

# Survey of Individuals Deprived of Liberty:

## Caribbean 2016–2019

### Barbados Country Report

**Institutions for  
Development Sector**

**Innovation in Citizen  
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Bank by:

**The Sir Arthur Lewis Institute of Social and  
Economic Studies (SALISES)**

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Editors: Dana Michael King, Viviana Vélez-  
Grajales, and Lina Marmolejo

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# Survey of Individuals Deprived of Liberty Caribbean (2016–2019)

## Barbados Country Report

April 2020

### Abstract\*

This report presents data from the first national prison survey conducted in Barbados. The data come from the 2018 Survey of Individuals Deprived of Liberty, a quantitative survey of 406 inmates (389 men and 17 women) at Her Majesty's Prison (HMP) Dodds, the sole penal institution housing adult offenders. It brings to light a series of findings that may contradict common perceptions of incarcerated persons in Barbados. The overwhelming majority of prisoners are Bajan nationals, worked prior to being incarcerated and were satisfied with their salaries. It also illuminates striking correlations between family experiences and crime. The majority of respondents witnessed violence in their homes as children and reported having a family member that had been incarcerated. The correlations between crime, incarceration, and family experiences with violence are particularly concerning given that more than 60 percent of respondents are parents themselves. Finally, the report highlights a number of concerns with the effectiveness of the criminal justice system, such as the quality and availability of legal representation, high levels of recidivism, and the lack of access to work or study opportunities or post-release job placement and housing support to prepare inmates to successfully reintegrate into society upon leaving prison.

**JEL codes:** H59, H76, K14, K42, N46

**Keywords:** criminal career, Caribbean, Barbados, incarcerated women, incarcerated men, crime prevention, prisoners, prisons, intrafamily violence, prison system

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\* Related to the agreement to conduct a needs assessment and an inmate survey of both convicted and remand offenders in the Barbados correctional system. For the Inter-American Bank (IDB) project overview, see <https://www.iadb.org/en/project/RG-T2551>.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	9
Executive Summary.....	10
Main Findings: Male Inmates.....	10
Main Findings: Female Inmates .....	13
Recommendations .....	15
Childhood Exposure to Violence .....	15
Violent Crime and Weapon Use .....	15
Drug and Alcohol Abuse.....	15
Due Process within the Royal Barbados Police Force .....	15
Nutrition and Health and Prisoner Victimization .....	15
Rehabilitation and Reintegration .....	16
In-Prison Drug Use .....	16
Link between Poverty and Crime .....	16
Introduction .....	17
Background and Justification .....	17
Why Inmate Surveys?.....	18
Questions Asked.....	19
Methodology.....	19
Data and Findings: Male Inmates .....	22
Sociodemographic Profile .....	22
Childhood and Life Story .....	25
Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles.....	29
Legal Procedures and Criminal Process.....	41
Conditions in Prison .....	48
The Future.....	68
Data and Findings – Female Inmates.....	72
Sociodemographic Profile .....	72
Childhood and Life Story .....	75
Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles.....	78
Legal Procedures and Criminal Process.....	85
Conditions in the Prison .....	91
The Future.....	103
Conclusion and Recommendations .....	105
Childhood Exposure to Violence .....	105
Parental Risk Factors .....	106
Drug and Alcohol Abuse.....	107
Violent Crime and Weapon Use .....	108
Due Process within the Royal Barbados Police Force .....	109
Court Backlog.....	110
Nutrition.....	110
Health Provision .....	111
Prisoner Victimization .....	111
Rehabilitation.....	112
Reintegration .....	113
In-Prison Drug Use .....	114
Link between Poverty and Crime .....	114
References .....	115
Appendix 1: Summary of Findings .....	118
Appendix 2: Crime Categorizations.....	124

## List of Tables

Unless otherwise noted, the source of each table is the author based on results from the inmate survey. Also note that some results may not add to 100 percent due to rounding.

Table 1: Barbados Prison Population, October 2018.....	21
Table 2: Survey Sample .....	21
Table 3: Final Sample .....	21
Table 4: Respondent Age Groups: Male (N=389; mean age=34).....	22
Table 5: Place of Birth: Male (N=389; percent).....	22
Table 6: Number of Children: Male (N=389; mean number of children=1.6; percent) .....	23
Table 7: Age of Initial Parenthood: Male (N=389; mean age=22; percent) .....	23
Table 8: Highest Level of Education before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent) .....	24
Table 9: Work in the Month Prior to Arrest: Male (N=389; percent) .....	24
Table 10: Type of Job Held: Male (n=251; percent) .....	24
Table 11: Number of Hours Worked per Week: Male (n=236; mean number of hours=45; percent) .....	25
Table 12: Monthly Earnings: Male (n=235; mean earnings=\$2,925; percent).....	25
Table 13: Satisfaction with Financial Situation by Working Status: Male (n=139; percent) .....	25
Table 14: Physical Punishment as a Child: Male (N=389; percent).....	26
Table 15: Childhood Physical Punishment by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	26
Table 16: During Childhood, Saw Mother Beaten by Partner: Male (N=389; percent) .....	26
Table 17: Left Home before Age 15: Male (N=389; percent).....	26
Table 18: Left Home before 15 by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	27
Table 19: Adults in Childhood Home Drank Alcohol Frequently: Male (N=389; percent) .....	27
Table 20: Adults in Childhood Home Used Drugs: Male (N=389; percent).....	27
Table 21: Proportion of Respondents Who Had Used Drugs: Male (N=389; percent) .....	27
Table 22: Proportion of Respondents Who Had Used Each Drug: Male (N=389; percent) .....	27
Table 23: Respondents Who Had Used Each Drug by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent) .....	28
Table 24: Age of First Use of Each Drug: Male (percent except mean age).....	28
Table 25: Frequency of Drug Use in 6 Months Prior to Incarceration: Male (percent) .....	28
Table 26: Family Member Ever Been in Prison: Male (N=389; percent).....	29
Table 27: Family Ever in Prison by Age: Male (N=389; percent).....	29
Table 28: Family Members Currently in Prison by Age: Male (N=389; percent).....	29
Table 29: Crime: Male (N=389; mean number of crimes=1.3) .....	30
Table 30: Crime by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	31
Table 31: Someone Physically Injured During the Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	31
Table 32: Someone Else Was Involved in the Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	31
Table 33: Alcohol or Drugs Used Within 6 Hours of the Crime: Male (n=148; percent).....	32
Table 34: Weapon Used in the Commission of the Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	32
Table 35: Type of Weapon Used: Male (n=182; percent).....	32
Table 36: Had Committed a Property Crime Prior to Current Incarceration: Male (n=100; percent) .....	32
Table 37: Monthly Earnings from Property Crime: Male (n=49; mean monthly earnings=\$9,700; percent) .....	33
Table 38: Monetary Value of Property Crime: Male (n=100; mean value=\$34,000; percent) .....	33
Table 39: Had Sold Drugs Prior to Current Incarceration: Male (n=66; percent).....	33
Table 40: Main Reason Sold Drugs: Male (n=37; percent).....	33
Table 41: Monthly Earnings from Selling Drugs: Male (n=37; mean monthly earnings=\$40,000; percent) .....	34
Table 42: Type of Drug Charged with Selling: Male (n=66; percent) .....	34
Table 43: Type of Drug Charged with Selling by Trial Stage: Male (n=66; percent).....	34
Table 44: Monetary Value of Drugs Seized: Male (n=66; mean value=\$426,000; percent) .....	34
Table 45: Motives for Murder: Male (n=100; percent).....	35
Table 46: Weapons Used in Intentional Homicides: Male (n=100; percent) .....	36
Table 47: Person You Were Accused of Raping: Male (n=14; percent) .....	36
Table 48: Physical Violence Used in Addition to Rape: Male (n=14; percent) .....	37

Table 49: Previous Imprisonment: Male (N=389; percent).....	37
Table 50: Previous Imprisonment by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	37
Table 51: Previous Imprisonment by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent) .....	37
Table 52: Previous Imprisonment by Sentence Length in Months: Male (n=135; percent) .....	37
Table 53: Number of Previous Arrests: Male (N=389; percent).....	38
Table 54: Ever Been in a Juvenile Detention Center: Male (N=389; percent).....	38
Table 55: Challenges Faced on Previous Release: Male (n=237; percent).....	38
Table 56: Gangs in Neighborhood Where Raised: Male (N=389; percent).....	39
Table 57: Member of a Gang When Arrested: Male (N=389; percent) .....	39
Table 58: Current Status in Gang: Male (n=63; percent) .....	39
Table 59: Member of a Gang by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent).....	39
Table 60: Age First Joined Gang: Male (n=59; mean age=16; percent) .....	40
Table 61: Ever Owned a Firearm: Male (N=389; percent) .....	40
Table 62: Age of First Ownership of Firearm: Male (n=192; mean age=17; percent).....	40
Table 63: Ever Injured or Killed with a Firearm: Male (n=157; percent).....	40
Table 64: Member of a Gang by Injured or Killed with a Firearm: Male (N=389; percent) .....	40
Table 65: Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	41
Table 66: Time Between Offence and Arrest: Male (N=389; percent) .....	41
Table 67: Shown a Warrant by Police When Arrested: Male (N=389; percent) .....	42
Table 68: Taken to Police Station after Arrest: Male (N=389; percent).....	42
Table 69: Nights Spent at Police Station: Male (n=359; percent) .....	42
Table 70: Nights Spent at Police Station by Trial Stage: Male (n=359; percent).....	42
Table 71: Nights Spent at Police Station by Age: Male (n=358; percent) .....	43
Table 72: Physical Force to Compel Testimony or Change Statement at Police Station: Male (N=389; percent) .....	43
Table 73: Following People Asked for Money or Belongings since Arrest: Male (N=389; percent).....	43
Table 74: Law Enforcement Would Have Released You If You Offered a Bribe: Male (N=389; percent) .....	43
Table 75: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty: Male (N=389; percent) .....	44
Table 76: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty by Pled Guilty: Male (N=389; percent) .....	44
Table 77: Frequency of Seeing Lawyer: Male (N=389; percent) .....	44
Table 78: Number of Lawyers Seen Since Arrest: Male (N=389; percent).....	44
Table 79: Type of Lawyer: Male (n=290; percent) .....	45
Table 80: Quality of Defense: Male (n=195; percent).....	45
Table 81: Quality of Defense by Type of Lawyer: Male (n=290; percent).....	45
Table 82: Quality of Defense by Trial Stage: Male (n=290; percent) .....	46
Table 83: How Much Understood about What Was Happening at Hearings and in Court: Male (n=195; percent) ..	46
Table 84: During Trial, Times Spoke Directly to Judge or Magistrate: Male (n=195; percent) .....	46
Table 85: Judge/Magistrate Listened: Male (n=195; percent).....	47
Table 86: Time from Arrest to Sentencing: Male (n=138; mean time=25 months; percent).....	47
Table 87: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Type of Crime: Male (n=138; percent) .....	47
Table 88: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Age: Male (n=138; percent) .....	48
Table 89: Length of Sentence: Male (n=135; mean sentence=90 months; percent).....	48
Table 90: Overcrowding by Trial Stage: Male (n=387; percent) .....	49
Table 91: Where Slept Night before Surveyed: Male (N=389; percent) .....	49
Table 92: Provider of Various Items Needed for Comfort: Male (N=389; percent) .....	50
Table 93: Prison Provides the Following: Male (N=389; percent).....	50
Table 94: Prison Provides the Following by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	51
Table 95: Number of Showers per Day: Male (N=389; percent).....	51
Table 96: Cleanliness of Toilets: Male (N=389; percent) .....	51
Table 97: Number of Showers per Day by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	52
Table 98: Cleanliness of Toilets by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent).....	52
Table 99: Enough Water to Drink: Male (N=389; percent) .....	52
Table 100: Quality of Water: Male (N=389; percent) .....	53
Table 101: Quality of Water by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent).....	53



Table 102: Quality of Food: Male (N=389; percent) .....	53
Table 103: Quality of Food by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	53
Table 104: Medical Care from Prison when Sick: Male (N=389; percent) .....	55
Table 105: Medical Care from Prison when Sick by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	55
Table 106: Dental Care from Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	55
Table 107: Time to See Medical Professional: Male (n=286; mean=260 hours; percent) .....	55
Table 108: Time to See Medical Professional by Trial Stage: Male (n=286; percent) .....	56
Table 109: Quality of Medical Care: Male (N=389; percent) .....	56
Table 110: Sick Since in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	57
Table 111: Illness: Male (n=261; percent) .....	57
Table 112: Performed HIV/AIDS Test on You: Male (N=389; percent) .....	57
Table 113: Taken to Hospital While in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	57
Table 114: How Medicine Obtained: Male (N=389; percent) .....	58
Table 115: How Medicine Obtained by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	58
Table 116: Quality of Assistance from Psychologists and Social Workers in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	58
Table 117: Frequency of Calls by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	59
Table 118: Access to Communications: Male (N=389; percent that responded “yes”) .....	60
Table 119: Frequency of Family Visits by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	60
Table 120: Relatives Had to Pay for Any of the Following when Visiting: Male (n=291; percent) .....	60
Table 121: Treatment of Relatives by Prison Personnel: Male (n=291; percent) .....	61
Table 122: Items Family Members Bring to You: Male (n=291; percent) .....	61
Table 123: Activities by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	62
Table 124: Activities by Age: Male (N=389; percent) .....	62
Table 125: Paid Work Inside Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	63
Table 126: Learned a Trade in Prison by Trial Stage: Male (n=120; percent) .....	63
Table 127: Trade Learned by Trial Stage: Male (n=51; percent) .....	63
Table 128: Studied While in Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	64
Table 129: Usefulness of Study by Trial Stage: Male (n=106; percent) .....	64
Table 130: Reason Didn’t Study by Trial Stage: Male (n=283; percent) .....	64
Table 131: How Spent Most Days in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	64
Table 132: Awareness of Gangs in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	65
Table 133: Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	65
Table 134: Types of Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Male (n=85; percent) .....	65
Table 135: Why People Outside Prison Commit Crimes for Inmates: Male (n=102; percent) .....	65
Table 136: Witnessed an Inmate Forced to Have Sexual Intercourse: Male (N=389; percent) .....	66
Table 137: Forced to Have Sexual Intercourse in Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	66
Table 138: Saw Other Inmates Beaten: Male (N=389; percent) .....	66
Table 139: Been Attacked or Beaten by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	66
Table 140: Attacker: Male (n=76; percent) .....	66
Table 141: Belongings Stolen by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	67
Table 142: During the Last Month Have You Used Alcohol/Drugs: Male (N=389; percent) .....	67
Table 143: Which One Have You Used Within the Past Month: Male (n=48; percent) .....	67
Table 144: Brings Most Drugs into Prison: Male (N=389; percent) .....	67
Table 145: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent) .....	68
Table 146: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Age: Male (N=389; percent) .....	68
Table 147: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent) .....	68
Table 148: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest by Age: Male (N=388*; percent) .....	68
Table 149: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent) .....	69
Table 150: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest by Age: Male (n=388*; percent) .....	69
Table 151: Where You Plan to Work on Release: Male (N=389; percent) .....	69
Table 152: Most Afraid of (a): Male (N=389; percent) .....	70
Table 153: Most Afraid of (a) by Age: Male (n=388*; percent) .....	70
Table 154: Most Afraid of (b): Male (N=389; percent) .....	70



Table 155: Most Afraid of (b) by Age: Male (n=388*; percent) .....	70
Table 156: Aware of Government Agencies Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Male (N=389; percent).....	71
Table 157: Aware of Civil Society Groups Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Male (N=389; percent) .....	71
Table 158: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again: Male (N=389; percent).....	71
Table 159: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again by Age: Male (n=388*; percent) .....	71
Table 160: How Things Will Be When Released: Male (N=389; percent) .....	72
Table 161: Respondent Age Groups: Female (N=19; mean age=34) .....	72
Table 162: Number of Children: Female (N=19; mean number of children=2.3) .....	72
Table 163: Age of Initial Parenthood: Female (n=14) .....	73
Table 164: Highest Level of Education Before Arrest: Female (N=19).....	73
Table 165: Working in the Month Prior to Arrest: Female (N=19) .....	73
Table 166: Type of Job Held: Female (n=8).....	74
Table 167: Number of Hours Worked per Week: Female (n=8; mean number of hours=37) .....	74
Table 168: Monthly Earnings: Female (n=7; mean monthly earnings=\$3,479) .....	74
Table 169: Satisfaction with Financial Situation by Working Status: Female (n=18) .....	75
Table 170: Physically Punished as Child: Female (N=19) .....	75
Table 171: Physically Punished as Child by Type of Crime: Female (N=19) .....	75
Table 172: Saw Mother Beaten by her Partner: Female (N=19).....	75
Table 173: Left Home before Age of 15: Female (N=19) .....	76
Table 174: Adults in Your Childhood Home Drank Alcohol Frequently: Female (N=19).....	76
Table 175: Have Used Drugs: Female (N=19).....	76
Table 176: Have Used Each Drug: Female (N=19).....	76
Table 177: Have Used Each Drug by Type of Crime: Female .....	77
Table 178: Age of First Use of Each Drug: Female .....	77
Table 179: Frequency of Drug Use in 6 Months Prior to Incarceration: Female.....	77
Table 180: Family Member Has Been in Prison: Female (N=19) .....	78
Table 181: Crime: Female (N=19; mean crimes per respondent=1.1) .....	78
Table 182: Crime by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	79
Table 183: Someone Physically Injured During Crime: Female (N=19).....	79
Table 184: Someone Else Involved in Crime: Female (N=19).....	79
Table 185: Used Drugs/Alcohol within 6 Hours of Committing this Crime: Female (N=19) .....	79
Table 186: Drugs Used Prior to Crime: Female (n=10).....	80
Table 187: Someone Physically Injured During Crime by Used Drugs/Alcohol: Female (N=19) .....	80
Table 188: Weapon Used in Commission of Crime: Female (N=19) .....	80
Table 189: Type of Weapon Used: Female (n=4) .....	80
Table 190: Weapon Used in Commission of Crime by Trial Stage: Female (n=4) .....	80
Table 191: Had Committed a Property Crime Prior to Current Incarceration: Female (n=3) .....	81
Table 192: Monthly Earnings from Property Crime: Female (n=2) .....	81
Table 193: Monetary Value Property Crime: Female (n=3; mean value= \$43,400).....	81
Table 194: Had Sold Drugs Prior to Current Incarceration: Female (n=6) .....	81
Table 195: Main Reason Sold Drugs: Female (n=3) .....	81
Table 196: Monthly Earnings from Selling Drugs: Female (n=3; mean monthly earnings=\$40,000).....	81
Table 197: Monetary Value of Drugs Seized: Female (n=5; mean value=\$15,400) .....	82
Table 198: Motives for Murder: Female (n=4).....	82
Table 199: Murder Weapons Used: Female (n=4) .....	82
Table 200: Previous Imprisonment: Female (N=19) .....	83
Table 201: Previous Imprisonment by Trial Stage: Female (N=19).....	83
Table 202: Previous Imprisonment by Type of Crime: Female (N=19) .....	83
Table 203: Number of Previous Arrests: Female (N=19) .....	83
Table 204: Have You Ever Been in a Juvenile Detention Centre: Female (N=19) .....	83
Table 205: Challenges Faced On Previous Release: Female (n=6) .....	84
Table 206: Gangs in Neighborhood Where Raised: Female (N=19).....	84
Table 207: Member of a Gang When Arrested: Female (N=19) .....	84

Table 208: Ever Owned a Firearm: Female (N=19) .....	84
Table 209: Age of First Ownership of Firearm: Female (n=3; mean age=22) .....	84
Table 210: Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	85
Table 211: Time Elapsed Between When Committed Offence and When Arrested: Female (N=19) .....	85
Table 212: Shown Warrant in Writing by Police When Arrested: Female (N=19) .....	85
Table 213: Taken to Police Station after Arrest: Female (N=19) .....	85
Table 214: Nights Spent at Police Station: Female (N=19) .....	86
Table 215: Nights Spent at Police Station by Trial Stage: Female (n=17) .....	86
Table 216: Hit or Physical Force Used to Compel Testimony or to Change Statement While at Police Station: Female (N=19) .....	86
Table 217: Been Asked by Any of Following for Money or Belongings: Female (N=19) .....	86
Table 218: Law Enforcement Would Have Released You If You Offered a Bribe: Female (N=19) .....	87
Table 219: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty: Female (N=19) .....	87
Table 220: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty by Pled Guilty: Female (N=19) .....	87
Table 221: Informed Entitled to a Lawyer: Female (N=19) .....	87
Table 222: Frequency of Seeing Lawyer: Female (N=19) .....	87
Table 223: Number of Lawyers Seen Since Arrest: Female .....	88
Table 224: Type of Lawyer: Female (N=19) .....	88
Table 225: Quality of Defense: Female (N=19) .....	88
Table 226: Quality of Defense by Type of Lawyer: Female (n=14) .....	88
Table 227: Quality of Defense by Trial Stage: Female (n=14) .....	88
Table 228: Understood What Was Happening at the Hearings and in Court: Female (n=14) .....	89
Table 229: Number of Times Spoke Directly to Judge or Magistrate during Trial: Female (n=14) .....	89
Table 230: The Judge/Magistrate Listened: Female (n=14) .....	89
Table 231: Time from Arrest to Sentencing: Female (n=11; mean time=6 months) .....	90
Table 232: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Type of Crime: Female (n=11) .....	90
Table 233: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Age: Female (n=11) .....	90
Table 234: Length of Sentence: Female (n=14) .....	91
Table 235: Overcrowding by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	91
Table 236: Where Slept Night before Surveyed: Female (N=19) .....	91
Table 237: Provider of Various Items Needed for Comfort: Female (N=19) .....	92
Table 238: Prison Provides the Following: Female (N=19) .....	92
Table 239: Number of Showers per Day: Female (N=19) .....	92
Table 240: Cleanliness of Toilets: Female (N=19) .....	93
Table 241: Number of Showers per Day by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	93
Table 242: Enough Water to Drink: Female (N=19) .....	93
Table 243: Quality of Water: Female (N=19) .....	93
Table 244: Quality of Water by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	93
Table 245: Quality of Food: Female (N=19) .....	94
Table 246: Medical Care from Prison when Sick: Female (N=19) .....	94
Table 247: Medical Care from Prison when Sick by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	94
Table 248: Dental Care from Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	94
Table 249: Time to See Medical Professional: Female (N=19; mean time=241 hours) .....	95
Table 250: Time to See Medical Professional by Trial Stage: Female (n=15) .....	95
Table 251: Quality of Medical Care: Female (N=19) .....	95
Table 252: Sick Since in Prison: Female (N=19) .....	95
Table 253: Illness: Female (n=11) .....	96
Table 254: Performed HIV/AIDS Test on You: Female (N=19) .....	96
Table 255: Taken to Hospital While in Prison: Female (N=19) .....	96
Table 256: How Medicine Obtained: Female (N=19) .....	96
Table 257: Quality of Assistance from Psychologists and Social Workers in Prison: Female (N=19) .....	96
Table 258: Using Contraception to Avoid Pregnancy: Female (N=19) .....	97
Table 259: Forced to Use Contraception to Avoid Pregnancy: Female (n=2) .....	97

Table 260: Received a Gynecological Examination in Prison: Female (N=19).....	97
Table 261: Frequency of Calls from Relatives: Female (N=19) .....	97
Table 262: Frequency of Family Visits: Female (N=19) .....	97
Table 263: How Relatives Treated by Prison Personnel When They Visit: Female (n=10) .....	98
Table 264: Items Your Family Members Bring for You: Female (n=10) .....	98
Table 265: Activities by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	98
Table 266: Activities by Age: Female (N=19) .....	99
Table 267: Work Inside Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	99
Table 268: Learned a Trade in Prison by Trial Stage: Female (n=14) .....	99
Table 269: Trade Learned by Trial Stage: Female (n=5).....	99
Table 270: Studied in Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19) .....	100
Table 271: Usefulness of Study by Trial Stage: Female (n=10) .....	100
Table 272: Reason for Not Studying by Trial Stage: Female (n=9) .....	100
Table 273: How Spent Most Days in Prison: Female (N=19).....	100
Table 274: Awareness of Gangs in Prison: Female (N=19).....	101
Table 275: Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Female (N=19) .....	101
Table 276: Types of Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Female (n=4) .....	101
Table 277: Why People Outside Prison Commit Crimes for Inmates: Female (n=4).....	101
Table 278: Saw Other Inmates Beaten: Female (N=19) .....	102
Table 279: Belongings Stolen by Trial Stage: Female (N=19).....	102
Table 280: Brings Most Drugs into Prison: Female (N=19) .....	102
Table 281: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Trial Stage: Female (N=19).....	102
Table 282: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest: Female (N=19) .....	103
Table 283: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest: Female (N=19) .....	103
Table 284: Where You Plan to Work on Release: Female (N=19).....	103
Table 285: Most Afraid of (a): Female (N=19).....	103
Table 286: Most Afraid of (b): Female (N=19) .....	104
Table 287: Aware of Government Agencies Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Female (N=19).....	104
Table 288: Aware of Civil Society Groups Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Female (N=19) .....	104
Table 289: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again: Female (N=19).....	104
Table 290: How Things Will Be When Released: Female (N=19) .....	104

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## Executive Summary

### Main Findings: Male Inmates

#### Sociodemographic Profile

Most male respondents were Barbadian nationals (87 percent). They had a mean age of 34 years, with 25 percent having completed secondary education and only 2 percent having completed tertiary education. Of the male respondents, 65 percent were working in the month leading up to their arrest, with the largest proportion (25 percent) working in construction or a factory. The majority worked more than 40 hours per week and, on average, respondents were earning Bds\$2,925<sup>2</sup> (approximately US\$1,450) per month.

#### Childhood and Life Story

A large proportion of respondents reported that they were physically disciplined as children (75 percent), and 24 percent indicated that they had seen their mother beaten by her husband/partner at some point during their childhood. Of the male respondents, 31 percent reported that their parents abused alcohol and 25 percent reported that their parents used drugs. Drug use among the inmates was also high, with 87 percent of all male respondents having used drugs at some point in their lifetime. Marijuana use was high, with 86 percent of respondents reporting that they had used it, and 20 percent reported using cocaine/crack during their lifetime.

#### Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

The most common crime among the sample was possession of illegal weapons (27 percent), followed by intentional homicide/murder (22 percent). Other notable crimes were drug possession or drug dealing (19 percent), assault (14 percent), robbery/theft (13 percent), and burglary/break-in (10 percent). Marijuana (68 percent) and alcohol (53 percent) use prior to the commission of the crime was common among the respondents. Almost half (47 percent) of the respondents reported that they used a weapon in the commission of the crime, with an unlicensed firearm being the most common (82 percent). Income from selling drugs provided the highest average monthly income (\$40,000) and the most common drug sold was marijuana (88 percent).

