims of total crime and property crime within their lifetime. There is no relationship between religiosity and violent crime. It is difficult to speculate on why religiosity may be related to crime victimization. It could, however, be the case that crime victimization may encourage persons to seek religious interaction and comfort as a means of self-protection. Another possible

explanation could be that persons who are more religious are perhaps more inclined to rely on divine intervention, and may not engage in practical crime prevention measures to the same degree as persons who are not as religious.

The positive relationship between drug and alcohol usage and crime victimization is consistent with established knowledge in this field. Persons who use drugs and alcohol are more likely to be in situations where the risk of victimization is higher. Significant relationships occurred for total lifetime crime victimization and lifetime violent crime victimization but not for property crime victimization. More than likely the significant relationship with total lifetime crime victimization is as a result of the relationship with lifetime violent crime victimization (which is a component of total crime victimization). The findings suggest that drug and alcohol usage may put persons in situations where the risk of violent crime victimization may increase, but such usage has no impact on property crime victimization.

Community disorder was significantly positively related to all three lifetime measures of victimization. This indicates that persons who live in communities with a higher incidence of disorder (which here includes environmental problems such as litter, poor sanitation etc. as well as crime victimization levels in the community) have a higher likelihood of being victimized. The broken windows theory (Wilson and Kelling, 2001) helps to explain why community disorder leads to higher levels of victimization. According to this theory, communities with signs of disorder give the impression that they are more vulnerable since there appears to be a lack of guardianship and caring for the community. As such, would-be perpetrators get the impression that it may be easy to commit a criminal act in such communities. In contrast, communities with little or no decay (i.e. those that are well-kept) give the impression that there are persons who care about the community and are actively taking care of it. As such, it will appear to would-be offenders that there is a higher level of guardianship and that such communities are less vulnerable and thus a greater likelihood that they would be caught if they attempt to commit a criminal offence in such communities. The other component of the community disorder measure included crime victimization at the community level. The relationship with personal victimization implies that persons are victimized even while within their own communities.

Police performance was significantly related to all dependent variables except property crime victimization within the past year. The positive coefficients indicate that persons who were victimized had more positive opinions of the police. This is encouraging as it indicates that the experiences that crime victims have with the police are positive. The consistency of the positive relationship regardless of crime type indicates that such positive experiences occur regardless of whether the victim experienced a property or violent crime.

The final predictor with a consistent relationship with the dependent variables was having family and friends with a criminal record. The positive coefficients indicate that persons who have family and friends with criminal records are more likely to be crime victims. This applies to total crime, as well as violent and property crime within respondents' lifetime. Having family and friends with a criminal record may increase one's level of crime victimization for a number of reasons. Firstly, it may be possible that family and friends could be the perpetrators of acts of victimization perpetrated against respondents. Secondly, having such family and friends may increase respondents' chances of being in the company of other persons who may be likely to victimize them. This may occur where associates of family and friends also commit criminal offences. Finally, having family or friends with criminal records may encourage some respondents to commit criminal offences. This may occur due to socialization processes or if friends and family attempt to recruit respondents in the commission of criminal offences. Past research has shown that persons who commit criminal offences are also more likely to be victimized themselves, since in the commission of such offences, there is an increased likelihood that they could experience violent encounters.

Overall, the findings from Table 13.2 indicate that the most important predictors of crime victimization are age, gender, level of education, religiosity, drug and alcohol usage, community disorder, police performance and having family and friends with a criminal record.

Predictor of witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends and perceptions of safety in the community

Table 13.3 assesses the relationship between a number of predictors and witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends and perceptions of safety in the community.²⁴ Drug and alcohol use was positively related to witnessing crime and victimization of family and friends. This indicates that persons who consume alcohol and drugs are more likely to witness crime and to have family and friends who are crime victims. Persons who use drugs and alcohol may be more likely to be in situations where the likelihood of witnessing crime may be higher. Persons who use illegal substances, for example, may associate with drug traffickers and other persons in the drug trade. The drug trade is well-known for its association with violence.

The relationship between drug and alcohol use and having family and friends who are crime victims is more multi-faceted. One possibility is that persons with drug and alcohol dependency may be more likely to be perpetrators of criminal acts against their family and friends. They may, for example, resort to stealing from those around them in order to pay for their drug habits. It is doubtful however, that this alone could account for the relationship between both variables. Another possibility may be that persons who use drugs and alcohol reside in environments where criminal victimization is more likely. For example, it may be the case that such persons may reside in neighbourhoods where poverty levels and social exclusion is higher than in other neighbourhoods, or they may live in neighbourhoods where illegal drugs as well as other forms of illegal behaviour occur. To the extent that their family and friends also live in the same neighbourhoods, this may increase their chances of victimization.

Personal residential mobility was positively related to witnessing crime and the victimization of family and friends. There is a long history of criminological research which speaks to the importance of residential mobility in understanding crime levels. High residential mobility, or the frequent relocation of persons' place of residence, is not supportive of social processes that could help to suppress criminal offending. When persons reside in a fixed location

²⁴ We recognize that respondents who reported that they have witnessed a crime do not necessarily constitute an accurate estimate of the extent to which persons witness crimes in the society. As noted, elsewhere in the report, the presence of an "informer fi dead" culture in Jamaica potentially suppresses true estimates of this phenomenon.

for an extended period they usually develop linkages to others in the community. The social bonds and attachments that this creates reduce fragmentation and anonymity among persons at the community level and reinforce conventional norms which support law abiding behaviour. Where persons move frequently, sufficient time is not left for the formation of social ties and for the development of strong relationships with other community members. In such communities, residents are less inhibited from committing criminal offences against other community members. Not surprisingly, this results in higher crime levels. Consequences of this can include witnessing more crime as well as having family and friends who are victimized to a greater degree.

Contrary to the above, the regression models in Table 13.3 indicated that residential mobility at the community level was negatively related to witnessing crime. This indicates that respondents who live in communities where others change residence frequently are less likely to witness crime. One of the possible reasons for this observation may have to do with the measure that was used to assess community residential mobility. The particular measure assessed respondents' opinions about the extent to which others in their community changed place of residence as a result of fear of crime. However, while respondents' opinions may not be the best indicator of the extent of mobility in the community, across several respondents, the measure should produce a reasonable estimate of the extent of mobility. Nevertheless, the current finding goes against the majority of research in this area.

As expected, residential mobility at the community level was negatively related to safety in the community. The reader will recall that a high score on the safety in the community measure indicated that the community was unsafe (see Appendix 1). The present finding indicates, consistent with the reasoning above, that where there is high mobility of community residents this is associated with communities which are more unsafe.

Community disorder was positively related to all three dependent variables in Table 13.3. The importance of community disorder for increasing crime levels was explored in the context of the results of Table 13.2. Given the reasoning provided above, it is not surprising that community disorder would be related to the outcomes in Table 13.3. The present findings

indicate that residents who live in communities with more disorder are more likely to witness crime, are more likely to have family members and friends who commit criminal offences, and are more likely to reside in unsafe communities.

When either criminal gangs or area dons are present, this was significantly related to witnessing crime. However, the presence of corner crews was not related to witnessing crime. This suggests that criminal gangs and area dons may serve to increase the level of criminal victimization which occurs in communities, increasing the likelihood that persons would witness crimes. It is important to note, however, that the presence of criminal gangs and area dons was not related to perceptions of safety in the community. This means that persons who resided in communities with gangs and dons did not perceive that they reduced the safety of their communities. This observation appears to be contrary to the suggestion that area dons and criminal gangs may serve to increase victimization levels in the community, and hence the possibility of witnessing crime. If respondents believed that the gangs and area dons were responsible for the crime which occurred in their communities, it would be expected that they would also conclude that the communities were more unsafe as a result of the presence of such gangs and dons. It could however be that respondents were reluctant to acknowledge this possibility or even if they did, were unwilling to share this information with interviewers. Based on the existence of an “informer fi dead” culture in Jamaica this explanation is plausible. If respondents were unwilling to speak about the criminal offences perpetrated by gang members and area dons, then this would serve to suppress the relationship between such variable and criminal outcome indicators. The non-significance of corner crews implies that they do not affect crime levels or perceptions of safety.

Police performance was positively related to witnessing crime, and also to safety in the community. The positive coefficient for witnessing crime indicates that persons who witnessed crimes were more likely to give the police positive ratings. The positive relationship between witnessing crime and police performance may be explained by reference to interactions between witnesses and the police, or by reference to observations of police actions following the occurrence of a crime. Witnessing a crime puts the witness in a position where they may have to personally interact with the police or at least in a position where they may be able to observe the

activities of the police as they deal with the crime which has occurred. The positive coefficients indicate that the experiences of witnesses are positive, and provide an important indication of improved police-citizen encounters.

The positive relationship between police performance and perceptions of safety in the community was unexpected. This finding indicates that persons who give the police more positive ratings are also more likely to live in unsafe communities. Put another way, persons who give the police more negative ratings are more likely to live in safer communities. This finding may be explained with reference to the benchmarks that residents in different communities use for rating the police. For residents from safe communities, any deviation from the level of safety they are accustomed to could result in an outpouring of dissatisfaction with police performance. This may occur since in a sense, residents in such communities feel that they have more to lose and will be reluctant to give up the safety of their communities. In contrast, residents who come from unsafe communities may perceive any gains, no matter how small, in a more positive light since their comparison reference (i.e. a high level of crime) is different to that of residents in low crime communities. As such, even small gains are likely to result in a more positive assessment of the police. It may also be the case that residents who reside in unsafe communities have more opportunities to interact with the police, and in that interaction, may have more opportunity to develop positive opinions of the police. This finding is an important indicator of the potential gap between actual police performance and perceptions of the police, and warrants further analysis and action by those responsible for management of the security forces.

