

Survey of Individuals Deprived of Liberty:

Caribbean 2016–2019

Jamaica Country Report

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Development Sector**

**Innovation in Citizen
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Prepared for the Inter-American Development
Bank by:

The Centre for Leadership and Governance
The University of the West Indies, Mona

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

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Abstract

This report presents the findings of the inmate survey, Jamaica, which was conducted from August to September 2018. A total of 724 inmates from the seven adult prisons in Jamaica were surveyed. The questionnaire used in the research was developed by the IDB and explored inmates' experiences before incarceration, as they were processed through the criminal justice system, while they served their sentences, and as they contemplated life after being released. The average age of the participants was 34.6 years and most had attained at least some secondary or higher education. The average period of time between arrest and sentencing was two years and four months. Almost half of the inmates did not understand the adjudication process and were not informed of their right to legal representation. We recommend that the Government of Jamaica sustain its efforts to put systems in place within the court system to speed up the trial process and improve its performance. The majority of the inmates were living in unsafe environments and overcrowded conditions and were dissatisfied with toilet facilities and the food and water they had access to. We recommend that the government and prison administrators implement strategies that contribute to long-term change in overcrowding levels.

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Acronyms

CELIV	Center for Latin American Studies on Insecurity and Violence
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
MCORP	Minnesota Comprehensive Offender Reentry Plan
MSM	Men who have sex with men
PIOJ	Planning Institute of Jamaica
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

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¹ All enumerators are listed in Appendix 1.

Executive Summary

This report presents the findings of the Jamaica inmate survey, conducted between August 2018 and September 2018. A total of 724 incarcerated individuals from the seven adult prisons in Jamaica were surveyed.

Sociodemographic Profile, Childhood, and Life History

- The average age of the participants was 34.6 years, with male inmates slightly younger (on average 34.4 years) than incarcerated females (36.2 years). Of the inmates interviewed, 20.4 percent were youths between 18 and 24 years.
- The findings show that most inmates (85.7 percent) had acquired at least some secondary or higher education. Almost half (48.8 percent) did not complete their secondary school education; however, 3.3 percent reported completing university.
- Most inmates—72.7 percent of male respondents and 70.5 percent of female respondents—were employed a month before being arrested.
- In relation to the inmate’s family dynamics, 35.2 percent were living with their partner and/or children prior to their arrest. Almost a half of the interviewees (48.3 percent) had never lived with their fathers and 10.9 percent had never lived with their mothers.
- In exploring the risk factors associated with criminal behavior, the research found that experiences of physical abuse during childhood were high among the population, with 61.6 percent physically punished as a child and 19.9 percent witnessing their father or their mother’s partner physically abusing their mother.
- Of the inmates, 39.0 percent had a family member who had been incarcerated and 16.2 percent had family members imprisoned at the time the survey was conducted. The parents of 31.1 percent of the inmates drank alcohol frequently during the inmate’s childhood and almost an equal number used marijuana, cocaine, or other drugs (32.7 percent). Of the inmates interviewed, 51.8 percent reported that gangs were present in the communities where they were raised.
- The research found that 16.0 percent of respondents left home before they were 15 years old.
- Of the respondents, 19.8 percent had their first child before age 18 and 3.3 percent had their first child before the age of 16. Of the incarcerated females, 57.8 percent had their first child before the age of 18 years.

Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

- Most of the respondents were imprisoned for violent offenses (72.0 percent). More males were incarcerated for violent offenses (73.8 percent) than females (52.5 percent). Of the youthful offenders between 18 and 24 years, 64.6 percent were incarcerated for violent offenses. The largest proportion of inmates were incarcerated for homicide/murder (36.5 percent) and possession of illegal weapons (26.2 percent). Reportedly, 19.6 percent of crimes were fueled by gang activity. Of the respondents, 54.3 percent reported that they were carrying a weapon when the crime occurred and 55.7 percent reported that someone suffered injuries during the course of the criminal activity.
- In examining the inmates’ criminal history, the research found that 20.6 percent of the respondents had previously been imprisoned for another crime and that 16.2 percent were previously incarcerated in a juvenile detention center. On average, four and a half years (55 months) passed between the previous

incarceration and the current one. The majority (69.1 percent) of the inmates who were previously incarcerated did not participate in any classes or go to school while serving time. Of the 20.1 percent who reported that they learned a trade, 83.3 percent thought that the skills acquired were useful. Most returned to live with family members (64.2 percent) after their previous incarceration.

- When asked about crimes they had committed but for which they were not arrested, 13.7 percent said they participated in other crimes in the six months before their present incarceration.
- Of the inmates, 11.5 percent admitted to being a member of a gang, and the average age at which they joined a gang was 15.5 years. Of the inmates, 15 (2.1 percent) claimed that they joined a gang after their arrest.
- Of the inmates interviewed, 23.6 percent believed that crimes are organized from prison, with murder being the main offense organized from prison (12.4 percent of inmates held this belief), followed by robberies (7.3 percent).

Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

- When asked to indicate what stage of the justice process they were at, 74.0 percent had already been sentenced, 12.7 percent were awaiting trial, and 8.4 percent were in the midst of their trial.
- Of the interviewees, 93.0 percent reported that they were not shown a warrant in writing.
- Regarding time from crime to arrest, 29.7 percent were arrested within a day of committing the offense and 77.9 percent were arrested within six months.
- At the police station, following their arrest, 46.3 percent of the respondents were informed that they were entitled to a lawyer.
- While in police custody, 29.8 percent reported that they were hit or received some form of physical coercion to force them to testify or change their statement.
- Most inmates (78.7 percent) indicated that they spent more than one week in police lock-up.
- Of the respondents, 26.2 percent believed that they would have been released if they had given money or belongings to the law enforcement personnel who arrested them and 22.2 percent reported that police asked them for money or belongings while they were arrested.

Pretrial and Adjudication

- Of the inmates, 59.1 percent stated that there was no Justice of the Peace or member of the judiciary present when they made their preliminary statement.
- Of the respondents, 59.5 percent were not informed that they could get a reduced sentence if they pleaded guilty; 38.4 percent reported pleading guilty.
- Of the respondents, 70.9 percent stated that their lawyer(s) requested bail and just over half (50.3 percent) of these requests were reportedly accepted by the judge.
- When sentence was passed, 76.4 percent of the inmates interviewed were in jail. The average sentence was 11.2 years; however, 51.9 percent of the inmates interviewed expected their sentence to be reduced, allowing them to leave prison earlier.
- The adjudication process took an average of 28 months. The average time between arrest and sentencing for violent offenders was 32 months and for non-violent offenders, 15 months. Female respondents took more than double the time to complete the adjudication process (53 months) compared to their male counterparts (26 months).

- Of the respondents, 50.7 percent reported understanding quite a lot or a lot of what was happening during their trial, but 47.9 percent said they had little or very little understanding of the trial process.
- Of the inmates, 56.9 percent were represented by a private lawyer and 37.8 percent reported that their lawyer was provided through the legal aid program. Of the respondents, 46.5 percent believed that their main lawyer defended them either well or very well; however, 54.6 percent of those with a private lawyer felt they were well or very well defended in contrast to 39.8 percent of those who had legal aid counsel.

Prison Conditions

- Two measures of overcrowding were used in this study: (i) whether inmates were housed in locations with more people than they were designed to accommodate—35.5 percent of respondents lived in overcrowded conditions on this basis—and (ii) the number of inmates that did not have beds—by this measure, 41.9 percent lived in overcrowded conditions.²
- Almost all respondents reported that they were provided with toilet paper (97.2 percent), soap (95.7 percent), and, for female respondents, tampons/sanitary napkins (96.7 percent). The Department of Correctional Services (DCS) supplied beds and mattresses to 64.0 percent of inmates. Family members supplied shoes (88.4 percent), clothes (84.7 percent), towels (71.4 percent), and sheets (67.4 percent). The findings further revealed that 14.2 percent of respondents had no sheets, 20.0 percent no towels, and 13.5 percent no bed/mattress.
- Respondents reported being allowed to shower, on average, 11.3 times per week. Of the inmates, 57.6 percent thought that the toilet facilities were somewhat dirty or dirty. A large proportion thought that the water and food was of inferior quality, with 61.8 percent describing the water quality as poor or very poor and 78.9 percent describing the food quality as poor or very poor.
- For healthcare, 85.5 percent of the respondents indicated that they had access to health care, while 83.2 percent received the medicines they needed from the DCS.³
- Regarding visits, 27.2 percent of the inmates received family visits more than once a week, another 17.3 percent had visits from loved ones twice a month, and 20.6 percent got visitors every month; however, 10.4 percent had never received a visit. Of those that had been visited, 29.5 percent thought that their loved ones were treated very well or well by prison staff; however, 25.0 percent felt that their family members were treated badly or very badly.
- When inmates were asked about the support they received from family members, 72.4 percent said they received clothes and shoes, 71.3 percent received money, and 69.8 percent received food.
- A majority of the respondents (81.8 percent) reported feeling less safe in prison than where they lived prior to being arrested. Of the respondents, 49.9 percent had personal belongings stolen while in prison, including clothes and shoes, 19.1 percent reported being attacked or beaten, and 82.2 percent witnessed the attack or beating of another inmate. The main perpetrators of attacks against other

² It is important to note here that inmates can be provided with other sleeping arrangements, including mattresses and hammocks. Not having a bed to sleep on does not imply that the inmate resides in an overcrowded cell but does imply that the inmate is not properly accommodated.