Of those charged with murder, 20 percent reported that the offense occurred while committing another crime, while 17 percent cited revenge as the motive. The most common murder weapon was an unlicensed firearm (59 percent), while 17 percent of those charged with murder used a knife. Of the sample, 50 percent indicated that they had owned a firearm at some point in their lives, with the most common age of first ownership being between 15 and 19 years old. Of the respondents, 41 percent indicated that they had injured/killed someone with a firearm before. Only 13 percent of the sample indicated that they were part of a gang at the time of their arrest.

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<sup>2</sup> The symbol for the Barbados dollar is Bds\$ or \$. Throughout this report, a dollar sign on its own refers to Barbados dollars unless otherwise noted. The exchange rate is US\$1:Bds\$2.

The level of recidivism among the sample was high, with 61 percent of the respondents indicating that they had previously been imprisoned. The average length of previous sentence was 24 months. The average time between previous release and current arrest was 44 months.

### Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

Data was collected on the trial and arrest process. Of the male respondents, 50 percent were on remand at the time of their interview, while 11 percent were on trial, and 39 percent were convicted. Almost all (92 percent) were taken to a police station after arrest, with the largest proportion (60 percent) spending more than 3 nights and less than 1 week in jail. Of the inmates, 50 percent reported that physical force was used against them in order to compel them to testify or change their statement while at the police station. Roughly half (53 percent) indicated that they were informed by the police that they were entitled to a lawyer; however, 82 percent were not informed that a guilty plea could lead to a reduced sentence. The majority (74 percent) of the sample was represented by a private lawyer; however, relatively few inmates saw their lawyer with any degree of regularity. Despite this, 63 percent believed that they were well defended during their trial.

The average time elapsed from arrest to sentencing was 25 months. Those arrested for non-violent crimes were more likely to be processed through the legal system quickly than those arrested for violent crimes. The average length of sentence was 90 months, with the largest proportion (28 percent) receiving a sentence of 12–35 months.

### The Conditions in Prison

Respondents were also asked questions about current prison conditions. The majority (68 percent) reported that their cells were at capacity, with only 2 percent reporting overcrowding (cells over capacity). Convicted inmates were slightly less likely to be living in under capacity conditions than those yet to be convicted. Of the respondents, 90 percent slept on a bed and 8 percent reported that they slept on a mattress. Most inmates (67 percent) took one shower per day, though 32 percent took one or two showers per day, depending primarily on whether they worked, since working inmates were allowed more than one shower per day.

Respondents were generally satisfied with toilet facilities. The largest proportion (47 percent) reported that the facilities were somewhat clean, with a further 31 percent reporting that the facilities were very clean. Convicted inmates were more likely to consider the toilets to be clean than those yet to be convicted.

The quality of food was of great concern to inmates, with 92 percent reporting that the quality of the food was either poor (20 percent) or very poor (72 percent).

Regarding medical care, 84 percent of respondents indicated that they received medical care when necessary at the prison. The average length of time to see a medical professional was 260 hours. Convicted men had shorter average wait times than those yet to be convicted. The quality of care was generally deemed to be of low quality, with 58 percent of male respondents reporting that the quality of medical care to be either poor (33 percent) or very poor (25 percent). Most respondents (67 percent) indicated

that they had gotten sick at some point during their imprisonment, with the flu or a chest infection being the most common ailment. Of the inmates who received medical care, 81 percent obtained medication from authorities when needed, 17 percent got it from family, and 2 percent bought it themselves.

Inmates were able to communicate with the outside world by way of telephone, with 80 percent indicating that they received calls at least once a month and the largest proportion receiving calls every day (41 percent). Family visits were considerably less. Only 1 percent of the inmates reported having visits with greater frequency than once a week, with the largest proportion having family visits once a month (38 percent). Of the respondents, 26 percent felt that their family members were treated badly (21 percent) or very badly (5 percent) compared to 16 percent who believed their family members were treated well (11 percent) or very well (4 percent).

Overall, involvement in activities among male inmates at the prison was low, particularly among those yet to be convicted. The largest proportion (19 percent) were involved in cleaning and maintenance. Of the respondents, 31 percent reported that they were engaged in some form of paid labor at the prison; however, this was a privilege that applied primarily to convicted inmates. Academic study while in prison was reported by 27 percent of respondents.

Reports of sexual victimization were very low. When asked whether they had ever witnessed another inmate being forced into sexual intercourse, 95 percent of male inmates answered no, and no inmates reported that they had ever been a victim of sexual assault. However, when they were asked whether they had ever witnessed other inmates being beaten, the majority of inmates answered yes (89 percent), generally at the hands of other inmates. Over half (52 percent) of the inmates had something stolen from them.

Among male inmates, drug and alcohol use while in prison was low. Only 12 percent reported that they had used drugs or alcohol within the past month. Among those who had used drugs in that time, the overwhelming majority used marijuana (96 percent). It is concerning that, when asked who brings the most drugs into the prison, 59 percent of the respondents said that it was prison staff and another 10 percent answered police officers or guards.

Most of the male inmates (81 percent) reported that they felt less safe than before their imprisonment compared to only 3 percent who indicated that they felt safer.

### The Future

Most respondents indicated that, on their release, they intended to go back to live in the same neighborhood that they lived in before they were arrested. Despite this, 60 percent reported that they did not plan to associate with the same people as before their arrest. The largest proportion of respondents indicated that there was already a job waiting for them when they are released (31 percent), while 28 percent reported that they intended to apply for a job related to the trade they had learned while in prison. Respondents were asked to indicate the things they were most afraid of on release. Family rejection was the main concern (32 percent); however, the fear of not finding a job was also of concern (25 percent). A separate list of fears revealed concern that they would be re-arrested (33 percent) or killed (24 percent).



Finally, knowledge of government agencies and civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners was low. Only 19 percent of respondents reported that they were aware of government agencies that would assist them and only 31 percent were aware of civil society groups that would provide support.

## Main Findings: Female Inmates

### Sociodemographic Profile

Of the 19 women interviewed, 12 were born in Barbados. The average age was 34 years old. The average number of children was 2.3 and the average age of initial parenthood was 19 years. Of the women, 10 had completed secondary school. Most of the women were not working (10 of 19) in the month prior to their arrest. Those who worked, did so for an average of 37 hours per week with an average monthly salary of \$3,479.

### Childhood and Life Story

Of the 19 women, 15 reported that they were physically disciplined at home as children and 10 reported that they never witnessed their mother being beaten by either their father or their mother's partner. Household substance abuse was uncommon among the women surveyed. No women reported any drug use and only three reported that the adults in their households drank frequently. Drug use among the respondents themselves was high. Of the 19 women interviewed, 15 had used drugs at some point in their lifetime, with 13 reporting that they had used marijuana.

### Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

The largest number of women (8) were arrested for drug possession/dealing. Respondents were asked whether or not they had used alcohol or drugs in the six hours prior to committing the crime. The most common substance used prior to the crime was alcohol (10 respondents). Only 4 women reported using a weapon during the commission of the crime. Of the 19 women surveyed, 6 were recidivists, having been imprisoned for a separate crime in the past. Further, 11 were currently serving sentences and 8 were on trial.

### Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

Almost all female respondents (17) were taken to a police station after their arrest, where 5 reported that they spent one night. The majority (14) reported that no physical force was used against them. Of the 19 women interviewed, however, 15 were not informed that a guilty plea could lead to a reduced sentence.

### The Conditions in Prison

None of the women reported living in overcrowded conditions (over capacity) and the majority slept either on a bed (14) or a mattress (4). Of the women interviewed, 16 took one or two showers per day. Most (16) believed the toilet facilities to be clean, with 9 reporting that the facilities were very clean. On the other hand, 12 of the women reported the food quality to be either very poor (8) or poor (5).

Respondents indicated that, generally, medical care is provided by the prison if inmates require it. The average wait time was 241 hours (approximately 10 days). Of the women interviewed, 11 reported that they had been sick during their time in prison and only 3 deemed the quality of care to be poor.

Female inmates were able to communicate with the outside world by way of telephone, with the majority (13) reporting that they received telephone calls at least once a month. The largest number of women (10) saw family members once a month, while 2 respondents had visits once a week.

Respondents were asked to indicate which of a range of activities they were involved in at the prison. The largest number (15) were involved in cleaning and maintenance, and education (8). Most (14) reported that they were engaged in some form of paid labor. Though 9 respondents reported that they had not learned a trade while in prison, 10 reported that they were involved in some form of academic study.

No women reported either being a victim of sexual abuse in prison or witnessing any such victimization. In addition, none of the women reported any physical abuse; however, 9 women answered yes when asked if they had ever witnessed another inmate being beaten.

None of the respondents used drugs or alcohol, but still the largest number of respondents said that prison staff brought most of the drugs into the prison.

### The Future

Of the women interviewed, 16 indicated that, on their release, they intended to live in the same neighborhood they lived in before they were arrested. Of the 19 women surveyed, 8 reported that they planned to apply for a job when released, while 5 reported that they had a job waiting for them when released.

The main fears among the women interviewed were family rejection (7), not finding a job (6), re-arrest (5), and being killed (4). When asked if they knew of government agencies or civil society groups that would help them after release, 6 of the 19 women knew about government agencies and 7 of the 19 were aware of civil society groups.

## Recommendations

### Childhood Exposure to Violence

The large proportion of inmates incarcerated for violent crimes and weapons possession necessitates targeted interventions aimed at reversing this trend. Using corporal punishment as a means of child discipline places children at risk for a variety of social and psychological problems and is a precursor to future offending. Government policy needs, at the very least, to seek to sensitize the public about the negative effects of this practice. We recommend that the government, which is a signatory to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, enact laws in accordance with the provisions of the Convention, targeting eventual eradication of this practice.

### Violent Crime and Weapon Use

The use of illegal weapons across the sample was common. Addressing the influx of illegal weapons from overseas must form part of a holistic approach to crime prevention. The 2001 United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA) identified a range of micro and macro level strategies to this end. Re-engaging with this and/or alternative multi-lateral programs is recommended.

### Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Drug and alcohol use among the inmates prior to their incarceration was high. Prisons generally do not provide prisoners who are struggling with drug addiction the assistance they need. However, adequate treatment can reduce the risk of re-using, improve inmate behavior, and reduce the likelihood of future criminality. An evaluation and review of the existing drug treatment program at the prison is recommended, using the medicine-based treatment program in operation at New York City's Rikers Island as best practice.

### Due Process within the Royal Barbados Police Force

There were serious concerns related to the due process afforded to offenders as they make their way through the justice system. A lack of warrants, the use of force by police officers to coerce statements, inadequate information about rights being communicated to offenders, and the length of time taken for cases to be adjudicated all precipitate recommendations surrounding police and judicial reviews in order to identify abuses of rights and/or inefficiencies. Citizen oversight of the Royal Barbados Police Force (hereafter "the police force") is recommended as a strategy to address allegations of police misconduct, the result of which is to make recommendations to policymakers. Although no single model of citizen oversight exists, and the degree varies, the most active involves investigative capacity aimed at addressing allegations of police misconduct, the result of which is to make recommendations to policymakers.

### Nutrition and Health and Prisoner Victimization

While in prison, although inmates appeared reasonably satisfied with living conditions, there were major complaints about the quality of food, the quality of medical and dental care, inmate physical abuse, and theft. Recommendations include improving the nutrition of the food provided and healthcare. We also

recommend that all inmates undergo periodic hygiene education in order to promote and maintain healthy practices and behavior.

To address victimization, we recommend an increase in staff numbers to improve feelings of safety among inmates. Also recommended is an increase in opportunities for activity among prisoners to prevent prisoner idleness.

### Rehabilitation and Reintegration

Measures to reduce the likelihood of reoffending should be part of any well-functioning penal system. This requires that the skills needed to ensure reintegration once released are provided during incarceration. Both academic and vocational study was rare among prisoners. The majority of respondents indicated that they had not learned a trade. In addition, very few inmates were aware of any government entities or civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners in their reintegration efforts. Recommendations therefore include a review of academic and vocational offerings at the prison, as well as the development of adequate mechanisms for reintegration post-release. A comprehensive strategy for rehabilitation and reintegration is recommended using UNODC (2018) best practice guidelines.

### In-Prison Drug Use

Although self-reported drug and alcohol use was low among male inmates and non-existent among women, a large percentage of inmates reported that drugs were brought into the prison by prison staff. Improved surveillance and more effective security are recommended to prevent what appears to be a system in which prisoners are able to obtain illegal substances. We also recommend that officer training be expanded to include the sensitization of officers to the risks of such a practice, including the way this can affect rehabilitation.

### Link between Poverty and Crime

Finally, although there is debate within the academic literature as to the exact nature of the effect of poverty on crime, it cannot be overlooked that Her Majesty's Prison is populated almost exclusively by the poor. A policy commitment by the government to poverty reduction must be part of a holistic approach toward crime management, which should in turn have the effect of reducing strain on prison resources.

## Introduction

### Background and Justification

Improving correctional management (implementing correctional strategies, programs or policies that can contribute to reducing crime) is of concern for Caribbean countries. Correctional systems in the Caribbean are facing significant challenges such as (i) high prison population rates, oscillating between 145 and 379 per 100,000 inhabitants (the world average is 140 per 100,000 inhabitants); (ii) prison overcrowding (with official capacity estimated to be exceeded by more than 70 percent); and (iii) overuse of pretrial detention (across the region, the average percentage of inmates being held in detention pending trial is 40 percent of the total inmate population). In this context, rehabilitation opportunities within the justice system are notably scarce. This situation is exacerbated by ineffective criminal justice systems characterized by case processing delays and backlogs, insufficient alternatives to prison, excessive use of punitive policies (based on more extended prison sentences), and inadequate personnel. In addition, the lack of official data useful to support evidence-based planning and programs for offenders' rehabilitation and reintegration exacerbates the challenges faced by the region's correctional systems. In addition, there is clear underinvestment in the prison sector, both from the public sector and international cooperation funding. These conditions result in increased recidivism and few social prevention policies, which negatively impacts the efficiency of citizen security efforts.

Given this context, Caribbean countries are striving to reform their correctional systems, encouraging a policy shift from a merely punitive approach toward a smarter correctional strategy focused on innovative alternatives to incarceration, rehabilitation mechanisms, and reentry opportunities. To assist in this effort, in 2016, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) approved *Strengthening data generation for correctional management in the Caribbean* (RG-T2551). This regional grant has a two-fold objective: (i) to contribute to the understanding of the causes of the near collapse of criminal justice systems of specific countries and (ii) to diagnose the steps needed to improve the management of correctional systems with a view to strengthening efficiency and rehabilitative capabilities. Through the TC, the IDB aims to finance inmate surveys and correctional system diagnostics in Jamaica, Suriname, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago.

This report presents survey data collected from Her Majesty's Prison (HMP) Dodds, the sole penal institution housing adult offenders in Barbados. The prison was originally built in 1855 at Station Hill, St. Michael, in the south of the island, commonly called Glendairy. The prison was relocated to Dodds, St. Philip, after fire destroyed a section of the facility in 2005 during a disturbance. The new facility was opened in 2007. During the period that the new facility was being built, prisoners were kept at a facility in the north of the island. It is currently the only facility where adult male and female convicted offenders are incarcerated on the island.<sup>3</sup> The prison contributes to public protection by keeping offenders in safe and secure custody.

The prison also provides several rehabilitative programs for male and female inmates, including education, drug rehabilitation, anger management, case management, and psychological counseling. Every inmate has a sentence plan to meet their criminogenic needs. Educational programs include remedial,

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<sup>3</sup> Barbados has a land area of 431 square kilometers and a population estimate of 287,010 people.

O level, and advanced proficiency classes. There is also a reintegration unit that prepares selected inmates for return to society.

In addition, there are workshops where bakery, auto mechanics, cosmetology, furniture making, tailoring, and arts and craft are taught. Inmates also do farm work, for which they receive compensation that should assist them when they are released.

The prison is headed by Superintendent Lt. Col. John Nurse and two assistant superintendents, Mr. Cedrick Moore and Mr. Decarlo Payne. There are 401 staff composed of 357 uniformed staff and 44 civilians.

As of July 2019, the ratio of offenders to prison officers assigned to work with prisoners was 3:1; however, accounting for sickness, leave, and administrative officers, the average daily ratio is 6:1.

Between 2010 and 2013, the average male population at HMP Dodds was 945 men serving sentences for a variety of offences. In 2013, for example, the largest proportion of offenders was incarcerated for burglary (20 percent), followed by drug possession (18 percent) and manslaughter (15 percent), with only 4 percent serving sentences for murder. Of the total male prison population, an average of 389 were on remand between 2010 and 2013, or an average of 41 percent. Over the four-year period, the total number of male inmates reached its peak in 2011 (1,022), after which numbers declined.

Between 2011 and 2013, the average female population was 33 inmates.<sup>4</sup> In 2013, females were serving sentences for any of seven offenses: arson, assault, wounding, default of payment, drug possession, manslaughter, and theft. In 2013, the largest proportion of female offenders was incarcerated for drug possession (54 percent). Between 2011 and 2013, an average of 8 females were on remand, or an average of 24 percent of the total female prison population. Like the total number of male inmates, female numbers have been decreasing steadily since 2011.

### Why Inmate Surveys?

Obtaining reliable and accurate data on the functioning of prisons and prison systems has proven challenging for correctional experts. One common approach has been to conduct a prison audit. This is an externally conducted detailed observation and written evaluation of a prison facility, including appearance, physical condition, and overall operations. However, prison audits have several shortcomings. First, audits are expensive, particularly the labor component. Second, they tend to measure the way prison operations adhere to policy and as such become paper-based exercises. Although adherence to policy is good practice, it is not a pre-requisite to a well-functioning system. Third, prison auditors tend to reduce their findings to scores, leaving very little room for subjectivity.

Collecting operational data is another accepted means of assessing prison performance. While less disruptive to prison operations than audits, using operational data can also prove to be problematic. Perhaps its most consequential shortcoming is that it is particularly vulnerable to data manipulation as a result of

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<sup>4</sup> HMP Dodds could not provide data on the female prison population prior to 2011.

differences in reporting, correctional philosophy, and operational practice. Though many prison evaluations have used this method, its shortcomings seriously reduce the capacity for policy recommendations.

A less commonly used method of evaluation is to obtain the views of inmates and/or prison staff. Indeed, inmates, through their intimate association with the day-to-day prison routine, are often best placed to provide data on many aspects of prison operations. By obtaining this data from inmates, researchers can cross check information received from official sources on, for example, the physical treatment of inmates, meals, sanitation, legal processes, the existence and utility of training programs, and overall living conditions. In general, these surveys seek to overcome the inadequacies of official data. In the United States, inmate surveys have been used to collect statistical data on variables such as demographics, socio-economic status, past offenses, and drug use, while in other jurisdictions, inmate surveys have been used to generate knowledge on system needs and inmate concerns. This method of data collection provides a variety of advantages normally associated with survey data. Primarily they are generally cost effective and can be completed in a relatively short period of time with minimal disruption to prison operations.

Despite these advantages, it is important to recognize that, as with all data, what emerges from inmate surveys at best contains some bias and at worst is misleading as a result of, for example, efforts to garner sympathy or to exact revenge on prison authorities. Therefore, the aim is not to present this data as indisputable fact, but as additional information to add to the existing pool.

### Questions Asked

As stated earlier, inmate surveys seek to obtain a variety of data that may otherwise be unavailable through official sources. This survey specifically solicits data in the following areas:

- demographics and socioeconomic status
- Childhood family life and living conditions
- Circumstances of arrest
- Level of education and occupational data
- Family life and living conditions at the time of arrest
- Social cohesion at the time of arrest
- Circumstances surrounding the crime for which they are now incarcerated
- Criminal history
- Substance abuse
- Prison life and living conditions
- Access to rehabilitation programs
- Barriers to reintegration

### Methodology

#### Data Collection Procedure

Interviewer training, which took place between October 8 and 10, 2018, was conducted by a trained facilitator Dr. Randy Seepersad assisted by the Barbados Project Lead Consultant, Dr. Corin Bailey.



Day one consisted of a full day of instruction at the University of the West Indies (UWI), Cave Hill Campus. Day two consisted of a morning of instruction at UWI and orientation for the interviewers at HMP Dodds. Day three consisted of a review at UWI in the morning and start of data collection in the afternoon. A total of eleven interviewers were trained. A decision was made to use the project consultant as the sole supervisor since there is only one prison on the island.

An instrument was designed specifically for inmate surveys to be completed in various Caribbean countries and was used in order to collect the relevant data for Barbados. The instrument was adapted for use in Barbados and approved by the IDB. As stated earlier, the instrument solicited data on a range of topics. Data was collected with the permission of the Superintendent of Prisons through the Ministry of Home Affairs and with the assistance of the Prisons Department. Male interviews took place on the maximum-security block of the male section of the prison. Interviewers were arranged in the common area, each placed at a distance far enough to maintain the privacy of each interview. Inmates were brought to the cell block in groups of ten. Interviews with women inmates took place in the Resource Activity Room located on the women's cell block.<sup>5</sup> Female inmates were brought from their holding areas in groups of five until completion. For both male and female interviews, prison guards observed from their block towers, remaining far enough away to ensure the confidentiality of the process. Each interview was conducted by a trained moderator. Participants were assured that their participation was voluntary and that they could end the interview at any time or refuse to answer any of the questions. Data was collected using electronic tablets with the Survey2go software package.

### Sampling Procedure

Data obtained from the Barbados Prison Service indicated that the total prison population at HMP Dodds at the time of asking was 830, with only 19 female prisoners. A total of 461 men and 8 women were on remand at the time (Table 1). A 3.5 percent error (95 percent confidence) revealed a total sample of 406 (389 men; 17 women) (Table 2). While a census of all women inmates was undertaken, a sample of male inmates to be surveyed was drawn from relevant listings provided by prison officials. This listing was used to select participants by assigning each inmate on the remand and sentenced lists with a number and then using a random number generator to perform the selection. Using a random number generator, the random sample of males was stratified and comprised both convicted and on remand prisoners. Sampling was with replacement to achieve the required targets.

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<sup>5</sup> Because of the small number of female inmates, there is only one female cell block at HMP Dodds.

**Table 1: Barbados Prison Population, October 2018**

	Remanded	Sentenced	
Facility	Females	Females	Total
HMP Dodds	9	8	17
	Males	Males	
	452	361	813
<b>Total</b>	<b>461</b>	<b>369</b>	<b>830</b>

**Table 2: Survey Sample**

	Remanded	Sentenced	
Facility	Females	Females	Total
HMP Dodds	9	8	17
	Males	Males	
	216	173	389
<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>406</b>

At the time of data collection, an additional three women had been convicted and incarcerated, while one inmate on remand had been released.

There was no problem obtaining the full quota of remanded male inmates; however, convicted male inmates were often reluctant to take part. In addition, many inmates that were willing were working (employed at the prison as mechanics, gardeners, or cooks) and were unable to leave their jobs during the week to talk to us. We overcame this in two ways:

1. We obtained permission to conduct the research on a Saturday to be able to speak to those convicted inmates that worked during the week.
2. We offered compensation in the form of new DVD movie releases to be given to the prison authorities for the all inmates to have the opportunity to watch.

These strategies in tandem proved successful in increasing the number of convicted males interviewed; however, there were still not enough to meet the quota. As a result, we resampled remanded male inmates. Table 3 shows the final sample of male and female respondents.

**Table 3: Final Sample**

	Remanded	Sentenced	
Facility	Females	Females	Total
HMP Dodds	8	11	19
	Males	Males	
	238	151	389
<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>408</b>

Of the 408 inmates interviewed, 23 (all male convicted) refused to participate for a response rate of 94 percent. All female inmates agreed to participate.

### Database Development, Management, and Analysis

Data was stored and managed using the Survey2go software and was subsequently converted to an SPSS data file. On receiving the data file, open-ended responses were assigned to the pre-specified categories where possible. Tables and crosstabs were generated according to an agreed analysis plan. For male prisoners, data were presented as percentages, but due to the small number of female prisoners, results were reported as a simple count. Analyses were conducted using commercially available software (SPSS 21).

## Data and Findings: Male Inmates

### Sociodemographic Profile

Table 4 shows the ages of the male respondents at the time of data collection. Most of the respondents (55 percent) were 34 years of age or younger, with the 25–34 age group accounting for the largest proportion. The smallest proportion of respondents (18 percent) fell in the 45+ age group.

**Table 4: Respondent Age Groups: Male (N=389; mean age=34)**

	Number	Percent
18–24	78	20
25–34	137	35
35–44	104	27
45+	69	18
NA	1	0

Most of the respondents were born in Barbados (87 percent) (Table 5).

**Table 5: Place of Birth: Male (N=389; percent)**

Barbados	87
Guyana	4
St. Vincent & The Grenadines	3
St. Lucia	2
United Kingdom	1
Trinidad and Tobago	1
United States	1
Dominica	0
Jamaica	0
NA	1

Although the largest single proportion of respondents had no children (37 percent), the overwhelming majority (63 percent) had at least one child (Table 6).

**Table 6: Number of Children: Male (N=389; mean number of children=1.6; percent)**

0	37
1	24
2	19
3	7
4	5
5	3
6	2
7+	3

The average age of initial parenthood among the male respondents was 22 years. Table 7 shows that the largest proportion were between 20 and 24 years old when their first child was born (41 percent) followed by 25+ years (24 percent), with only 2 percent reporting that they were younger than 17.

**Table 7: Age of Initial Parenthood: Male (N=389; mean age=22; percent)**

Under 16	2
16–17	12
18–19	21
20–24	41
25+	24

Table 8 shows the highest level of education attained by the respondents. Very few indicated that they did not attend school at all (1 percent) and the largest proportion started but did not complete secondary school (55 percent) followed by those that completed secondary education (25 percent). Only 4 percent of respondents either started or completed university or further studies. Education is an important way to rise out of poverty and, within the Caribbean, it is still the main mechanism by which upward social mobility occurs. A number of poverty reduction strategies have cited education as being critical to reducing deprivation and vulnerability since socioeconomic background is often a better predictor of educational and occupational success than intelligence (Aoki, Bruns, Drabble, et al., 2001). It is unfortunate that among the key factors that define the educational career of children, their parents' material circumstances, which determine how long they could be kept in school, figure prominently (Halsey, Heath, and Ridge, 1980).

**Table 8: Highest Level of Education before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Did not attend school	1
Incomplete primary education	1
Complete primary education	3
Incomplete secondary education	55
Complete secondary education	25
Technical Vocational Training/Vocational	11
Incomplete university education	2
University or further studies	2

Most respondents worked, with only 37 percent reporting that they had never worked in their lives, and 65 percent were working immediately prior to their incarceration (Table 9). Respondents worked in a variety of professions (Table 10), with the largest proportion working as construction or factory workers (25 percent), followed by unskilled labor (19 percent) and self-employment (18 percent). None of the respondents worked as professionals.