Having family and friends with a criminal record was positively related to witnessing crime and victimization of family and friends and was negatively related to perceptions of safety in the community. Being around family and friends who commit crime may increase the likelihood of witnessing crime, especially where such family and friends commit offences in the presence of respondents. The finding that having family and friends with criminal records is related to the victimization of family and friends suggests that at least some portion of the crime witnessed is as a result of other persons victimizing their family and friends. It was argued earlier that persons who commit criminal offences are themselves also more likely to be victimized. The

present finding lends further support to this reasoning. The finding that having family and friends with a criminal record was negatively related to perceptions of community safety was contrary to expectations. This finding indicates that persons who have family and friends with criminal records perceive that they live in safer neighbourhoods. It is possible, however, that such respondents could feel a better sense of security especially if they feel that their family and friends are capable of protecting them, or make them less vulnerable to becoming a victim of crime.

The presence of gunshots in the community was positively related to all three dependent variables in Table 13.3. This indicates that residents who live in communities in which there are frequent gunshots are more likely to witness crime, are more likely to have family and friends who were crime victims, and were more likely to feel that their neighbourhood is unsafe. These findings are not surprising since gunshots in the community indicate that persons who commit illegal acts reside in the community. The presence of such persons can result in the outcomes just mentioned.

Overall, the findings from Table 13.3 indicate that the most important predictors of witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends and safety in the community are drug and alcohol use, residential mobility, community disorder, the presence of area dons, police performance, having family and friends with a criminal record, and the frequency of gunshots in the community.

Predictors of Fear of Crime and Related Behaviour

The regression models in Table 13.4 examine the relationship between a number of predictors and fear of crime and related behaviour. Dependent variables include fear of crime (safety and anxiety measures), changing behaviours as a result of fear of crime (staying at home, cancelling plans etc.) and taking preventative actions as a result of fear of crime (installing locks and alarms, hiring security guards, etc.).

The results indicate that age is a predictor of the anxiety measure of fear of crime and changing behaviours. More specifically, older persons are less anxious/fearful and are less likely than younger persons to change behaviours as a result of fear. Put another way, younger persons are more anxious/fearful and are more likely than older persons to change behaviours as a result of fear. The results of this study (Figure 4.12) indicate that older persons are more likely to experience property crimes, while younger persons are more likely to experience violent crimes. While not minimizing the impact of property crime on victims, it may be the case that violent crimes have far more of an impact than property crimes. If this is so, possible outcomes could include increases in fear levels and resultant changes in behaviour. Given that younger persons are more likely to experience violent crime victimization, this may translate into higher levels of fear and associated changes in behaviour.

Gender was significantly positively related to both fear of crime indicators and changes in behaviour, but was negatively related to preventative actions. This indicates that females are more fearful than males (safety and anxiety measures) and that females are also more likely to alter their behaviour as a result of fear (e.g. staying at home, cancelling plans etc.). However, males are more likely to take preventative actions such as installing locks etc. The finding that females are more fearful is consistent with the literature which has suggested that higher levels of fear may be related to a greater sense of vulnerability. Males, in contrast, may feel that they are better able to protect themselves, and thus tend to be less fearful. Another reason that such gender differences may exist is that females are typically more willing than males to admit that they are fearful. Given that females are more fearful, it would be logical to expect them to engage in changes in behaviour which are consistent with their feelings of fear. Where preventative actions are concerned, many of the actions assessed in the NCVS are the types of actions that males would typically be involved in around the home. Such actions include installing locks, installing alarms and security systems, installing security fences etc. As such, while females in the home will also benefit from these, males may be more likely than females to be directly involved in the tasks required for such preventative actions.

Education was positively related to both fear of crime measures but was not related to the behavioural measures in Table 13.4. The results indicate that more educated persons are more

fearful, but that they do not alter their behaviours accordingly, nor do they take additional preventative actions. The fear levels of educated persons may be related to crime victimization. As the findings in Table 13.2 indicate, more educated persons were more likely to be victims of property crimes, but were less likely to be victims of violent crimes. It was indicated earlier that the relationship with property crimes may occur since more educated persons may be wealthier and thus more likely to have valuable property which may be targeted by criminals. Greater levels of property crime victimization may result in higher levels of fear among the more educated. It is difficult to say, however, why more educated persons do not engage to a greater degree with behavioural responses. Assuming that more educated persons are wealthier, it may be that they are already well-protected (i.e. they have already installed alarms, security systems etc.) and therefore do not need to engage in additional protective actions. This still leaves unexplained why they do not alter other behaviours such as cancelling plans.

Alcohol and drug use was consistently negatively related to both fear measures and to changing behaviour as a result of fear of crime. The results indicate that persons who use drugs and alcohol are less fearful, and are less likely to alter their behaviours as a result of fear of crime. It may be the case that at least some persons who engage in illegal drug usage may themselves be involved in criminal offending. If this is so, such persons may think that they are less vulnerable to crime victimization and would be less likely to feel fearful or change their behaviour. This alone may not be sufficient to explain the observed relationship as many persons who use drugs and alcohol may not be involved in victimizing others. Another possible explanation is that persons who use drugs and alcohol may be more likely to have personality traits or attitudes which decrease their likelihood of being fearful, and reduced fear in turn will result in reduced actions to protect oneself against crime.

Community disorder was positively related to both fear of crime measures and to changing behaviour as a result of fear. These findings indicate that high levels of community disorder increase fear and lead to actions to protect oneself and one's family. This is not surprising as community disorder signals to residents that negative activities, including criminal offending, are prevalent in their community. Fear is thus a reasonable emotional response under such circumstances, and related changes in behaviour are also reasonable behavioural responses.

The presence of criminal gangs was related to fear of crime, while the presence of corner crews was not significant as a predictor, and the presence of area dons predicted only the anxiety measure. More specifically, the presence of criminal gangs encouraged an increase in feeling unsafe and resulted in actions to protect oneself. This signals that respondents perceive criminal gangs to be more of a threat than corner crews or area dons. The results in Table 13.2 show that the presence of criminal gangs does not result in higher levels of personal victimization. However, criminal gangs are associated with a greater likelihood of witnessing crime (Table 13.3). Despite the lack of a relationship with personal victimization, the vicarious victimization that may occur as a result of criminal gangs (i.e. increased exposure to witnessing crime) may prove to be sufficiently strong to increase fear levels and result in changes in behaviour as a means of self-protection.

Police performance was positively related to all four dependent measures in Table 13.4. This indicates that persons who rate the police more positively are also more fearful and also engage more frequently in behavioural responses to their fear. One possible explanation for this finding, supported by the data in Tables 13.2 and 13.4, is that persons who are more fearful are also persons who have been victimized more and who have more positive opinions of the police. The results in Table 13.2 indicated that persons who were victimized more often had more positive opinions of the police. It was argued that this may have occurred as a result of greater levels of interaction between such persons and the police, during which positive opinions were formed. The data in Table 13.4 (to be discussed subsequently) indicate that persons who are victimized more often are more fearful of crime. Taken together, this could indicate that the relationship between opinions of the police and fear of crime may occur because of the relationship between each variable and with criminal victimization. That is, persons who are victimized are more fearful because of their victimization experiences but also have more positive opinions about the police, such opinions being formed as a result of their interaction with the police subsequent to their victimization.

Residential mobility at the community level, but not personal residential mobility was related to fear of crime. More specifically, higher levels of community residential mobility was

related to lower levels of fear (safety and anxiety) and to lower levels of change in behaviour. This is contrary to expectations as much criminological literature has found that higher levels of residential mobility are associated with higher levels of crime, which in turn encourages higher levels of fear and related behaviours. One possible explanation for the present finding may relate to the specific question asked in the NCVS. To assess community residential mobility respondents were asked “In your opinion, in the past year, how many people left or moved from your community because of violence or fear of crime?” A response that “many people have left” will imply that fewer persons who are fearful of crime would now reside in the community. To the extent that less fearful persons reside in the community as a result of residential mobility, this would lead to the observation that high levels of such mobility are related to lower levels of fear. It was also indicated earlier that opinions about mobility at the community level may not be the best indicator of the actual extent of mobility. This finding once again underscores the possibility that this measure may not be the best indicator of community residential mobility.

Not surprisingly, the frequency of gunshots in the community was related to fear of crime and associated behaviour. More specifically, persons who reside in communities in which they frequently hear gunshots are more fearful (they feel less safe and are more anxious) and alter their behaviour as a result of their fear. The presence of gunshots is a clear signal of illegal behaviour and indicates that residents have a real possibility of injury or death. It also signals that residents reside near to persons who are inclined to commit criminal offences, or at least who possess firearms. It is not surprising then to find a relationship between gunshots and fear.

As expected, crime victimization was related to fear. The lifetime crime victimization measure was positively related to all four fear of crime variables, while the past year crime victimization measure was positively related to perceptions of safety and related changes in behaviour. The coefficients indicate that persons who were victimized are more fearful than persons who were not victimized. Past research has indicated that fear is one of the primary consequences of criminal victimization.

The final predictor in Table 13.4 is witnessing crime. The findings indicate that persons who witnessed crime were less anxious but engaged to a greater degree in changes in behaviour.

The latter finding was expected as witnessing crime should prompt persons to engage in behaviour which decreases the likelihood that they will be victimized. However, the negative relationship between witnessing crime and anxiety was unexpected. Established criminological literature has shown that persons who witness crime tend to be more fearful of victimization. The current findings imply that this may not hold true for many Jamaicans. This finding may be indicative of individual adaptation to high levels of crime in their communities and signals the need for more in-depth analysis to examine the extent to which criminal behaviour has become normalized in the society.

Overall, the findings from Table 13.4 indicate that the most important predictors of fear of crime and related behaviours are age, gender, level of education, religiosity, drug and alcohol use, community disorder, the presence of criminal gangs, police performance, community residential mobility, the frequency of gunshots in the community and crime victimization.

Predictors of Self-Reported Criminal Offending

Table 13.5 shows a series of regression models which assess the relationship among several predictors and indicators of self-reported criminal offending. The indicators utilized were lifetime total criminal offending, lifetime total property offences, lifetime total violent offences, total criminal offending in the past year, property offences committed in the past year and violent offences committed in the past year.