³ Respondents also received medicines from other sources (e.g., 12.1 percent received them from family members).

prisoners were prison staff (87.1 percent), while the main perpetrators of personal attacks were other inmates (62.3 percent).

- When asked if they had witnessed the sexual victimization of other inmates, 3.5 percent indicated that they had (2.9 percent of males and 9.8 percent of females). When asked if they had been forced to have sexual intercourse against their will, 1.2 percent (1.2 percent of males and 1.6 percent of females) said they had.
- Of the respondents, 72.4 percent reported seeing other inmates using drugs or alcohol in prison and 42.5 percent reported personal use. When asked who brought illicit substances into the prison, 45.2 percent indicated that prison staff were the main source.

Reintegration Programs

- Of all respondents, 49.0 percent were involved in sporting activities, 47.4 percent were involved in an educational program, and 25.1 percent participated in prison cleaning or maintenance. Of the female inmates, 75.4 percent were engaged in educational programs. Of the respondents involved in technical/vocational training, 91.8 percent believed that it would prove very useful or quite useful once they are released.
- The largest proportion of respondents intended to live in their family home (52.3 percent) or with their partner/children (41.0 percent) once they are released. Further, 68.4 percent indicated that they had already talked to someone about where they will live following their release. Also, 25.3 percent said they already have a job waiting for them.
- Of the respondents, 89.9 percent stated they would probably not or most probably not be rearrested.
- Of the inmates, 89.0 percent indicated that they had not had access to pre-release services inside the prison. Among female participants, 29.5 percent were aware of government agencies and 45.9 percent of non-governmental organizations that offer aftercare support compared with 18.4 percent and 36.3 percent of male respondents, respectively.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The following are recommendations that could contribute to prison reform following the thematic areas of the prison survey: sociodemographic profile, childhood, and life history; criminal careers and inmate profiles; legal procedures and criminal process; and prison conditions.

Sociodemographic Profile, Childhood, and Life History

- Four major risk factors emerged.
 1. Interpersonally, inmates reported experiencing and witnessing violence within their homes.
 2. A large proportion noted that they had family members who were previously incarcerated.
 3. A large proportion were expelled from high school or, in the case of women, dropped out because they became pregnant.
 4. At the community level, inmates reported the presence of gangs in the neighborhoods where they grew up.
- These findings suggest that the Government of Jamaica should continue its efforts to reduce violence within families, schools, and communities through effective interventions that target risk factors and

enhance protective factors. Interventions include developing effective relationships with parents and family and strengthening social bonds with school and other pro-social institutions.

- It is also important to reduce the presence of gangs and guns in the community and increase efforts to promote public safety through a coordinated public health approach. The focus needs to be on stopping the transmission of violence while changing social norms related to gang and gun violence and providing services and treatment support for offenders.

Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

- The high rates of recidivism suggest that there are challenges with the rehabilitation and reintegration system. Most inmates reported not being exposed to structured reintegration programs. A small proportion were involved in educational or work-related activities. Almost half reported that school or work programs were not available at their institutions.
- We recommended that the DCS design and manage programs tailored to the specific needs of inmates and that can produce positive rehabilitative change. For instance, the DCS should provide the necessary funding to expand basic and secondary education programs as well as vocational training and employment opportunities, and increase individual change interventions.

Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

- The average period of time between arrest and sentencing was two years and four months.
- Almost half of the inmates did not understand the adjudication process and were not informed of their right to legal representation.
- We recommend that the Government of Jamaica sustain its efforts to put systems in place within the court system to speed up the trial process and improve its performance.
- The government should continue to invest in free legal representation for indigent defendants and ensure that such support is provided early in the judicial process.
- Attention should be paid to increasing public education about the administration of justice and individual rights.

Prison Conditions

- The majority of the inmates were living in unsafe environments and overcrowded conditions and were dissatisfied with toilet facilities and the food and water they had access to.
- We recommend that the government and prison administrators implement strategies that contribute to long-term change in overcrowding levels. For example, strategies to reduce the prison population by introducing changes in criminal procedures, reduce the use of pretrial detention, improve inmate classification and housing decisions using risk assessment tools, and provide adequate resources and continuous political support for alternatives to custodial sentences.
- Findings from the survey show there is urgent need to support the transition from incarceration to living in the community. Most incarcerated individuals indicated that they had not had access to pre-release support services inside the prison and that they were unaware of support mechanisms to help them through the reintegration process in the community.
- We recommend that full consideration be given to developing and adopting a comprehensive national reintegration policy that embraces the philosophy that reentry starts the first day of incarceration,

rather than in the days prior to release, and ensures strong collaboration and coordination of services between the DCS, other government agencies, and non-governmental organizations that offer support to ex-offenders returning to the community.

Women in Prison

- The female inmates considered their living conditions to be good, including having access to beds, clean toilets and showers, water, and female hygiene products.
- We recommend that the DCS consider gender-responsive strategies to address the specific risks and needs of the female inmate population, including services to address trauma emanating from abuse and separation from their children. The DCS should improve opportunities for female inmates to maintain contact with their children and their families.

Introduction

Background

Improving correctional management (implementing correctional strategies, programs, or policies that can contribute to reducing crime) is a concern for Caribbean countries. Correctional systems in the Caribbean are facing significant challenges such as:

- high prison population rates that oscillate between 145 and 379 per 100,000 inhabitants (the world average is 140 per 100,000 inhabitants);
- prison overcrowding (with official capacity estimated to be exceeded by more than 70 percent); and
- overuse of pretrial detention (across the region, the average percentage of individuals being held in detention pending trial is 40 percent of the total inmate population).

In this context, opportunities for rehabilitation 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 offender rehabilitation and reintegration exacerbates the challenges faced by the region's correctional systems. Further, there is clear underinvestment in the prison sector, both from the public sector and international cooperation funding. These conditions result in increased recidivism and minimal social prevention policies that negatively impact the efficiency of efforts to improve citizen security.

Given this context, Caribbean countries are striving to reform their correctional systems. They are encouraging a policy shift from a merely punitive approach toward smarter correctional strategies focused on innovative alternatives to incarceration, rehabilitation mechanisms, and reentry opportunities. To assist in this effort, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) approved *Strengthening Data Generation for Correctional Management in the Caribbean* (RG-T2551) in 2016. The regional grant has a two-fold objective:

1. Contribute to understanding the causes of the near collapse of the criminal justice systems of specific countries.
2. Diagnose the steps needed to improve the management of correctional systems with a view to strengthening their efficiency and rehabilitative capabilities.

Through the grant project, the IDB financed inmate surveys and correctional system diagnostics in Jamaica, Suriname, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago.

This report presents the findings of the inmate survey in Jamaica, which was conducted from August to September 2018. A total of 724 inmates from the seven adult prisons in Jamaica were surveyed. The survey instrument was developed by the IDB and has been used in several countries, including Guyana, Suriname, Jamaica, and Barbados. We note that, while this report presents findings on a range of issues throughout the criminal justice system and offers recommendations for the Government of Jamaica, the findings herein are based on the self-reports of incarcerated individuals.

The survey instrument collected data on several areas including:

- The sociodemographic profiles of the inmates (e.g., upbringing, education, and employment status before arrest).
- Patterns and characteristics of crimes committed (e.g., the crime that led to their arrest as well as previous offenses, recidivism, drug use, and firearm ownership).
- Due process from arrest to sentencing (e.g., inmates experience during pretrial detention, access to legal defense, and length of the adjudication process).
- Prison conditions and life in confinement (e.g., available services, violence, gang activity, and preparation for reentry).

Country Information

With a population of 2,726,667⁴ and a geographic area of 10,991 square kilometers, Jamaica is the fifth largest Caribbean island in terms of population and third largest in geographic size. The country has experienced high rates of violent crime, placing it among the most violent countries in the world. The 2017 Small Arms Survey reported that Jamaica's 2016 murder rate of 56 per 100,000 was the sixth most violent death rate in the world (McEvoy and Gergely, 2017). Between 2008 and 2018, there were 14,602 murders and 14,620 shootings (JCF Statistics and Management Unit⁵). Concerns have been raised about the availability of weapons since, in 2017, approximately 81 percent of all reported murders involved firearms (PIOJ, 2017).

The Prison System in Jamaica

The Ministry of National Security oversees the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), which is directly charged with administering the prisons in Jamaica.⁶ The DCS was established in 1975 through a merger of the Approved School,⁷ Probation Aftercare Services, and the Prison Department. This change facilitated the system's movement away from a punitive focus toward offender rehabilitation during and following prison terms. It was, however, done without significant capital investment in the facilities that would have allowed for increased access to rehabilitation programs (Jones, 2007). The DCS is composed of 11 institutions, of which seven are adult correctional centers and four are juvenile correctional centers. The adult institutions are:

1. Tower Street Adult Correctional Centre
2. The St. Catherine Adult Correctional Centre
3. The Fort Augusta Adult Correctional Centre
(the only correctional facility to hold women inmates; it has been relocated to South Camp Road)⁸

⁴ https://statinja.gov.jm/Demo_SocialStats/EndofYearPopulationbyParish.aspx

⁵ The data was requested and obtained from the JCF Statistics and Management Unit.