**Table 9: Work in the Month Prior to Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	65
No	31
NA	5

**Table 10: Type of Job Held: Male (n=251; percent)**

Professional	0
Civil servant	1
Company employee	3
Construction/Factory worker	25
Self-employed	18
Taxi driver	1
Driver	5
Street vendor	4
Craftsman	7
Executive/Manager	0
Farmer/Fisherman	13
Miner	0
Hospitality	2
Unskilled Labour	19

Respondents who worked, did so for an average of 45 hours per week (Table 11), with the largest proportion (42 percent) working between 40 and 49 hours. Although there was considerable variation in monthly incomes, most respondents reported earning between \$1,000 and \$2,999 (31 percent earned \$1,000–\$1,999; 31 percent earned \$2,000–\$2,999) (Table 12), and 13 percent reported earning more than \$5,000 per month.

**Table 11: Number of Hours Worked per Week: Male (n=236; mean number of hours=45; percent)**

<10	6
10–19	7
20–29	3
30–39	7
40–49	42
50+	36

**Table 12: Monthly Earnings: Male (n=235; mean earnings=\$2,925; percent)**

<\$500	4
\$500–\$999	6
\$1,000–\$1,999	31
\$2,000–\$2,999	31
\$3,000–\$3,999	9
\$4,000–\$4,999	6
\$5,000+	13

Respondents were generally satisfied with their financial situation prior to incarceration, with 61 percent answering yes to this question (Table 13). Unsurprisingly however, those that were working were more likely to report satisfaction (65 percent) than those that were unemployed (50 percent). Overall, 39 percent of inmates surveyed reported that they were dissatisfied, and most of these were unemployed.

**Table 13: Satisfaction with Financial Situation by Working Status: Male (n=139; percent)**

Satisfaction	Working?		Total
	Yes	No	
Very satisfied	21	17	<b>20</b>
Somewhat satisfied	44	33	<b>41</b>
Not very satisfied	23	19	<b>22</b>
Not satisfied at all	11	29	<b>17</b>
DK/DA	1	2	<b>1</b>

## Childhood and Life Story

Physical discipline in childhood was a consistent theme across the sample. Table 14 shows that 69 percent of respondents reported being regularly physically punished as a child, with 75 percent saying they had been physically punished to some degree. We investigated whether childhood physical punishment had an effect on the type of crime (violent versus non-violent) respondents eventually committed (see Appendix 2 for crime categorizations), but no meaningful difference was observed (Table 15).

**Table 14: Physical Punishment as a Child: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	69
In some cases (1 or 2 times a year)	6
No	24
DK/DA	0

**Table 15: Childhood Physical Punishment by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Punished?	Crime		Total
	Violent	Non-violent	
Yes	69	69	69
In some cases (1 or 2 times a year)	5	8	6
No	23	23	24
DK/DA	0	1	0

Some respondents witnessed acts of violence at home. Although 57 percent of the respondents indicated that they never saw their mother beaten at the hands of her partner, 24 percent had seen her beaten at some point in their childhood (Table 16). It is generally accepted that witnessing violence as a child has similar effects as being directly victimized, placing the child at risk for a variety of social and psychological problems, such as increased aggression and delinquent behavior (Durant, Cadenhead, and Pendergrast, et al., 1994). Indeed a child may learn that violence is the normal way to settle disputes if they are repeatedly exposed to such behavior.

**Table 16: During Childhood, Saw Mother Beaten by Partner: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes, he beat her	14
Yes, sometimes he beat her	10
No, he did not beat her	57
Other	3
DK/DA	17

Of the male respondents, 86 percent reported that they did not leave home before the age of 15 (Table 17). We looked at whether leaving home before the age of 15 had an effect on the type of crime respondents eventually committed but observed no meaningful difference, although a slightly larger percentage of those who left home before the age of 15 were eventually arrested for violent crimes (Table 18).

**Table 17: Left Home before Age 15: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	13
No	86
DK/DA	1



**Table 18: Left Home before 15 by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Left Home	Crime		Total
	Violent	Non-violent	
Yes	15	12	<b>13</b>
No	84	88	<b>86</b>
DK/DA	1	0	<b>1</b>

Respondents were asked about the nature and level of any substance abuse that took place among adults in their childhood homes. While 31 percent reported that alcohol was consumed frequently by adults in their homes (Table 19), the percentage fell to 25 percent for drug use (Table 20).

**Table 19: Adults in Childhood Home Drank Alcohol Frequently: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	31
No	68
DK/DA	1

**Table 20: Adults in Childhood Home Used Drugs: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	25
No	74
DK/DA	1

Drug use among the respondents themselves was high, with 87 percent reporting having used drugs in their lifetimes (Table 21). Table 22 shows that marijuana was the most common drug used (86 percent) followed by cocaine/crack (20 percent) and pills/ecstasy (18 percent).

**Table 21: Proportion of Respondents Who Had Used Drugs: Male (N=389; percent)**

Have tried drugs	87
Have never tried drugs	12

**Table 22: Proportion of Respondents Who Had Used Each Drug: Male (N=389; percent)**

Marijuana	86
Inhalants	4
Cocaine/Crack	20
Pills/Ecstasy	18
Heroin	2
Other drugs	3

Table 23 shows that there were no major differences in the type of crime based on the drug used, although a higher percentage of those charged with violent crimes were marijuana users than those charged with non-violent crimes.

**Table 23: Respondents Who Had Used Each Drug by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Drug	Crime	
	Violent	Non-violent
Marijuana	92	81
Inhalants	5	4
Cocaine/Crack	16	23
Pills/Ecstasy	19	17
Heroin	0	4
Other drugs	4	2

Table 24 shows the age of first use of various drugs. Marijuana had the youngest average age of first use (14), followed by inhalants (19). Of those that smoked marijuana, 46 percent began between the ages of 10 and 14 and 38 percent began between 15 and 19 years of age. For most other drugs, the largest proportion of users began after the age of 19. Respondents were also asked how frequently they used each drug in the six months prior to their present incarceration (Table 25). Those that used drugs typically did so with great frequency. For each drug, the largest proportion of those that used, did so every day. Marijuana was the most frequently used, with 67 percent reporting every-day use, followed by crack/cocaine (51 percent).

**Table 24: Age of First Use of Each Drug: Male (percent except mean age)**

	Marijuana	Inhalants	Cocaine/Crack	Pills/Ecstasy	Heroin	Other drugs
	n=332	n=15	n=75	n=68	n=7	n=11
<10	10	0	0	0	0	0
10–14	46	27	2	3	0	0
15–19	38	47	27	25	14	27
20+	6	27	68	72	86	73
<b>Mean Age</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>22</b>

Note the small base sizes for inhalants, heroin, and other drugs.

**Table 25: Frequency of Drug Use in 6 Months Prior to Incarceration: Male (percent)**

	Marijuana	Inhalants	Cocaine/Crack	Pills/Ecstasy	Heroin	Other Drugs
	n=332	n=15	n=75	n=68	n=7	n=11
Every day	67	13	51	12	0	27
3 times a week	8	0	4	3	0	0
Once a week	6	0	8	6	0	0
Once every 2 weeks	2	13	3	1	28	9
Once per month	4	13	7	10	14	18
Did not use	12	63	24	61	43	27
DK/DA	1	0	4	7	14	18

Note the small base sizes for inhalants, heroin, and other drugs.

Family incarceration among the inmates was high. Respondents were asked whether or not any of their family members had ever been in prison (Table 26). Of the male inmates surveyed, 61 percent reported that they did. Looking at the age of the respondents and family incarceration revealed that those under the age of 25 (76 percent) were most likely to have ever had a family member in prison, while those above the age of 45 (43 percent) were least likely (Table 27).

**Table 26: Family Member Ever Been in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	61
No	37
DK/DA	2

**Table 27: Family Ever in Prison by Age: Male (N=389; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
Yes	76	64	59	43	<b>61</b>
No	24	34	40	54	<b>37</b>
DK/DA	—	2	1	3	<b>2</b>

Respondents were also asked whether any of their family members were currently in prison and 30 percent answered yes. Those under the age of 25 (41 percent) were most likely to have a family member currently incarcerated, while those above the age of 45 (13 percent) were least likely (Table 28).

**Table 28: Family Members Currently in Prison by Age: Male (N=389; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
Yes	41	36	26	13	<b>30</b>
No	55	62	72	84	<b>67</b>
DK/DA	4	1	2	3	<b>2</b>

## Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

The police force collects data on crime in the following categories:

- **Crimes against the person:** These are typically violent crimes. *Major* crimes against the person include murder, manslaughter, kidnapping, armed robbery, and robbery. Further, attempts to commit murder and robbery are major crimes. This category also includes sex-related crimes such as rape, sex with a minor, and assault with the intent to rape. *Minor* crimes against the person include harassment, threats, and assault.
- **Crimes against property:** *Major* crimes against property include burglary, arson, and criminal damage. *Thefts and related crimes* include theft of and from motor vehicles, theft of bicycles, theft from stores and shops, and theft of agricultural produce.
- **Other crimes** includes a range of other offenses such as breaching public order, producing and/or selling drugs, and firearm offenses.

Over the years, in many countries in the Caribbean, property crimes have been surpassed by violent crimes. Though Barbados remains a notable exception (Bailey, 2016), the majority of the sample were incarcerated for violent crimes, with 27 percent arrested for possession of illegal weapons and 22 percent for intentional homicide/murder (Table 29). Notable also were drug possession or dealing (19 percent) and assault (14 percent).

Of note, 84 percent of the inmates arrested for possession of illegal weapons and 73 percent of those arrested for intentional homicide/murder were yet to be convicted, which was in sharp contrast to 71 percent of those arrested for robbery/theft having been convicted at the time of interview (Table 30).

**Table 29: Crime: Male (N=389; mean number of crimes=1.3)**

	Number	Percent
Possession of illegal weapons	106	27
Intentional homicide/Murder	84	22
Drug possession or drug dealing	72	19
Assault	56	14
Robbery/Theft	51	13
Burglary/Break-in	40	10
Aggravated robbery/Aggravated theft	34	9
Manslaughter	17	4
Sex crimes	17	4
Scam, misappropriation, fraud	7	2
Kidnapping	4	1
Encroachment/Identity theft	1	0
Other crimes	24	6

**Table 30: Crime by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Intentional homicide/Murder	65	8	26
Manslaughter	35	0	65
Kidnapping	25	50	25
Assault	61	13	29
Sex crimes	29	12	59
Aggravated robbery/Aggravated theft	38	16	44
Drug possession or drug dealing	44	14	42
Encroachment/Identity theft	100	0	0
Possession of illegal weapons	67	17	16
Robbery/Theft	24	6	71
Scam, misappropriation, fraud	71	0	29
Burglary/Break-in	18	18	65
Other crimes	63	4	33

*Note:* In order to provide another layer of disaggregation, for the purpose of this analysis, trial stage has been separated into on remand, on trial, and convicted. Those listed as on trial have begun their court proceedings but are still classified as on remand by the prison.

As stated above, a considerable proportion of the crimes for which respondents were arrested were violent. When asked if anyone was physically injured during the commission of the crime for which they were arrested, 46 percent of the respondents indicated that someone had (Table 31). When asked whether anyone else was involved in the crime for which they were arrested (Table 32), 48 percent reported said that there was.

**Table 31: Someone Physically Injured During the Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	46
No	52
DK/NA	2

**Table 32: Someone Else Was Involved in the Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	48
No	51
DK/NA	1

Respondents were asked whether they had used alcohol or drugs in the six hours prior to committing the crime, and 38 percent said yes they had. Marijuana (68 percent) was the most common substance used prior to the crime, followed by alcohol (53 percent) and cocaine/crack (24 percent) (Table 33).

**Table 33: Alcohol or Drugs Used Within 6 Hours of the Crime: Male (n=148; percent)**

Alcohol	53
Marijuana	68
Inhalants	0
Cocaine/Crack	24
Pills/Ecstasy	1
Heroin	0

When asked about weapons, 47 percent of the respondents reported that they had used a weapon when committing the crime (Table 34). Of this figure, the overwhelming majority (82 percent) used an unlicensed firearm compared to the second most common weapon of choice, a knife, which was used in 10 percent of the crimes (Table 35).

**Table 34: Weapon Used in the Commission of the Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	47
No	52
DK/NA	1

**Table 35: Type of Weapon Used: Male (n=182; percent)**

Firearm, licensed	1
Firearm, unlicensed	82
Knife	10
Machete/Sword	2
Ice Pick/Stabbing implement	3
Other	1

### Inmates Charged with Property Crime

Of the respondents incarcerated for committing a property crime, 49 percent reported that they had committed a property crime in the past, unrelated to this charge (Table 36). While the largest proportion of respondents (39 percent) were unable to say how much money they earned from stealing, of those that were able to answer, 27 percent reported monthly earnings of \$1,000–\$9,999 and 20 percent reported earning \$10,000–\$99,000 (Table 37). The average monthly earnings from property crime was \$9,700. The average cost of items stolen was \$34,000, and the largest proportion of respondents reported average monetary value of \$1,000–\$9,999 (Table 38).

**Table 36: Had Committed a Property Crime Prior to Current Incarceration: Male (n=100; percent)**

Yes	49
No	51

**Table 37: Monthly Earnings from Property Crime: Male**  
(n=49; mean monthly earnings=\$9,700; percent)

<\$1,000	14
\$1,000–\$9,999	27
\$10,000–\$99,999	20
DK/DA	39

**Table 38: Monetary Value of Property Crime: Male (n=100; mean value=\$34,000; percent)**

<\$1,000	12
\$1,000–\$9,999	35
\$10,000–\$99,999	31
\$100,000+	9
DK/DA	13

### Inmates Charged with Possession/Sale of Drugs

Of the respondents incarcerated for possessing/selling drugs, 56 percent reported that they had sold drugs in the past, unrelated to this charge (Table 39). Self-reported motives varied, with 43 percent indicating that they committed the crime because they could make quite a lot of money, 11 percent because they didn't have any other income, and 8 percent because they needed money to pay for the drugs they consumed themselves (Table 40). The average monthly income of \$40,000 reported by respondents (Table 41) was high compared to income from property crimes (Table 37).<sup>6</sup>

**Table 39: Had Sold Drugs Prior to Current Incarceration: Male (n=66; percent)**

Yes	56
No	44

**Table 40: Main Reason Sold Drugs: Male (n=37; percent)**

Because I needed money to pay for the drugs I consumed myself	8
Because I didn't have any other income	11
Because I could make quite a lot of money	43
Because other people asked me to	5
Other	32

<sup>6</sup> In 2016, average per capita consumption was \$1,064/month. The top earning 10 percent of the population consumed an average of \$2,593/month, while for the lowest 10 percent, it was \$244/month (Sobrado, 2017).



**Table 41: Monthly Earnings from Selling Drugs: Male**  
(n=37; mean monthly earnings=\$40,000; percent)

<\$1,000	5
\$1,000–\$9,999	43
\$10,000–\$99,999	27
\$100,000–\$999,999	14
DK/DA	11

The most common drug that respondents were charged with selling was marijuana (88 percent), followed by crack/cocaine (26 percent) (Table 42). Of the drug offenders on remand, 50 percent were charged with selling marijuana; of those convicted of trafficking and serving sentences, 35 percent were charged with selling marijuana (Table 43).

**Table 42: Type of Drug Charged with Selling: Male (n=66; percent)**

Marijuana	88
Cocaine/Crack	26

**Table 43: Type of Drug Charged with Selling by Trial Stage: Male (n=66 ; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Marijuana	50	16	35
Cocaine/Crack	47	18	35

The value of the drugs seized in their possession varied widely, from as low as less than \$1,000 (6 percent) to as high as more than \$1,000,000 (42 percent), and the average value was \$426,000 (Table 44).

**Table 44: Monetary Value of Drugs Seized: Male (n=66; mean value=\$426,000; percent)**

<\$1,000	6
\$1,000–\$9,999	3
\$10,000–\$99,999	3
\$100,000–\$999,999	23
\$1,000,000+	42
DK/DA	23

### Inmates Charged with Murder/Intentional Homicide

The police force defines homicide as the unlawful killing of another person. Homicides in Barbados are recorded as murders. Although as a region the Caribbean is one of the most violent in the world, rates of homicide between countries vary considerably. While countries such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago have per capita homicide rates that rank them as two of the most violent countries in the world, Barbados

has displayed somewhat consistently low rates, with some fluctuation (UNDP, 2012). Despite recent concern, the country continues to compare favorably against many of its Caribbean neighbors.<sup>7</sup>

As stated earlier, 22 percent of inmates surveyed were charged with murder. Official data on the range of motives for murder in Barbados is limited. Motives are disaggregated into only six categories: domestic dispute, robbery, burglary, dispute,<sup>8</sup> drive-by shooting, and other.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, this inmate survey is particularly useful in identifying a more comprehensive range of motives for murder. Table 45 shows that the largest proportion of respondents (20 percent) reported that the murder occurred while committing another crime or for a reason other than the options provided in the survey. For 17 percent of respondents, the motive was revenge.

**Table 45: Motives for Murder: Male (n=100; percent)**

Revenge	17
Family problems	1
Problems with spouse/partner	2
You were paid to do so	1
A fight	12
It occurred while committing another crime	20
Self-defence	14
Other	20
DK/DA	13

The local instability caused by gun trafficking is well established in the Caribbean. A number of islands in the region are affected by one or more of drug trafficking, economic instability, poverty, criminality, and violence, which provides the perfect setting for the proliferation of small arms and light weapons. In the Caribbean, the market for illegal weapons is a major barrier to achieving democratic processes, community safety, and economic development. As with many countries in the region, firearms have been the most popular weapon of choice for perpetrators of homicides in Barbados, and their use has been increasing since the 1990s (Ramsey, 2013). Table 46 shows that 59 percent of the respondents used an unlicensed firearm when they committed the murder for which they were incarcerated and only 3 percent used a licensed firearm.

<sup>7</sup> For the last year for which comparable statistics are available (2015), the homicide rates per 1000,000 population for selected islands were Barbados: 10; Trinidad and Tobago: 30; Bahamas: 37; and Jamaica: 42 (UNODC, nd).

<sup>8</sup> The motive is labeled as a dispute if the victim and perpetrator were known to each other but it was not domestic violence. The police force was unable to provide motives related to retaliation or gang-related murders.

<sup>9</sup> Up to the time of writing, the police force was unable to indicate which motives fell into the “other” category.

**Table 46: Weapons Used in Intentional Homicides: Male (n=100; percent)**

Firearm, licensed	3
Firearm, unlicensed	59
Knife	17
Machete	1
Other	18
DK/DA	2

### Inmates Charged with Rape

The Barbados *Sexual Offences Act* states that

“Any person who has sexual intercourse with another person without the consent of the other person and who knows that the other person does not consent to the intercourse or is reckless as to whether the other person consents to the intercourse is guilty of the offence of rape and is liable on conviction on indictment to imprisonment for life.”

The Act also covers statutory rape of minors:

“A person who has intercourse with another person who is under the age of 14 and who is not the other’s spouse, whether there was consent or whether the person believed the other to be over 14, is liable on conviction on indictment to life imprisonment.”

Sex-related crimes are rape, assault with intent to rape, sex with a minor, indecent assault, serious indecency, and other sex crimes. As stated earlier, 4 percent of those surveyed were charged with sex crimes (Table 29). The most common victims were a boyfriend/girlfriend (21 percent) and a stranger (21 percent). The vast majority (77 percent) of the victims were known to the offender. In 43 percent of the cases, the offender was accused of using physical violence in addition to the rape (Table 48).

**Table 47: Person You Were Accused of Raping: Male (n=14; percent)**

Mother	7
Friend	14
Boyfriend/Girlfriend	21
Neighbour	7
Student	7
Acquaintance	7
Stranger	21
Other	14

Note the small base size.

**Table 48: Physical Violence Used in Addition to Rape: Male (n=14; percent)**

Yes	43
No	50
DK/NA	7

Note the small base size.

### Inmate Recidivism

Recidivism relates to the reoccurrence of criminal behavior by offenders after some form of intervention by the criminal justice system. This intervention is generally in the form of a legal sanction such as arrest, probation, bond, conviction, remand, or incarceration. Recidivism is usually identified through officially recorded instances of re-arrest, re-conviction, or re-incarceration. Several factors influence rates of recidivism, some of which are beyond the control of the criminal justice system. These may include level of education, criminal history, family status, and gender.

The level of recidivism among respondents was high (Table 49) with the majority (61 percent) reporting that they had previously been imprisoned (for a separate crime). Convicted inmates were more likely than those yet to be convicted to have been imprisoned before (Table 50). Similarly, those currently charged with violent crimes were more likely to have been imprisoned previously (Table 51). It was also interesting to note that previously imprisoned inmates were serving longer sentences; there were no first-time offenders sentenced to death (Table 52).

**Table 49: Previous Imprisonment: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	61
No	39

**Table 50: Previous Imprisonment by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Yes	54	57	72
No	46	43	29

**Table 51: Previous Imprisonment by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

	Violent	Non-violent
Yes	64	58
No	36	42

**Table 52: Previous Imprisonment by Sentence Length in Months: Male (n=135; percent)**

	1–2	3–5	6–11	12–35	36–71	72–143	144 +	Death
Yes	75	100	73	79	72	67	66	100
No	25	0	27	21	28	33	34	0

Of the respondents, 47 percent reported being arrested more than once and 6 percent said they had been arrested more than 10 times (Table 53). Respondents were also asked whether they had ever been in a juvenile detention center, and the majority (81 percent) reported that they had not (Table 54).

**Table 53: Number of Previous Arrests: Male (N=389; percent)**

0	39
1	12
2	12
3	9
4	8
5 to 9	12
10+	6
DK/DA	2

**Table 54: Ever Been in a Juvenile Detention Center: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	19
No	81
DK/NA	0

The average length of previous sentence was 24 months. The average time between previous release and current arrest was 44 months. Respondents faced several challenges on release that may have contributed to their recidivism. The largest proportion (22 percent) reported that they were unable to stay clean (drug free), followed by those indicating that they were unable to find a job (21 percent) (Table 55).

**Table 55: Challenges Faced on Previous Release: Male (n=237; percent)**

Not finding a job	21
Not being able to stay clean	22
Not finding a place to live	4
Unable to reconnect with family/friends	5
Stigma	11
Other	17
DK/DA	20

### Gang Activity and Firearm Use

Official data on gang involvement in Barbados is severely limited. While gang violence is not included among the categories of motives collected by the police force, the police view gangs in the context of organized groups that fit a specific set of criteria and much of what occurs does so within the context of what has been referred to as block culture.<sup>10</sup> According to the police, the criminal activities associated

<sup>10</sup> Historically, in Barbados, village life encouraged congregation under streetlights or at stand pipes in the district that provided water for homes that had no indoor plumbing. Later, people congregated on the block, which was officially part of the address for residents in a government housing unit. Over time, young men from the associated

with these groups are carried out informally and can be distinguished from more structured gang activity in other countries primarily by the lack of a strong leader. Respondents were asked whether there were gangs in the communities in which they were raised, and 53 percent reported that there were (Table 56).

**Table 56: Gangs in Neighborhood Where Raised: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	53
No	43
DK/DA	3

Self-reported gang involvement was low, with 87 percent of respondents indicating that they were not part of a gang at the time of their arrest (Table 57). Of those that said they were in a gang, 48 percent described their current status was active (Table 58). No meaningful difference was observed when gang membership at arrest was crossed with type of crime (Table 59).

**Table 57: Member of a Gang When Arrested: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	13
No	87

**Table 58: Current Status in Gang: Male (n=63; percent)**

Active	48
Quiet	24
Outside the gang	27
DK/DA	2

**Table 59: Member of a Gang by Type of Crime: Male (N=389; percent)**

	Violent	Non-violent
Yes	12	13
No	88	87

The average age that inmates first became involved in gang activity was 16 years (Table 60); 46 percent reported first involvement between the ages of 15 and 19, 39 percent between 10 and 14, and 15 percent when they were 20 or older.

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communities came to identify with these spaces. While it is true that these groups do not share the same level of organization as gangs in many other countries in the region and abroad, it is important to note that many of these areas have indeed spawned groups, and the police believe these groups are responsible for acts of violence.

**Table 60: Age First Joined Gang: Male (n=59; mean age=16; percent)**

<10	0
10–14	39
15–19	46
20+	15

As stated earlier, a weapon was used in 47 percent of the crimes and the weapon used was an unlicensed firearm in 82 percent of those crimes (Tables 34 and 35). Table 61 shows that 50 percent of the inmates interviewed reported that they had owned a firearm at some point. Among this group, the average age of first ownership was 17 years. The largest proportion of respondents reported first owning a firearm between 15 and 19 years of age (59 percent), followed by 10 to 14 (25 percent) (Table 62).

**Table 61: Ever Owned a Firearm: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	49
No	50
DK/NA	1

**Table 62: Age of First Ownership of Firearm: Male (n=192; mean age=17; percent)**

<10	1
10–14	25
15–19	59
20+	15

Of those inmates that answered yes to whether they had ever used a firearm, 41 percent reported that they had injured or killed someone with a firearm (Table 63). Inmates that reported gang membership were more likely to have injured or killed someone with a firearm (43 percent) than those not in a gang (11 percent) (Table 64).

**Table 63: Ever Injured or Killed with a Firearm: Male (n=157; percent)**

Yes	41
No	52
DK/NA	8

**Table 64: Member of a Gang by Injured or Killed with a Firearm: Male (N=389; percent)**

	Member of a Gang	Not a Member of a Gang
Injured or killed someone with a firearm	43	11
Never injured or killed with a firearm	57	88

## Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

### Trial Stage and Arrest

Of the inmates surveyed, 61 percent were yet to be convicted, with 50 percent on remand and a further 11 percent currently on trial (Table 65).

**Table 65: Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

On Remand	50
On Trial	11
Convicted	39

Table 66 shows that, when asked how much time had elapsed between when the crime was committed and their eventual arrest, answers ranged from less than 1 hour (7 percent) to more than a year (6 percent). The largest proportion of respondents reported that they were arrested between 1 day and 1 week after the offence (21 percent). Of the inmates interviewed, 22 percent were arrested within a day of their offence and 61 percent were arrested within a month.

**Table 66: Time Between Offence and Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Less than 1 hour	7
Between 1 hour and 3 hours	7
Between 3 hours and 1 day	8
Between 1 day and a week	21
Between one week and 1 month	18
Between 1 and 6 months	15
Between 6 months and a year	5
More than a year	6
DK/DA	2

Only 14 percent of respondents reported that they were shown a warrant<sup>11</sup> in writing when they were arrested (Table 67). This low figure could indicate that some of the offences were committed within the view of the arresting officer. Alternately, it could be evidence that the police force has low investigative capacity and is unable to gather evidence justifying arrest prior to taking suspects into custody. It could also show the propensity for officers not to follow due process.