Gender was a significant predictor of total lifetime offending and total lifetime violent offending. Gender was not a significant predictor of lifetime property offending. The coefficients indicate that males commit more offences than females and were engaged in violent crimes to a greater degree than females. In contrast, males and females were equally likely to commit property offences. Other demographic variables were not related to self-reported criminal offending.

Drug and alcohol use was very consistently related to the dependent variables (with the exception of past year property offending). The findings indicate that persons who use drugs and

alcohol are more likely to commit criminal offences. This finding is consistent with previous research. Persons who use illegal drugs, for example, may engage in criminal offending as a means of getting income to purchase drugs. The use of drugs may also alter persons' inhibitions and other characteristics, making it more likely that criminal offending could occur. In addition, some persons have been known to use drugs to boost their confidence when committing crimes. Finally, some criminal offenders may be involved in the production and trafficking of illegal drugs. The ease of accessibility to such drugs may increase the possibility that such persons may themselves become users.

Personal residential mobility was related to all three lifetime measures of self-reported criminal offending while community residential mobility was related to lifetime property offending and total past year criminal offending. The coefficients indicate that higher levels of residential mobility are associated with higher levels of criminal offending. The relationship between residential mobility and crime was discussed previously.

Community disorder was a significant predictor of total lifetime offending, lifetime violent offending and total past year offending. Higher levels of community disorder are associated with higher levels of offending. The relationship between community disorder and crime was also previously discussed.

The presence of area dons was related to all three lifetime measures of criminal offending. The coefficients indicate that residents who reside in communities with an area don are more likely to commit criminal offences. There was almost no relationship between the presence of criminal gangs and criminal offending (the one exception occurred with past year violent offending which was more likely to occur where there were criminal gangs). In addition, the presence of corner crews was negatively related to total past year offending and past year violent offending. The coefficients here indicate that the presence of corner crews is related to lower levels of criminal offending. Consistent with findings in previous regression models, this suggests that corner crews are not responsible for increasing the rates of criminal offending.

Police performance had virtually no relationship with criminal offending. The only exception was a positive relationship with total lifetime criminal offending. The coefficient here suggests that persons who commit more criminal offences have a more positive opinion of the police. While this relationship may be spurious given the lack of any relationship with the other dependent measures, it suggests that persons who commit multiple criminal offences may be more aware of the activities and competencies of the police in Jamaica.

Having family and friends with a criminal record was one of the strongest predictors of self-reported criminal offending and significantly predicted all six dependent variables. The positive coefficients indicate that persons who have family and friends with criminal records are more likely to commit criminal offences than persons who do not have such family and friends. This finding is not surprising as family and friends may socialize persons into attitudes and values which are conducive to criminal offending. Such family and friends may also encourage persons to become involved in offending. Having such persons in one's environment also increases the possibility that persons may have more criminal contacts or may be more often in the company of persons who commit offences. Apart from encouraging criminal offending, this could increase the opportunities for the commission of illegal acts. Having family and friends with criminal records may also set in motion labelling processes which by itself can increase the propensity for committing crime. Quite apart from this, persons with such family and friends may have less access to the legitimate opportunity structures in the society (e.g. less access to legitimate jobs because they are stigmatized as criminal, etc.). This also encourages them to engage in criminal offending as a means of income generation.

The final variable with some relationship to the dependent measures was gunshots in the community. The findings indicate that respondents who reside in communities with frequent gunshots commit fewer property offences but commit more violent offences. It is not surprising to find a relationship with violent crimes since indeed firearms are typically used in the commission of such offences, and residing in communities with frequent gunshots may indicate that persons have more access to illegal firearms. It is less clear why the frequency of gunshots is negatively related to property crimes.

Overall, the findings from Table 13.5 indicate that the most important predictors of criminal offending are gender, drug and alcohol use, residential mobility, community disorder, the presence of area dons, having family and friends with a criminal record, and the frequency of gunshots in the community.

Predictors of police performance and reporting crimes to the police

The regression models in Table 13.6 examine the relationship among a range of predictors and police outcomes. Police outcomes include opinions about police performance and reporting crimes to the police.

A number of variables were significant predictors of the police outcomes. There was an inverse relationship between age and performance. The findings indicated that older persons had more positive opinions of the police than younger persons, or put differently, younger persons had more negative opinions. It was argued earlier that persons who interacted more with the police had a greater likelihood of expressing positive opinions about the police. It may be the case that greater levels of property crime victimization of older persons (Figure 4.12) may facilitate higher levels of interaction with the police, and resultant positive opinions. It should be noted, however, that younger persons had higher levels of violent crime victimization than older persons (Figure 4.12) and such victimization should also result in increased contacts with the police. It is possible that contact with the police has different outcomes depending on the age of the complainant. That is, when contact involves older persons positive opinions are formed and when contact involves younger persons less positive (or perhaps negative) opinions are formed. It should be cautioned here, however, that this report found that older persons were more likely to report crimes to the police (Table 6.7). As such, the processes at work may not relate to differences in opinion formation based on age, but may be that older persons simply come into contact with the police more often because they are more likely to report crimes than younger persons.

Respondents' level of education was positively related to reporting crime, and there was a tendency toward significance in the relationship with police performance. The direction of the

coefficients indicate that more educated persons were more likely to report crimes to the police and that such persons tended toward more positive opinions of the police.

Religiosity was significantly related to opinions about police performance, but was not related to reporting practices. The coefficient indicates that persons who attended religious services more frequently had more positive opinions of the police. Despite this finding, these opinions did not translate to greater levels of reporting.

High levels of community disorder were related to more negative opinions of the police. This finding is not surprising since high levels of disorder may signal to respondents that the police are not doing the best job to make their communities safer.

The presence of area dons, but not the presence of criminal gangs, was related to police outcomes. The presence of corner crews was related to opinions about police performance but was unrelated to reporting practices. More specifically, the findings indicate that the presence of area dons was associated with higher levels of reporting to the police, but the presence of criminal gangs and the presence of corner crews had no impact on reporting practices. Residents in communities with corner crews had more negative opinions of the police while there was a tendency for residents in communities with area dons to have more positive opinions of the police. This latter finding, while not statistically significant by traditional standards, suggests that residents from areas with area dons have a closer relationship with the police. Again this is supportive of the idea that such residents may feel a greater need for protection by state agencies.

Residential mobility was inversely related to opinions about the police. The findings indicate that residents in areas with high residential mobility have more positive opinions about the police. It was found earlier that residential mobility led to higher levels of crime victimization. The argument was made that higher levels of crime victimization could translate into greater levels of interaction, and hence more opportunities to form positive opinions of the police.

There was a consistent relationship between indicators of crime victimization and reporting practices. More specifically, persons who were victimized more, who witnessed crime more often, or who resided in communities with a higher frequency of gunshots were more likely to report crimes to the police. However, the victimization of family and friends was inversely related to reporting. That is, persons who had friends and family who were crime victims were less likely to report crimes to the police. Again this is likely to be reflective of the “informer fi dead” culture that exists in Jamaica and should be the subject of further enquiry in subsequent surveys.

Both fear of crime measures were related to opinions about police performance. Not surprisingly, persons who were more fearful had more negative opinions of the police. Quite interestingly, however, fear levels did not translate in differences in reporting practices.

Criminal offending was related to both police outcomes. The coefficients indicate, as expected, that persons who engage in criminal offending have more negative opinions of the police. Quite interestingly, however, such persons are more likely to report crimes to the police. It was indicated earlier that established research has found that persons who commit criminal offences also have a greater likelihood that they would be crime victims. If this is true for the survey sample, then this should translate into higher rates of reporting to the police for such persons.

Table 13.6 assessed the relationship between a number of predictors and police outcomes. Important predictors of opinions of the police and reporting to the police were age, education, religiosity, community disorder, the presence of area dons, community residential mobility, indicators of crime victimization (crime victimization, witnessing crime, gunshots in the community etc.), fear of crime and criminal offending.

Table 13.2: Regression analysis for predictors of crime victimization²⁵

Dependent Variables Independent Variables	Crime Victimization (lifetime)	Property Crime Victimization (lifetime)	Violent Crime Victimization (lifetime)	Crime Victimization (past year)	Property Crime Victimization (past year)	Violent Crime Victimization (past year)
Age	** .057	*** .110	* -.044	*** .065	*** .097	* -.036
Sex	** -.049	** -.054	-.022	-.025	-.024	-.010
Education	.005	* .039	* -.039	.015	.027	-.016
Social Class	-.003	-.006	.005	-.005	-.008	.005
Employment	.012	* .035	-.020	.012	.018	-.008
Religiosity	** .052	** .054	.023	.019	.003	²⁶ .034
Drug and Alcohol Use	*** .064	.031	*** .077	.027	.011	²⁷ .035
Residential Mobility (personal)	.017	.004	.027	-.016	-.005	-.025
Community Disorder	*** .116	*** .109	*** .079	.005	.017	-.017
Presence of corner crews	.025	.017	.023	-.016	-.005	-.024
Presence of criminal gangs	-.017	-.015	-.011	.023	.012	.025
Presence of area dons	.017	-.003	* .036	-.004	.003	-.014
Police Performance	*** .095	*** .084	*** .064	** .049	.031	** .046
Family/friends with criminal record	*** .105	*** .080	*** .093	.013	.003	.021
Residential mobility (community)	-.030	-.029	-.015	.007	.002	.014
Gunshots in the community	.009	-.008	.031	.032	.009	* .046
Adjusted R²	.061	.046	.051	.005	.006	.005

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

²⁵ Standardized regression coefficients are shown.