⁶ See Appendix 2 for more information on the organizational structure of the DCS.

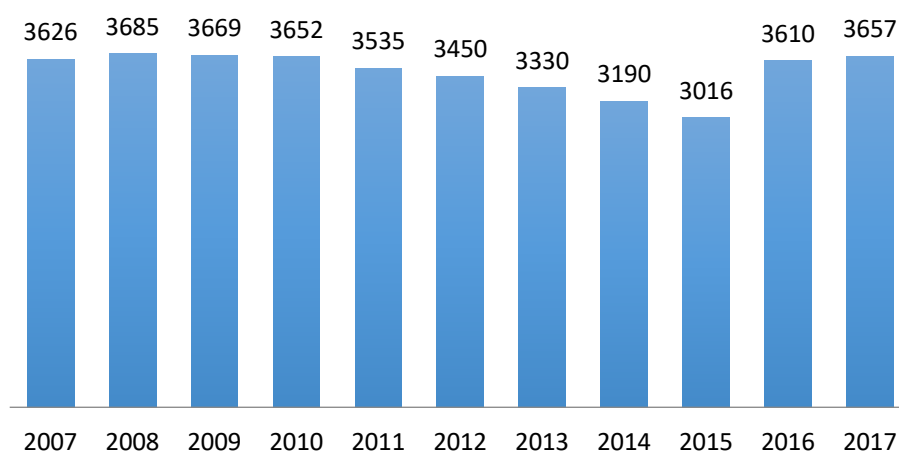
⁷ Approved Schools, known as Juvenile Correctional Centres following the merger that created DCS, are rehabilitation centers that provide educational service in a residential setting for children aged 12–18 years whom the court determines require confinement in a structured environment that will aid in their rehabilitation.

⁸ Women prisoners were held in the Fort Augusta building for many years. However, a new facility was constructed adjacent to the Fort on South Camp Road in Kingston. The new facility still bears the name Fort Augusta Adult Correctional Centre. In the report, Fort Augusta and South Camp Road may be used interchangeably when referring to the women's prison facility.

4. Horizon Adult Remand Centre
5. Richmond Farm Correctional Centre
6. Tamarind Farm Correctional Centre
7. New Broughton Sunset Adult Correctional Centre

Between 2007 and 2017, the DCS held an average of 3,492 inmates annually (Figure 1) and averaged a 30 percent readmission rate (currently incarcerated individuals who had previously been held in the custody of correctional services). In 2016, the country's rate of incarceration was 138 per 100,000 population, which is below the global rate of 145 per 100,000 (Walmsley, 2018). The recidivism rate, which includes people who have previously been given both non-custodial and custodial sentences, was 42.3 percent in 2017 (PIOJ, 2007–2017).

Figure 1: Jamaica's Prison Population



Source: Economic and Social Survey, Jamaica 2007–2017 (PIOJ, 2007–2017).

The DCS is regulated by the *Corrections Act* (1985), the *Parole Act* (1978), and the *Child Care and Protection Act* (2004). Outside of these core pieces of legislation that speak to the operation and mandate of the DCS, there are several overarching policies that impact the orientation of the system. Some key policies are highlighted below to give an understanding of the environmental demands that the criminal justice system, and particularly the DCS, is responding to.

Vision 2030

Vision 2030, Jamaica's National Development Plan, lays out the steps necessary for the country to become "the place of choice to live, work, and raise families. This Vision is 91.3 percent aligned with the global Sustainable Development Goals" (PIOJ, 2018). Goal 2 of Vision 2030 states that "the Jamaican society is secure, cohesive, and just." This goal is accompanied by a strategic objective to strengthen the management, rehabilitation, and reintegration of clients of the correctional services (PIOJ, 2009). The *Medium-Term Socio-Economic Policy Framework*, which guides the monitoring and evaluation of the Plan, includes recidivism rates as an indicator and sets an ambitious target of reducing these rates from 48.4 percent in

2014 to 10 percent by 2030 (Table 1). Jamaica needs to invest heavily in rehabilitation and reintegration to be able to reach this target by 2030 (PIOJ, n.d.).

Table 1: National Targets for Recidivism (percent)

	Actual				Targets			
	2014	2015	2016	2017	2015	2018	2021	2030
Recidivism	48.4	45.5	42.4	42.5	<40	<40	<40	10

Source: Vision 2030: The Medium-Term Socio-Economic Policy Framework 2018–2021.

The National Security Policy

This policy was established with the vision of creating a “safe and secure environment for the people of Jamaica” (GOJ, 2014). The main threats affecting national safety and security are outlined in addition to the main reforms and emerging approaches necessary to effectively deal with them. Crime, violence, and corruption are seen as major hindrances to the country’s development. The threats to national security are ranked in four tiers.

- **Tier 1** concerns are high-probability, high-impact threats that require top priority. Examples include transnational organized crime, which includes trafficking in narcotics, weapons, and ammunition. Corruption in the institutions of state, including the prisons, is also seen as a clear and present danger.
- **Tier 2** security concerns are major potential threats that require constant monitoring in order to detect danger. Examples include the extension and influence of drug cartels from Central and South America into the Caribbean and terrorist attacks.
- **Tier 3** threats are perennial and can be stymied through reforms such as improving governance and building stronger institutions. Fertile ground for criminal activities is created by consistent low growth rates in the economy; high rates of unemployment and poverty; and increasing disparities in wealth, education, and opportunity.
- **Tier 4** security challenges are less threatening. Examples include challenges related to food and water security. The Government of Jamaica has responded by way of legislation to remove the profit from crime, to reform the justice system, to police by consent or improve community policing, and to dismantle gangs, focusing on at-risk communities.

The Five Pillar Strategy

The Ministry of National Security articulated the Five Pillar Strategy in 2017 (GOJ, 2017):

- **Pillar one** focuses on building the police–citizen relationship and strengthening the rule of law.
- **Pillar two** speaks to administering the legal system and is geared to ensuring swift and effective justice.
- **Pillar three**, Crime Prevention through Social Development, addresses social inequalities at the community level that facilitate risk factors to crime.
- **Pillar four**, Situational Crime Prevention, addresses the factors that create social disorganization.
- **Pillar five**, which is of particular interest to this research, aims to improve the reintegration of offenders and reduce recidivism.

At the core of all these selected policies is the centrality of adherence to the rule of law, effective law enforcement, responsive and effective crime control at the community level, and an effective system of rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders. These goals are important to ensuring that pro-social behaviors are promoted and that a climate for growth and prosperity can be fostered.

An Overview of Inmate Surveys

In the Caribbean, and specifically in Jamaica, there are few studies that focus on the experiences of incarcerated individuals. Those available focus on qualitative and ethnographic methods (Leslie, 2019, 2020; Morrison, 2008). Inmate surveys are important in providing the data necessary to create evidence-based policies to improve correctional systems. Since the First UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Prisoners in 1955, minimum standards for managing prisons and the treatment of prisoners have been widely recognized. Investments in the legislative framework and administrative structures, as well as the training of duty bearers, are therefore essential.

Inmate surveys use self-report measures to determine and assess the treatment of people deprived of their liberty. Such surveys allow criminal justice practitioners to gain the perspective of the system's users—inmates—at the major decision-making points as they are being processed. In addition, information about the living conditions and the day-to-day experience of inmates can be garnered. This information is critical in assessing the rehabilitation and reintegration process.

The major limitation of inmate surveys is the challenge of obtaining honest responses from incarcerated individuals who may want to garner sympathy or exact revenge on prison authorities. However, this method of data collection provides a variety of advantages normally associated with survey data, primary among them is the fact that they are generally cost effective and can be completed in a relatively short space of time, with minimal disruption to prison operations.

Methodology

The structure of the consultancy required the following activities be undertaken in implementing the survey.

Activity 1. Modification/Adaptation of the Survey Instrument, Before and After Piloting

The survey instrument used in the study was developed by the Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos sobre Inseguridad y Violencia (Center for Latin American Studies on Insecurity and Violence, or CELIV) in partnership with the IDB and with input from The University of the West Indies and the Government of Jamaica. The instrument contains over 200 questions about the sociodemographic profiles of the inmates, the crimes they committed, whether drugs were involved or weapons used, the criminal process and the actions of the different actors (police, lawyers, and judges), and the experiences of life in prison, including conditions of confinement, rehabilitation programs, care services, violence, and recidivism.

The first step was to do an internal review with the team from the university to discuss what changes would be necessary for the instrument to be adapted for the Jamaican environment. Meetings were held with the Commissioner of Corrections, the Head of Corporate Planning and Research, and other senior

administrators, as well as representatives from the IDB and CELIV. Only minor changes were made because the focus of the broader project was to make the instrument valid on a regional level. Following the series of meetings, the instrument and the proposed methodology were submitted to the ethics committee at the Ministry of National Security. No major changes were suggested.