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<sup>11</sup> A warrant is obtained from the court where there is sufficient evidence to arrest; however, the police have the power to arrest without a warrant in certain circumstances, including when they think that an offense is about to occur, where an offense is committed in view of an officer, and where witnesses have provided evidence such that an officer believes that a crime has occurred. Warrants are deemed necessary primarily in cases in which an officer wants to execute a search.



**Table 67: Shown a Warrant by Police When Arrested: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	14
No	84
DK/NA	2

The overwhelming majority (92 percent) of inmates reported that they were taken to a police station after they were arrested (Table 68). The time spent at the police station varied from less than a night (1 percent) to more than a week (14 percent), with the largest proportion of respondents reporting that they spent more than three nights and less than a week (60 percent) (Table 69).

**Table 68: Taken to Police Station after Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	92
No	7
DK/NA	1

**Table 69: Nights Spent at Police Station: Male (n=359; percent)**

Did not spend the night	1
1 night	8
2 nights	18
More than 3 nights and less than 1 week	60
More than 1 week	14
DK/DA	1

Offenders currently serving sentences were more likely to have spent just one night in jail when they were arrested (13 percent) than those on remand (4 percent) or on trial (5 percent) (Table 70). The respondents who were on remand at the time of the interview were more likely to have spent between three nights and a week in jail when they were arrested (63 percent) than those who were on trial (50 percent) or convicted (58 percent) at the time of the interview.

**Table 70: Nights Spent at Police Station by Trial Stage: Male (n=359; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Did not spend the night	0	0	1
1 night	4	5	13
2 nights	17	20	17
More than 3 nights and less than 1 week	63	50	58
More than 1 week	15	23	10
DK/DA	1	3	0

Table 71 shows that, overall, respondents were most likely to have spent between three nights and a week in jail regardless of age. The youngest respondents (18–24) spent the most time at the police station, with 86 percent of them spending more than three nights in jail compared with 74 percent of the 25–34 age group, 70 percent of the 35–44 age group, and 69 percent of the 45+ age group.

**Table 71: Nights Spent at Police Station by Age: Male (n=358; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+
Did not spend the night	0	1	1	0
1 night	6	6	5	15
2 nights	9	19	23	17
More than 3 nights and less than 1 week	60	57	59	67
More than 1 week	26	17	11	2
DK/DA	0	1	1	0

When asked if anyone had hit or used physical force on them to compel them to testify or change their statement while they were at the police station, 50 percent of the inmates said yes (Table 72). This calls into question police adherence to due process and suggests infringements on the human rights of offenders.

**Table 72: Physical Force to Compel Testimony or Change Statement at Police Station: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	50
No	41
DK/DA	1
NA	8

When questioned, 15 percent of male respondents reported that a police officer had asked for money or belongings since their arrest (Table 73). Perhaps in keeping with this, 31 percent of respondents believed that they would have been released if they had attempted to bribe a member of law enforcement (Table 74).

**Table 73: Following People Asked for Money or Belongings since Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Police	15
Defence force	2
Immigration officer	0
Prison staff	0
Prosecutor	0
Court personnel	1
Other	5

**Table 74: Law Enforcement Would Have Released You If You Offered a Bribe: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	31
No	43
DK/NA	23

## Legal Procedures

Most respondents (82 percent) were not told that they could get a reduced sentence if they pled guilty (Table 75); however, of those who were told, 67 percent pled guilty (Table 76).

**Table 75: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	17
No	82
DK/NA	2

**Table 76: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty by Pled Guilty: Male (N=389; percent)**

	Pled Guilty	Did Not Plead Guilty
Told about reduced sentence	67	33
Not told about reduced sentence	35	65

Among respondents, 53 percent were informed that they were entitled to a lawyer; however, few saw their lawyer with any degree of regularity (Table 77). The largest proportion reported that they almost never saw their lawyer (32 percent), a further 22 percent saw their lawyer once a month, and 24 percent had no legal representation.

**Table 77: Frequency of Seeing Lawyer: Male (N=389; percent)**

Almost daily	2
Once a week	3
Every 15 days	4
Once a month	22
Almost never	32
Other	12
Did not have a lawyer	24
DK/DA	2

When asked how many lawyers they have had since they were arrested, answers ranged from none to as many as six, with the largest proportion having had just one lawyer (27 percent) (Table 78).

**Table 78: Number of Lawyers Seen Since Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

0	25
1	27
2	25
3	7
4	3
5	1
6	1
8	0
10	0
DK/DA	0

Note: The data in Tables 77 and 78 are from two different questions and led to a slightly different result for the percentage of respondents that had no lawyer.

Although there is little consensus in the literature as to the effect of lawyer type on sentencing outcomes (Anderson and Heaton, 2012; Hill, 2005), lawyer type can still indicate the capacity of an offender to afford to be adequately represented.<sup>12</sup> Of the sample, 74 percent were represented by a private lawyer (Table 79). Perhaps in keeping with this, 63 percent believed that they were either well or very well defended during their trial (Table 80).

**Table 79: Type of Lawyer: Male (n=290; percent)**

Legal Aid	25
Private Lawyer	74
DK/NA	1

**Table 80: Quality of Defense: Male (n=195; percent)**

Very well	32
Well	31
Little	12
Very little	20
DK/DA	6

Table 81 shows that inmates defended by private lawyers were more likely to be happy with the way they were defended, with 33 percent indicating that they were defended well compared to 24 percent of those that used legal aid. Similarly, 35 percent of those represented by a private lawyer indicated that they were defended very well compared to 24 percent of those using legal aid.

**Table 81: Quality of Defense by Type of Lawyer: Male (n=290; percent)**

	Legal Aid	Private Lawyer	DK/DA
<b>Very well</b>	24	35	0
<b>Well</b>	24	33	25
<b>Little</b>	14	11	0
<b>Very little</b>	33	15	0
<b>DK/DA</b>	6	5	75

Perhaps unsurprisingly, those serving sentences were less likely than those yet to be convicted to believe that they were represented either well or very well (Table 82).

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<sup>12</sup> A defendant seeking legal aid must take a means test to determine whether they qualify. Success is based on need. If it is determined that the defendant's resources are such that legal aid is necessary, then a lawyer is assigned to them by the court.

**Table 82: Quality of Defense by Trial Stage: Male (n=290; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
<b>Very well</b>	34	38	26
<b>Well</b>	35	27	24
<b>Little</b>	9	5	20
<b>Very little</b>	16	22	25
<b>DK/DA</b>	6	8	6

Once at trial, offenders appeared to generally have a good understanding of what was taking place in court. Overall, 67 percent of respondents reported that they understood either a lot (39 percent) or quite a lot (28 percent) during the trial (Table 83). Only 10 percent indicated that they understood very little.

**Table 83: How Much Understood about What Was Happening at Hearings and in Court: Male (n=195; percent)**

Quite a lot	28
A lot	39
Little	13
Very little	10
NA	5
DK/DA	4

Respondents were asked how many times during their trial they spoke directly to the judge or magistrate (Table 84). Answers ranged from 0 (15 percent) to more than 6 (16 percent), with the largest proportion saying they spoke to a judge or magistrate only once (22 percent) or twice (20 percent). Overall, 57 percent of the sample spoke directly to a judge or magistrate two or fewer times. Of those that spoke to the judge or magistrate, 40 percent reported that they thought the judge only listened to them a little (17 percent) or very little (23 percent). However, the largest proportion of respondents (26 percent) believed that the judge or magistrate listened to them a lot (Table 85).

**Table 84: During Trial, Times Spoke Directly to Judge or Magistrate: Male (n=195; percent)**

0	15
1	22
2	20
3	7
4	3
5	8
6+	16
DK/DA	5

**Table 85: Judge/Magistrate Listened: Male (n=195; percent)**

Quite a lot	9
A Lot	26
Little	17
Very little	23
NA	20
DK/DA	4

The time it takes for a case to be adjudicated is critical since, despite not being convicted of a crime, the life of an inmate on remand or in the midst of their trial can be severely negatively affected. Individuals are vulnerable to losing their jobs and their relationships with family and friends, and there can be lasting impacts on mental health. The average time between arrest and conviction varies depending on the jurisdiction. In the United States, Weber (2018) reported it to be six months, while in the United Kingdom in 2011, the average for all criminal cases was 154 days (just over 5 months), though half were completed within 133 days (U.K. Ministry of Justice, 2012). The average time elapsed from arrest to sentencing across the inmate sample in Barbados was 25 months (Table 86).

**Table 86: Time from Arrest to Sentencing: Male (n=138; mean time=25 months; percent)**

<1 Month	1
1–2 Months	28
3–5 Months	7
6–11 Months	9
12–35 Months	22
36 Months or more	33

Table 87 shows that those arrested for non-violent crimes were more likely to be processed through the legal system swiftly than those arrested for violent crimes. Almost half of non-violent offenders were sentenced within six months of arrest compared to 21 percent of violent offenders. Further, for 41 percent of violent criminals, sentencing took longer than 35 months. Similarly, younger offenders were more likely to be sentenced quickly than older offenders, with the largest proportion of offenders in the 18–24 and 25–34 age groups sentenced within 1 to 2 months compared to the largest proportion of the 35–44 and 45+ age groups sentenced in 12–35 months or 36 months or more (Table 88).

**Table 87: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Type of Crime: Male (n=138; percent)**

	<b>Violent</b>	<b>Non-violent</b>
<b>&lt;1 Month</b>	0	1
<b>1–2 Months</b>	16	38
<b>3–5 Months</b>	5	10
<b>6–11 Months</b>	6	12
<b>12–35 Months</b>	33	14
<b>36 Months or more</b>	41	26

**Table 88: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Age: Male (n=138; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+
<1 Month	0	0	0	3
1–2 Months	47	36	20	17
3–5 Months	6	9	7	6
6–11 Months	12	11	2	14
12–35 Months	24	16	22	31
36 Months or more	12	27	49	31

The length of sentence ranged from 1–2 months (3 percent) to 144+ months (25 percent), with an average of 90 months (Table 89). The largest proportion of respondents (28 percent) reported a sentence of 12–35 months. Of the respondents, 1 percent had been sentenced to death.

**Table 89: Length of Sentence: Male (n=135; mean sentence=90 months; percent)**

1–2 Months	3
3–5 Months	2
6–11 Months	11
12–35 Months	28
36–71 Months	13
72–143 Months	16
144 months+	26
Death	1

## Conditions in Prison

Prisoners suffer considerably from infringements on their personal liberties. They are vulnerable to the power of others, and as such it is important that this power is regulated to guard against abuse and maltreatment. The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (SMRTP) was approved by the United Nations in July 1957 and further amended in 1977. Although not an international treaty, the rules are intended to be a set of agreed-on guiding principles for the treatment of prisoners.

Respondents were asked questions to assess the conditions under which they are imprisoned. Rules 9 (1) and 9 (2) of the SMRTP state:

9. (1) Where sleeping accommodation is in individual cells or rooms, each prisoner shall occupy by night a cell or room by himself. If for special reasons, such as temporary overcrowding, it becomes necessary for the central prison administration to make an exception to this rule, it is not desirable to have two prisoners in a cell or room.

9. (2) Where dormitories are used, they shall be occupied by prisoners carefully selected as being suitable to associate with one another in those conditions. There shall be regular supervision by night, in keeping with the nature of the institution.

Regarding capacity overall, 68 percent of respondents reported that their cells were operating at capacity (Table 90). Looking at capacity by trial stage, 70 percent of convicted inmates, 68 percent of those on remand, and 64 percent of those on trial were living at capacity. A slightly lower percentage (29 percent) of convicted inmates were living in cells under capacity than those on remand (31 percent).

**Table 90: Overcrowding by Trial Stage: Male (n=387; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Under capacity</b>	31	32	29	<b>30</b>
<b>At capacity</b>	68	64	70	<b>68</b>
<b>Over capacity</b>	1	5	1	<b>2</b>

Rule 19 of the SMRTP states:

19. Every prisoner shall, in accordance with local or national standards, be provided with a separate bed, and with separate and enough bedding which shall be clean when issued, kept in good order and changed often enough to ensure its cleanliness.

When respondents were asked what they slept on the previous night, 90 percent reported that they slept on a bed, 8 percent slept on a mattress, and only 1 percent slept on the floor (Table 91).

**Table 91: Where Slept Night before Surveyed: Male (N=389; percent)**

Bed	90
Mattress	8
Floor	1
Other	1

Rule 17 (1) of the SMRTP states:

17. (1) Every prisoner who is not allowed to wear his own clothing shall be provided with an outfit of clothing suitable for the climate and adequate to keep him in good health. Such clothing shall in no manner be degrading or humiliating.

Respondents were asked to indicate the source of a variety of items needed for their comfort (Table 92). A high percentage of respondents reported that these items were provided by the prison, except shoes, which were provided by the prison to only 48 percent of the respondents, with a further 35 percent receiving shoes from their family.



**Table 92: Provider of Various Items Needed for Comfort: Male (N=389; percent)**

	<b>Sheets</b>	<b>Towel</b>	<b>Clothes</b>	<b>Shoes</b>	<b>Mattress</b>
Prison	89	95	96	48	98
Family	0	1	1	35	0
Another inmate	8	1	2	5	1
Other	0	0	0	10	0
No one	2	3	0	1	1
DK/DA	0	0	0	0	0

Rules 15 and 16 of the SMRTP state:

15. Prisoners shall be required to keep their persons clean, and to this end they shall be provided with water and with such toilet articles as are necessary for health and cleanliness.

16. In order that prisoners may maintain a good appearance compatible with their self-respect, facilities shall be provided for the proper care of the hair and beard, and men shall be enabled to shave regularly.

Respondents were asked to indicate which from a range of personal care items were provided by the prison (Table 93). Blankets (29 percent), deodorant (14 percent), pillows (12 percent), and razors (1 percent) had the lowest proportion of respondents reporting that the prison provided them. However, most respondents said that the prison provided toilet paper (99 percent), soap (91 percent), toothbrushes (89 percent), and toothpaste (85 percent).

**Table 93: Prison Provides the Following: Male (N=389; percent)**

Toilet paper	99
Soap	91
Toothpaste	85
Toothbrush	89
Pillow	12
Deodorant	14
Razor	1
Blanket	29

Table 94 shows that convicted inmates (20 percent) were more likely to receive pillows from the prison than those on trial (9 percent) and those on remand (7 percent). Another observation was that respondents on trial were more likely to receive deodorant from the prison (25 percent) than those on remand (15 percent) and those already convicted (9 percent).

**Table 94: Prison Provides the Following by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Toilet paper	99	100	100	99
Soap	89	98	91	91
Toothpaste	83	89	86	85
Toothbrush	88	91	90	89
Pillow	7	9	20	12
Deodorant	15	25	9	14
Razor	1	2	1	1
Blanket	31	36	23	29

Rules 12 and 13 of the SMRTP state:

12. The sanitary installations shall be adequate to enable every prisoner to comply with the needs of nature when necessary and in a clean and decent manner.

13. Adequate bathing and shower installations shall be provided so that every prisoner may be enabled and required to have a bath or shower, at a temperature suitable to the climate, as frequently as necessary for general hygiene according to season and geographical region, but at least once a week in a temperate climate.

Table 95 shows that 99 percent of the interviewed inmates reported that they took at least one shower per day. The largest proportion (67 percent) took one shower per day while 32 percent took two.<sup>13</sup> There was general agreement that toilets were clean, with most inmates (78 percent) saying the toilet facilities were either somewhat clean (47 percent) or very clean (31 percent) (Table 96).

**Table 95: Number of Showers per Day: Male (N=389; percent)**

<1 per day	1
1 per day	67
1–2 per day	32
2+ per day	1

**Table 96: Cleanliness of Toilets: Male (N=389; percent)**

Very clean	31
Somewhat clean	47
Somewhat dirty	10
Dirty	13
DK/DA	0

Table 97 shows that all convicted inmates took at least one shower a day, while 2 percent of those on trial and 1 percent of those on remand did not shower every day. Convicted inmates (55 percent) were more

<sup>13</sup> Working inmates are allowed two showers per day. Only convicted inmates can work.

likely to take 1–2 showers per day than those yet to be convicted. The vast majority of those yet to be convicted (82 percent of those on remand; 80 percent of those on trial) took 1 shower per day.

**Table 97: Number of Showers per Day by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<1 per day	1	2	0	1
1 per day	82	80	43	67
1–2 per day	16	18	55	32
2+ per day	0	0	2	1

Convicted inmates were more likely to consider the toilets to be very clean (40 percent) than those on trial (25 percent) or on remand (25 percent) (Table 98). Almost half of the inmates, no matter what trial stage, said the toilets were somewhat clean.

**Table 98: Cleanliness of Toilets by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Very clean	25	25	40	31
Somewhat clean	45	45	48	47
Somewhat dirty	12	18	5	10
Dirty	18	9	7	13
DK/DA	0	2	0	0

Rules 20 (1) and 20 (2) of the SMRTP state:

20. (1) Every prisoner shall be provided by the administration at the usual hours with food of nutritional value adequate for health and strength, of wholesome quality and well prepared and served.

20. (2) Drinking water shall be available to every prisoner whenever he needs it.

Virtually all of the inmates (96 percent) said that they had enough water to drink (Table 99). However, inmates were less happy with the quality of the water (Table 100). While only 19 percent of respondents believed the quality to be either good (17 percent) or very good (2 percent), 38 percent indicated that the quality of water was either poor (30 percent) or very poor (8 percent). The largest proportion of respondents (39 percent) believed that the quality of the water was normal. Convicted inmates were more likely to report that the quality of water was good (21 percent) than those on remand (16 percent) or on trial (14 percent) (Table 101).

**Table 99: Enough Water to Drink: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	96
No	4

**Table 100: Quality of Water: Male (N=389; percent)**

Very good	2
Good	17
Normal	39
Poor	30
Very poor	8
DK/DA	3

**Table 101: Quality of Water by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Very good</b>	2	2	3	<b>2</b>
<b>Good</b>	16	14	21	<b>17</b>
<b>Normal</b>	39	39	40	<b>39</b>
<b>Poor</b>	31	39	26	<b>30</b>
<b>Very poor</b>	10	7	7	<b>8</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	3	0	4	<b>3</b>

The quality of food provided by the prison was almost universally disparaged, with 92 percent of respondents saying the quality of the food was poor (20 percent) or very poor (72 percent) (Table 102). No respondents reported the food quality to be very good. Those yet to be convicted (81 percent of those on remand; 70 percent of those on trial) were more likely to consider the food quality to be very poor than convicted inmates (61 percent) (Table 10).

**Table 102: Quality of Food: Male (N=389; percent)**

Very good	0
Good	3
Normal	4
Poor	20
Very poor	72
DK/DA	1

**Table 103: Quality of Food by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Very good</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Good</b>	2	2	4	<b>3</b>
<b>Normal</b>	1	5	8	<b>4</b>
<b>Poor</b>	15	23	26	<b>20</b>
<b>Very poor</b>	81	70	61	<b>72</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	1	0	1	<b>1</b>

Rules 22 (1), 22 (2), 22 (3), 24, 25 (1) and 25 (2) of the SMRTP state:

22. (1) At every institution there shall be available the services of at least one qualified medical officer who should have some knowledge of psychiatry. The medical services should be organized in close relationship to the general health administration of the community or nation. They shall include a psychiatric service for the diagnosis and, in proper cases, the treatment of states of mental abnormality.

22. (2) Sick prisoners who require specialist treatment shall be transferred to specialized institutions or to civil hospitals. Where hospital facilities are provided in an institution, their equipment, furnishings and pharmaceutical supplies shall be proper for the medical care and treatment of sick prisoners, and there shall be a staff of suitable trained officers.

22. (3) The services of a qualified dental officer shall be available to every prisoner.

24. The medical officer shall see and examine every prisoner as soon as possible after his admission and thereafter as necessary, with a view particularly to the discovery of physical or mental illness and the taking of all necessary measures; the segregation of prisoners suspected of infectious or contagious conditions; the noting of physical or mental defects which might hamper rehabilitation, and the determination of the physical capacity of every prisoner for work.

25. (1) The medical officer shall have the care of the physical and mental health of the prisoners and should daily see all sick prisoners, all who complain of illness, and any prisoner to whom his attention is specially directed.

25. (2) The medical officer shall report to the director whenever he considers that a prisoner's physical or mental health has been or will be injuriously affected by continued imprisonment or by any condition of imprisonment.

Generally, respondents indicated that medical care was provided by the prison if inmates required it (Table 104).<sup>14</sup> Male inmates appeared to receive medical care from the prison regardless of trial stage (Table 105); however, a larger percentage (20 percent) of those on remand reported this not to be the case than those on trial (5 percent) or convicted (7 percent).

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<sup>14</sup> While inmates on remand have the option to seek private medical care, HNP Dodds has an infirmary that is the first option for any convicted inmate needing medical attention. The infirmary works closely with the Queen Elizabeth Hospital by sharing medical information, using labs, and transferring treatments that are beyond the scope and/or capabilities of the prison. There is free public healthcare available to Barbadian nationals. As it relates to dental care, the prison provides cleaning and extraction as necessary for inmates; however, any procedure beyond these are done at the expense of the inmate.

**Table 104: Medical Care from Prison when Sick: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	84
No	13
DK/NA	3

**Table 105: Medical Care from Prison when Sick by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	77	95	91	<b>84</b>
<b>No</b>	20	5	7	<b>13</b>
<b>DK/NA</b>	4	0	2	<b>3</b>

Although the largest proportion of respondents reported that they received dental care when necessary (42 percent), the low percentage suggests that it is less readily accessible than medical care. Generally, convicted inmates were more likely to receive dental care than those yet to be convicted (Table 106).

**Table 106: Dental Care from Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On remand	On trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	34	45	52	<b>42</b>
<b>No</b>	40	34	29	<b>35</b>
<b>DK/NA</b>	26	20	19	<b>22</b>

The length of time it took to see a medical professional varied from less than 12 hours (13 percent) to more than 4 weeks (6 percent) (Table 107). The average length of time was 260 hours (almost 11 days), with the largest proportion reporting a wait time of 2–7 days (46 percent) followed by 1–4 weeks (25 percent). This was the trend regardless of trial stage; however, on average, convicted inmates waited less time (243 hours) than those on trial and on remand (just over 270 hours) (Table 108).

**Table 107: Time to See Medical Professional: Male (n=286; mean=260 hours; percent)**

<12 Hours	13
12–23 Hours	1
1–2 Days	9
2–7 Days	46
1–4 Weeks	25
>4 weeks	6

**Table 108: Time to See Medical Professional by Trial Stage: Male (n=286; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
	Mean=272	Mean=271	Mean=243	Mean=260
<12 hours	14	8	14	13
12–23 hours	1	3	2	1
1–2 days	7	5	12	9
2–7 days	45	57	43	46
1–4 weeks	28	19	23	25
>4 weeks	5	8	7	6

Although medical care was provided if needed, the quality of care was generally deemed to be of low quality, with 58 percent of respondents reporting the quality of medical care to be either poor (33 percent) or very poor (25 percent) (Table 109). Only 6 percent viewed the quality of care to be good with a further 15 percent deeming it normal.

**Table 109: Quality of Medical Care: Male (N=389; percent)**

	Percent
Very good	1
Good	6
Normal	15
Poor	33
Very poor	25
DK/DA	5
NA	16

Of all respondents, 67 percent reported that they had been sick during their time at the prison (Table 110). The most common ailment to have affected the inmates surveyed (Table 111) was flu/chest infection (46 percent). Stomach problems affected 18 percent of the inmates. There were no cases of HIV/AIDS reported despite 40 percent of the sample indicating that an HIV/AIDS test was performed on them (Table 112). Most respondents (59 percent) had never been taken to the hospital due to an ailment since being in prison (Table 113).

**Table 110: Sick Since in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	67
No	33
DK/NA	0

**Table 111: Illness: Male (n=261; percent)**

Tuberculosis	0
HIV/AIDS	0
Flu/Chest infection	46
Stomach problems	18
Depression/Anxiety	0
Other	57

**Table 112: Performed HIV/AIDS Test on You: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	40
No	58
DK/DA	1
NA	0

**Table 113: Taken to Hospital While in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	41
No	59

Of all respondents, 68 percent indicated that medicine was obtained from the prison authorities when needed, another 14 percent obtained it from their family, and only 2 percent reported that they did not get any medicine (Table 114). This was generally the trend regardless of trial stage, though inmates on trial always got medicine (0 percent answered they didn't get them) and were less likely to get them from the prison (Table 115).



**Table 114: How Medicine Obtained: Male (N=389; percent)**

You ask family members for them	14
You ask other inmates for them	2
You don't get them	2
You buy them with your own money	2
You receive them from the prison	68
Other	7
DK/DA	5

**Table 115: How Medicine Obtained by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>You ask family members for them</b>	14	16	13	<b>14</b>
<b>You ask other inmates for them</b>	2	5	1	<b>2</b>
<b>You don't get them</b>	2	0	2	<b>2</b>
<b>You buy them with your own money</b>	1	5	3	<b>2</b>
<b>You receive them from the prison</b>	69	59	69	<b>68</b>
<b>Other</b>	8	9	5	<b>7</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	4	7	7	<b>5</b>

Prison psychologists are an important tool that should be made available to prisoners in order to assist them in adjusting to their incarceration. As such Rules 49 (1) and 49 (2) of the SMRTP state:

49. (1) So far as possible, the personnel shall include enough specialists such as psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, teachers and trade instructors.

49. (2) The services of social workers, teachers and trade instructors shall be secured on a permanent basis, without thereby excluding part-time or voluntary workers.

Respondents were asked to rate the quality of assistance given to them by psychologists and social workers in the prison (Table 116). The largest proportion (30 percent) either did not know or didn't answer the question and another 25 percent reported that there was no such assistance at the prison. However, 14 percent reported that the assistance was either good (10 percent) or very good (4 percent) compared to 19 percent who rated it as poor (10 percent) or very poor (9 percent).

**Table 116: Quality of Assistance from Psychologists and Social Workers in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Very good	4
Good	10
Normal	13
Poor	10
Very poor	9
We don't have such assistance	25
DK/DA	30

Rules 37 and 39 of the SMRTP state:

37. Prisoners shall be allowed under necessary supervision to communicate with their family and reputable friends at regular intervals, both by correspondence and by receiving visits.

39. Prisoners shall be kept informed regularly of the more important items of news by the reading of newspapers, periodicals or special institutional publications, by hearing wireless transmissions, by lectures or by any similar means as authorized or controlled by the administration.

Inmates generally have access to a telephone located on each cell block so that they can receive calls without charge. They can make telephone calls daily between 10am and 6pm for a maximum of 30 minutes.<sup>15</sup> Of the inmates surveyed, 80 percent received calls at least once a month, with the largest proportion (41 percent) receiving calls every day (Table 117). Inmates on remand received calls more frequently, with 47 percent receiving calls every day compared with 36 percent of those on trial and 34 percent of those convicted, and 17 percent receiving calls twice a week compared to 11 percent of those on trial and 9 percent of those convicted. Of note, 11 percent of respondents reported that they never received calls from family, with convicted inmates receiving no calls (19 percent) more than those on remand (6 percent) or on trial (5 percent).