²⁶ p < .06

²⁷ p < .063

Table 13.3: Regression analysis for predictors of witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends and community safety²⁸

Dependent Variables Independent Variables	Witnessing Crime	Victimization of family and friends	Safety in the community
Age	.013	-.005	*.036
Sex	*-.039	-.004	.017
Education	-.014	.004	.029
Social Class	-.012	-.018	*-.036
Employment	.002	-.007	-.001
Religiosity	-.013	-.013	***.071
Drug and Alcohol Use	***.092	***.068	-.012
Residential Mobility (personal)	*.040	*.037	.000
Community Disorder	***.114	** .057	***.123
Presence of corner crews	.028	.005	-.013
Presence of criminal gangs	***.065	.021	.025
Presence of area dons	***.077	²⁹ .031	-.013
Police Performance	*.038	.021	***.099
Family/friends with criminal record	***.110	***.180	*-.040
Residential mobility (community)	*-.033	.012	***-.118
Gunshots in the community	*.044	***.082	***.066
Adjusted R²	.108	.076	.071

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

²⁸ Standardized regression coefficients are shown.

²⁹ p < .075

Table 13.4: Regression analysis for predictors of fear of crime and related behaviour³⁰

Dependent Variables Independent Variables	Fear of Crime (safety)	Fear of Crime (Anxiety)	Fear of Crime (change in behaviour)	Fear of Crime (preventative actions)
Age	.004	***-.085	**-.048	.009
Sex	***.082	***.069	*.036	*-.041
Education	*.045	**.052	.031	.029
Social Class	.007	.017	**-.051	**-.046
Employment	-.002	-.027	-.028	-.002
Religiosity	***.058	***.060	.006	.029
Drug and Alcohol Use	***-.098	***-.126	***-.073	.009
Residential Mobility (personal)	.006	.029	.004	-.003
Community Disorder	***.182	***.151	***.112	.021
Presence of corner crews	.009	.019	-.009	.020
Presence of criminal gangs	**.059	-.004	***.129	-.006
Presence of area dons	-.024	*-.043	.009	.000
Police Performance	***.163	***.084	*.036	*.033
Family/friends with criminal record	-.004	-.012	**-.046	.022
Residential mobility (community)	**-.043	***-.103	*-.037	-.015
Gunshots in the community	***.079	***.075	**-.049	.016
Lifetime crime victimization	***.076	***.070	**-.052	***.115
Past year crime victimization	*.036	.005	**-.048	-.023
Witnessing Crime	-.021	*-.038	***.061	.025
Adjusted R²	.151	.123	.100	.025

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

³⁰ Standardized regression coefficients are shown.

Table 13.5: Regression analysis for predictors of self-reported criminal offending³¹

Dependent Variables Independent Variables	Criminal Offending (lifetime total)	Criminal Offending (lifetime property crimes)	Criminal Offending (lifetime violent crimes)	Criminal Offending (past year total)	Criminal Offending (past year property crimes)	Criminal Offending (past year violent crimes)
Age	.000	-.025	.001	-.031	.000	*-.040
Sex	*-.041	-.001	*-.034	-.004	-.004	.017
Education	.003	.002	-.012	-.017	.001	-.025
Social Class	-.024	-.008	-.025	.024	.011	*.039
Employment	-.005	.003	-.020	-.006	-.010	-.008
Religiosity	-.026	-.022	-.021	-.005	-.005	-.010
Drug and Alcohol Use	***.119	*.038	***.127	***.088	.013	***.088
Residential Mobility (personal)	***.055	***.096	*.032	-.015	-.003	-.006
Community Disorder	** .050	-.025	***.061	** .055	-.001	.007
Presence of corner crews	-.003	.026	.012	***-.061	.012	***-.063
Presence of criminal gangs	.000	.011	-.004	.012	-.002	*.050
Presence of area dons	***.084	***.070	***.076	-.019	-.007	.001
Police Performance	*.037	.019	.025	.022	.022	.010
Family/friends with criminal record	***.187	***.082	***.149	***.163	***.110	***.114
Residential mobility (community)	.017	***.068	.029	*.038	.000	.008
Gunshots in the community	.026	*-.044	** .047	.008	-.016	.022
Adjusted R²	.097	.032	.084	.046	.010	.029

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

³¹ Standardized regression coefficients are shown.

Table 13.6: Regression analysis for predictors of police performance and reporting crimes to the police³²

Dependent Variables Independent Variables	Police Performance	Reporting Crime to the Police
Age	***-.109	.014
Sex	.018	-.019
Education	³³ .032	*.040
Social Class	-.028	.015
Employment	-.020	-.024
Religiosity	**-.055	.025
Drug and Alcohol Use	.025	.013
Residential Mobility (personal)	.011	-.011
Community Disorder	***.098	³⁴ -.037
Presence of corner crews	**-.050	.022
Presence of criminal gangs	-.012	-.013
Presence of area dons	³⁵ -.032	*-.040
Family and friends with a criminal record	.017	.003
Residential mobility (community)	**-.052	.000
Gunshots in the community	.015	**-.054
Total Crime Victimization	-.152	**1.352
Witnessing Crime	.024	***.243
Victimization of family and friends	-.006	***-.068
Fear of Crime (safety)	***.161	.013
Fear of Crime (Anxiety)	*.043	.009
Criminal Offending (lifetime)	**-.128	**-.138
Adjusted R²	.113	.067

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

³² Standardized regression coefficients are shown.

³³ p < .076

³⁴ p < .066

³⁵ p < .069

Parish variance in selected indicators

This section looks at differences among parishes using selected indicators. Indicators include crime victimization, witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends, fear of crime, criminal offending, drug and alcohol use, community disorder, and reporting crimes to the police. Differences are analysed using analysis of variance (ANOVA). This section concludes by creating an index to rank parishes in terms of all indicators simultaneously. It is important to note that this is simply a ranking of mixed indicators, and that each indicator is weighted equally in ranking the parishes. This ranking does not attempt to differentiate between indicators that may be considered more important than others, and cannot therefore be interpreted as an assessment of the relative performance of each parish.

The first indicator considered is Total Lifetime Crime Victimization. ANOVA indicated that there are significant differences among parishes in terms of the level of total lifetime victimization ($F(13, 3349) = 5.19, p < .001$). The parishes with the highest levels of lifetime crime victimization were St. Catherine, Clarendon, and Portland (Figure 13.1).

Parish differences in Total Past Year Crime Victimization were also significant ($F(13, 3466) = 3.87, p < .001$). Parishes with the highest levels of past year crime victimization were Clarendon, Portland and Westmoreland (Figure 13.2).

A comparison of levels of witnessing crime across parishes indicated that the parishes with the highest levels of witnessing crime were Kingston, St. Catherine and St. Andrew (Figure 13.3). These differences were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 8.03, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on Victimization of Family and Friends revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of such victimization were Kingston, St. James and St. Catherine (Figure 13.4). These differences were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 3.36, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on the Fear of Crime (safety measure) revealed that the parishes with the highest levels fear were St. Catherine, Clarendon and St. James (Figure 13.5). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 18.15, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on the Fear of Crime (anxiety measure) revealed that the parishes with the highest levels fear were St. James, Trelawny and Clarendon (Figure 13.6). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 15.37, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on self-reported lifetime criminal offending revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of total offending were Hanover, Portland and St. Ann (Figure 13.7). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 7.89, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on self-reported past year criminal offending revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of past year offending were Westmoreland, Clarendon and Manchester (Figure 13.8). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 3.19, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on drug and alcohol use revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of usage were Kingston, St. Andrew and Trelawny (Figure 13.9). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 5.85, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on community disorder revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of disorder were Kingston, St. Ann and Westmoreland (Figure 13.10). The differences among parishes were statistically significant ($F(13, 3466) = 25.3, p < .001$).

A comparison of parishes on reporting crimes to the police revealed that the parishes with the highest levels of reporting were Clarendon, Hanover and St. Thomas. In contrast, parishes with the lowest levels of reporting were St. Ann, St. Andrew and Kingston (Figure 13.11). The differences among parishes, however, were not statistically significant ($F(13, 765) = 1.59, ns$).

Figure 13.1: Mean Score on Total Lifetime Crime Victimization, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

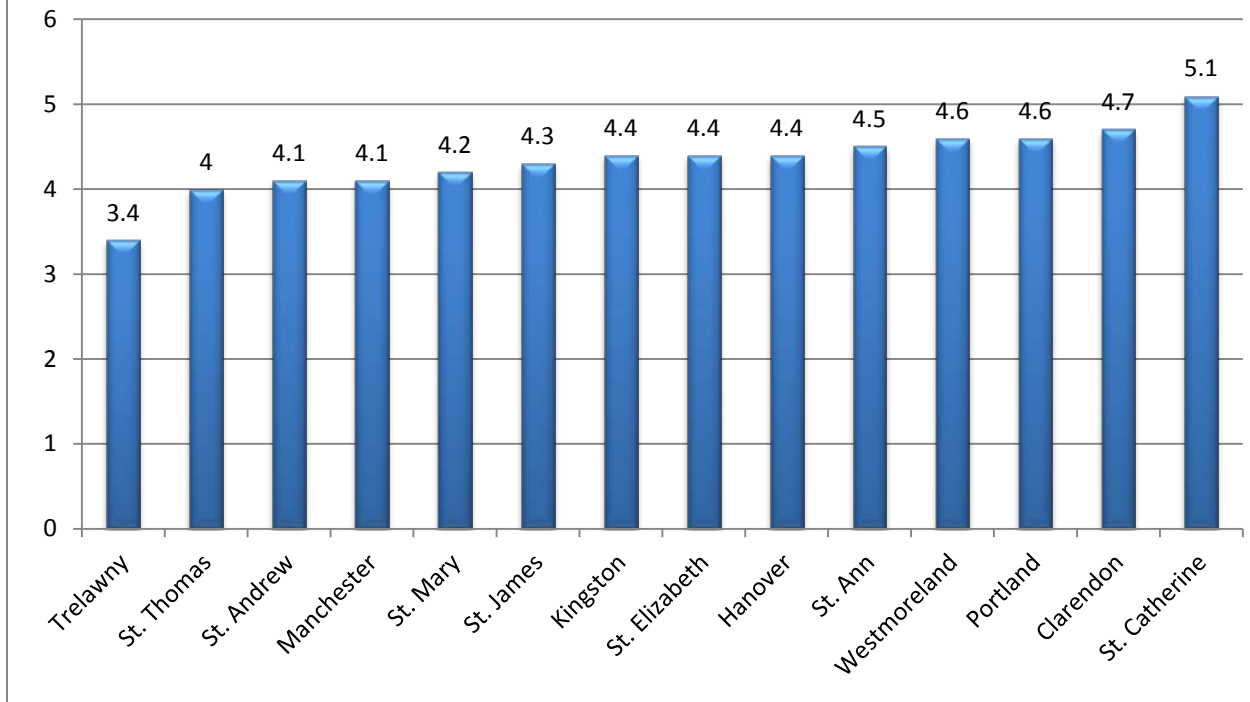


Figure 13.2: Mean Score on Total Past Year Crime Victimization, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