Activity 2. Selecting, Hiring, Training, and Supervising Survey Staff for Data Collection

The Centre for Leadership and Governance has a group of students and experts that are used for data collection. The team reviewed the list of enumerators and those who were best suited for this exercise were selected. The enumerators were then approved by CELIV, which conducted the training exercise. Manuals already developed by CELIV and used in other countries where the survey had been administered needed to be adapted for use in Jamaica. Thus the initial stages involved developing/adapting the enumerator and supervisor manuals and accompanying training and field manuals.

Once the training manuals were completed, survey supervisors and enumerators were trained. The training was developed together with CELIV and Mr. Balford Lewis, who trained the team in using electronic instruments for data collection and the SurveyToGo software. The survey team was trained on issues related to survey administration. The language and essence of each question was stressed to create a common understanding among enumerators of each variable. An overview of conducting prison surveys was also given, including cultural issues in the Jamaican correctional system that may help/hinder successful survey administration, safety issues in the prisons, ethnic issues, and other issues relevant to the successful conduct of the survey. A critical issue that was stressed in the training was the need to get the informed consent of the inmates; this was a requirement of the Ministry of National Security (Appendix 3 provides the text of the consent form).

Enumerators and supervisors were provided with electronic tablets to conduct a mock interview. The issues encountered were reviewed and Mr. Lewis' team resolved the identified glitches. The questionnaire is a complex instrument with many items that require skips to different sections. Using tablets to administer a questionnaire improves the accuracy in transitioning to relevant sections based on responses and eliminates data capture and data entry errors. Using electronic data capture also eliminates the possibility of skipping questions in error because the programming requires a response before transitioning to other questions. Instructions and safeguards were used to ensure the confidentiality and privacy of the collected information as well as the safety of survey respondents. It was mandatory for data collection staff to undergo all training that was provided. Anyone who missed any training sessions was not used in the project.

Activity 3. Inmate Survey Preparation and Administration

The survey instrument and methodology were submitted for ethical approval from Jamaica's Ministry of National Security. All interviewers were asked to submit a visitor's form to the DCS for security clearance. The survey instrument was pre-tested with a sample of 31 inmates. The pre-test results were used to determine whether there were any issues with the questionnaire, such as complex wording, ambiguous meanings, incorrect usage of dialect words, important questions that were omitted, or validity issues with items. Additional issues with using the electronic device were also identified and resolved.

The pre-test data was used to teach the supervisors how to review the data collected in SurveyToGo. A

special debriefing session was held with the supervisory team and the representative from the CELIV to identify specific issues related to managing the process. The data was subsequently entered into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) and analyzed to check for reliability and other issues. A session was also held with the entire team to discuss the findings related to the pilot. The results of the pre-test and suggested alterations to the questionnaire were shared with the IDB. The final version of the questionnaire was produced and shared with all relevant parties for final comment and the changes were made to the SurveyToGo software.

A stratified multi-stage sampling method was used and measures were taken to ensure the final sample was representative of the entire prison population. The sample was stratified by judicial status (on remand and sentenced) and by gender (male and female) with quotas for each stratum. Representativeness is given by the proportionality of the sample, where each prison unit population is represented accordingly in the total weight of the prison system, apportioning each unit proportionally in the sample size. This mix between proportionality and quotas allows for adequate representation by type of prison, judicial status, and gender.⁹ As of July 2018 there were 3,683 inmates in the correctional institutions. All seven adult correctional and remand centers were surveyed and a total of 724 inmates (663 males and 61 females) were interviewed (Table 2). In keeping with the regional consultations, the sample provided parameter estimates with a confidence level of 95 percent and an estimated margin of error of 3.5 percent. Selection within each prison was completely random, with replacement quotas of up to 15 percent. The randomized selection was done from a listing of the inmates provided by the DCS.

Table 2: Inmate Sample

	Tower Street	St. Catherine	Horizon Remand	Fort Augusta	Richmond Farm	Tamarind Farm	New Broughton	Total
Males	276	160	144	0	31	42	10	663
Females	0	0	0	61	0	0	0	61
Total								724
Males on remand	4	1	132	0	0	0	0	137
Females on remand	0	0	0	20	0	0	0	20
Males sentenced	271	159	11	0	31	42	10	524
Females sentenced				40				40
Total	276	160	144	61	31	42	10	724

Notes: The judicial status of three inmates was unknown. As such, when the data are disaggregated by whether inmates were convicted or on remand, the total number is less than the total sample size. See Appendix 4 for a more detailed breakdown of the sample and data collection.

⁹ It is important to note that the survey sample, and hence the present report, do not focus specifically on mentally ill prisoners or minors currently in the prison system. As of July 2020, both groups, and especially mentally ill prisoners, have been singled out by advocates and in the press as subsets of the prison population that require special attention, including from a research perspective. While this goes beyond the scope of this series of regional studies, the IDB recognizes the need for further research focusing on the mentally ill and minors in the prison system, including to better inform policymaking.

Measures were taken to ensure the voluntary participation of all survey respondents. During supervisor and interviewer training, the importance of interviewee's voluntary participation was emphasized and information was given on how to ensure respondents were voluntarily participating. Prior to conducting the survey, participants were provided a consent form that informed them that they could refuse to participate in the study or, if they decided to participate, they could refuse to answer any survey question. The consent form was read aloud to ensure the participant's understanding of its contents. Respondents were required to sign the consent form prior to participating in the survey. During the data collection phase, with the exception of the two maximum-security prisons, no prison officials were allowed in the interview rooms during survey administration. In the two maximum-security prisons, where prison officials were present for the protection of the survey interviewers, interviews were conducted in large communal spaces (e.g., chapels, multipurpose rooms, or classrooms), which allowed for prison officials to be sufficiently distanced from the interview area to not hear responses. It is important to note that no survey responses were collected in a manner that allowed attribution to any individual participant, as respondent names were not associated with the data.

Data Analysis

The data collected was stored and managed using the SurveyToGo software, which allowed each supervisor to access and review each case and to conduct verification checks. At the end of the data collection phase, the information was uploaded to the SPSS. Collated data was analyzed and reported based on the pre-approved plan provided by the IDB and CELIV.

Limitations

The Centre for Leadership and Governance team understood the risk associated with studies of this nature and the fact that a penal institution has particular entry norms that must be adhered to. This specifically affected inmates who were being held on remand, where decisions on their cases could be made at any time, and thus the general selection process. Two of the institutions were also experiencing water shortages and inmates wanted to ensure that they got all of their chores done and water collected before doing an interview, which meant waiting for long periods for participants to conduct the interview.

Organization of the Report

This report consists of six sections: the introduction, one section for each of the themes of the survey (sociodemographic profile, childhood, and life story; criminal careers and inmate profiles; legal procedures and criminal process; and prison conditions), and conclusions and recommendations. Note that life story is not used in terms of a methodology, as in ethnography, but is individual profiling of the inmates based on the questionnaire.

Sociodemographic Profile, Childhood, and Life Story

This section presents the age and sex profile of the respondents, their level of education, and their employment history. Additionally, factors such as the inmates' family dynamics, community characteristics, and alcohol and drug use are explored. This information provides an understanding of the risk factors for criminal offending at the individual, relational, community, and societal levels. Although the research is not designed as explanatory study, the findings provide useful insights into the criminal pathways of the inmates and point to factors that may predispose an individual to criminal behaviors.

Sociodemographic Profile

The age of the inmates interviewed ranged from 18 to 75 years, with a mean of 34.6 years. The majority of the respondents were males (91.6 percent). The average age of incarcerated women (36.2 years) was older than that of the men (34.4 years). The largest proportion of inmates (39.3 percent) was between 25 and 35 years. Youthful offenders below 25 years represented 20.4 percent of the population. Inmates on remand were on average younger (27.8 years) than those who were sentenced (36.4 years). Respondents at the New Broughton Sunset Correctional Centre, an open facility known as the "Old Man's Prison" that is designed to hold inmates over 55 years, were older than the average at 59.1 years. The average age at Tamarind Farm, Richmond Farm, and the Horizon Remand Centre was below the overall average (Table 3).

Table 3: Average Age of Participants (N=724; mean age)

Sample	34.5
Gender	
Male	34.4
Females	36.2
Institution	
Tower Street	36.6
St. Catherine	35.3
Horizon Remand	28.5
Fort Augusta	36.2
Richmond Farm	34.5
Tamarind Farm	31.1
New Broughton	59.1
Legal Status	
On remand	27.8
Sentenced	36.4

In terms of educational attainment (Table 4), most inmates (85.7 percent) had acquired at least some secondary or higher education and 14.2 percent had post-secondary education or above. Significantly more incarcerated women completed secondary school (31.1 percent) than incarcerated men (21.9 percent), and 16.4 percent of the females started and/or completed university. More incarcerated men did not complete their primary (7.8 percent) or secondary education (51.0 percent) than women (3.3 percent and 24.6 percent, respectively).