**Table 117: Frequency of Calls by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Every day</b>	47	36	34	<b>41</b>
<b>Twice a week</b>	17	11	9	<b>13</b>
<b>Once a week</b>	8	18	13	<b>11</b>
<b>Every 15 days</b>	4	5	5	<b>4</b>
<b>Once a month</b>	10	11	12	<b>11</b>
<b>Every 6 months</b>	4	5	3	<b>4</b>
<b>Less than twice a year</b>	2	2	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Never</b>	6	5	19	<b>11</b>
<b>Other</b>	4	7	2	<b>3</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	1	0	1	<b>1</b>

Aside from telephone calls, the main mode of access to outside information for the inmates was TV, and 83 percent of those interviewed reported that they had access to a TV (Table 118). Cell phone use among inmates is strictly prohibited by the prison authorities. Despite this, 1 percent of respondents indicated that they had access.

<sup>15</sup> Telephone calls are made using cards that are bought by inmates.

**Table 118: Access to Communications: Male (N=389; percent that responded “yes”)**

Can you watch TV?	83
Do you have access to a PC/the internet?	1
Do you have access to a mobile phone?	1

The largest proportion of respondents (38 percent) were visited once a month followed by once a week (21 percent) (Table 119). Note that, inmates yet to be convicted are allowed one visit per week, while convicted inmates are allowed one visit per month. When crossed with trial stage, results show that it is more common for convicted inmates to never receive visitors (21 percent) than those on remand (14 percent) or on trial (11 percent). Overall, only 1 percent of inmates reported having visits with greater frequency than once a week. Only 15 percent of convicted inmates received family visits with greater frequency than once a month, contrasted with those on remand (41 percent) and those on trial (39 percent).

**Table 119: Frequency of Family Visits by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Every day	0	2	0	0
Twice a week	2	0	0	1
Once a week	30	23	8	21
Every 15 days	9	14	7	9
Once a month	29	30	52	38
Every 3 months	8	11	7	8
Once a year	7	5	4	5
Never	14	11	21	16
Other	2	5	1	2
DK/DA	0	0	1	0

Respondents were asked to indicate whether family members were asked to pay for any of a number of actions (Table 120). Responses suggested that generally this was not the case. However, the treatment of family members when visiting was a cause of some concern among inmates, with 26 percent of respondents feeling that their family members were treated either badly (21 percent) or very badly (5 percent) compared to 16 percent who believed their family members were treated either well (11 percent) or very well (4 percent); the largest proportion chose so-so (52 percent) (Table 121). Items brought by family members varied (Table 122), but the majority brought money (97 percent) or clothes/shoes (39 percent).

**Table 120: Relatives Had to Pay for Any of the Following when Visiting: Male (n=291; percent)**

Entering the prison	0
Bringing food	1
Getting other items through	1
Bringing in work materials	0
Bringing in forbidden items	2

**Table 121: Treatment of Relatives by Prison Personnel: Male (n=291; percent)**

Very well	4
Well	11
So-so	52
Badly	21
Very badly	5
DK/DA	8

**Table 122: Items Family Members Bring to You: Male (n=291; percent)**

Food	3
Clothes/shoes	39
Money	97
Medicines	9
Work materials/tools	1

Rules 71 (1) – (6); 72 (1); 77 (1) and (2); and 78 of the SMRTP state:

71. (1) Prison labor must not be of an afflictive nature.

71. (2) All prisoners under sentence shall be required to work, subject to their physical and mental fitness as determined by the medical officer.

71. (3) Sufficient work of a useful nature shall be provided to keep prisoners actively employed for a normal working day.

71. (4) So far as possible the work provided shall be such as will maintain or increase the prisoners' ability to earn an honest living after release.

71. (5) Vocational training in useful trades shall be provided for prisoners able to profit thereby and especially for young prisoners.

71. (6) Within the limits compatible with proper vocational selection and with the requirements of institutional administration and discipline, the prisoners shall be able to choose the type of work they wish to perform.

72. (1) The organization and methods of work in the institutions shall resemble as closely as possible those of similar work outside institutions, to prepare prisoners for the conditions of normal occupational life.

77. (1) Provision shall be made for the further education of all prisoners capable of profiting thereby, including religious instruction in the countries where this is possible. The education of illiterates and young prisoners shall be compulsory and special attention shall be paid to it by the administration.

77. (2) So far as practicable, the education of prisoners shall be integrated with the educational system of the country so that after their release they may continue their education without difficulty.

78. Recreational and cultural activities shall be provided in all institutions for the benefit of the mental and physical health of prisoners.

Respondents were asked to indicate which, from a range of activities, they were involved in at the prison. Looking at the group of inmates surveyed as a whole, roughly the same percentage of them stated that they did each of the activities. The largest proportion (19 percent) were involved in cleaning/maintenance and education (18 percent). However, when crossed with trial stage, it was interesting to note that the proportion of convicted inmates involved in both sports (32 percent) and education (29 percent) was considerably higher than those yet to be convicted (Table 123).

**Table 123: Activities by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Sports</b>	6	9	32	<b>16</b>
<b>Education</b>	11	9	29	<b>18</b>
<b>Other education</b>	11	16	18	<b>14</b>
<b>Cleaning/Maintenance</b>	11	23	28	<b>19</b>
<b>Other Labour</b>	3	2	23	<b>11</b>

Younger inmates appeared to be less likely to be involved in activities than older inmates (Table 124). The 18–24 age group displayed the lowest percentage of involvement across all activities, with the exception of other education. Those in the 35–44 age group displayed the highest level of involvement overall, except for cleaning/maintenance, which was done more by inmates 45 and older.

**Table 124: Activities by Age: Male (N=389; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>Sports</b>	12	13	22	20	<b>16</b>
<b>Education</b>	12	21	21	13	<b>18</b>
<b>Other education</b>	15	12	20	9	<b>14</b>
<b>Cleaning/Maintenance</b>	10	20	20	28	<b>19</b>
<b>Other labour</b>	6	10	14	13	<b>11</b>

Overall, 31 percent of respondents reported that they were engaged in some form of paid labor at the prison (Table 125). This is however primarily a privilege extended to convicted inmates,<sup>16</sup> of which 60 percent answered yes; as opposed to those on trial (18 percent) and those on remand (11 percent).

<sup>16</sup> The option to work at HMP is open only to convicted inmates not in maximum security. Among this subset of prisoners, permission is granted at the discretion of the prison administration.

**Table 125: Paid Work Inside Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	11	18	60	<b>31</b>
<b>No</b>	89	82	40	<b>69</b>

Overall, most inmates indicated that they had not learned a trade while in prison (Table 126). This was particularly so for those yet to be convicted. While 49 percent of convicted inmates had learned a trade, only 27 percent of those on remand and 13 percent of those on trial had done so. While convicted inmates were exposed to a variety of trades, such as auto (16 percent), building (10 percent), welding (8 percent) and food/beverage (8 percent), the only trade (apart from other) that inmates yet to be convicted said they had learned was building (33 percent) (Table 127).

**Table 126: Learned a Trade in Prison by Trial Stage: Male (n=120; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	27	13	49	<b>43</b>
<b>No</b>	73	88	51	<b>58</b>

**Table 127: Trade Learned by Trial Stage: Male (n=51; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Food &amp; Beverage</b>	0	0	9	<b>8</b>
<b>Electrical</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>IT</b>	0	0	2	<b>2</b>
<b>Building</b>	33	0	7	<b>10</b>
<b>Auto</b>	0	0	18	<b>16</b>
<b>Welding</b>	0	0	9	<b>8</b>
<b>Cosmetology</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>	0	0	5	<b>4</b>
<b>Other</b>	83	100	75	<b>76</b>

Much of the literature on recidivism and offending points to an association between an individual's level of education and their likelihood of offending. Generally, offenders are more likely to be less well educated than non-offenders (Batchelder and Pippert, 2002; Kling and Krueger, 2001). Similarly, there is widespread agreement that higher education within prison leads to reductions in recidivism and overall crime rates. Respondents were asked whether they studied while in prison (Table 128). Though most respondents responded no (73 percent), convicted inmates were more likely to have studied (42 percent) than those yet to be convicted. Of those that did study, the overwhelming majority (82 percent) found it either quite useful (39 percent) or very useful (43 percent), which is not surprising (Table 129). This was the case regardless of trial stage. Those that indicated that they had not studied while in prison were asked to explain why (Table 130). The majority (69 percent) said that it was not a choice and this was more common among those on remand (80 percent) and on trial (69 percent) than those that were convicted (48 percent). This suggests that the privilege of studying is less likely to be offered to those yet to be convicted.

**Table 128: Studied While in Prison by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	18	20	42	<b>27</b>
<b>No</b>	82	80	58	<b>73</b>

**Table 129: Usefulness of Study by Trial Stage: Male (n=106; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Very useful</b>	38	44	46	<b>43</b>
<b>Quite useful</b>	41	33	38	<b>39</b>
<b>Not very useful</b>	6	11	3	<b>5</b>
<b>Not useful at all</b>	15	11	5	<b>8</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	0	0	8	<b>5</b>

**Table 130: Reason Didn't Study by Trial Stage: Male (n=283; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>It was not a choice</b>	80	69	48	<b>69</b>
<b>Teachers would not come</b>	1	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>I have no interest in studying</b>	8	6	32	<b>15</b>
<b>I dropped out right away because I didn't like it</b>	0	0	1	<b>0</b>
<b>Other</b>	12	23	17	<b>15</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	0	3	2	<b>1</b>

Respondents were also asked how they spent most of their days at the prison (Table 131). The largest proportion responded that they practiced sports or in leisure activities (48 percent) followed by sleeping (29 percent), watching TV (22 percent) and working (19 percent).

**Table 131: How Spent Most Days in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Working	19
Sleeping	29
Studying	11
Practicing sports or in leisure activities	48
Cleaning	3
Watching TV	22
Other	80

*Note:* Respondents were able to pick up to three responses.

## Illicit Behavior in Prison

While not the case in Barbados, in recent years, the rapid increase in prison populations and the need for safety as a result has led to a rise in prison gangs worldwide. Respondents in the present study were asked whether they were aware of any gangs in prison (Table 132); the majority (55 percent) answered no. Sim-

ilarly, when asked if crimes are organized by gangs from within the prison, 56 percent answered no (Table 133). However, those that answered that yes there are crimes organized from within prison identified a range of crimes (Table 134). The largest proportion identified murder (45 percent) followed by robbery (39 percent) and other (39 percent).

**Table 132: Awareness of Gangs in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	34
No	55
DK/NA	11

**Table 133: Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	22
No	56
DK/NA	22

**Table 134: Types of Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Male (n=85; percent)**

Kidnapping	12
Extortion	13
Trafficking	33
Robbery	39
Murder	45
Other	39

When asked why gang members on the outside would commit crimes at the request of those inside prison (Table 135), the majority of respondents answered loyalty to the gang (62 percent). Other notable responses included to gain a reputation (28 percent) and fear of personal retaliation outside of the prison (13 percent).

**Table 135: Why People Outside Prison Commit Crimes for Inmates: Male (n=102; percent)**

Loyalty to the gang	62
Fear of personal retaliation outside the prison	13
Fear of retaliation if they are imprisoned	8
Fear of retaliation against family or friends	10
To gain a reputation	28
Other	21

The issue of forced sexual intercourse received very little acknowledgement among the sample. When respondents were asked whether they had ever witnessed another inmate being forced into sexual intercourse (Table 136), 95 percent answered no. Similarly, when asked if they themselves had ever been forced into sexual intercourse (Table 137), 100 percent (less one person) answered no.



**Table 136: Witnessed an Inmate Forced to Have Sexual Intercourse: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	5
No	95
DK/NA	0

**Table 137: Forced to Have Sexual Intercourse in Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	0*
No	100

\* One person (0.3 percent) answered yes.

When asked whether they had ever witnessed another inmate being beaten, 89 percent answered yes (Table 138). When asked whether they themselves had ever been beaten, 80 percent answered no (Table 139). This was the case regardless of trial stage. Those who were beaten were generally attacked by other inmates (89 percent); however, some inmates were beaten at the hands of prison staff (25 percent) (Table 140).

**Table 138: Saw Other Inmates Beaten: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	89
No	11

**Table 139: Been Attacked or Beaten by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	18	20	22	<b>20</b>
<b>No</b>	82	80	78	<b>80</b>

**Table 140: Attacker: Male (n=76; percent)**

Other inmates	89
Prison staff	25
Police	1
Defence force	0
Immigration officer	0
Other	1

Theft among inmates appeared to be an issue of some concern. When asked whether they had ever had their belongings stolen while in prison, 52 percent reported that they had, and this was the trend regardless of trial stage (Table 141).

**Table 141: Belongings Stolen by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Yes</b>	50	52	54	<b>52</b>
<b>No</b>	49	48	46	<b>48</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	1	0	0	<b>1</b>

Table 142 shows that reported drug and alcohol use among inmates while in prison was low. Respondents were asked whether they had used drugs or alcohol within the last month and only 12 percent answered yes. Of those that had used within the last month, marijuana was the most popular choice (96 percent) followed by alcohol (27 percent) (Table 143). When asked who brings the most drugs into the prison (Table 144), the largest proportion (59 percent) answered prison staff and another 10 percent answered police officers/guards.

**Table 142: During the Last Month Have You Used Alcohol/Drugs: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	12
No	86
DK/NA	2

**Table 143: Which One Have You Used Within the Past Month: Male (n=48; percent)**

Alcohol	27
Marijuana	96
Inhalants	0
Cocaine/crack	2
Ecstasy	2

**Table 144: Brings Most Drugs into Prison: Male (N=389; percent)**

Relatives or visitors	1
Prison staff	59
Police officers/Guards	10
Other	1
DK/DA	30

Overall, inmates did not appear to feel safe within the walls of the prison. Respondents were asked to compare their feeling of safety while in prison with before their arrest (Table 145). Overwhelmingly respondents reported that they felt less safe (81 percent) and this was the case regardless of trial stage. Only 3 percent of respondents reported that they felt safer. This trend existed regardless of age, though the 45+ age group was marginally more likely to report feeling either just as safe (17 percent) or safer (7 percent) than younger inmates (Table 146).

**Table 145: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Trial Stage: Male (N=389; percent)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Safer</b>	2	0	5	<b>3</b>
<b>Just as safe (spontaneous)</b>	14	8	19	<b>15</b>
<b>Less safe</b>	84	87	75	<b>81</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	1	5	1	<b>1</b>

*Note:* Respondents were asked if they felt safer or less safe.

“Just as safe” was only recorded if the respondent offered it spontaneously.

**Table 146: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Age: Male (N=389; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>Safer</b>	1	2	2	7	<b>3</b>
<b>Just as safe (spontaneous)</b>	15	15	14	17	<b>15</b>
<b>Less safe</b>	83	83	82	74	<b>81</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	0	0	2	1	<b>1</b>

*Note:* Respondents were asked if they felt safer or less safe.

“Just as safe” was only recorded if the respondent offered it spontaneously.

## The Future

One’s propensity to engage in criminal behavior is heavily influenced by the circumstances under which they live (Bailey, 2010). Therefore it follows that returning to the same circumstances after release may increase the likelihood of reoffending. When asked whether they planned to go back to live in the same neighborhood where they lived before they were arrested, 68 percent answered yes (Table 147). This was the trend regardless of age, with the majority in all age categories reporting that they intended to go back to live in the same neighborhood (Table 148).

**Table 147: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	68
No	28
DK/NA	4

**Table 148: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest by Age: Male (N=388\*; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>Yes</b>	68	71	65	65	<b>68</b>
<b>No</b>	31	26	26	33	<b>28</b>
<b>DK/NA</b>	1	3	9	1	<b>4</b>

\*One respondent gave an invalid age.

Despite the majority intending to go back to live in the same neighborhood, 60 percent of respondents reported that they did not plan to associate with the same people as before their arrest (Table 149). This was the trend regardless of age, with the majority in all age categories reporting that they intended to associate with new people (Table 150). Those in 25–34 age group were most likely to associate with new people and those in the youngest (18–24) and oldest (45+) age groups were somewhat more likely to associate with the same people.

**Table 149: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest: Male (N=389; percent)**

Same people	24
New people	60
DK/NA	17

**Table 150: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest by Age: Male (n=388\*; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>The same people</b>	35	15	20	35	<b>24</b>
<b>New people</b>	56	70	55	49	<b>60</b>
<b>DK/NA</b>	9	15	25	16	<b>17</b>

\*One respondent gave an invalid age.

Research has also shown that employment on release from prison reduces the likelihood of reoffending (Tripodi, Kim, and Bender, 2009). Respondents were asked where they planned to work on release (Table 151) and 31 percent indicated that there was already a job waiting for them when they are released. A further 28 percent said they intend to apply for a job.

**Table 151: Where You Plan to Work on Release: Male (N=389; percent)**

I already have a job waiting for me	31
I'll apply for a job related to my trade	28
I'll look for a job among my acquaintances or relatives	3
I'll apply for any job	11
I haven't thought about it yet	6
I don't know	17
DK/DA	3

For 32 percent of respondents, their biggest concern about life post-release was the possibility that their families would reject them (Table 152) and family rejection was the main concern across all age categories (Table 153). The youngest (18–24; 37 percent) and oldest (45+; 38 percent) age groups showed the greatest level of concern about family rejection. It was interesting to note that 31 percent of the younger inmates were concerned about not finding a job compared to only 19 percent of those in the 45+ age group.

**Table 152: Most Afraid of (a): Male (N=389; percent)**

Not having a place to live	15
Not finding a job	25
My family rejecting me	32
DK/DA	28

**Table 153: Most Afraid of (a) by Age: Male (n=388\*; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
Not having a place to live	17	16	16	12	16
Not finding a job	31	24	25	19	25
My family rejecting me	37	30	27	38	32
DK/DA	15	30	32	32	28

\*One respondent gave an invalid age.

When provided with another set of options (Table 154), a considerable proportion of respondents expressed concern that they would be arrested again (33 percent). Others were afraid of being killed because of what they have done in the past (24 percent). Those 18–24 (39 percent) and 35–44 (38 percent) were most concerned about being arrested, while those 25–34 were concerned about being killed as a result of what they had done in the past (29 percent) and being arrested again (28 percent) (Table 155).

**Table 154: Most Afraid of (b): Male (N=389; percent)**

Being attacked or hurt	7
Getting sick or developing an addiction	9
Being arrested again	33
Being killed because of what I did	24
DK/NA	27

**Table 155: Most Afraid of (b) by Age: Male (n=388\*; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
Being attacked or hurt	9	6	8	7	7
Getting sick or developing an addiction	6	10	8	12	9
Being arrested again	39	28	38	30	33
Being killed because of what I did	30	29	19	15	24
DK/NA	17	27	28	36	27

\*One respondent gave an invalid age.

Most of the respondents were not aware of government agencies and civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners. When asked about government agencies, only 19 percent were aware they existed (Table 156) and when asked about civil society groups, 31 percent were aware of them (Table 157).

**Table 156: Aware of Government Agencies Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	19
No	65
DK/NA	15

**Table 157: Aware of Civil Society Groups Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Male (N=389; percent)**

Yes	31
No	52
DK/NA	16

Overall, inmates appeared to feel positive about their future post-release. When asked if they thought it likely that they might get arrested again, the overwhelming majority (80 percent) believed it was unlikely, with 25 percent answering probably not and 55 percent answering most probably not (Table 158). This was the trend regardless of age, though the oldest respondents (45+) were particularly confident that they would not be arrested again (62 percent) and no one within this age group answered most probably yes (Table 159).

**Table 158: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again: Male (N=389; percent)**

Most probably yes	2
Probably yes	7
Probably not	25
Most probably not	55
DK/NA	11

**Table 159: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again by Age: Male (n=388\*; percent)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>Most probably yes</b>	3	3	2	0	<b>2</b>
<b>Probably yes</b>	8	9	6	4	<b>7</b>
<b>Probably not</b>	30	26	21	26	<b>26</b>
<b>Most probably not</b>	49	53	57	62	<b>55</b>
<b>DK/NA</b>	12	10	14	7	<b>11</b>

\*One respondent gave an invalid age.

Similarly, when asked how they thought things would go for them on release, the outlook was positive, with 67 percent answering better and only 7 percent believing it would be worse (Table 160).

**Table 160: How Things Will Be When Released: Male (N=389; percent)**

Better	67
The same	8
Worse	7

## Data and Findings – Female Inmates

### Sociodemographic Profile

Table 161 shows the ages of the female respondents at the time of data collection. The average age was 34 years old, with 9 being 25–34 years of age, 7 being 35–44 and 1 respondent older than 45.

**Table 161: Respondent Age Groups: Female (N=19; mean age=34)**

18–24	2
25–34	9
35–44	7
45+	1

*Note:* In the Data and Findings section for female inmates, the results are counts, not percentages, because the number of inmates in the sample is so small.

Of the respondents, 12 were born in Barbados, 4 in Jamaica, 2 in Canada and 1 in St. Vincent and the Grenadines.

Among the respondents, the average number of children was 2.3; 5 respondents reported that they had no children, a further 5 reported had 1 child and 2 respondents had 7 or more children.

**Table 162: Number of Children: Female (N=19; mean number of children=2.3)**

0	5
1	5
2	3
3	1
4	1
5	1
6	1
7+	2

The average age of initial parenthood was 19 years old, with the largest number of respondents (6) having had their first child when they were 18 or 19 (Table 163). Of note, 2 respondents had their first child before the age of 16 and 2 when they were 25 or older.

**Table 163: Age of Initial Parenthood: Female (n=14)<sup>17</sup>**

Under 16	2
16–17	3
18–19	6
20–24	1
25+	2

Of the women interviewed, one had studied in university or higher, but the largest number (10) reported that they had completed their secondary education (Table 164).

**Table 164: Highest Level of Education Before Arrest: Female (N=19)**

Did not attend school	0
Incomplete primary education	0
Complete primary education	0
Incomplete secondary education	4
Complete secondary education	10
Tech Voc. training/Vocational	4
Incomplete university education	0
University or further studies	1

Respondents almost unanimously reported having worked at some point in their lives, with only 1 of the 19 women interviewed reporting that she had not. However, only 8 of the women interviewed were working in the month prior to their arrest (Table 165). The largest number of respondents (4) were self-employed (Table 166).

**Table 165: Working in the Month Prior to Arrest: Female (N=19)**

Yes	8
No	10
NA	1

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<sup>17</sup> No respondents had children living with them in prison.



**Table 166: Type of Job Held: Female (n=8)**

Professional	1
Civil servant	0
Company employee	1
Construction/Factory worker	0
Self-employed	4
Taxi driver	0
Driver	0
Street vendor	1
Craftsman	0
Executive/Manager	0
Farmer/Fisherman	0
Miner	0
Hospitality	0
Unskilled labour	1

Of the 8 who worked in the month prior to arrest, 7 were working between 40 and 49 hours per week and the other 1 was working less than 10 hours (Table 167). Monthly earnings varied widely (Table 168), with 2 respondents reporting monthly earnings of \$5,000 or more and 1 reporting earnings between \$500 and \$999, with the other 5 somewhere in between.

**Table 167: Number of Hours Worked per Week: Female (n=8; mean number of hours=37)**

<10	1
10–19	0
20–29	0
30–39	0
40–49	7
50+	0

**Table 168: Monthly Earnings: Female (n=7; mean monthly earnings=\$3,479)**

<\$500	0
\$500–\$999	1
\$1,000–\$1,999	2
\$2,000–\$2,999	1
\$3,000–\$3,999	0
\$4,000–\$4,999	1
\$5,000+	2

When asked if they were satisfied with their financial situation, answers varied primarily depending on whether the respondent was working at the time of arrest (Table 169). Of the 5 respondents that reported that they were very satisfied, 4 were employed at the time of arrest. Of the 7 respondents that reported

that they were either not very satisfied (4) or not satisfied at all (3), 5 were unemployed at the time of arrest.

**Table 169: Satisfaction with Financial Situation by Working Status: Female (n=18)**

	Working	Not Working	Total
<b>Very satisfied</b>	4	1	<b>5</b>
<b>Somewhat satisfied</b>	2	4	<b>6</b>
<b>Not very satisfied</b>	1	3	<b>4</b>
<b>Not satisfied at all</b>	1	2	<b>3</b>

### Childhood and Life Story

Physical discipline in childhood was common among the women interviewed (Table 170). Only 4 women reported that they were never physically disciplined, while the other 15 women answered either yes (10) or in some cases (5). Table 171 crosses physical discipline in childhood with the type of crime respondents eventually committed. Of those that were physically punished as children, 6 eventually committed non-violent crimes and 4 violent crimes. It was interesting to note that all 4 women who were not physically disciplined as children were arrested for non-violent crimes.

**Table 170: Physically Punished as Child: Female (N=19)**

Yes	10
In some cases (1 or 2 times a year)	5
No	4

**Table 171: Physically Punished as Child by Type of Crime: Female (N=19)**

	Violent	Non-violent	Total
<b>Yes</b>	4	6	<b>10</b>
<b>In some cases (1 or 2 times a year)</b>	2	3	<b>5</b>
<b>No</b>	0	4	<b>4</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	0	0	<b>0</b>

The largest number of respondents (10) reported that they never witnessed their father or mother's partner ever beat their mother, but 5 women indicated that they did (Table 172).

**Table 172: Saw Mother Beaten by her Partner: Female (N=19)**

Yes, he beat her	5
Yes, sometimes he beat her	0
No, he did not beat her	10
Other	1
DK/DA	3

Female respondents generally remained at home into their teenage years, with 15 of the 19 women interviewed reporting that they did not leave home before the age of 15 (Table 173).

**Table 173: Left Home before Age of 15: Female (N=19)**

Yes	4
No	15

Household substance abuse appeared to be uncommon among the women surveyed. Respondents were asked if the adults in their childhood homes drank alcohol frequently or used drugs. Of the respondents, 3 reported that the adults in their households drank frequently (Table 174) and no women reported any drug use.

**Table 174: Adults in Your Childhood Home Drank Alcohol Frequently: Female (N=19)**

Yes	3
No	16

Drug use among the respondents themselves was high. Of the 19 women interviewed, 15 reported that they had used drugs in their lifetime (Table 175), with the largest number (13) reporting that they used marijuana, followed by 8 saying they used cocaine/crack and 4 using pills/ecstasy. Table 177 shows the proportion of inmates that reported the use of each drug crossed with crime type. Of those using marijuana, 77 percent were charged with a non-violent crime.