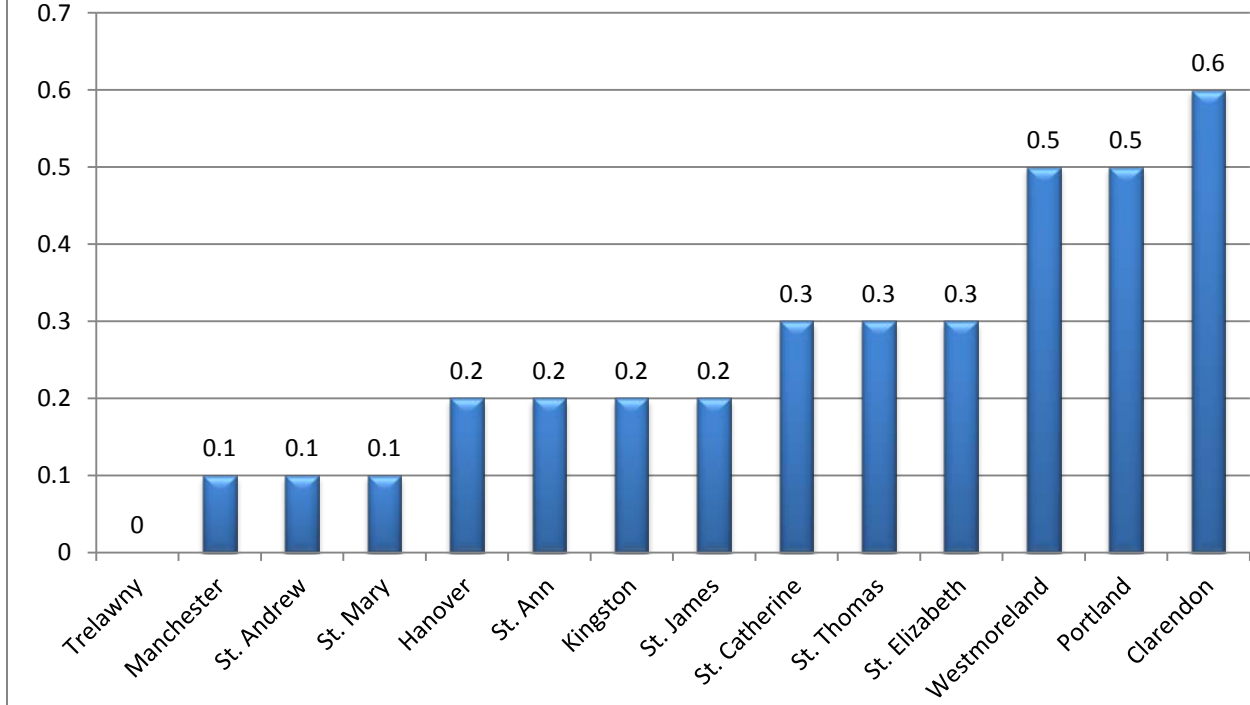


Figure 31.3: Mean Score on Witnessing Crime, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

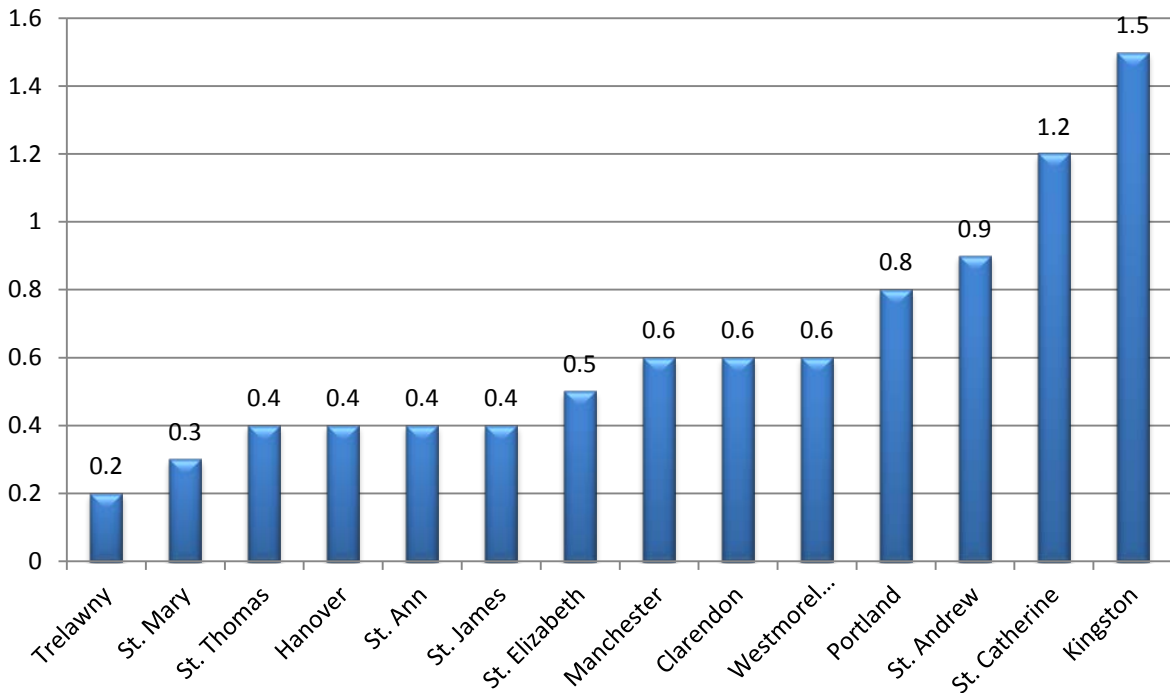


Figure 13.4: Mean score on Victimization of Family and Friends (2016 NCVS)

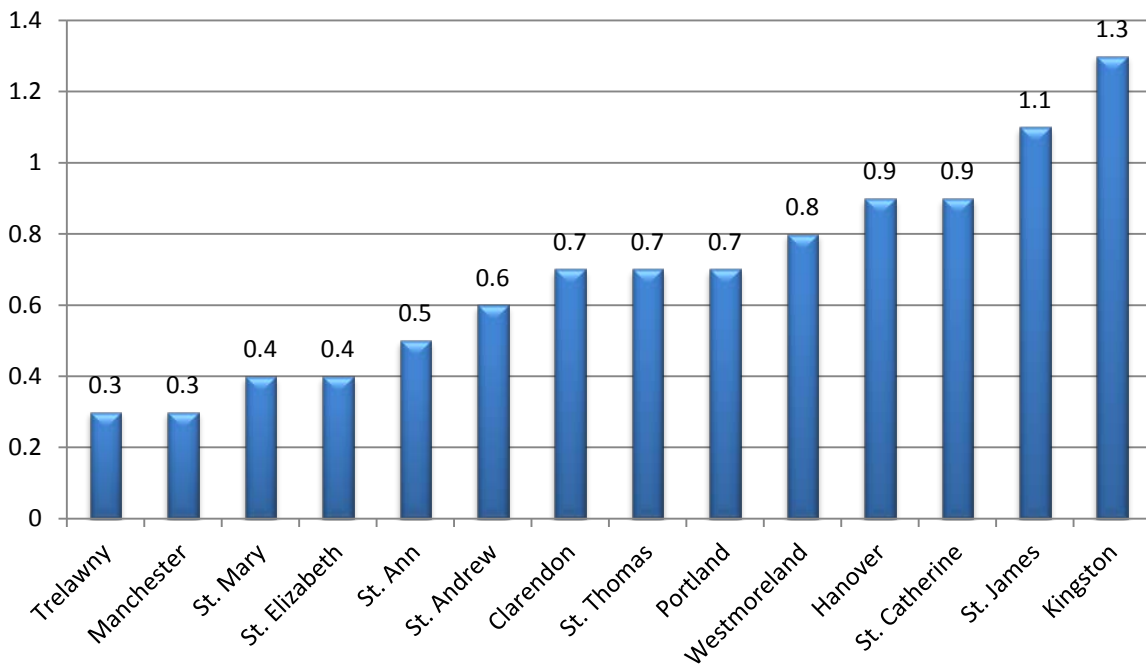


Figure 13.5: Mean score on Fear of Crime - safety (2016 NCVS)