Table 4: Educational Attainment (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Male	Female
University or further studies	3.3	2.7	9.8
Incomplete university education	1.8	1.4	6.6
Technical/vocational training	9.1	8.4	16.4
Complete secondary education	22.7	21.9	31.1
Incomplete secondary education	48.8	51.0	24.6
Complete primary education	6.4	6.2	8.2
Incomplete primary education	7.5	7.8	3.3
Did not attend school	0.6	0.6	0

On average, inmates stopped attending school at age 16.7 years (Table 5). Incarcerated women were in school until 19.3 years of age, on average, which was longer than males, who reported being in the educational system until they were, on average, 16.4 years. The research explored the reasons inmates left school and found that 25.2 percent of the inmates were expelled. Epidemiologist and Chair of the Violence Prevention Alliance Jamaica, Dr. Elizabeth Ward, has raised concerns about suspending or expelling children for deviant behavior at the secondary school level as this may contribute to a pattern of delinquency. This is particularly problematic when there are gangs in the community, as these youths become vulnerable to being recruited by these groups (Gager, 2017; Robinson, 2018). Other reasons included that their family pulled them from the school system (13.0 percent), they had to work (9.2 percent), they had poor grades (2.2 percent), they did not like school (3.6 percent), or they were imprisoned (3.4 percent). Among the females, 19.0 percent dropped out of school because they became pregnant.

Table 5: Reason for Not Completing Education (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Male	Female	18–24	25+
Family pulled you from school	13.0	13.0	14.3	4.8	15.6
Had to work	9.2	9.7	0	3.8	10.9
Had poor grades	2.2	2.1	4.8	0	2.9
Did not like school	3.6	3.5	4.8	1.0	4.4
Expelled	25.2	25.9	9.5	47.1	18.6
Imprisoned	3.4	3.3	4.8	6.7	2.4
Became pregnant (Females only)	0.9	0	19.0	1.0	0.9
Other	42.5	42.5	42.8	35.6	44.3

Of the inmates, 93.1 percent had been employed previously, although the period of employment at their main job was less than a year for 22.0 percent and one to three years for 38.0 percent (Table 6). A large proportion of inmates (79.1 percent) worked 40 hours or more per week at their main job.¹⁰ The average

¹⁰ *The Minimum Wage Act, 1938* and *The Employment (Flexible Work Arrangements) (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act, 2014* define a work week of 40 hours as full-time employment.

age at which inmates reported that they first worked for pay was 16.7 years. On average, males entered the job market (16.6 years) before females (18.8 years).

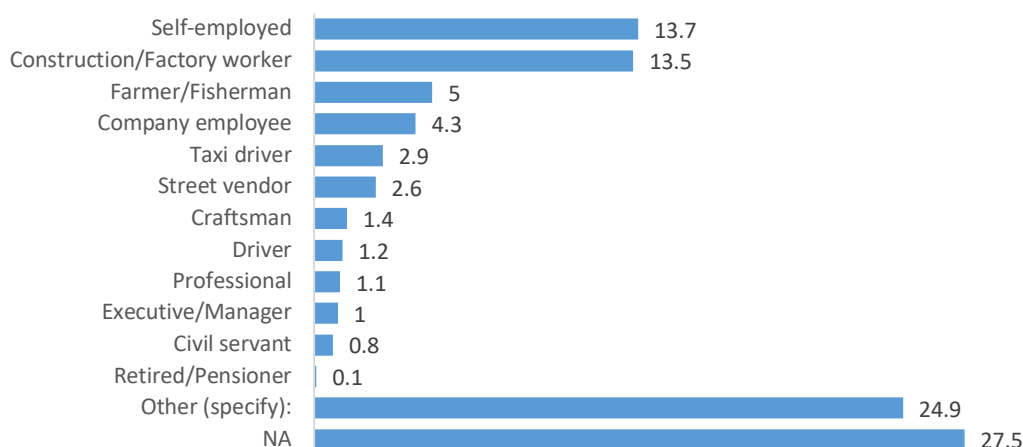
Table 6: Period of Employment at Main Job Prior to Arrest (percent)

	Sample	Male	Female
n=	513	471	42
< 1 year	22.0	21.9	23.8
12–36 months	38.0	38.0	38.1
37–60 months	14.4	14.4	14.3
61–120 months	16.4	17.0	9.5
> 10 years	9.2	8.7	14.3

The results also showed that 72.5 percent of the respondents were working a month before they were arrested. Disaggregated by gender, 72.7 percent of the incarcerated males and 70.5 percent of the females were employed a month before being arrested.

In terms of occupation in the month before being imprisoned, 13.7 percent of the inmates were self-employed and 13.5 percent were working construction or in a factory (Figure 2). The largest proportion of incarcerated women were self-employed (18.0 percent) or worked in a company (11.5 percent). Among the incarcerated men, 14.6 percent were in construction or factory jobs and 13.3 percent were self-employed. Within the other category, 41 respondents reported that they were employed in private security, 9 in the military, and 9 were members of the police force.

Figure 2: Occupation in Month before Imprisonment (N=724; percent)



The average monthly income from respondents' main job was \$112,639.37 (US\$869.20),¹¹ the minimum was \$1,200 (US\$9.26) and the maximum was \$3,500,000 (US\$27,008.26). The average monthly salary of incarcerated women was \$134,225 (US\$1,035.77) compared to \$110,654 (US\$853.88) for the incarcerated men. Since the range of observations was wide, a more realistic estimate of the average monthly income is \$75,432.98 (US\$582.09), which ignores the top and bottom 5 percent of the responses. Of the inmates interviewed, 69.2 percent reported that they received additional income, apart from their salaries; 26.0 percent said they received money from relatives (Table 7). On the other hand, 11.3 percent of the inmates reported that they had no source of income.

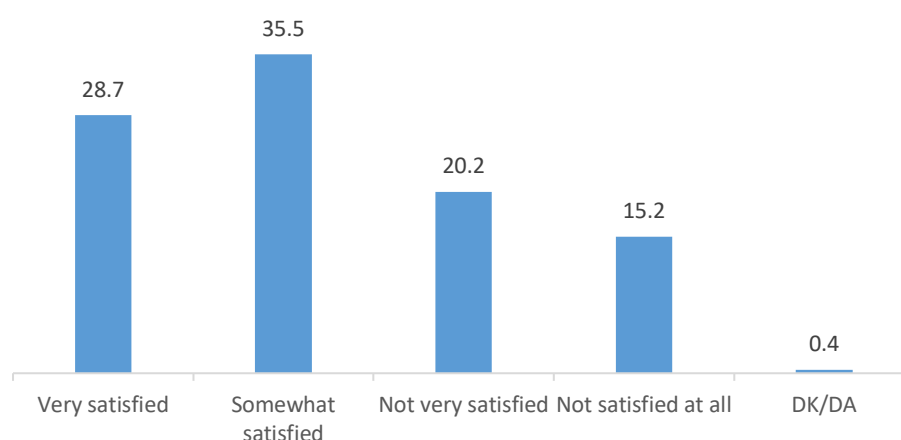
Table 7: Income from Sources Other than Salary (N=724; percent)

Pension or social security	1.0
Relatives	26.0
Friends	8.4
Selling drugs	2.1
Sale of illegal goods	2.6
Other	28.2
No income	11.3
DK/DA	1.7

Note: Multiple responses were allowed.

Generally, inmates expressed that they were satisfied with their economic situation and that of their family before their arrest, with 64.2 percent reporting that they were very satisfied (28.7 percent) or somewhat satisfied (35.5 percent). On the other hand, 15.2 percent indicated that they were not satisfied at all with their economic situation (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Satisfaction with Economic Situation before Arrest (N=724; percent)



¹¹ The exchange rate is calculated at J\$129.59 to US\$1 using the Bank of Jamaica counter rates for May 2019 (see http://boj.org.jm/foreign_exchange/fx_crates.php). Note that the \$ symbol refers to Jamaican dollars unless otherwise specified.

Childhood and Life Story

This section examines the life stories of inmates, their family life, community characteristics, and experiences with drug use. It gives an understanding of inmates' experiences before imprisonment, an indication of possible factors that led to committing crime, as well as information to verify dominant theories of the etiology of crime in the Caribbean, such as social learning and social disorganization (Deosaran, 2007). The findings suggest strong environmental influences that may be risk factors at the individual, family, and community levels.

An important aspect of the inmates' life stories and childhood history is family dynamics. When asked whom they lived with prior to their arrest, 26.5 percent said they lived with one or both of their parents, 35.2 percent were living with their partner and/or children, and 22.8 percent were living alone (Table 8).

Table 8: Lived with ___ Prior to Arrest (N=724; percent)

Parent/guardian	26.5
Partner/children	35.2
Friends	1.8
Alone	22.8
Siblings	9.8
Grandparents	5.1
Others	12.0

Note: Multiple responses were allowed.

In order to get an understanding of their parental influences, respondents were asked to indicate up to what age they lived with their parents. Of the inmates, 48.3 percent had never lived with their father and 10.9 percent had never lived with their mother. Those who lived with their mother did so, on average, until they entered adulthood (mean age = 18.2). Of the 79 inmates who never lived with their mothers, 62 (78.5 percent) had other female figures in their lives. Inmates' experiences of their fathers being in the home was shorter, as they lived with him up to an average of 16.5 years.