**Table 175: Have Used Drugs: Female (N=19)**

Have tried drugs	15
Have never tried drugs	4

**Table 176: Have Used Each Drug: Female (N=19)**

Marijuana	13
Inhalants	1
Cocaine/Crack	8
Pills/Ecstasy	4
Heroin	1
Other drugs	1

**Table 177: Have Used Each Drug by Type of Crime: Female**

	<b>Violent</b>	<b>Non-violent</b>
	n=6	n=13
Marijuana	3	10
Inhalants	1	0
Cocaine/Crack	2	6
Pills/Ecstasy	2	2
Heroin	0	1
Other drugs	1	0

*Note:* Small base sizes. No meaningful conclusions can be drawn.

Table 178 shows the age of first use of various drugs. Only marijuana was first used before the age of 10, with 2 respondents reporting first use at that age and a further 4 between the ages of 10 and 14, though the average age of first use was 16. Respondents were also asked how frequently they used each drug in the six months prior to their present incarceration (Table 179). The majority of those that used drugs did so every day. The largest number of every day users used cocaine/crack (6), followed by marijuana (5).

**Table 178: Age of First Use of Each Drug: Female**

	<b>Marijuana</b>	<b>Inhalants</b>	<b>Cocaine/Crack</b>	<b>Pills/Ecstasy</b>	<b>Heroin</b>	<b>Other Drugs</b>
	n=13	n=1	n=8	n=4	n=1	n=1
<10	2	0	0	0	0	0
10–14	4	1	1	0	0	0
15–19	2	0	2	2	0	1
20+	5	0	5	2	1	0
<b>Mean Age</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>16</b>

*Note:* Small base sizes.

**Table 179: Frequency of Drug Use in 6 Months Prior to Incarceration: Female**

	<b>Marijuana</b>	<b>Inhalants</b>	<b>Cocaine/Crack</b>	<b>Pills/Ecstasy</b>	<b>Heroin</b>	<b>Other drugs</b>
	n=13	n=1	n=8	n=4	n=1	n=1
Every day	5	1	6	2	0	1
3 times a week	0	0	0	0	0	0
Once a week	3	0	1	0	0	0
Once every 2 weeks	0	0	0	0	0	0
Once per month	0	0	0	0	0	0
Did not use	0	0	0	0	0	0
DK/DA	5	0	1	2	1	0

Respondents were asked whether any of their family members had ever been in prison. Of the 19 women interviewed, 13 indicated that they did (Table 180) and no meaningful difference was observed when

crossed with age. Respondents were also asked to indicate whether they had any family members currently in prison and 6 of the 19 women answered yes.

**Table 180: Family Member Has Been in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	13
No	6

### Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

Of the 19 women interviewed, the largest number (8) were arrested for drug possession/dealing, 4 were charged with intentional homicide/murder, and 2 were charged with each of possession of illegal weapons, robbery/theft and scam, misappropriation and fraud (Table 181). Of the 8 women charged with drug possession/dealing, 6 had already been convicted, while only 1 of the 4 women charged with intentional homicide/murder were convicted (Table 182).

**Table 181: Crime: Female (N=19; mean crimes per respondent=1.1)**

Intentional homicide/Murder	4
Manslaughter	0
Kidnapping	0
Assault	1
Sex crimes	1
Aggravated robbery/Aggravated theft	0
Drug possession or drug dealing	8
Encroachment/Identity theft	0
Possession of illegal weapons	2
Robbery/Theft	2
Scam, misappropriation, fraud	2
Burglary/break-in	0
Other Crimes	0

**Table 182: Crime by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Intentional homicide/Murder	2	1	1
Manslaughter	0	0	0
Kidnapping	0	0	0
Assault	0	0	1
Sex crimes	0	1	0
Aggravated robbery/Aggravated theft	0	0	0
Drug possession or drug dealing	1	1	6
Encroachment/Identity theft	0	0	0
Possession of illegal weapons	2	0	0
Robbery/Theft	1	0	1
Scam, misappropriation, fraud	0	1	1
Burglary/break-in	0	0	0
Other Crimes	0	0	0

Note: Small base sizes

Of the 19 women surveyed, 6 reported that someone was hurt during the commission of the crime (Table 183). Respondents were also asked whether there was anyone else involved in the crime for which they were arrested and 8 reported that there was (Table 184).

**Table 183: Someone Physically Injured During Crime: Female (N=19)**

Yes	6
No	13

**Table 184: Someone Else Involved in Crime: Female (N=19)**

Yes	8
No	11

Respondents were asked whether they had used any alcohol or drugs within the six hours prior to committing the crime, and 10 reported that this was the case (Table 185). The most common substance used prior to the crime was alcohol (6) followed by cocaine/crack (5) (Table 186). An equal number of respondents (5) that reported that they had used drugs or alcohol within the 6 hours prior to the crime indicated that someone was injured during the crime (Table 187). In contrast, only 1 respondent that reported that no one was injured used drugs or alcohol within the 6 hours prior.

**Table 185: Used Drugs/Alcohol within 6 Hours of Committing this Crime: Female (N=19)**

Yes	10
No	9

**Table 186: Drugs Used Prior to Crime: Female (n=10)**

Alcohol	6
Marijuana	3
Inhalants	0
Cocaine/Crack	5
Pills/Ecstasy	1
Heroin	0

**Table 187: Someone Physically Injured During Crime by Used Drugs/Alcohol: Female (N=19)**

	Used Drugs	Didn't Use Drugs
<b>Someone Injured</b>	5	5
<b>No One Injured</b>	1	8

Of the 19 women surveyed, only 4 reported using a weapon during the commission of the crime (Table 188). Table 189 shows the weapons used.

**Table 188: Weapon Used in Commission of Crime: Female (N=19)**

Yes	4
No	14
DK/NA	1

**Table 189: Type of Weapon Used: Female (n=4)**

Firearm licensed	0
Firearm unlicensed	1
Knife	1
Machete/Sword	0
Ice Pick/Stabbing implement	1
Other	1

**Table 190: Weapon Used in Commission of Crime by Trial Stage: Female (n=4)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
<b>Weapon Used</b>	2	1	1
<b>Weapon Not Used</b>	2	2	10
<b>DK/DA</b>	1	0	0

### Inmates Charged with a Property Crime

Respondents were asked whether they had ever committed a property crime before their present crime (Table 191). Of the 3 respondents, 2 answered yes. When asked, only 1 respondent was able to answer how much she earned from property crimes monthly, and she said it was \$1,000–\$9,999 (Table 192). The average cost of items stolen was \$43,400 (Table 193).

**Table 191: Had Committed a Property Crime Prior to Current Incarceration: Female (n=3)**

Yes	2
No	1

**Table 192: Monthly Earnings from Property Crime: Female (n=2)**

<\$1,000	0
\$1,000–\$9,999	1
\$10,000–\$99,999	0
DK/DA	1

**Table 193: Monetary Value Property Crime: Female (n=3; mean value= \$43,400)**

<\$1,000	1
\$1,000–\$9,999	0
\$10,000–\$99,999	1
\$100,000+	1
DK/DA	0

### Inmates Charged with Possession/Sale of Drugs

Of the 6 women charged with selling drugs, 3 reported that this was not their first time (Table 194). Reasons given for selling drugs included because she didn't have any other income (1), because she could make quite a lot of money (1), and some other reason (1) (Table 195). The average monthly income from selling drugs reported by respondents was \$40,000 (Table 196).

**Table 194: Had Sold Drugs Prior to Current Incarceration: Female (n=6)**

Yes	3
No	3

**Table 195: Main Reason Sold Drugs: Female (n=3)**

Because I needed money to pay for the drugs I consumed myself	0
Because I didn't have any other income	1
Because I could make quite a lot of money	1
Because other people asked me to	0
Other	1

**Table 196: Monthly Earnings from Selling Drugs: Female (n=3; mean monthly earnings=\$40,000)**

<\$1,000	0
\$1,000–\$9,999	1
\$10,000–\$99,999	0
\$100,000–\$999,999	1
DK/DA	0



The only drug that any of the respondents had been charged with selling was marijuana. Respondents were asked the value of the drugs in their possession at the time of their arrest and the average was \$15,400 (Table 197).

**Table 197: Monetary Value of Drugs Seized: Female (n=5; mean value=\$15,400)**

<\$1,000	1
\$1,000–\$9,999	3
\$10,000–\$99,999	1
\$100,000–\$999,999	0
\$1,000,000+	0
DK/DA	0

### Inmates Charged with Murder/Intentional Homicide

As stated earlier, 4 of the 19 women surveyed were charged with intentional homicide/murder. Three motives were provided: problems with spouse/partner (1), a fight (1) and it occurred while committing another crime (1) (Table 198). Table 199 shows that none of the women used a firearm in committing the intentional homicide/murder; 2 used a knife.

**Table 198: Motives for Murder: Female (n=4)**

Problems with spouse/partner	1
A fight	1
It occurred while committing another crime	1
DK/DA	1

**Table 199: Murder Weapons Used: Female (n=4)**

Firearm licensed	0
Firearm, unlicensed	0
Knife	2
Machete	0
Other	1
DK/DA	1

### Inmates Charged with Rape

The 1 female inmate who was charged with rape, raped her child without using physical force.

### Inmate Recidivism

Of the 19 women surveyed, 6 had been imprisoned in the past, all for a separate crime (Table 200). Table 201 shows that 4 of the 6 recidivists had already been convicted, while 2 were on remand at the time of their interview. Table 202 shows that 5 of the 6 recidivists were currently charged with a non-violent crime.

**Table 200: Previous Imprisonment: Female (N=19)**

Yes	6
No	13

**Table 201: Previous Imprisonment by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Previously Imprisoned	2	0	4
Not Previously Imprisoned	3	3	7

**Table 202: Previous Imprisonment by Type of Crime: Female (N=19)**

	Violent	Non-violent
Previously Imprisoned	1	5
Not Previously Imprisoned	5	8

The largest number of respondents (13) had never been arrested before, but 2 had been arrested four times previously and 1 had been arrested more than five but less than ten times (Table 203). When asked whether they had ever been in a juvenile detention center before, 16 reported that they had not (Table 204).

**Table 203: Number of Previous Arrests: Female (N=19)**

0	13
1	1
2	0
3	1
4	2
5 to 9	1
10+	0
DK/DA	1

**Table 204: Have You Ever Been in a Juvenile Detention Centre: Female (N=19)**

Yes	3
No	16

The average length of previous sentence was 15 months. The average time between previous release and current arrest was 67 months. When asked about the challenges they faced when they were released previously, 4 respondents reported not finding a job and 2 reported that they had trouble finding a place to live (Table 205).

**Table 205: Challenges Faced On Previous Release: Female (n=6)**

Not finding a job	4
Not being able to stay clean	0
Not finding a place to live	2
Unable to reconnect with family/friends	0
Stigma	0
Other	0
DK/DA	0

### Gang Activity and Firearm Use

Of the 19 women surveyed, 9 reported that there were gangs in the communities where they were raised (Table 206).

**Table 206: Gangs in Neighborhood Where Raised: Female (N=19)**

Yes	9
No	10

Self-reported gang involvement was very low among female inmates, with only 1 inmate reporting that she was a member of a gang (Table 207). She was still a member of the gang when she was arrested for current crime and she referred to her current status in the gang as quiet. She was 17 years old when she first joined the gang.

**Table 207: Member of a Gang When Arrested: Female (N=19)**

Yes	1
No	18

Of the 19 women surveyed, 3 reported that they had previously owned a firearm (Table 208). Of this group, the average age of first ownership was 22 years, with 2 respondents reporting that they first owned a firearm when they were 20 or older and 1 saying she first owned one between 10 and 14 years of age (Table 209).

**Table 208: Ever Owned a Firearm: Female (N=19)**

Yes	3
No	16

**Table 209: Age of First Ownership of Firearm: Female (n=3; mean age=22)**

<10	0
10–14	1
15–19	0
20+	2

Respondents were asked whether they had ever injured or killed anyone with a firearm. None of those who owned firearms reported having ever injured or killed anyone.

## Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

### Trial Stage and Arrest

Of the 19 women interviewed, 11 had been already been convicted at the time of their interview, 3 were on trial and 5 were on remand (Table 210).

**Table 210: Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

On Remand	5
On Trial	3
Convicted	11

When asked how much time had elapsed between when the crime was committed and when they were arrested, answers ranged from less than an hour (4) to more than a year (1) (Table 211).

**Table 211: Time Elapsed Between When Committed Offence and When Arrested: Female (N=19)**

Less than 1 hour	4
Between 1 hour and 3 hours	1
Between 3 hours and 1 day	3
Between 1 day and a week	3
Between one week and 1 month	4
Between 1 and 6 months	1
Between 6 months and a year	1
More than a year	1
DK/DA	1

The majority (15) of respondents were not shown a warrant on arrest. (Table 212). Almost unanimously (17), respondents reported that they were taken to a police station after arrest (Table 213).

**Table 212: Shown Warrant in Writing by Police When Arrested: Female (N=19)**

Yes	4
No	15

**Table 213: Taken to Police Station after Arrest: Female (N=19)**

Yes	17
No	1
DK/NA	1

The time spent at the police station varied from less than a night (2) to more than a week (3). The largest number of respondents (5) reported that they spent one night at the police station (Table 214). There was

no observable difference when crossed with age. When crossed with trial stage, female offenders currently serving sentences were more likely to have spent 2 or less nights in jail when they were arrested (Table 215).

**Table 214: Nights Spent at Police Station: Female (N=19)**

Did not spend the night	2
1 night	5
2 nights	3
More than 3 nights and less than 1 week	4
More than 1 week	3

**Table 215: Nights Spent at Police Station by Trial Stage: Female (n=17)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Did not spend the night	0	1	1
1 night	1	0	4
2 nights	0	0	3
More than 3 nights and less than 1 week	3	0	1
More than 1 week	1	1	1
DK/DA	0	0	0

Of those that responded, the majority (14) of inmates reported that physical force was not used against them in order to compel them to testify or change their statement while at the police station (Table 216).

**Table 216: Hit or Physical Force Used to Compel Testimony or to Change Statement While at Police Station: Female (N=19)**

Yes	3
No	14
NA	2

When questioned whether they had been asked for money or belongings by a police officer since their arrest, 4 indicated that they had been and 2 indicated that they had been asked by prison staff (Table 217). Of the 19 women interviewed, 6 believed that they would have been released if they had offered a member of law enforcement a bribe (Table 218).

**Table 217: Been Asked by Any of Following for Money or Belongings: Female (N=19)**

Police	4
Defence force	0
Immigration officer	0
Prison staff	2
Prosecutor	0
Court personnel	0
Other	0

**Table 218: Law Enforcement Would Have Released You If You Offered a Bribe: Female (N=19)**

Yes	6
No	8
DK/NA	5

### Legal Procedures

Of the respondents, 15 were not told that they could get a reduced sentence if they pled guilty (Table 219). Of the 4 that were told, all responded by pleading guilty (Table 220).

**Table 219: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty: Female (N=19)**

Yes	4
No	15
DK/NA	0

**Table 220: Told Could Get Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty by Pled Guilty: Female (N=19)**

	Pled Guilty	Did Not Plead Guilty
<b>Told about reduced sentence</b>	4	0
<b>Not told about reduced sentence</b>	7	8

There was no difference between the number of respondents that reported being informed that they were entitled to a lawyer and those that were not (Table 221), and 6 of the 19 women interviewed did not have a lawyer (Table 222). Of those that did have a lawyer, 5 reported seeing them almost never.

**Table 221: Informed Entitled to a Lawyer: Female (N=19)**

Yes	8
No	8
DK/DA	1
NA	2

**Table 222: Frequency of Seeing Lawyer: Female (N=19)**

Almost daily	1
Once a week	2
Every 15 days	3
Once a month	1
Almost never	5
Other	1
Did not have a lawyer	6

When asked how many lawyers respondents have had since the time of their arrest, answers ranged from 0 to 3 (Table 223), with 8 having one lawyer. The majority (11) of the sample was represented by a private

lawyer (Table 224). Of the respondents, 12 believed that they were represented either well (8) or very well (4) (Table 225).

**Table 223: Number of Lawyers Seen Since Arrest: Female**

0	5
1	8
2	5
3	1

**Table 224: Type of Lawyer: Female (N=19)**

Legal Aid	3
Private Lawyer	11

**Table 225: Quality of Defense: Female (N=19)**

Very well	4
Well	8
Little	0
Very little	2

Table 226 shows that female inmates defended by private lawyers were more likely to be happy with the way they were defended, with 6 of the 8 respondents that indicated that they were defended well being represented by a private lawyer. Similarly, all 4 respondents that indicated that they were defended very well were represented by private lawyers. No clear difference was observed when crossed with trial stage (Table 227).

**Table 226: Quality of Defense by Type of Lawyer: Female (n=14)**

	Legal Aid	Private Lawyer
Very well	0	4
Well	2	6
Little	0	0
Very little	1	1
DK/DA	0	0

**Table 227: Quality of Defense by Trial Stage: Female (n=14)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted
Very well	2	0	2
Well	2	2	4
Little	0	0	0
Very little	1	1	0
DK/DA	0	0	0

Overall there was very little difference between the number of inmates who reported that they understood a little or a lot of what was happening in court, with 5 respondents answering quite a lot and 3 responding very little (Table 228). Respondents were asked how many times during their trial they spoke directly to the judge or magistrate. The largest number (6) reported that they spoke to the judge/magistrate once but one respondent reported speaking to the judge/magistrate five times (Table 229). Of those that spoke to the judge or magistrate, 4 respondents reported that they thought the judge only listened to them only a little (2) or very little (2). Overall, however, 5 respondents believed that the judge or magistrate listened to them quite a lot (Table 230).

**Table 228: Understood What Was Happening at the Hearings and in Court: Female (n=14)**

Quite a lot	5
A Lot	1
Little	4
Very little	3
DK/DA	1

**Table 229: Number of Times Spoke Directly to Judge or Magistrate during Trial: Female (n=14)**

0	3
1	6
2	1
3	2
4	0
5	1
6+	1

**Table 230: The Judge/Magistrate Listened: Female (n=14)**

Quite a lot	5
A Lot	2
Little	2
Very little	2
NA	3

Among the women interviewed, the average time elapsed from arrest to sentencing was 6 months, with most respondents (7) reporting either 1–2 months (3) or <1 month (4) (Table 231).



**Table 231: Time from Arrest to Sentencing: Female (n=11; mean time=6 months)**

<1 Month	4
1–2 Months	3
3–5 Months	1
6–11 Months	1
12–35 Months	2
36 Months or more	0

Table 232 shows that those arrested for non-violent crimes were more likely to be processed through the legal system more quickly than those arrested for violent crimes. All 3 women that were sentenced within 1–2 months were charged with non-violent crimes, while 3 of the 4 women sentenced within less than a month were charged with non-violent crimes. Additionally, women in the 25–34 and 35–44 age groups were the ones most likely to be sentenced in 2 months or less (Table 233).

**Table 232: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Type of Crime: Female (n=11)**

	Violent	Non-violent
<1 Month	1	3
1–2 Months	0	3
3–5 Months	0	1
6–11 Months	0	1
12–35 Months	1	1
36 Months or more	0	0

**Table 233: Time from Arrest to Sentencing by Age: Female (n=11)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+
<1 Month	0	2	2	0
1–2 Months	0	2	1	0
3–5 Months	0	1	0	0
6–11 Months	0	1	0	0
12–35 Months	0	0	1	1
36 Months or more	0	0	0	0

The average length of sentence was 26 months (Table 234). However, sentences ranged from less than a month (1) to 72–143 months (1). The largest number of respondents reported a sentence of 12–35 months.

**Table 234: Length of Sentence: Female (n=14)**

<1 Month	1
1–2 Months	0
3–5 Months	0
6–11 Months	2
12–35 Months	6
36–71 Months	1
72–143 Months	1
Death	0

### Conditions in the Prison

Respondents were asked questions to assess the conditions under which they are imprisoned. Of the 19 women interviewed, 13 reported that their cells were operating under capacity and the majority (10) of these respondents were convicted (Table 235).

**Table 235: Overcrowding by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Under capacity</b>	1	2	10	<b>13</b>
<b>At capacity</b>	4	1	1	<b>6</b>
<b>Over capacity</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>

When asked to indicate what they slept on the previous night, 14 women reported that they slept on a bed and another 4 reported that they slept on a mattress (Table 236).

**Table 236: Where Slept Night before Surveyed: Female (N=19)**

Bed	14
Mattress	4
Floor	0
Other	1

Respondents were asked to indicate the source of a variety of items needed for their comfort (Table 237). Only shoes appeared to be, for some, not provided by the prison and 8 respondents obtained shoes from family members.

**Table 237: Provider of Various Items Needed for Comfort: Female (N=19)**

	Sheets	Towel	Clothes	Shoes	Mattress
The prison	19	19	19	9	19
Family	0	0	0	8	0
Another inmate	0	0	0	0	0
Other	0	0	0	0	0
No one	0	0	0	2	0
DK/DA	0	0	0	0	0

Respondents were also asked to indicate which from a range of items were provided by the prison (Table 238). Razor (2), deodorant (6), and pillow (6) had the lowest number reporting prison to be the source. Toilet paper (19), toothbrush (18), toothpaste (17) and soap (15), had the highest.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 238: Prison Provides the Following: Female (N=19)**

Toilet paper	19
Soap	15
Toothpaste	17
Toothbrush	18
Pillow	6
Deodorant	6
Razor	2
Blanket	16
Tampons or pads	13

Of the 19 women interviewed, 16 took 1–2 showers per day (Table 239). Only 1 female inmate took less than 1 shower per day, and she was a convicted inmate (Table 240). There was general agreement that toilets were clean, with 9 inmates believing they were very clean and 7 saying they were somewhat clean, and only 1 reporting that the toilets were dirty (Table 241). No difference was observed when crossed with trial stage.

**Table 239: Number of Showers per Day: Female (N=19)**

<1 per day	1
1 per day	1
1–2 per day	16
2+ per day	1

<sup>18</sup> No difference observed when crossed with trial stage

**Table 240: Cleanliness of Toilets: Female (N=19)**

Very clean	9
Somewhat clean	7
Somewhat dirty	2
Dirty	1

**Table 241: Number of Showers per Day by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<1 per day	0	0	1	1
1 per day	1	0	0	1
1–2 per day	3	3	10	16
2+ per day	1	0	0	1

Table 242 shows that, almost unanimously, female inmates felt that they had enough water to drink; only 1 respondent reported this not to be the case. However, as far as the quality of water was concerned, 10 respondents reported the quality to be either poor (7) or very poor (3) and no respondents said it was very good (Table 243). All 3 respondents that reported the water quality to be very poor were convicted inmates (Table 244).

**Table 242: Enough Water to Drink: Female (N=19)**

Yes	16
No	1
DK/DA	2

**Table 243: Quality of Water: Female (N=19)**

Very good	0
Good	5
Normal	3
Poor	7
Very poor	3
DK/DA	1

**Table 244: Quality of Water by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Very good	0	0	0	0
Good	2	0	3	5
Normal	0	1	2	3
Poor	3	2	2	7
Very poor	0	0	3	3
DK/DA	0	0	1	1

Similarly, 12 respondents reported the food quality to be either very poor (8) or poor (5) (Table 245). No difference was observed when crossed with trial stage.

**Table 245: Quality of Food: Female (N=19)**

Very good	1
Good	1
Normal	4
Poor	5
Very poor	8

Female respondents indicated that, generally, medical care was provided by the prison if inmates required it (Table 246). No convicted inmates reported that they did not receive care, but 2 inmates yet to be convicted did not receive medical care when required (Table 247). Dental care appeared to be less accessible, with that largest number of women (8) reporting that they do not receive dental care when needed (Table 248). No difference was observed when crossed with trial stage.

**Table 246: Medical Care from Prison when Sick: Female (N=19)**

Yes	16
No	2
DK/NA	1

**Table 247: Medical Care from Prison when Sick by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Yes	4	2	10	16
No	1	1	0	2
DK/NA	0	0	1	1

**Table 248: Dental Care from Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Yes	1	2	4	7
No	3	1	4	8
DK/NA	1	0	3	4

The length of time it took to see a medical professional when needed varied from less than 12 hours (2) to more than 4 weeks (2) (Table 249). The largest number of respondents were able to see a medical professional within 2 to 7 days (5) and the average was 241 hours (approximately 10 days) (Table 250). However, at 352 hours, the average wait time for convicted inmates was considerably longer than that for those yet to be convicted (Table 250).

**Table 249: Time to See Medical Professional: Female (N=19; mean time=241 hours)**

<12 Hours	2
12–23 Hours	1
1–2 Days	3
2–7 Days	5
1–4 Weeks	2
>4 weeks	2

**Table 250: Time to See Medical Professional by Trial Stage: Female (n=15)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
	Mean=81 hours	Mean=71 hours	Mean=352 hours	Mean=241 hours
<12 hours	1	0	1	2
12–23 hours	0	0	1	1
1–2 days	0	0	3	3
2–7 days	2	2	1	5
1–4 weeks	1	0	1	2
>4 weeks	0	0	2	2

Respondents were generally satisfied with the quality of medical care received, with 6 respondents deeming the quality of care to be good, 4 believing it to be normal and only 3 saying it was poor (Table 251).

**Table 251: Quality of Medical Care: Female (N=19)**

Very good	1
Good	6
Normal	4
Poor	1
Very poor	3
DK/DA	1
NA	3

Of the 19 inmates interviewed, 11 reported that they had been sick during their time in prison (Table 252). When asked what illness they had, most answered other (Table 253). There were no cases of HIV/AIDS reported despite 12 of the respondents indicating that an HIV/AIDS test was performed on them (Table 254). All respondents were asked if they had been taken to the hospital due to an ailment since being in prison and most (11) answered no (Table 255). There was general agreement that medicine was obtained from the prison authorities when needed (Table 256), with 15 of the 19 women indicating that this was their source. No difference was observed when crossed with trial stage.

**Table 252: Sick Since in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	11
No	8

**Table 253: Illness: Female (n=11)**

Tuberculosis	0
HIV/AIDS	0
Flu/Chest infection	1
Stomach problems	1
Depression/Anxiety	2
Other	9

**Table 254: Performed HIV/AIDS Test on You: Female (N=19)**

Yes	12
No	7

**Table 255: Taken to Hospital While in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	8
No	11

**Table 256: How Medicine Obtained: Female (N=19)**

You ask family members for them	2
You receive them from the prison	15
Other	2

Respondents were asked to rate the quality of assistance given to them by psychologists and social workers in the prison. Overall this assistance was rated positively, with 3 respondents saying it was very good, 4 saying it was good and 7 saying it was normal (Table 257). Of note, 3 respondents reported that this kind of assistance was not available.