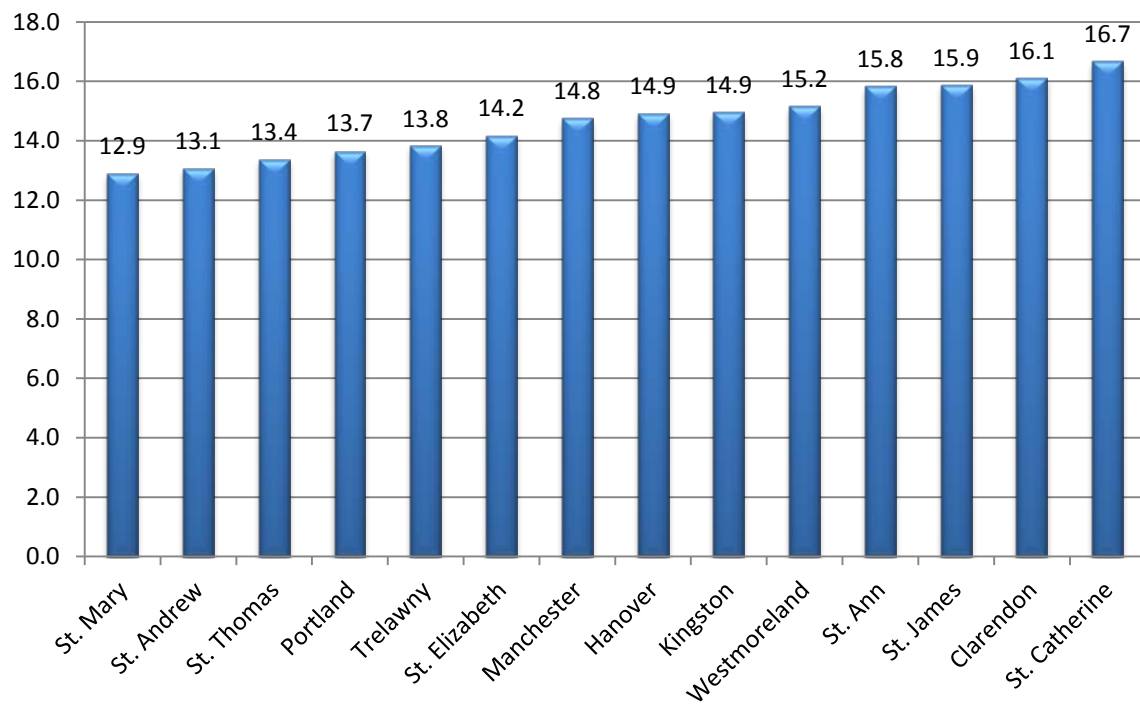


Figure 13.6: Mean score on Fear of Crime - anxiety (2016 NCVS)

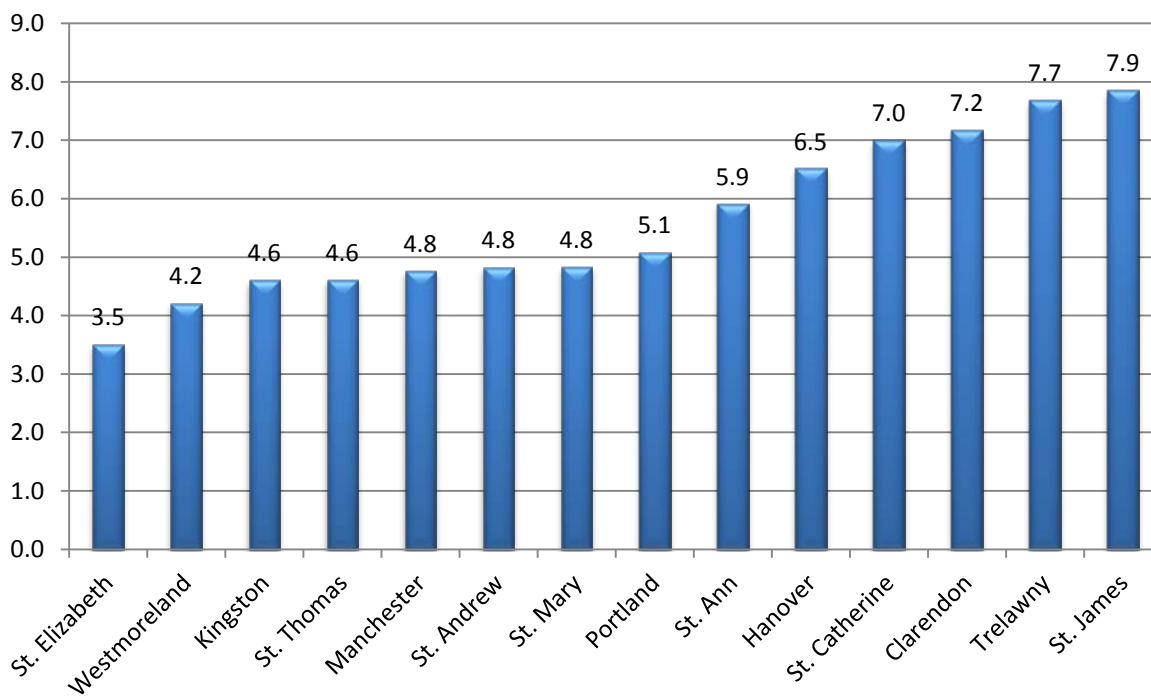


Figure 13.7: Mean score on self-reported lifetime criminal offending, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

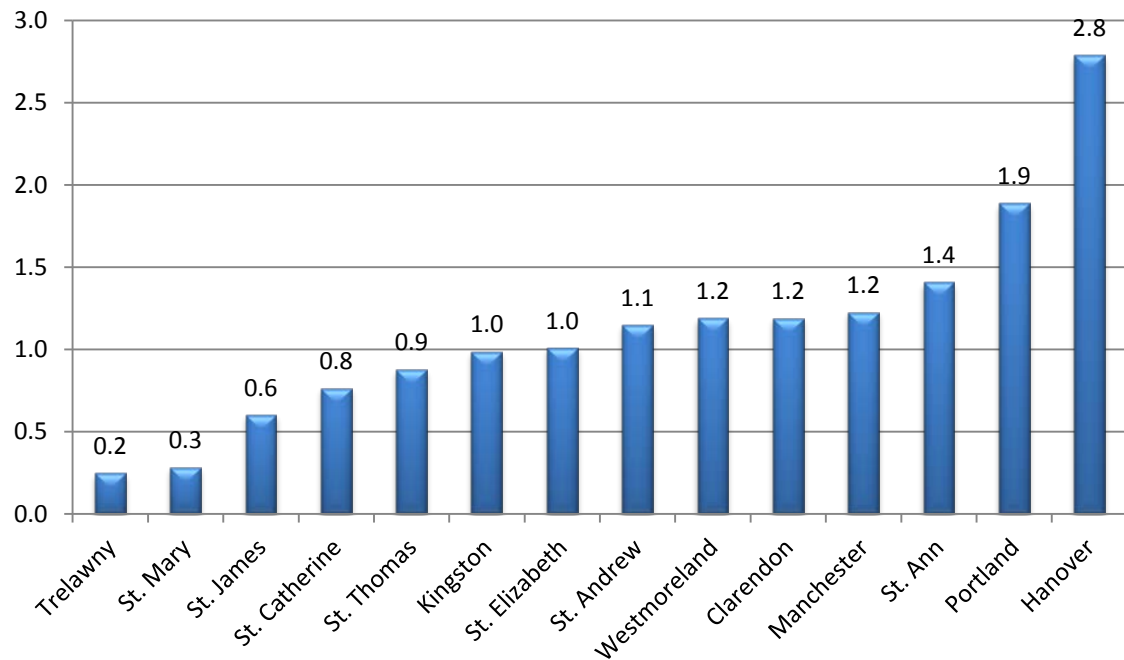


Figure 13.8: Mean score on self-reported past year criminal offending, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

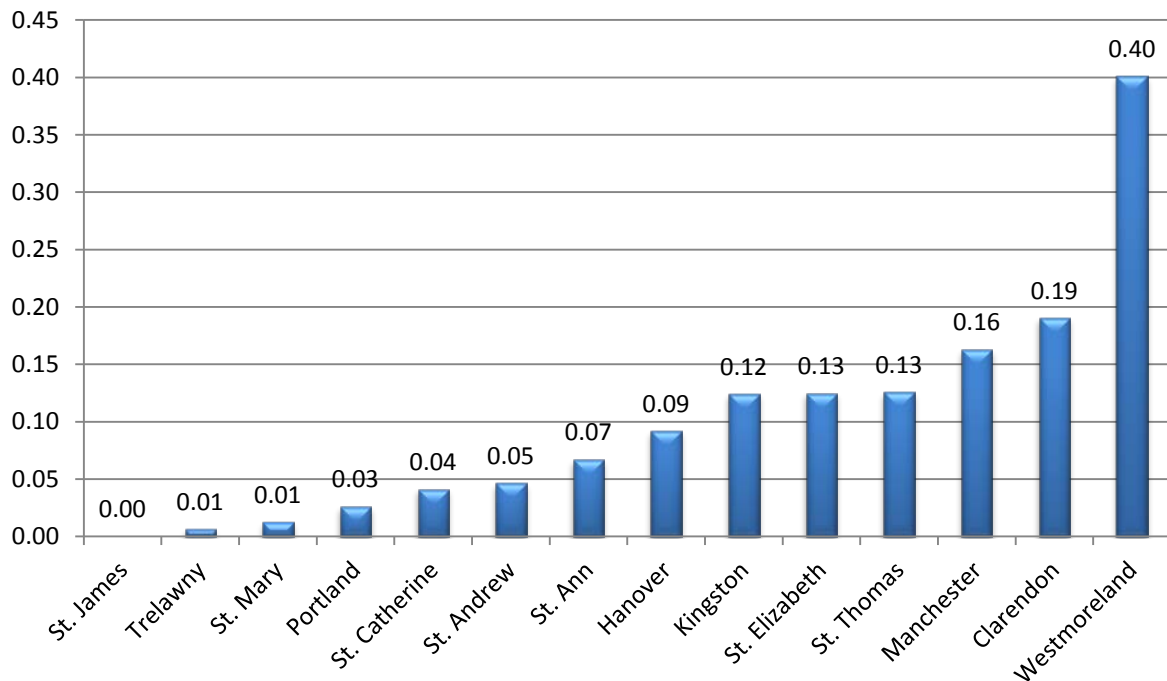


Figure 13.9: Mean score on Drug and Alcohol Use, by Parish (2016 NCVS)