When asked if they left home before they were 15 years old—an indication of challenges within the home environment—16.0 percent said they did and 4.1 percent of those inmates left before they were 12 years old. Of those who left home young, 14.7 percent left because of family violence, 7.8 percent because of abandonment or because their parents were separated, and 5.2 percent were kicked out of the house. The results also show that 12.1 percent left home at an early age because they were seeking employment.

The study explored experiences of family violence among inmates. The negative impact on children of experiencing or witnessing violence, especially within the home and community, has been articulated by several Caribbean researchers (Crawford-Brown, 2010; Gager, 2017; Gayle, 2009; Samms-Vaughan, Jackson, and Ashley, 2005). Of the inmates, 61.6 percent were physically punished as a child. Disaggregated by gender, slightly more incarcerated men reported that they were physically punished (61.9 percent) than women (57.4 percent). Looking at the category of crime, 58.2 percent of inmates who committed a non-

violent offense and 52.4 percent of those who committed violent offenses were physically punished as a child (Table 9).

Table 9: Corporal Punishment during Childhood (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Violent	Non-violent	Female	Male
Yes	53.6	52.4	58.2	57.4	53.2
In some cases (1 or 2 times a year)	8.0	7.9	8.2	0	8.7
No	37.6	38.6	33.5	42.6	37.1
DK/NA	0.8	1.2	0	0	1.0

Note: In all tables that disaggregate by violent/non-violent offenses, the n value is 679 because 45 inmates did not respond to this question.

The survey also explored witnessing intimate partner violence in the home. Of the inmates interviewed, 20.9 percent witnessed their father or their mother's partner physically abusing their mother, with 11.0 percent replying yes and 9.9 percent saying the abuse occurred sometimes. Among male inmates, 21.2 percent reported witnessing such abuse, with 10.3 percent reporting it happened sometimes, compared to 19.7 percent of the female inmates witnessing such abuse, with 6.6 percent indicating it happened sometimes. Younger inmates were less likely to witness their mother being physically abused by her partner, with 17.7 percent of those 18–24 indicating their mother was physically abused by her partner (8.2 percent saying she was beaten sometimes) compared to 21.9 percent overall and 10.4 percent sometimes for inmates 25 or older (Table 10).

Table 10: Witnessed Mother Abused by Partner (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Violent	Non-violent	Female	Male	18–24	25+
Yes	11.0	11.3	11.4	13.1	10.9	9.5	11.5
Sometimes	9.9	9.2	11.4	6.6	10.3	8.2	10.4
No	63.5	64.5	60.1	65.5	63.3	63.9	63.5
DK/NA	13.0	12.7	15.2	13.2	12.9	16.4	12.0
Other	2.5	2.3	1.9	1.6	2.6	2.0	2.6

Family dynamics were further explored by asking respondents about the number of children they had and the age at which they had their first child. On average, inmates had 1.73 children, with male inmates having fewer children (average of 1.69) than their female counterparts (2.13). The mean age for having their first child was 21.8 years, with 19.8 percent having their first child before 18 years, thus most inmates became parents only after they attained adulthood (Table 11). On average, incarcerated females had their children at a younger age (18.1 years) than incarcerated males (22.1 years). Of the women with children, 57.8 percent had their first child while they were children themselves, that is, before age 18, and 17.8 percent had their first child before the age of consent,¹² which means they were victims of statutory rape.

¹² Under Jamaican law, people under the age of 16 are not legally able to consent to sexual intercourse.

Remember that earlier in this report we noted that 19.0 percent of the female inmates dropped out of school because they became pregnant.

Table 11: Age when Had First Child (percent)

	Sample	Male	Female
n=	479	434	45
< 16	3.3	1.8	17.8
16–17	16.5	14.1	40.0
18–24	55.1	57.1	35.6
≥ 25	25.1	27.0	6.7

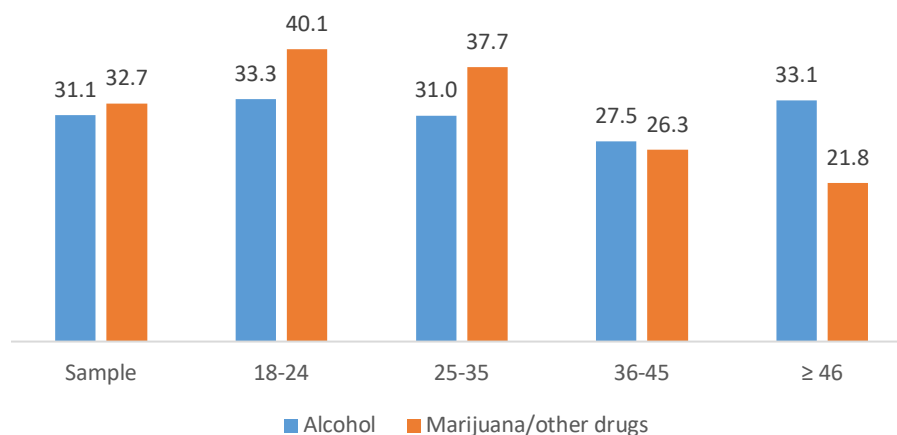
The research probed drug use within inmates' households (Table 12). When asked about their parents' drug use, 31.1 percent reported that their parents drank alcohol frequently and 32.7 percent reported that their parents used marijuana, cocaine, or other drugs. Among violent offenders, 30.3 percent had parents or guardians who drank alcohol frequently and 33.4 percent had parents or guardians who used illegal drugs. Among non-violent offenders, 32.3 percent had parents or guardians who used alcohol frequently and 32.9 percent had parents or guardians who used illegal drugs.

Table 12: Parents' Drug Use (n=724; percent)

	Sample	Male	Female	Violent	Non-violent
Alcohol	31.1	31.8	23.0	30.3	32.3
Marijuana/cocaine/other drugs	32.7	33.0	29.5	33.4	32.9

Younger inmates, 18–24 years, were more likely to have witnessed their parents using hard drugs than older inmates (Figure 4), with 40.1 percent of youths witnessing their parents using drugs compared to 37.7 percent of inmates aged 25–35, 26.3 percent of those 36–45, and 21.8 percent of those older than 46 years. Figure 4 also shows the findings for witnessing parents/guardians frequently using alcohol.

Figure 4: Parents Used Alcohol or Drugs, by Age (N=724; percent)



When asked about their own drug use (Table 13), 67.8 percent said they had used marijuana and the average age of first use was 16 years. Disaggregated by gender, 27.9 percent of the females reported having used marijuana compared to 71.6 percent of the males. Of those who used marijuana, 56.2 percent consumed it daily. Other drugs were not popular among the inmates. Since marijuana was the main drug used, it was crossed tabulated with the type of crime the inmates committed and no significant relationship was found, with 67.6 percent of inmates who committed violent offenses using marijuana compared to 63.9 percent of those who committed non-violent offenses.

Table 13: Inmate Drug Use

a. Overall Use and Age of First Use (N=724)

	Percent	Age of First Use (mean)
Marijuana	67.8	16.0
Inhalants	0.3	11.0
Cocaine	1.0	19.6
Pills	1.0	18.0
Heroin	0.1	25.0
Other drugs	0.0	—

b. By Gender and Crime (percent)

	Male	Female	Violent	Non-violent
n=	663	61	521	158
Marijuana	71.6	27.9	67.6	63.9
Inhalants	0.3	0	0.2	0
Cocaine	1.1	0	1.2	0.6
Pills	1.1	0	1.0	1.3
Heroin	0.2	0	0	0.6
Other drugs	0	0	0	0

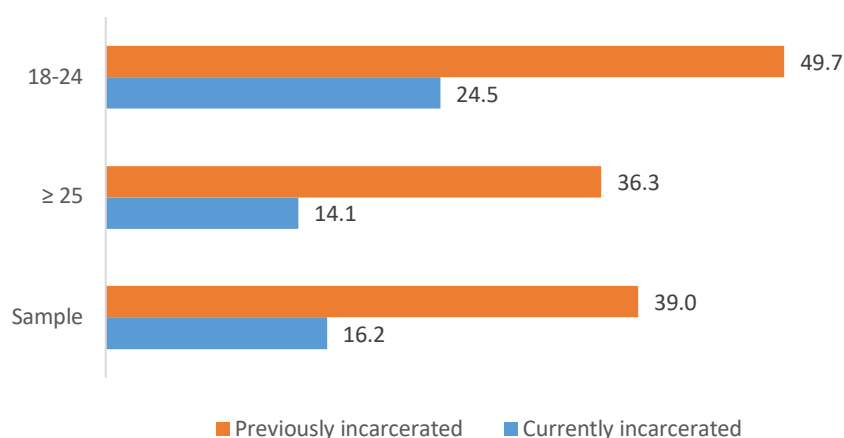
c. Frequency of Use of Marijuana (n=491; percent)

Every day	56.2
3 times a week	12.0
Once a week	7.1
Once every 2 weeks	3.5
Once per month	4.6
Other	16.6

Inmates were asked if any other family members had ever been or were currently incarcerated. Taken as a whole, 39.0 percent had a family member who had previously been incarcerated and 16.2 percent had a family member who was currently imprisoned (Figure 5). Incarcerated youth (18–24 years) were significantly more likely than other age groups to have a previously or currently incarcerated family member.