**Table 257: Quality of Assistance from Psychologists and Social Workers in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Very good	3
Good	4
Normal	7
Poor	0
Very poor	1
We don't have such assistance	3
DK/DA	1

When asked whether they were, at the time of interviewing, on any form of contraception to avoid pregnancy, 17 reported that they were not (Table 258). Of those that were, the decision was voluntary (Table 259). Of the 19 women interviewed, 6 had been given a gynecological exam while in prison (Table 260).

**Table 258: Using Contraception to Avoid Pregnancy: Female (N=19)**

Yes	2
No	17

**Table 259: Forced to Use Contraception to Avoid Pregnancy: Female (n=2)**

Yes	0
No	2

**Table 260: Received a Gynecological Examination in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	6
No	13

Most inmates (13) received telephone calls at least once a month from relatives, with the largest proportion receiving calls every day (6), though 3 respondents reported that they never received calls from family (Table 261). Aside from telephone calls, the main mode of access to outside information among the inmates was TV and all female inmates were able to watch TV.

**Table 261: Frequency of Calls from Relatives: Female (N=19)**

Every day	6
Twice a week	4
Once a week	1
Every 15 days	0
Once a month	2
Every 6 months	1
Less than twice a year	1
Never	3
DK/DA	1

Of the 19 women interviewed, 5 reported that they never receive family visits; however, 10 saw family members at least once a month, of which 2 had visits once a week (Table 262).

**Table 262: Frequency of Family Visits: Female (N=19)**

Once a week	2
Every 15 days	1
Once a month	7
Every 6 months	0
Once a year	2
Never	5
Other	1
DK/DA	1



Respondents were asked to indicate whether family members were asked to pay to enter the prison, bring food, get other items through the gates, bring in work materials or bring in forbidden items. Of the 10 respondents that answered this question, all reported this not to be the case. Generally, respondents were not bothered by the way their relatives were treated by prison personnel when they visited, with the largest number (6) saying they were treated so-so and 2 saying their relatives were treated well (Table 263). Items brought by family members varied; however, the majority brought money (10) or clothes/shoes (8), and 3 indicating that relatives brought medicine for them as well (Table 264).

**Table 263: How Relatives Treated by Prison Personnel When They Visit: Female (n=10)**

Very well	0
Well	2
So-so	6
Badly	0
Very badly	0
DK/DA	2

**Table 264: Items Your Family Members Bring for You: Female (n=10)**

Food	1
Clothes/shoes	8
Money	10
Medicines	3
Work materials/tools	0

Respondents were asked to indicate which of a range of activities they were involved in at the prison. Of the 19 respondents, 15 were involved in cleaning/maintenance and 8 in education activities (Table 265). When crossed with trial stage, convicted inmates were more likely to be involved in cleaning/maintenance and other labor than any other activities. There was a more even spread of involvement among those yet to be convicted.

**Table 265: Activities by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Sports</b>	1	3	0	<b>4</b>
<b>Education</b>	4	3	2	<b>9</b>
<b>Other education</b>	2	3	2	<b>7</b>
<b>Cleaning/Maintenance</b>	4	3	8	<b>15</b>
<b>Other labour</b>	2	2	4	<b>8</b>

Younger women appeared to be less likely to be involved in activities than older inmates, with the 18–24 age group displaying the lowest numbers in all but two categories (Table 266).

**Table 266: Activities by Age: Female (N=19)**

	18–24	25–34	35–44	45+	Total
<b>Sports</b>	1	1	2	0	<b>4</b>
<b>Education</b>	2	4	3	0	<b>9</b>
<b>Other education</b>	2	2	3	0	<b>7</b>
<b>Cleaning/Maintenance</b>	2	9	4	0	<b>15</b>
<b>Other labour</b>	1	3	4	0	<b>8</b>

Overall most respondents (14) reported that they were engaged in some form of paid labor at the prison (Table 267). No difference was observed related to trial stage.

**Table 267: Work Inside Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Worked in Prison</b>	5	3	6	<b>14</b>
<b>Did Not Work in Prison</b>	0	0	5	<b>5</b>

Most respondents (9) reported that they had not learned a trade while in prison (Table 268). Of the 5 women that indicated that they did, only one was a convicted inmate. It was apparent that female respondents were not exposed to a wide variety of trades (Table 269).

**Table 268: Learned a Trade in Prison by Trial Stage: Female (n=14)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Learned a Trade</b>	3	2	1	<b>5</b>
<b>Did Not Learn a Trade</b>	3	1	5	<b>9</b>

**Table 269: Trade Learned by Trial Stage: Female (n=5)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Food &amp; Beverage</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Electrical</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>IT</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Building</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Auto</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Welding</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Cosmetology</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Ceramics</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Other</b>	2	2	1	<b>5</b>

When asked whether they studied while in prison, 10 reported that they did and 9 that they did not, essentially equal numbers (Table 270). When crossed with trial stage, convicted inmates were less likely to study than those yet to be convicted. Of those that did study, 6 found it very useful and 2 said it was quite useful (Table 271). Those that indicated that they did not study while in prison were asked to explain

why. Of the 9 inmates that did not study, 3 said it was not a choice and 3 indicated that they were not interested (Table 272). These were all convicted inmates.

**Table 270: Studied in Prison by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>Studied</b>	5	2	3	<b>10</b>
<b>Did Not Study</b>	0	1	8	<b>9</b>

**Table 271: Usefulness of Study by Trial Stage: Female (n=10)**

	Trial Stage			Total
	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	
Very useful	2	2	2	6
Quite useful	2	0	0	2
Not very useful	1	0	1	2
Not useful at all	0	0	0	0
DK/DA	0	0	0	0

**Table 272: Reason for Not Studying by Trial Stage: Female (n=9)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
<b>It was not a choice</b>	0	0	3	<b>3</b>
<b>Teachers would not come</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>I have no interest in studying</b>	0	0	3	<b>3</b>
<b>I dropped out right away because I didn't like it</b>	0	0	0	<b>0</b>
<b>Other</b>	0	1	1	<b>2</b>
<b>DK/DA</b>	0	0	1	<b>1</b>

When asked how they spent most of their days at the prison, inmates reported a range of activities. Table 273 shows that the largest number (14) responded “other” followed by cleaning (7), practicing sports or in leisure activities (5), and sleeping (5).

**Table 273: How Spent Most Days in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Working	4
Sleeping	5
Studying	3
Practicing sports or in leisure activities	5
Cleaning	7
Watching TV	5
Other	14

*Note:* Respondents were able to pick up to three responses.

## Illicit Behavior in Prison

Table 274 shows that 17 of the 19 women interviewed indicated that they were not aware of any gangs in prison. Table 275 shows that most respondents (11) answered no when asked if crimes are organized by gangs from within the prison. Of those that answered yes, the largest number identified drug trafficking as the crime (Table 276).

**Table 274: Awareness of Gangs in Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	2
No	17

**Table 275: Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Female (N=19)**

Yes	4
No	11
DK/NA	4

**Table 276: Types of Crimes Organized from Within Prison: Female (n=4)**

Kidnapping	0
Extortion	0
Trafficking	3
Robbery	1
Murder	0
Other	1

When asked why gang members on the outside would commit crimes at the request of those inside prison (Table 277), the largest number of respondents answered loyalty to the gang (3). Other notable responses included other (3) and to gain a reputation (1).

**Table 277: Why People Outside Prison Commit Crimes for Inmates: Female (n=4)**

	Count
Loyalty to the gang	3
Fear of personal retaliation outside the prison	1
Fear of retaliation if they are imprisoned	0
Fear of retaliation against family or friends	0
To gain a reputation	1
Other	3

When asked about forced sexual intercourse, all 19 women surveyed reported that they had never seen another inmate being forced to have sexual intercourse nor had they themselves ever been forced into having sexual intercourse since being in prison. Similarly, none of the respondents reported being beaten at any time during their imprisonment. When asked if they had ever witnessed another inmate being beaten, however, 9 women answered yes (Table 278).

**Table 278: Saw Other Inmates Beaten: Female (N=19)**

Yes	9
No	10

Theft among women inmates appeared to be uncommon. Only 5 of the 19 women reported ever having their belongings stolen (Table 279). No major difference was observed related to trial stage.

**Table 279: Belongings Stolen by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Yes	2	1	2	5
No	3	2	9	14
DK/DA	0	0	0	0

No respondents reported using drugs or alcohol in the past month. When asked who brings the most drugs into the prison, most respondents answered prison staff (Table 280).

**Table 280: Brings Most Drugs into Prison: Female (N=19)**

Relatives or visitors	0
Prison staff	10
Police officers/Guards	1
Other	0
DK/DA	8

Overall, the women interviewed were split on whether they felt safe within the prison. When asked if they felt less safe or safer inside the prison than when they were out, 8 respondents answered less safe, 7 answered just as safe and 3 reported that they felt safer than before (Table 281). Of the 8 respondents who said they felt less safe, 6 were convicted inmates. There was no observable difference when crossed with age.

**Table 281: Sense of Safety in Prison Compared to before Arrest by Trial Stage: Female (N=19)**

	On Remand	On Trial	Convicted	Total
Safer	1	0	2	3
Just as safe (spontaneous)	3	1	3	7
Less safe	1	1	6	8
DK/DA	0	1	0	1

*Note:* Respondents were asked if they felt safer or less safe.

“Just as safe” was only recorded if the respondent offered it spontaneously.

## The Future

When female respondents were asked whether they planned to live in the same neighborhood where they lived before they were arrested, 16 answered yes (Table 282). When asked if they planned to associate with the same people, only 9 said yes (Table 283). There was no observable difference in either of these answers when crossed with age.

**Table 282: Plan to Live in Same Neighborhood as Before Arrest: Female (N=19)**

Yes	16
No	2
DK/NA	1

**Table 283: Plan to Associate with Same People as Before Arrest: Female (N=19)**

Same people	9
New people	8
DK/NA	2

Of the 19 women surveyed, 8 reported that they planned to apply for a job when released, while a further 5 reported that they had a job waiting for them (Table 284).

**Table 284: Where You Plan to Work on Release: Female (N=19)**

	Count
I already have a job waiting for me	5
I'll apply for a job related to my trade	0
I'll look for a job among my acquaintances or relatives	0
I'll apply for any job	8
I haven't thought about it yet	2
I don't know	3
DK/DA	1

When asked about fears they may have about their lives post-release, 7 women expressed concern about family rejection and 6 were uncertain about finding a job (Table 285). When provided with another set of options, 5 women expressed concern about being arrested again, while 4 were fearful of being killed, 3 of getting sick or addicted, and 2 of being attacked (Table 286). For all fears, there was no observable difference when crossed with age.

**Table 285: Most Afraid of (a): Female (N=19)**

Not having a place to live	2
Not finding a job	6
My family rejecting me	7
DK/DA	4

**Table 286: Most Afraid of (b): Female (N=19)**

Being attacked or hurt	2
Getting sick or developing an addiction	3
Being arrested again	5
Being killed because of what I did	4
DK/NA	5

Among the women, there was some awareness of government agencies and civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners. When asked about government agencies, 6 of the 19 women were aware they existed (Table 287) and when asked about civil society groups, 7 were aware of them (Table 288).

**Table 287: Aware of Government Agencies Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Female (N=19)**

Yes	6
No	10
DK/NA	3

**Table 288: Aware of Civil Society Groups Helping Newly Released Prisoners: Female (N=19)**

Yes	7
No	10
DK/NA	2

Outlook among the women was positive. When asked if they thought it likely that they might get arrested again, 4 answered probably not and 13 answered most probably not (Table 289). When asked how they thought things would go for them on release, the outlook was positive, with 14 of the 19 women answering better and 2 believing it would be the same (Table 290). There was no observable difference in either result when crossed with age.

**Table 289: Likelihood of Being Arrested Again: Female (N=19)**

Most probably yes	0
Probably yes	2
Probably not	4
Most probably not	13

**Table 290: How Things Will Be When Released: Female (N=19)**

Better	14
The same	2
Worse	0
DK/DA	3

## Conclusion and Recommendations

*Note:* Because there was such a small number of incarcerated women in Barbados, analyzing the data was challenging and comparisons between the male and female populations were impossible. However, there is empirical value in the data collected from the female inmates. As such, we decided to present the data and analysis for the two populations separately and to present the data from the women in totality to preserve its value.

Among the findings, a few issues stood out as noteworthy (see Appendix 1 for a more comprehensive summary of findings among female inmates):

- As with the male inmates, drug use among female inmates prior to their incarceration was common, with 15 of the 19 women interviewed indicating that they had used drugs during their lifetime. Like the male inmates, marijuana was the most common drug. It was interesting to note also that drug and alcohol use among the parents/guardians of the inmates was very low. No inmate reported parental/guardian use of drugs while growing up and only 3 of the 19 women reported that their parent/guardian drank frequently.
- In keeping with the general trend of female incarceration in Barbados (Bailey, 2016), drug possession/dealing was the most common crime accounting for their present incarceration.
- Physical discipline in the home was prevalent among the women interviewed, with 15 of the 19 women indicating having been hit/beaten as a child.
- The average time between arrest and sentencing for women was only 6 months compared to 25 months for men.

## Childhood Exposure to Violence

Inmates experienced both direct and indirect violence in their homes as children. Several of the inmates reported witnessing the physical victimization of their mothers at the hands of husbands/partners. It was very common for the inmates to have experienced physical punishment at the hands of their parents/guardians during their childhoods. There is general agreement in the international literature that abuse, particularly in childhood, places people at risk for a variety of social and psychological problems and is a precursor to future offending. Early research on the link between victimization and involvement in criminal activity focused on the role of intergenerational transmission of violence. Research has pointed to the critical role of the family environment and the way violence within the family can affect the learned behavior of children, fostering the belief that it is an acceptable means of achieving goals. Self-restraint is affected as inhibitions to carrying out aggressive acts are weakened, which normalizes violence (Shahinfar, Kupersmidt, and Matza, 2001). Olweus (1979) said that these inhibitions are maintained into adulthood. Although empirical evidence on the use of corporal punishment across the Caribbean is sparse, there is evidence to suggest that its use both at home and in schools is widespread (UNICEF, 2010). Similarly, data on attitudes toward its use reveals continued support as a tool for disciplining children. Payne (1989) found that of 499 Barbadian adults, over 70 percent approved of corporal punishment. Similarly, Bailey, Robinson, and Coore-Desai (2013) found widespread acceptance for the use of corporal punishment among parents, teachers, and school administrators.



Historically, corporal punishment has received widespread support throughout the Caribbean region. It is a strong relic of British colonial and penal policies, which effectively institutionalized the physical disciplining of children (Antoine, 2008). Under common law, it was presumed that parents could use reasonable corporal punishment to correct their child. It was also taken for granted that a parent delegated his or her right to administer moderate and reasonable corporal punishment to teachers when they sent the child to school. Others have pointed to the traditional child-rearing practices of West Africans, as well as the fact that, among slave owners, corporal punishment was an integral part of ensuring discipline and control (Arnold and Phil, 1982).

*Recommendation:* The state and the administration have not accepted that the practice of corporal punishment is wrong, particularly in schools. There is constitutional protection against cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, and punishment in Caribbean countries, but the same constitutions give extensive latitude to the state to maintain punishments that were lawful before the constitutions came into force. For instance, the Criminal Code of Grenada (1897) allows for the use of “justifiable force” to correct a child for misconduct. In Trinidad and Tobago, the *Children Act* (1925) maintains the right of a parent, teacher, or person having lawful control of a child to administer “reasonable punishment.” The education acts of Grenada, St. Kitts & Nevis, and St. Vincent & the Grenadines temper—but stop short of banning—the use of corporal punishment in schools. In St. Vincent & the Grenadines, for example, corporal punishment is limited to instances where no other punishment is considered effective or suitable. In Barbados, under common law, it is presumed that parents can use reasonable corporal punishment to correct their child (*Mayers v Attorney General of Barbados*). The failure of Caribbean governments, which are signatories to the Convention of the Rights of the Child, to bring laws into accordance with the provisions of the Convention has served to undermine positive disciplinary messages and allow these negative practices to continue. This needs to be addressed and laws enacted in conjunction with increased public awareness of the short- and long-term negative impacts of corporal punishment and with interventions targeting parenting and childrearing practices that strengthen parental competences to provide attention, supervision and discipline without physical punishment or psychological abuse. There also needs to be national capacity building to employ these standards to ensure a safe and healthy environment. At the moment, the absence of such policies encourages the continuation of what is a dangerous practice. As stated earlier, the practice receives widespread support from general society, which makes prohibition problematic. Those countries that have achieved its legal eradication have, however, in all cases, done so in the face of public outcry (APPROACH, 2012). Ensuring children’s rights to the maintenance of their human and physical dignity, as required by the Convention of the Rights of the Child, must be done on the basis of the principles of human rights rather than public opinion

### Parental Risk Factors

Alcohol and drug abuse among parents/guardians, as well as the large number of family members that had been previously or currently incarcerated, were of concern. There is evidence to suggest that both parental substance abuse (Davis and Shlafer, 2017) and parental incarceration (Huebner and Gustafson, 2007) present considerable risk for adverse child development and criminal offending in adulthood.

*Recommendation:* Explore early detection mechanisms and interventions targeted at those exposed to parental substance abuse and parental incarceration to potentially reduce crime. In addition, consideration should be given to the implementation of family-centered programs for incarcerated parents, their children and families, with focus on improving parenting strategies, addressing trauma and strengthening family bonds. Moreover, Prison Services should put in place strategies that facilitate parent-child visits during incarceration and reduce barriers to regular contact of incarcerated parents with their children.

### Drug and Alcohol Abuse

Among the inmates, drug and alcohol use prior to their incarceration was high. Although studies attempting to investigate a link between substance abuse and offending have produced mixed results, a number of studies have concluded that drug users have a higher rate of offending than non-drug using populations (Pierce, Hayhurst, Bird, et al., 2017). Marijuana use was particularly high among inmates prior to their incarceration. An unexpected finding among male inmates was that a higher percentage of those charged with violent crimes were marijuana users than those charged with non-violent crimes. This could possibly be the high usage rate among inmates; however, there is evidence within the literature to suggest that marijuana can act as a risk factor for violent interactions as well as psychotic episodes (Nielssen, Westmore, Large, et al., 2007; Smith, Homish, Leonard, et al., 2013). This finding warrants further investigation as it could have important implications for policy.

*Recommendation:* The high level of drug use brings into focus the role of prisons as it relates to drug abuse. Despite the propensity for inmates to suffer from addiction issues, prisons generally do not provide prisoners who are struggling with drug addiction with the necessary assistance. Whereas counseling programs are common, medicine-based treatment that targets withdrawal symptoms and other manifestations of addiction are less likely to be employed. Adequate treatment cannot only reduce the risk of re-using but can also improve inmate behavior and reduce the likelihood of future criminality. Inmates who are forced to abstain as part of their rehabilitation are more likely to die from an overdose in the two weeks following their release from prison than the general population (WHO, 2010). Abrupt withdrawal has been argued to be inhumane and has been the cause of numerous deaths within prisons and jails (Vestal, 2016). As an alternative, studies have found that administering methadone or Suboxone a few weeks before release, in conjunction with connecting inmates with post-release providers, reduces the likelihood that they will relapse (Schwartzapfel, 2017). One of the largest programs using this method is at New York City's Riker's Island. The program began in 1987 and currently treats as many as 2,000 inmates a year with methadone with positive results. As many as 75 percent of all inmates entering Rikers Island suffer from drug addiction. The jail's treatment program offers, to those not already on treatment medication, various options for medication, in tandem with counseling. The majority of inmates chose methadone. In New York, where the benefits of methadone treatment were first researched, it has become the standard of care for drug addiction in community treatment clinics. It follows therefore that the use of methadone in prisons would be successful. Indeed, researchers have found that the Riker's Island treatment program has resulted in overall health care cost savings, reduced crime and more successful drug use recovery rates (Vestal, 2016).

It was interesting to note that this point was not lost on the inmates, with 22 percent of respondents indicating that an inability to stay clean (not use drugs) factored into their own recidivism. The *Inmate Drug Rehabilitation Program* was established in 2001 at HMP Dodds. It offers therapy to male and female inmates and aims to reduce drug dependency with the goal of reducing the propensity to reoffend once released. Any inmate due for release and those ordered by the court to undergo drug rehabilitation are eligible for the program. No formal evaluation of this program has ever been conducted. A comprehensive evaluation and review of this program against the background of evidence-based strategies is recommended. Education is needed to convince policymakers of the advantages of medicine-based treatment programs such as the one operating at Riker's Island.

Lastly, it will also be recommended to strengthen with financial, human, and technical resources diversionary programs that are already available (e.g., drug courts) to divert drug offenders away from the criminal justice system. Other available alternatives to incarceration, such as probation and community service orders, could also benefit from an influx of resources to increase their reach and effectiveness. There is also the need to generate more buy-in from the public and even from some areas in the criminal justice system in the use and benefits of alternatives to incarceration.

### Violent Crime and Weapon Use

As mentioned earlier, Barbados has traditionally represented somewhat of a deviation from much of the Caribbean in that crimes against property have remained high in comparison to violent offenses. However, violent crimes and weapons possession accounted for the majority of the crimes committed by the inmates in this sample. This may point to a shifting nature in Barbadian crime in keeping with increased news reports of violent crimes. Together with official police data, increased violence and weapons use could confirm the need for a change in crime prevention policy. Policies may need to begin to target violent crimes as opposed to property crimes, which have historically been of most concern. Self-reported gang membership was low. Almost half of the inmates reported that they used a weapon when committing their crime and 82 percent said it was an unlicensed firearm. The local instability caused by gun trafficking is well established in the Caribbean. The market for illegal weapons in the region is a major barrier to achieving democratic processes, community safety, and economic development. As with many countries in the region, firearms are the most popular weapon of choice for perpetrators of homicides in Barbados. This increase is a cause for concern.

*Recommendation:* Addressing the influx of illegal weapons from overseas must form part of a holistic approach to crime prevention. Strategies should range from increased surveillance at various ports of entry to more committed adherence to global and regional partnerships and agreements aimed at reducing the illegal trade in guns. The 2001 United Nations Programme of Action to Prevent, Combat and Eradicate the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects (PoA) identified a range of micro and macro level strategies to this end. For example, governments agreed to improve national laws related to small arms and import/export controls. All CARICOM (Caribbean Community) states are politically bound by the PoA, however, adherence to its guidelines has been limited among Caribbean countries, including Barbados. We recommend that Barbados re-engage with the PoA and/or alternative multi-lateral agreements as part of a committed national strategy to reduce access to illegal firearms.

### Due Process within the Royal Barbados Police Force

There are some serious concerns related to the due process afforded offenders as they make their way through the justice system. Only 14 percent of male respondents and only 4 of the 19 women interviewed reported that they were shown a warrant in writing when they were arrested. Of great concern was the large proportion of male inmates who reported that physical force was used against them in order to compel them to testify or change their statement. Also, most inmates were not informed that they were entitled to a lawyer, or that a guilty plea could result in a reduced sentence. Considering the majority of those that were informed, chose to plead guilty, the impact of providing this information is clear. Although these issues arise before inmates encounter the prison system, they raise questions about the investigative capacity of the police force and the propensity of the criminal justice system as a whole to adhere to principles of due process and human rights. A warrant is obtained from the court where there is enough evidence to arrest. However, the police have the power to arrest without a warrant in certain circumstances, including when they think that an offense is about to occur, where an offense is committed in view of an officer, or where witnesses have provided evidence such that an officer believes that a crime has occurred. This could cover crimes such as theft, drug trafficking, and assault, among others, and as such it is conceivable that the low number of inmates that were shown a warrant is indicative of crimes falling into these categories. In addition, under Barbados law, reasonable cause allows the police to take a suspect to a police station for questioning based on a tip, after which an arrest can be made without a warrant. Despite these instances, the numbers are low enough to necessitate an investigation into the arresting practices of the police force and the propensity for the police to follow due process and adhere to the human rights of offenders from the time of arrest through to sentencing.

*Recommendation:* Some jurisdictions where there have been concerns about police force adherence to due process have turned to citizen oversight. In the United States, since the 1990s, an increasing number of cities are using such methods. While the degree of oversight varies, the most active involves investigative capacity aimed at addressing allegations of police misconduct, the result of which is to make recommendations to policymakers. While no single model of citizen oversight exists, the U.S. Department of Justice identified four types (Finn, 2001):

- Type 1: Citizens investigate allegations of police misconduct and recommend findings to the chief or sheriff.
- Type 2: Police officers investigate allegations and develop findings; citizens review and recommend that the chief or sheriff approve or reject the findings.
- Type 3: Complainants can appeal findings established by the police or sheriff's department to citizens, who review them and then recommend their own findings to the chief or sheriff.
- Type 4: An auditor investigates the process by which the police or sheriff's department accepts and investigates complaints and reports on the thoroughness and fairness of the process to the department and the public.

Each type has its own benefits and drawbacks depending on the unique needs of each jurisdiction. Professional investigators generally do not engage with the public regarding their concerns about the police. Citizen oversight has been found to be both fair and thorough while at the same time making the public

feel part of the process of police accountability. It is highly recommended that careful consideration is given to implementing citizen oversight as a way to ensure adherence to human rights.

### Court Backlog

Another issue to emerge from this survey was the length of time it takes for cases to be adjudicated. As discussed earlier, the lives of those charged with criminal offenses (and their family members) are severely negatively affected and these impacts increase as time passes. The average time from arrest to sentencing across the sample was 25 months, which does not compare favorably with jurisdictions in the developed world (U.K. Ministry of Justice, 2008).

*Recommendation:* The Barbados justice system faces a backlog of cases, which points to inefficiencies within the justice system. At present, in order to attempt to address backlog, the courts and/or the Department of Public Prosecutions will occasionally request reports on the length of time inmates have been on remand, however this is done ad hoc and is not part of official policy. We recommend that the performance of the existing judicial systems and courts be evaluated to identify possible inefficiencies and avenues for intervention. There is also a need to review the nature of offenses deemed to be worthy of custodial sentencing, which assumes relevance considering the global and regional debates surrounding the decriminalization and legalization of marijuana. Although full legalization has so far been absent from the Barbadian debate, the government has recently developed a framework for the use of medical marijuana. However, Prime Minister Mia Mottley has stated that the decriminalization of marijuana will have to go to a referendum.<sup>19</sup> Of all male inmates surveyed, 19 percent were arrested for selling drugs (third highest proportion of inmates) and 88 percent of these were selling marijuana. We recommend an exploration of the possible effects of marijuana legalization on current court backlog and incarceration rates.

### Nutrition

Although generally it appeared that inmates were living in satisfactory conditions, with little evidence of overcrowding and reasonable basic amenities, there was widespread agreement among respondents, regardless of sex, age, and trial stage, that the quality of food provided was poor. No nutritional guidelines exist for food provision in the prison system, which is out-sourced. Research suggests that prison food is not only of bad quality but often nutritionally inadequate, which in the long term can have detrimental health consequences for inmates (e.g., obesity, high cholesterol, diabetes, heart disease, etc.) (Collins and Thompson, 2012; Cook et al., 2015). Ramsbotham and Gesch (2009) found that rates of incarceration are particularly high in communities that are nutritionally deprived.