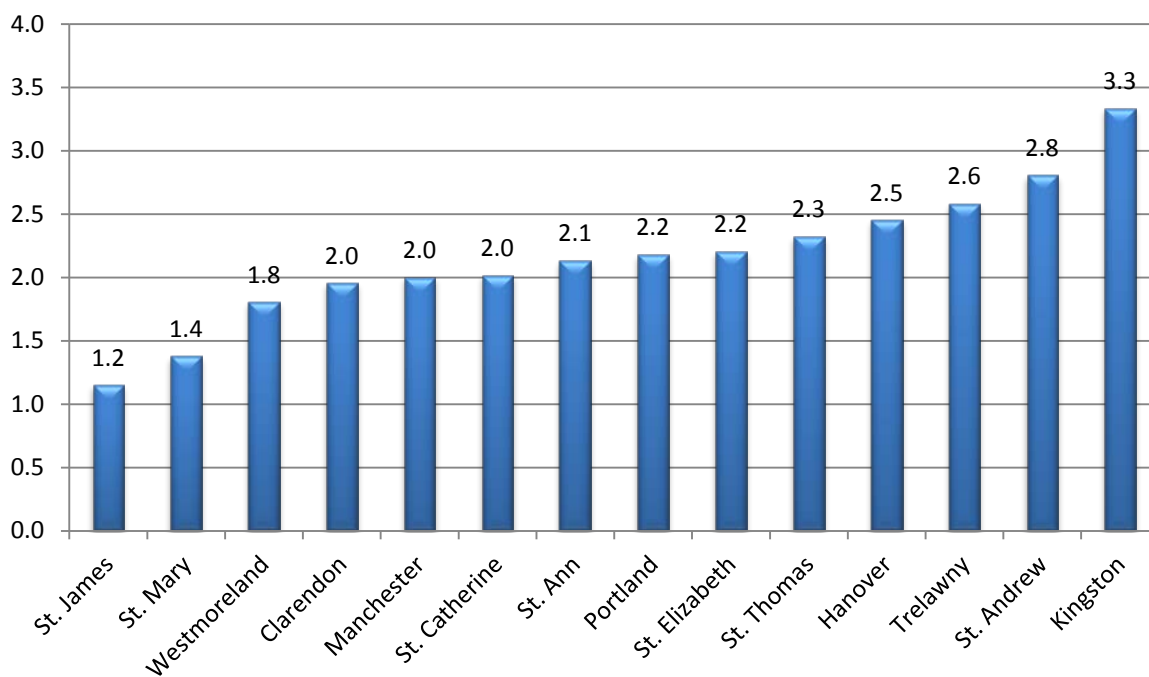
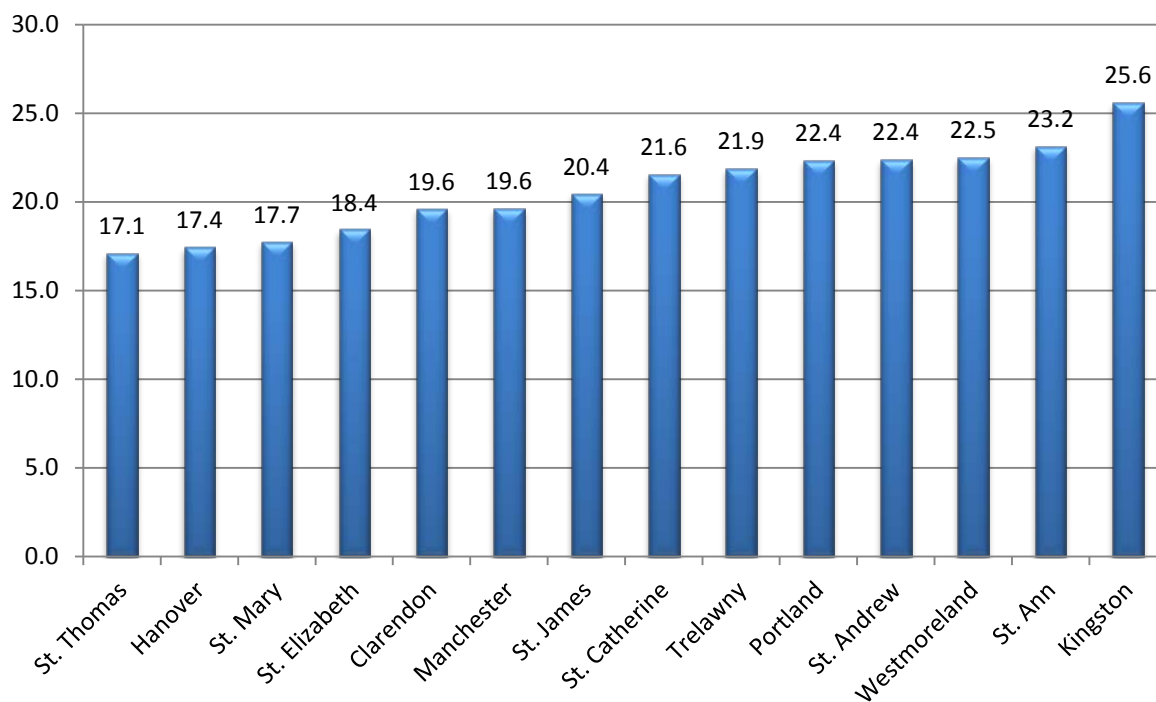
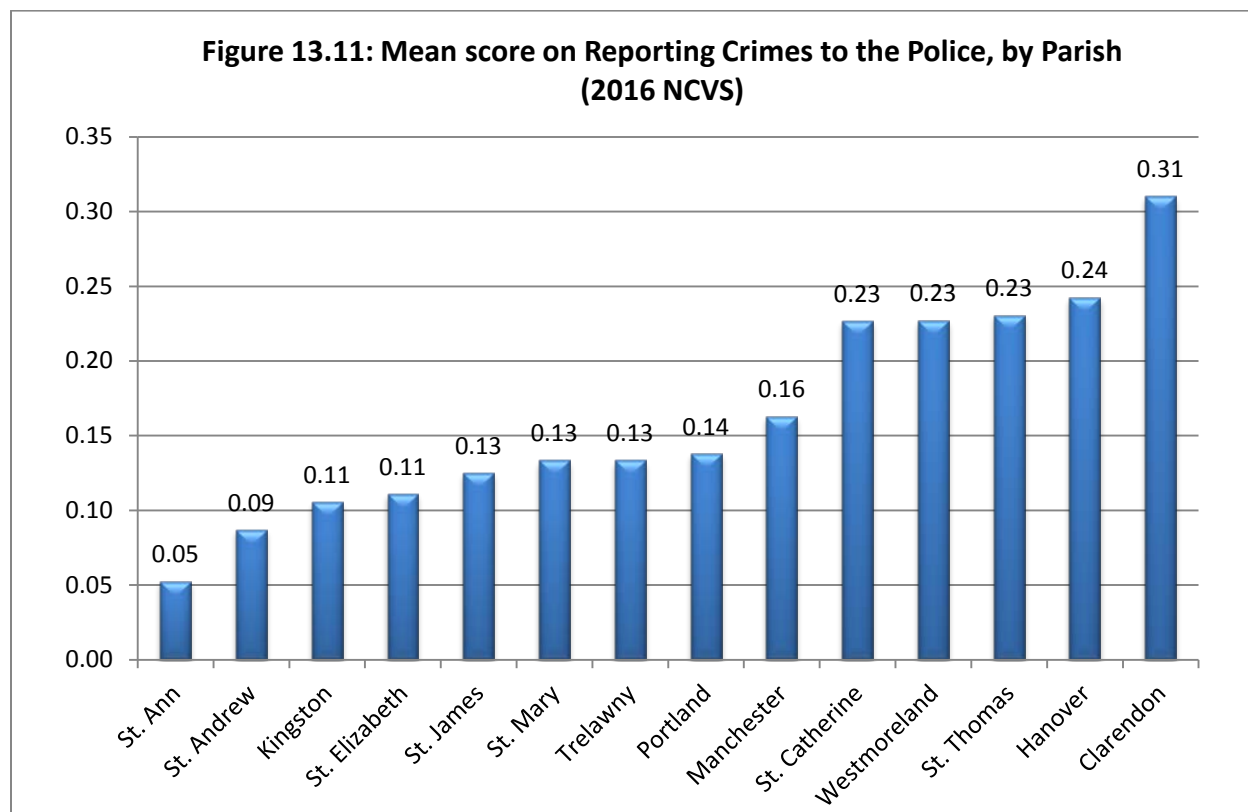


Figure 13.10: Mean score on Community Disorder, by Parish (2016 NCVS)





The eleven indicators of community problems which were examined were total lifetime crime victimization, total past year crime victimization, witnessing crime, victimization of family and friends, fear of crime (safety), fear of crime (anxiety), criminal offending (lifetime), criminal offending (past year), drug and alcohol use, community disorder and reporting crimes to the police. While the latter is not, strictly speaking, a community problem, we have included it in this section to provide information on the extent to which the non-reporting of crimes may vary across the different parishes.