Of the youth inmates, 49.7 percent had a family member incarcerated previously (compared to 36.6 percent of all other age groups) and 24.5 percent had a family member currently incarcerated (compared to 14.1 percent) (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Incarcerated Family Members, by Age (N=724; percent)



Previously incarcerated family members were most likely to be either an uncle (14.9 percent) or a cousin (15.5 percent) and currently incarcerated family was most likely a cousin (10.8 percent) (Table 14).

Table 14: Family Member Has Been Incarcerated (N= 724; percent)

	Been Imprisoned	Currently Imprisoned
Father	6.4	0.8
Mother	1.0	0.4
Uncle	14.9	2.1
Cousin	16.3	10.8
Sibling	10.5	3.3
Step parent	0.1	—
Spouse	—	0.3
Child	—	0.7

Note: “—” indicates that this response choice was not provided in the questionnaire.

Community Characteristics

The study also probed where inmates were born and where they were arrested in an effort to ascertain community and larger societal risk factors. The majority of the inmates interviewed were from urban areas and were also arrested there. This trend is expected as over 50 percent of Jamaica’s population lives in urban areas (GOJ, 2014) and the problems associated with violence also have an urban characteristic (Harriott, 2003; Harriott and Katz, 2015).

This is a major problem because it is believed that there are close to 300 gangs operating in Jamaica (Hall, 2010) and 22.9 percent of Jamaicans believe that there are criminal gangs in the community (GOJ, 2009). Among Jamaicans who reported that gangs operated in their communities, 14.9 percent thought that they were a problem in the neighborhood, 43.2 percent thought they were a slight problem, and 41.9 percent saw them as a major problem (GOJ, 2009).

Most of the inmates interviewed were Jamaican nationals, but seven reported that they were born outside Jamaica: Scotland, Barbados, Canada, England, Haiti, Bahamas, and St Vincent. Jamaica is divided into 14 administrative areas called parishes. Kingston, the capital city, and St. Andrew form the main metropolitan area; the capital of St. James, Montego Bay, is the main center for tourism; and the parish of St. Catherine is home to the nation's newest municipality, Portmore City, and the major urban area of Spanish Town. Of inmates interviewed, 59.9 percent were born in these more urbanized parishes and 62.7 percent were also arrested there. More specifically, 29.0 percent of the inmates were born in Kingston and 23.1 percent were arrested there, and 16.0 percent were born in St. Catherine and 19.1 percent were arrested there (Table 15).

Table 15: Parish of Birth and of Arrest (percent; N=724)

	Parish of Birth	Parish of Arrest
Kingston	29.0	23.1
St. Catherine	16.0	19.1
Clarendon	8.8	8.1
St. Andrew	8.4	12.6
St. James	6.4	7.9
Westmoreland	5.8	5.2
Manchester	5.8	4.8
St. Ann	5.3	6.8
St. Thomas	3.2	2.2
St. Mary	2.9	2.2
St. Elizabeth	1.9	2.5
Hanover	1.9	2.1
Trelawny	1.8	2.1
Portland	1.7	1.0
Other	1.0	0.4

Another measure of risk at the community level is the presence of gangs. Of the inmates interviewed, 51.8 percent reported that there were gangs in their community (Figure 6), which makes the community vulnerable to violence from warring factions and makes individuals susceptible to being recruited by the gangs. Significantly more incarcerated males (54.9 percent) than females (18.0 percent) reported that there were gangs in their community. Slightly more of the inmates with non-violent charges (55.7 percent) reported that there were gangs in their community compared with those incarcerated for violent offenses (50.9 percent) (Table 16). The survey did not provide information as to why more inmates with non-violent

charges reported belonging to gangs, though it may be related to increased police surveillance in certain neighborhoods following approval of the 2014 *Criminal Justice (Suppression of Criminal Organizations) Act*.¹³

Figure 6: Gangs/Criminal Groups in Community where Lived as a Minor (N=724)

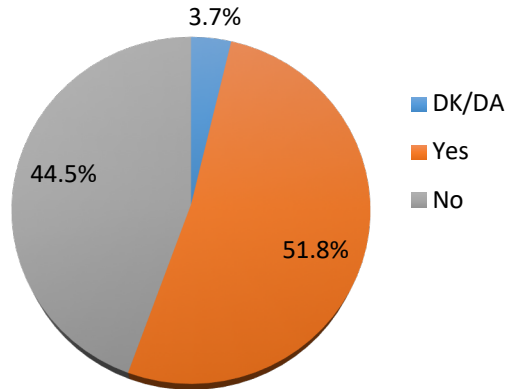


Table 16: Gangs Present in Community, by Gender and Type of Crime (N=724; percent)

	Male	Female	Violent	Non-violent
DK/DA	3.0	11.5	2.7	5.1
Yes	54.9	18.0	50.9	55.7
No	42.1	70.5	46.4	39.2

¹³ See <https://moj.gov.jm/laws/criminal-justice-suppression-criminal-organizations-act>.

Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

This section examines the nature of the crime that inmates were incarcerated for as well as the inmates' criminal profile. The specific characteristics of the crime explored include the motives for committing the crime, drug use prior to carrying out the offense, and the instrument used (for the commission of violent offenses). Inmates were first asked to indicate which crimes they were incarcerated for and then asked specific questions based on the type of crime. For example, inmates who committed acquisitive crimes such as theft, burglary, and robbery were asked the approximate value of the stolen item. The section further explores the criminal profile of the inmates, including gang membership, ownership of a weapon, and recidivism. From the data collected it is possible to uncover the dark figures of crime, that is, crimes that are unreported or never discovered. We note that this analysis is based on self-report measures and therefore reflects the inmates' perspectives.

The Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) has two major crime categories. Category 1 crimes include all serious and violent crimes, such as murders, rapes, aggravated assaults, robberies, break-ins, and larcenies.¹⁴ Category 2 crimes include non-violent offenses, such as theft. These are the parameters used to define violent and non-violent offenses in this study.¹⁵

Type of Crime

The largest proportion of inmates, whether on remand or sentenced, were incarcerated for charges related to intentional homicide/murder¹⁶ (36.5 percent) or possession of illegal weapons (26.2 percent). Among those incarcerated for murder, 57.3 percent were on remand, and of the convicted inmates, 30.7 percent were being held for murder. More males (37.6 percent) than females (24.6 percent) were being held for this crime.

The most prevalent crimes among females were murder (24.6 percent), drug possession and drug dealing (14.8 percent), manslaughter (11.5 percent), and other non-violent offenses (36.1 percent). Among the males, the most prevalent crimes were murder (37.6 percent), possession of illegal weapons (28.1 percent), and other non-violent crimes (24.7 percent) (Table 17).

The data reveals that more females were incarcerated for non-violent offenses (36.1 percent) compared to their male counterparts (20.5 percent), and males were more likely to be incarcerated for violent offenses (73.8 percent) than females (52.5 percent) (Table 18).

Of the youthful offenders (18–24 years), 64.6 percent were incarcerated for a violent offense. Further, the findings suggest that violent offenses increased with age (save for the 46 and older age group).

¹⁴ The JCF Revised Classification System, received from the Statistical and Information Management Unit, JCF.

¹⁵ For comparability with the other national prison survey reports financed by RG-T2551, burglaries and break-ins were classified as non-violent crimes. It is important to note that only seven inmates of the entire sample (0.9 percent) reported that they committed a burglary or break-in. Given the small proportion who committed these crimes, designation as violent or non-violent would not substantially alter the findings.

¹⁶ Note that the survey used the term "intentional homicide/murder." For brevity, throughout the rest of this report, "murder" will be used to refer to "intentional homicide/murder."