*Recommendation:* Some research suggests that improved nutrition may result in better prisoner behavior and that recidivism rates may fall. Indeed, there is that this is in fact the case (Zoukis and Frazee-Walker, 2013). We recommend that prison authorities be informed of the negative effects of poor prisoner nutrition and that attempts be made to improve the quality of food. Additionally, the prison service could collaborate with non-profit organizations and nutrition professionals or graduate students to develop

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<sup>19</sup> “Barbados PM Comments on Decriminalisation of Marijuana.” *Jamaica Observer*. Saturday December 8, 2018. Accessed Thursday May 2<sup>nd</sup> 2019.

effective education campaigns and workshops for both prison staff and incarcerated people as well as nutritional guidelines for the prison system. They might be able to provide such services at little or no cost to the prison system.

### Health Provision

Prisoners indicated that medical care was generally provided when needed; however, the length of time taken to see a medical professional is problematic. Male prisoners waited an average of almost 11 days, while women waited an average of approximately 10 days. In addition, the quality of medical care received was deemed to be unsatisfactory by a majority of prisoners. Further, dental care appeared to be less accessible than medical care for both for men and women.

*Recommendation:* Providing adequate health and dental care in a timely fashion is critical not only ethically, but also from legal, social, and public health standpoints. A well-functioning penal system should seek to ensure these provisions. We therefore recommend that steps be taken to ensure adequate and timely provision of health and dental care, for example: (i) reviewing policies to provide health care services and medication to incarcerated individuals in a timely manner at no charge, and (ii) developing collaborative partnerships with health authorities and medical students who could provide preventive care and address minor health issues.

It is also critical that inmates understand the role that their own actions can play in ensuring good health and mitigating the need for medical/dental attention. To this end, therefore, we recommend that all inmates undergo periodic hygiene education in order to promote and maintain healthy practices and behavior.

### Prisoner Victimization

The victimization of offenders emerged as another area of concern. While most inmates reported that they themselves had never suffered any sexual or physical abuse inside the prison, the overwhelming majority had witnessed other inmates being beaten. In most cases beatings occurred at the hands of other inmates, but in many cases it was perpetrated by prison staff. In addition, most inmates reported having been victims of theft at some point during their time in prison. Studies have found a direct relationship between feelings of safety and levels of victimization in prison (Wolff and Shi, 2009). In keeping with this, most male and female inmates reported that they felt unsafe within the prison when compared to how they felt before their arrest.

*Recommendation:* Safety while incarcerated should be a right afforded to all prisoners. The fact that the majority do not feel safe is problematic. We recommend a review of the attitude of prison administration and staff regarding the safety of inmates. Prison officials have suggested that one technique could be to ensure that inmate orientation includes identifying a Prison Officer to whom any case of victimization could be reported with the expectation of confidentiality. In addition, it is suggested to review and revamp the training curriculum for prison staff that emphasizes human rights issues, as well as deescalation and positive engagement techniques with prison population. It is also possible that deficiencies in staffing may result in a lack of capacity to effectively ensure the safety of prisoners at all times. When sickness, leave,

and administrative officers are considered, the average daily ratio is 6:1 (officers:inmates). Thus we recommend an increase in the numbers of more specialized personnel. It is also recommended to increase opportunities for activity among prisoners. Studies have found that prisoner inactivity (in particular physical activity) can lead to “prison brain,” which can manifest in a variety of forms of problem behavior (Meijers, et al., 2015).

## Rehabilitation

Involvement in rehabilitation programs was low. Both academic and vocational study were rare among prisoners. The majority indicated that they had not learned a trade, particularly among those yet to be convicted. There is widespread agreement that higher education within prison leads to reductions in recidivism and overall crime rates. Also of concern was the fact that female inmates were not exposed to a wide variety of trades when compared with male inmates. This is an area in need of intervention since such education programs are essential to effective rehabilitation. At present, academic and vocational programs are voluntary. The lack of interest among inmates means that large numbers of offenders are leaving prison without having benefitted from classes and programs that may reduce the likelihood of reoffending. When asked about reasons for reoffending, difficulty in finding a job figured prominently among inmate answers. Similarly, not being able to find a job was a common answer given when asked about post-release fears. It is clear, therefore, that inmates indeed want to find employment on release. The lack of interest in these programs could possibly reflect the belief that the skills being taught do not adequately prepare inmates to be competitive in the current job market. It was also suggested by prison officials that the lack of interest may be the result of insufficient teaching volunteers, leading to apathy among inmates. The prison has been trying to engage with Erdiston Teachers Training College to make a teaching rotation at the prison be part of the course curriculum, but to date this initiative has been unsuccessful.

*Recommendation:* We recommend that prison authorities adhere to the following three step best practice rehabilitation process adapted from UNODC (2018).

1. Assess prisoners as soon as possible on arrival and tailor rehabilitation programs to account for the diversity of risks and needs that exist among inmates.
2. Use the Risk-Needs-Responsivity Framework to identify risk factors associated with recidivism and then address them through treatment.
  - a. Risk: Match interventions with individual prisoner’s risk of reoffending
  - b. Needs: Target the specific criminogenic needs of each prisoner based on the risks identified
  - c. Responsivity: Determine how interventions will be delivered to match individual prisoner characteristics.
3. Include six critical categories to create effective prison-based programs:
  - a. Physical health care
  - b. Mental health care and psychological support
  - c. Substance abuse treatment
  - d. Programs to address behavior and attitudes (including cognitive behavioral therapy)
  - e. Education and vocational training



#### f. Work experience

Among the categories listed in step 3, educational and vocational programs are critical since these support access to the job market after release. Social reintegration is challenging without basic education and/or skills. Employment is needed to secure housing, support family, and establish financial independence, all of which reduce the likelihood of reoffending. We therefore recommend that prison authorities make involvement in educational or vocational programs available and accessible for all convicted prisoners. In addition, it is recommended that prison authorities develop partnerships with the Ministry of Education to deliver primary and secondary school classes, as well as, remedial classes. Finally, collaboration with businesses from the private sector is encouraged so that they could be engaged in the training and employment of offenders prior to their release, with the goal of linking these offenders to jobs after release.

### Reintegration

The results of this study suggest that greater assistance is needed for newly released prisoners seeking to reintegrate into society. Very few inmates were aware of any government entities or civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners in their reintegration efforts. In 2011, the Reintegration Unit was created at HMP Dodds to reduce recidivism by giving inmates the skills to effectively participate in society. Prior to the unit being established, there were only a few relatively ad hoc rehabilitation programs. Within the reintegration unit, there are programs aimed at drug rehabilitation, behavioral management, and job opportunities. This is the primary source of assistance for soon-to-be-released prisoners. There do not appear to be any avenues for assistance once prisoners are released.

*Recommendation:* It is paramount that societies provide a pathway between incarceration and society. Newly released inmates face a variety of challenges, including stigmatization, family isolation, and difficulties finding employment and housing. Without meaningful assistance, inmates are at risk of getting caught in a cycle of recidivism. We recommend that adequate mechanisms for reintegration post-release be developed, including strengthening the Reintegration Unit to expand the reentry services they offer, and improve the transition between prison and the community. While prison rehabilitation programs are essential, successful reintegration requires that inmates are prepared for release and offender physical and social needs are addressed after their release in order to minimize the chances of, especially during the first few days after release which are the most critical. Mechanisms must ensure as smooth as possible a transition back into the community. Additionally, We recommend that a comprehensive strategy for reintegration be adopted by the Barbados government in adherence with the elements of social reintegration suggested by UNODC (2018):

1. Starting point: Identify key community stakeholders, encourage collaboration among stakeholders, and audit the nature and scope of community re-entry issues and resources within which the offender is returning.
2. Facing the challenges: If necessary, review and amend existing laws, identify and mobilize resources to implement a strategy, develop inter-agency agreements, ensure continuity of care, and educate the public about the risks posed by and the needs of offenders who are to be reintegrated.
3. Learning: Carefully monitor implementation, measure outcomes, and evaluate impact.



### In-Prison Drug Use

Although self-reported drug and alcohol use was low among male inmates and non-existent among women, a large percentage of inmates reported that drugs were brought into the prison by prison staff. The use of drugs and alcohol among prisoners is strictly prohibited and its transport into the prison is punishable by law. It is of concern therefore that prison staff would be accused of contravening national and institutional laws.

*Recommendation:* We recommend that surveillance be improved and more effective security be implemented to prevent what appears to be a system in which prisoners can obtain illegal substances. We also recommend that officer training be expanded to include the sensitization of officers to the risks of such a practice, including the way this can affect rehabilitation. It is also recommended to strengthen internal mechanisms for reporting, investigating, and resolving staff misconduct.

### Link between Poverty and Crime

Finally, although there is debate within the literature as to the exact nature of the effect of poverty on crime, it cannot be overlooked that HMP Dodds is populated almost exclusively by the poor. While some individuals are able to manage to escape their environmental constraints, there can be little doubt that poverty can be so debilitating that the range of choices available is constrained. Under conditions of multiple kinds of deprivation, life chances may be restricted by forces that test not only a person's resolve but also the combined efforts of communities. Aggregated data for Barbados reflects progress in comparison with Caribbean neighbors, but also troubling regression. Barbados' ranking on the Human Development Index of the UNDP fell from 29 in 2004 to 37 in 2009 to 56 in 2014. Though it remains in the High Human Development category, Barbados has not been keeping up relative to other countries. In addition, the poverty level was at 19 percent of population in 2010 (the last population census), up from 14 percent in 1996/7, though still below the 24 percent average for the Caribbean (Bailey, Lashley, and Barrow, 2019). There are general macroeconomic issues relating to the structure of the economy and industry that suggest that the mechanisms for survival are deficient. Low levels of education and skills restrict the ability to find employment. There are high levels of household dependency, where even if an individual can find employment, domestic responsibilities relegate the individual and the household to living in poverty. It is no surprise therefore that it is against this background that much of the crime is occurring.

*Recommendation:* A policy commitment by the government to poverty reduction must be part of a holistic approach to crime management, which will in turn have the effect of reducing strain on prison resources.

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## Appendix 1: Summary of Findings

### Sociodemographic Profile

- The average male inmate was 34 years old, and the largest proportion were between 25 and 34 years old. Of the male respondents, 87 percent were born in Barbados. The average female age was 34 years old, with the majority born in Barbados.
- Of the male respondents, 55 percent started but did not complete secondary school education, followed by 25 percent who completed secondary education; only 1 percent of the male sample did not attend school at all. Of the 19 female respondents, 10 reported that they had completed secondary education.
- Of the men interviewed, the majority (65 percent) were working immediately prior to their incarceration. The largest proportion worked as construction/factory workers (25 percent), followed by unskilled labor (19 percent). On average, they worked 45 hours per week, earning \$2,925 per month. Of the 19 women interviewed, 8 were working in the month prior to their arrest, with 4 being self-employed. The women worked an average of 37 hours per week for an average of \$3,479 per month.

### Childhood and Life Story

- Most male (75 percent) and female (15 of 19) respondents reported being physically punished as a child. Regarding seeing their mother beaten at the hands of her partner at some point in their childhood, 24 percent of the male respondents and 5 of the 19 women indicated that they had.
- Most of the inmates stayed at home until after age 15 (86 percent of the men and 15 of the 19 women interviewed).
- When they were children, alcohol was consumed frequently by adults in the homes of 31 percent of the male and 3 of the female inmates interviewed. Regarding drug use, 25 percent of the men but none of the women witnessed it in their households as children.
- Of the male respondents, 87 percent reported having used drugs in their lifetimes. Marijuana was the most common drug used among men (86 percent) followed by cocaine/crack (20 percent) and pills/ecstasy (18 percent). Marijuana had the youngest average age of first use (14), followed by inhalants (19). Of the 19 women interviewed, 15 reported that they had used drugs in their lifetime. Marijuana was the most frequently used drug, with 67 percent reporting everyday use. The largest number of women (13) reported using marijuana followed by cocaine/crack (8) and pills/ecstasy (4). Inhalants had the youngest average age of first use (12) among women. The largest number of everyday users among the women interviewed used cocaine/crack (6) followed by marijuana (5).

### Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

- The majority of the male sample were arrested for violent crimes (22 percent for intentional homicide/murder) or weapons possession (27 percent). Notable also was drug possession or drug dealing (19 percent) and assault (14 percent). The majority of those arrested for possession of illegal weapons (84 percent) or intentional homicide/murder (73 percent) were yet to be convicted.
- Of the female sample, the largest number (8) were arrested for drug possession/dealing, 4 were charged with intentional homicide/murder, and 2 were arrested for each of possession of illegal weapons; robbery/theft; and scam, misappropriation, fraud.

- Of the male respondents, 38 percent reported that they had used alcohol/drugs within six hours of committing the crime, most commonly marijuana (68 percent) followed by alcohol (53 percent) and cocaine/crack (24 percent). Of the 19 female respondents, 10 reported that they had used alcohol/drugs within six hours of committing the crime, most commonly alcohol (6) followed by cocaine/crack (5).
- Of the men, 47 percent reported that they used a firearm in the process of committing the crime, and of these, 82 percent used an unlicensed firearm. Of the 19 women surveyed, only 4 reported using a weapon while committing the crime.
- Respondents who committed property crimes were asked to estimate their monthly earnings from this offense. The largest proportion of male inmates (27 percent) reported monthly earnings of \$1,000–\$9,999, average monthly earnings were \$9,700, and the average cost of items stolen was \$34,000. Only 1 female respondent was able to answer when asked about her monthly earnings from property crime and she said \$1,000–\$9,999. The average cost of items stolen among the women was \$43,400.
- Of the men who committed drug offenses, the estimated average monthly earnings from this offense was \$40,000 and the average monetary value of the drugs in their possession when apprehended was \$426,000. The most common drug that male respondents were charged with selling was marijuana (88 percent) followed by crack/cocaine (26 percent). The largest proportion of men indicated that they committed the crime because they could make quite a lot of money from it. Among the women charged with drug offenses, the average monthly income from this crime was \$40,000. The only drug that any of the women had been charged with selling was marijuana and the average monetary value of the drugs seized was \$15,400.
- The largest proportion (along with ‘other’) of male respondents charged with intentional homicide/murder (20 percent) reported that the murder occurred while committing another crime. Other reasons included revenge (17 percent) and self-defense (14 percent). The largest proportion reported using an unlicensed firearm. Among the 4 women charged with this crime, the motives were problems with spouse/partner (1), a fight (1), and it occurred while committing another crime (1). The most common murder weapon used by the women was a knife.
- Of the males charged with sex crimes, the largest proportion of victims were a boyfriend/girlfriend (21 percent) and a stranger (21 percent). In 43 percent of the cases, the offender was accused of using physical violence. One female inmate was charged with raping her child without the use of physical force.
- Most male inmates (61 percent) reported that they had previously been imprisoned (for a separate crime). Convicted inmates were more likely than those yet to be convicted to have been imprisoned before. Of the men, 47 percent reported being arrested more than once, with 6 percent having been arrested more than 10 times. Of the 19 women surveyed, 6 had been imprisoned for a separate crime in the past.
- Respondents were asked whether there were any gangs in the communities where they were raised. Most male respondents (53 percent) reported that there were, but most indicated that they were not part of a gang at the time of their arrest (87 percent). Of the 19 women surveyed, 9 reported that there were gangs in the communities where they were raised and only 1 inmate reported that she was a member of a gang.

- Of the male inmates, 50 percent reported that they had owned a firearm before and of this group, the average age of first ownership was 17 years old. Of the 19 women surveyed, 3 reported that they had owned a firearm before and the average age of first ownership was 22 years old.

### Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

- Of the male inmates surveyed, 61 percent were yet to be convicted. The amount of time between committing the crime and being arrested ranged from less than an hour (7 percent) to more than a year (6 percent), with 21 percent being arrested between 1 day and 1 week after the offence and 22 percent arrested within a day. Of the 19 women interviewed, 11 had been convicted. When asked how much time had elapsed between when the crime was committed and their eventual arrest, answers ranged from less than 1 hour (4) to more than a year (1).
- Only 14 percent of male respondents reported that they were shown a warrant in writing when they were arrested. Almost all (92 percent) reported that they were taken to a police station after arrest and the largest proportion reported that they spent more than 3 nights and less than 1 week (60 percent) there. The younger the age group, the larger the proportion of respondents that spent more than 3 nights in jail. The majority (15) of female respondents were not shown a warrant upon arrest. Of the 19 women interviewed, 17 reported that they were taken to a police station after arrest where the largest number (5) reported that they spent 1 night.
- Of the inmates interviewed, 50 percent of the men 5 of the 19 women reported that physical force was used against them to compel them to testify or to change their statement while at the police station.
- Of the inmates, 15 percent of the men and 4 women reported that they were asked for money or belongings by a police officer at some point since their arrest, and 31 percent of the men and 6 of the women believed that a bribe to a member of law enforcement would have seen them released.
- Among the male inmates, 53 percent were informed that they were entitled to a lawyer, but 32 percent reported that they almost never saw their lawyer. Among the women, 11 reported being informed of their right to a lawyer and 5 reported that they almost never saw their lawyer.
- Of the respondents, 82 percent of the men and 15 of 19 women were not informed that a guilty plea could result in a reduced sentence.
- Of the respondents, 74 percent of the men and 11 of the 19 women were represented by a private lawyer and they were more likely to be happy with the way they were defended than those represented by a public defender.
- Overall, 67 percent of male respondents reported that they understood either a lot (39 percent) or quite a lot (28 percent) during their trial, and only 10 percent indicated that they understood very little. There was very little difference between the number of women who reported that they understood very little (3) or a little (4) and those that understood quite a lot (5) or a lot (1) of what was happening in court.
- The average time elapsed from arrest to sentencing across the male sample was 25 months; the average time among the women interviewed was 6 months. Those arrested for non-violent crimes were more likely to be processed through the legal system promptly than those arrested for violent crimes.



- Among male inmates, the average length of sentence was 90 months and ranged from 1–2 months (3 percent) to 144+ months (25 percent), with 1 percent having been sentenced to death. Among female inmates, the average length of sentence was 26 months and ranged from less than 1 month (1) to 72–143 months (1).

### Conditions in the Prison

- Among male respondents, 68 percent reported that their cells were operating at capacity and thus overcrowding did not appear to be occurring. Of the 19 women interviewed, 13 reported that their cells were operating under capacity.
- Most items needed for the comfort of both male and female inmates appeared to be provided by the prison, except for shoes, which some reported that they obtained from family members.
- Respondents were asked to indicate which from a range of separate items were provided by the prison. Among the men, blankets (29 percent), deodorant (14 percent), pillows (12 percent), and razors (1 percent) were least like to be provided by the prison. Toilet paper (99 percent), soap (91 percent), toothbrushes (89 percent), and toothpaste (85 percent) were predominantly provided by the prison. Among the women, razors (2), deodorant (6), and pillows (6) were least likely to be provided by the prison compared to toilet paper (19), toothbrush (18), toothpaste (17), and soap (15).
- Among male inmates, the largest proportion (67 percent) took one shower per day, while 32 percent took two. Most male inmates (78 percent) said the toilet facilities were clean. Convicted inmates were more likely to consider the toilets clean. Of the 19 women interviewed, 16 took 1–2 showers per day. Most women (16) said the toilet facilities were clean.
- Among male inmates, there was widespread agreement that the provision of drinking water was adequate. However, while 19 percent believed the quality to be either good (17 percent) or very good (2 percent), 38 percent indicated that the quality of water was either poor (30 percent) or very poor (8 percent). Among female inmates, almost unanimously, the provision of water was deemed to be adequate; however, 10 respondents reported the quality to be either poor (7) or very poor (3).
- Of male respondents, 92 percent reported that the quality of the food was either poor (20 percent) or very poor (72 percent) and no respondents reported the quality to be very good. Those yet to be convicted (81 percent of those on remand; 70 percent of those on trial) were more likely to consider the food quality to be very poor (61 percent) than convicted inmates. Of the 19 women interviewed, 12 respondents reported the food quality to be either very poor (8) or poor (5).
- Both male and female respondents indicated that generally medical care was provided by the prison if inmates required it. Dental care appeared to be less accessible, with 8 of the 19 women and 35 percent of the men reporting that they did not receive dental care when needed.
- Among male inmates, the average length of time it took to see a medical professional was 260 hours (almost 11 days) with the largest proportion reporting a wait time of 2–7 days (46 percent) followed by 1–4 weeks (25 percent). Among female inmates, the average wait time was 241 hours (approximately 10 days).
- Of the male respondents, 58 percent reported that the quality of medical care was either poor (33 percent) or very poor (25 percent) and only 6 percent viewed it to be good, with a further 15 percent deeming it normal. Of the women interviewed, 6 deemed the quality of care to be good, while 4 respondents believed it to be normal. Only 3 respondents deemed the care to be poor.



- Among male inmates, the most common ailment was flu/chest infection (46 percent), followed by stomach problems (18 percent), though 57 percent reported having some other illness (not specified). Among female inmates, the largest number of respondents answered other when asked what illness they had.
- Of the respondents, 68 percent of the men and 15 of the women indicated that they obtained medicine from the prison authorities when needed, while 14 percent of the men and 2 of the women obtained medicine from their family.
- Most male inmates (80 percent) received calls at least once a month, with the largest proportion receiving calls every day (41 percent). This was true regardless of trial stage, although those on remand revealed a slightly larger percentage receiving calls every day (47 percent) than those on trial (36 percent) or convicted (34 percent). Most female inmates (13) received telephone calls at least once a month, with the largest proportion receiving calls every day (6).
- Only 1 percent of male inmates reported having visits with greater frequency than once a week, with the largest proportion having family visits once a month (38 percent) followed by once a week (21 percent). Of the 19 women interviewed, 5 reported that they never received family visits; however, 10 saw family members at least once a month, of which 2 had a visit once a week.
- Of the male respondents, 26 percent felt that their family members were treated either badly (21 percent) or very badly (5 percent) compared to 16 percent who believed their family members were treated either well (11 percent) or very well (4 percent). The largest number of women (6) said their family was treated so-so, and a further 2 thought that their relatives were treated well.
- As it relates to prison activities, the largest proportion of male inmates (19 percent) was involved in cleaning/maintenance and education activities (18 percent). Younger inmates appeared to be less likely to be involved in activities than older inmates. The 18–24 age group displayed the lowest percentage of involvement across all activities except for other education. Most female respondents (15) were involved in cleaning/maintenance and education activities (8). Younger women appeared to be less likely to be involved in activities than older inmates. The 18–24 age group displayed the lowest numbers involved in all but two categories.
- Of the respondents, 31 percent of the men and 14 women reported that they were engaged in some form of paid labor at the prison.
- Most inmates indicated that they had not learned a trade while in prison (58 percent of the men and 9 women). However, trial stage crossed with learning a trade in prison showed different results for the men and women. Convicted men were more likely to have learned a trade (49 percent) than those on remand (27 percent) and those on trial (13 percent). While only 1 convicted women had learned a trade, compared to 3 women on remand and 2 on trial.
- Respondents were asked whether they studied while in prison. Most male respondents responded no (73 percent). Among female inmates, there was very little difference, with 10 saying that they did study and 9 saying they did not.
- Regarding gangs in prison, 55 percent of the male inmates and 17 of the 19 women reported that they were not aware of any.
- Forced sexual intercourse was witnessed or experienced by almost no male or female inmates. Only 5 percent of the male and none of the female respondents reported that they had witnessed another

inmate being forced into sexual intercourse. Only 1 of the men and none of the women indicated that they had been victims themselves.

- Beatings of other inmates were witnessed by 89 percent of the male and 9 of the female respondents. When asked whether they themselves had ever been beaten, 80 percent of the men and all of the women answered no. Of the male inmates who were beaten, 89 percent said they were attacked by other inmates.
- Among male respondents, 52 percent reported having been victimized by theft while at the prison. Only 5 of the 19 women reported ever having their belongings stolen.
- When asked whether they had used drugs or alcohol within the last month, 12 percent of the male inmates answered yes, but none of the women did. Of the men that had used within the last month, marijuana was the most popular choice (96 percent) followed by alcohol (27 percent). When asked who brings the most drugs into the prison, 59 percent of the male and 10 of the female inmates answered prison staff.
- Respondents were asked to compare their feeling of safety while in prison with before their arrest. Overwhelmingly, male respondents reported that they felt less safe (81 percent). However, 3 women reported that they felt safer and 7 answered that they felt just as safe, with less than half (8) answering that they felt less safe.

## The Future

- When asked if on release they planned to live in the same neighborhood that they lived in before they were arrested, 68 percent of the male and 16 of the female respondents said that they did. When asked if they planned to associate with the same people, 60 percent of the male and 9 of the female respondents reported that they would.
- Of the male respondents, 31 percent indicated that there was already a job waiting for them when they are released, a further 28 percent reported the intention to apply for a job related to the trade they had learned while in prison, and 17 percent were unsure of their job situation on release. Of the 19 women surveyed, 8 reported that they planned to apply for a job when released and 5 women reported that they had a job waiting for them.
- Among the male inmates, concerns about life post-release were primarily related to the possibility of their families rejecting them (32 percent) and not finding a job (25 percent). More inmates in the youngest (18–24) and oldest (45+) age groups showed concern about family rejection (37 percent and 38 percent, respectively). Among female inmates, 7 women expressed concern about their family rejecting them and 6 about uncertainty regarding finding a job.
- Inmates were asked about other concerns. Of the respondents, 33 percent of the men and 5 women expressed concern about the possibility of being arrested again and 24 percent of the men and 4 women were afraid of being killed because of what they had done. Among the women, 3 were afraid of getting sick or addicted and 2 were afraid of being attacked.
- Respondents were asked whether they were aware of government agencies and civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners. Of the male respondents, only 19 percent were aware of such government agencies and 31 percent aware of civil society groups. Among female respondents, 6 were aware of government agencies and 7 of civil society groups that assist newly released prisoners.

- When asked if it was likely that they might get arrested again when released, 80 percent of the male and 17 of the female respondents said either probably not or most probably not. Among the men, 62 percent of the oldest respondents (45+) said that they would most probably not be arrested again compared to the average for all male respondents of 55 percent.
- When asked how they thought things would go for them on release, 67 percent of the male and 14 of the female inmates answered better.

## Appendix 2: Crime Categorizations

### **Violent Crimes**

Intentional homicide/murder  
 Possession of illegal weapon  
 Manslaughter  
 Kidnapping  
 Assault  
 Sex crimes  
 Aggravated robbery/aggravated theft

### **Non-violent Crimes**

Drug possession/drug dealing  
 Encroachment/identity theft  
 Robbery/theft  
 Scam, misappropriation, fraud  
 Burglary/break-in  
 Other crimes