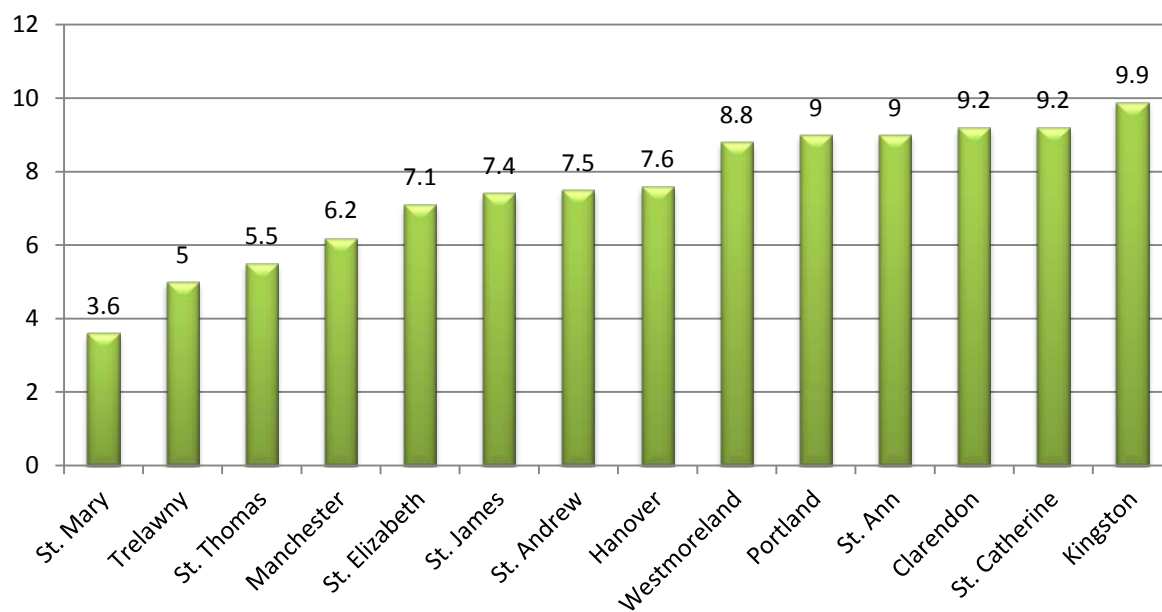
In order to give an overall assessment of the parishes according to all eleven indicators, each parish was ranked from 1 to 14 based on its level of each indicator, and then the average ranking was computed to provide an estimate of the relative position of each parish across all eleven indicators. So for example, the parish with the lowest level of community disorder was given a rank of 1, the parish with the second lowest level a rank of 2 and so on until the parish

with the highest level of community disorder which was given a rank of 14. With respect to reporting crimes to the police, the parish with the highest level of reporting crimes was given a rank of 1 while the parish with the lowest level of reporting was given a rank of 14. With the approach used, each indicator is weighted equally in ranking the parishes. As such, while it is recognized that some indicators may be more important than others, this approach does not allow some indicators to have more influence than others in the overall ranking of parishes. This approach was taken since it was recognized that there will be much debate about which indicators are more important and that there may be little agreement on how much more important some indicators are than others.

The average ranking across all eleven indicators was computed (Figure 13.12). When all eleven indicators were considered simultaneously, the parishes with the highest levels of community problems were Kingston, St. Catherine, Clarendon and St. Ann. The parishes with the lowest levels of community problems were St. Mary, Trelawny and St. Thomas. Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) confirmed that there were statistically significant differences among parishes in the overall level of community problems (Wilk's lambda³⁶ = .717, F (13, 143) = 7.93, p<.001.).

³⁶ The scores from the eleven indicators (and not the ranking scores) were used in the analysis.

Figure 13.12: Mean score on eleven indicators of community problems, by Parish (2016 NCVS)



PART FOURTEEN

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

The National Crime Victimization Survey 2016 has documented a consistently downward trend in the rate of criminal victimization in Jamaica over the past decade. Since 2006 when the first survey was completed, the reported rates of victimization have all shown marked declines over the ten year period. Indeed, the three summary measures of victimization tracked in the NCVS, namely total crime victimization, property crime victimization, and violent crime victimization, all peaked in 2009 before recording reductions in 2013 and 2016. Current rates of victimization are now at their lowest levels, with the violent crime victimization level (4.6%) being almost half the 2006 survey estimate of 8.6%. The lower levels of victimization are consistent for the various types of crimes included in the study and have been observed across all parishes. Similarly, lower levels of victimization are also observed when disaggregated by gender and age groups.

In addition to a general decline in victimization levels, the data also reveal a generally consistent improvement in all other crime and justice-related indicators over time. Specifically, on several different NCVS measures, there has been a noticeable decrease in perceived community-level crime and disorder³⁷, a decline in the percentage of Jamaicans who directly experience community-level problems, a decline in the levels of fear reported by respondents, and an improvement in overall perceptions of security and safety.

Similarly, respondents to the 2016 survey have maintained the 2013 trend that shows improvements in perceptions related to the police, the courts and the correctional services. The NCVS data reveal that there was a particularly notable improvement in public confidence in the police between 2006 and 2016. However, the data still reveal that younger persons and those

³⁷ The exceptions to this have been an increase in the number of persons sleeping on the streets, and the presence of garbage or litter lying around in communities.

with higher levels of education are less likely to provide positive ratings of police performance than older respondents and those with lower levels of educational attainment.

These findings are generally reflective of the trends observed in the 2013 survey, and are also consistent with the trends observed in our analysis of official crime data over the review period. The consistency observed in the improvement of indicators over different waves of the survey attests to the validity and reliability of measures employed in the conduct of the NCVS. Notwithstanding the general improvement recorded for all crime indicators, most respondents are still concerned about crime and safety issues. In fact, while fewer than ten percent of respondents felt that crime in their own community increased over the past five years, the majority believed that crime increased in other areas of Jamaica over the same time period. These findings suggest that future research should explore the impact that media coverage of crime and justice issues in Jamaica may have on public perceptions.

The preceding chapters have provided in-depth analyses of trends in criminal victimization over the past decade. A summary of the major findings may be found in the Executive Summary at the beginning of this Report, and will not be replicated here. In this concluding section of the Report, we seek to highlight a number of issues that we consider particularly important for policy consideration.

Youth and Fear of Crime

There are two findings related to fear of crime that we believe merit close consideration by policy makers. The first is related to the finding that the age-fear relationship consistently documented in international literature, in which older persons tend to be more fearful than younger persons, does not seem to hold true in Jamaica. In keeping with the results of the 2013 survey, the present study also found that younger persons were more fearful than older persons, and that this was true regardless of the type of crime being considered. The second finding we wish to discuss here is related to the fact that while females were more likely than males to alter their behaviours in the face of concerns about personal safety, the data indicate that a large proportion of persons do not, in fact, alter their behaviours as a result of fear of crime. Again,

when we disaggregated this data by age, we found that younger persons were more likely than older persons to curtail their behaviour as a result of fear of criminal victimization.

The implications of both findings are far-reaching. While the reasons for this reversal of international trends³⁸ cannot properly be inferred from the data in this survey, we believe it is important to question the reasoning behind this finding, and to document the ways in which the fear-induced behaviour modification of young people may be manifested. This finding signals the need for more in-depth research to interrogate, for example, whether there is a relationship with the levels of victimization experienced by younger persons, the specific ways in which young persons curtail their behaviour, and the potential impact on civic engagement, educational pursuits, productive activities, and social engagement. Criminological research has also documented a connection between fear of crime and increased levels of violence as younger persons arm themselves for self-protection. ***We believe this finding merits further investigation and would recommend that efforts should be made to engage in a multi-agency investigation to determine the short to long-term effects of increased fear of crime and modified behaviour patterns among youth.***

Review of Questionnaire

The underlying goal of each wave of the NCVS has been to create new knowledge surrounding the issue of criminal victimization, public safety and attitudes and perceptions of Jamaicans as they relate to these issues. Having accrued a decade of knowledge on criminal victimization, it is now possible to evaluate the utility of the survey instruments in capturing the most relevant data. While caution must be exercised in undertaking any changes that would negatively impact the comparability of the data over time, our assessment of the data collected in this and previous waves of the survey support the need to systematically review the survey instruments to ensure effective data capture of the items that we seek to measure in the NCVS³⁹. In addition to unacceptably high levels of missing data for some lines of enquiry, there is

³⁸ We note that the Survey on Living Conditions EU-SILC 2015 has also recorded a similar reversal in trends in its two most recent surveys in Norway. The data there confirm that younger persons, who are most likely to be the victims of crime, are now also included in the age groups that are most in fear of crime.

³⁹ We note here that a number of lines of enquiry across some waves of the survey have lost their utility for analysis due to high levels of missing values, e.g. income data.

evidence that, in the last two surveys, the structuring of particular questions have made it difficult to engage in meaningful analysis of the data provided.

A systematic review of the NCVS should also include an examination of potential sampling issues. Does every member of the Jamaican population have an equal chance of being selected for survey participation? Does the sampling strategy used by the NCVS lead to an under-representation of certain segments of the population, for example the homeless, those living in improvised housing, those residing in prison etc., who may be particularly vulnerable to different forms of criminal victimization? We believe it is important to reconsider these questions alongside a more general review of the survey instruments. ***Given the importance of ensuring comparability across the surveys, we would recommend that the MNS engage in a systematic review of the survey instruments with a view to making necessary amendments, and that the revised instruments be pre-tested to ensure validity.***

Policy Implications of Main Findings

The main findings from this survey include the decline in recent criminal victimization rates and the improvement in other indicators over the past ten years. The consistency in the declining trends since 2013 allows for greater confidence in the interpretation of results in this round of the survey. The inclusion of the new section that provides multivariate analyses of the predictors of criminal victimization has added a new dimension to the 2016 survey that allows for further investigation of the relationships that we have explored. We hasten to caution however, that the NCVS was not designed to identify the specific, causal factors that contribute to the overall improvement in the measures identified in this Report.

Some of our findings, such as the increased use of crime prevention strategies by members of the population, as well as greater willingness to report crimes to the police, may offer plausible explanations for some improvements but we hasten to caution the need for additional enquiry to investigate what may appear to be causal relationships among different variables.

The 2016 survey indicates that reported declines in victimization levels may be observed across most geographic distributions. The effort of policy makers to sustain these improvements will need to directly address the issue of repeat victimization in the society. In doing so, the MNS will need to carefully evaluate its programmatic initiatives that are targeted at crime prevention generally, and more narrowly those designed to reduce repeat victimization in the society. The continued use of focused community-based social interventions can help to enhance service delivery to vulnerable residents of communities, as well as to promote public awareness campaigns aimed at reducing the stigma of victimization and encouraging victims to overcome the “informer fi dead” culture. The identification and prioritization of cases that impact persons who have been subject to repeat victimization, may also help to reduce the potential for further victimization.

The survey’s findings have also suggested the need for greater attention to interactions within private domains that are usually not subject to routine interventions by the State. Proactive measures such as community policing do have an important role to play in ensuring that individuals within households are protected from victimization, but there is also a clear need for engagement with other institutions of socialization. A multi-faceted approach that engages the multiplicity of State and non-State partners in the design of crime prevention and victimization reducing opportunities offers the best hope for sustaining the positive results documented in this fourth wave of the National Crime Victimization Survey.

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