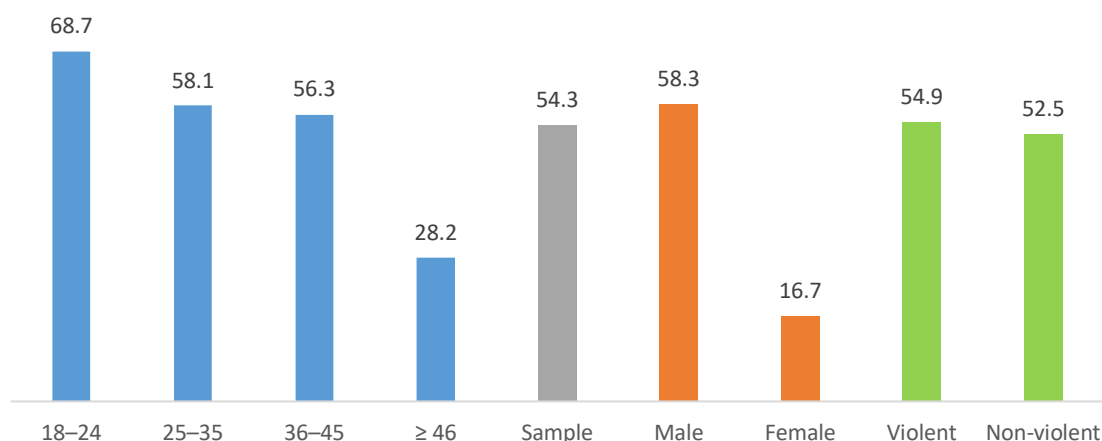
Table 17: Crimes (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Males	Females	On Remand	Sentenced
Intentional homicide/murder	36.5	37.6	24.6	57.3	30.7
Manslaughter	5.5	5.0	11.5	0.6	6.7
Kidnapping	1.7	1.8	0	1.3	1.8
Sex crime	10.6	11.6	0	3.8	12.6
Aggravated robbery/aggravated theft	6.9	7.2	3.3	3.8	7.8
Drug possession and dealing	2.5	1.4	14.8	1.9	2.7
Encroachment/identity theft	0.6	0.6	0	0	0.7
Possession of illegal weapon	26.2	28.1	6.6	27.4	26.1
Robbery/theft	6.8	7.4	0	5.1	7.3
Scam/misappropriation/fraud	2.8	2.6	4.9	1.3	3.2
Extortion	0	0	0	0	0
Burglary/break-ins	1.0	0.9	1.6	1.9	0.7
Other violent	3.7	3.6	4.9	3.2	3.9
Other non-violent	25.7	24.7	36.1	32.3	23.9
DK/DA	0.1	0	1.6	0.6	0

Table 18: Violent and Non-violent Offenders (n=679; percent)

	Violent	Non-violent
Sample	72.0	21.8
Gender		
Male	73.8	20.5
Female	52.5	36.1
Age		
18–24	64.6	25.9
25–35	67.6	25.7
36–45	81.9	13.8
≥ 46	77.1	19.1

Regarding weapons, 54.3 percent of the respondents reported that they were carrying one when the crime occurred (Figure 7). Younger respondents were significantly more likely to report carrying a weapon while committing a crime, with 68.7 percent of those 18–24 saying they carried a weapon compared to 28.2 percent of the inmates 46 or older. Significantly more incarcerated males reported carrying a weapon when the crime occurred (58.3 percent) than females (16.7 percent).

Figure 7: Reported Carrying a Weapon When Crime Occurred (percent)

Note: “Don’t know/no answer” responses were omitted.

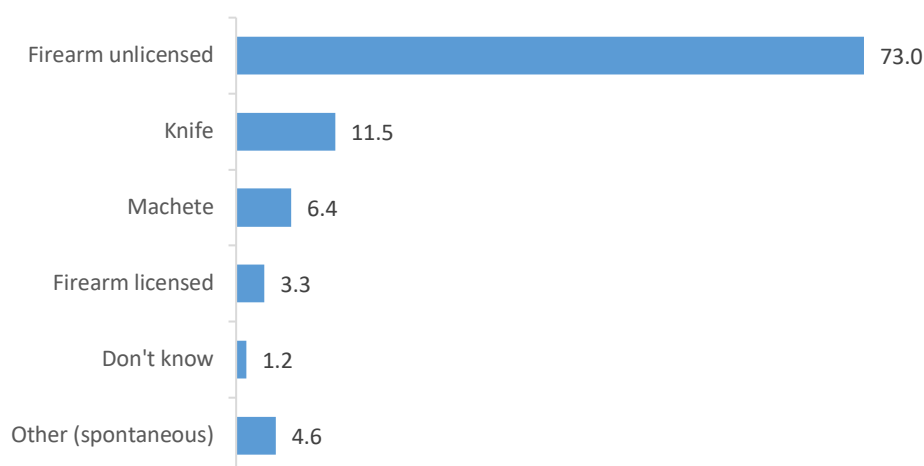
Of the inmates, 45.2 percent were accused of using a weapon to commit the crime (Table 19). The findings show that 52.5 percent of non-violent offenders reported carrying a weapon at the time of the offense (Figure 7) compared to 27.2 percent who were accused of using it to commit the crime (Table 19). Slightly more violent offenders reported carrying a weapon (54.9 percent) than stated that they were accused of carrying the weapon to commit the crime (50.5 percent).

Table 19: Accused of Carrying a Weapon to Commit Crime, by Gender and Type of Offense (percent)

	Sample	Male	Female	Violent	Non-violent
n=	724	657	60	521	158
Yes	45.2	48.1	13.1	50.5	27.2
No	9.0	9.5	3.3	4.2	25.3
DK/DA	0.1	0.2	0	0.2	0
N/A	45.7	42.2	83.6	45.1	47.5

Note: The difference between the information presented in Figure 7 and that presented in this table is that one question asked inmates if they were carrying a weapon (Figure 7) and the other asked if they were accused of carrying a weapon (Table 19).

Of those who admitted to carrying a weapon when the offense occurred, 73.0 percent were carrying an unlicensed firearm while 3.3 percent claimed the firearm was licensed (Figure 8). Jamaican authorities have been concerned about the availability of firearms. Since 2015, over 80 percent of all reported murders involved the use of firearms (PIOJ, 2017).

Figure 8: Weapon Carried When Crime Occurred (n=393; percent)

To further understand the characteristics of the crimes, respondents were asked if anyone suffered physical injuries during the crime and whether or not they used drugs or alcohol six hours prior to the crime. Physical injuries occurred in 55.7 percent of crimes and 19.9 percent of respondents used drugs within six hours of their crime (Table 20). By the nature and definition of some crimes, we would expect that 100 percent of respondents would say that someone was injured, however this is not the case. Only 92.0 percent of those incarcerated for murder said that someone was injured, 90.0 percent of those detained for manslaughter, and 88.9 percent of those arrested for other violent offenses. Of the people imprisoned for robbery/theft, 38.8 percent said there were injuries.

With respect to drug use, this was most prevalent among inmates who were incarcerated for possession of an illegal weapon (22.6 percent) and robbery/theft (18.4 percent) (Table 20). The inmates who admitted to using drugs at the time of the incident were equally likely to have used alcohol (14.5 percent) or marijuana (14.0 percent) (Table 21).

Table 20: Crime, by Possession of a Weapon, Physical Injury, and Drug or Alcohol Use (percent)

	Carrying a Weapon	Physical Injuries Occurred	Used Drugs or Alcohol*	n=
All crimes	54.3	55.7	19.9	724
Intentional homicide/murder	64.0	92.0	17.8	264
Manslaughter	47.5	90.0	15.0	40
Sex crime	10.4	16.9	22.1	77
Aggravated robbery/aggravated theft	80.0	34.0	32.0	50
Possession of illegal weapon	86.8	41.6	22.6	190
Robbery/theft	57.1	38.8	18.4	49
Scam/misappropriation/fraud	10.0	10.0	10.0	20

* Drugs or alcohol used in the six hours prior to the crime.

Table 21: Drug Used in 6 Hours Prior to Crime (N=724; percent)

Alcohol	14.5
Marijuana	14.0
Cocaine	0.1
Other	0.8

Note: No inmates responded that they had used inhalants, pills, or heroin.

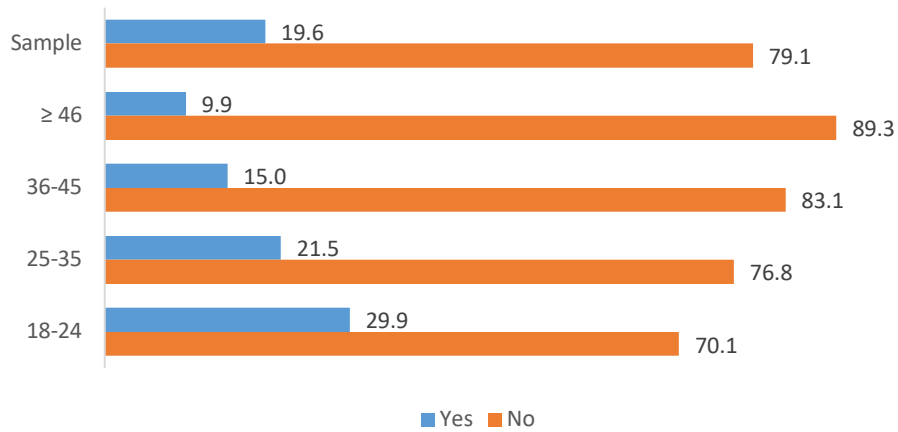
Inmates were asked if they were the only person implicated in the crime and 43.1 percent said they were charged along with someone else (Table 22). Slightly more females (47.5 percent) had a co-accused compared with their male counterparts (42.7 percent). The likelihood of having a co-accused declined with age, with 51.7 percent of inmates 18–24 being arrested along with someone else, declining to 26.7 percent of those 46 years and older.

Table 22: Charged with a Co-accused (N=724; percent)

	Yes	No
Sample	43.1	55.2
Gender		
Male	42.7	55.8
Female	47.5	49.2
Age		
18–24	51.7	46.3
25–35	47.5	51.1
36–45	41.3	56.9
≥ 46	26.7	71.8

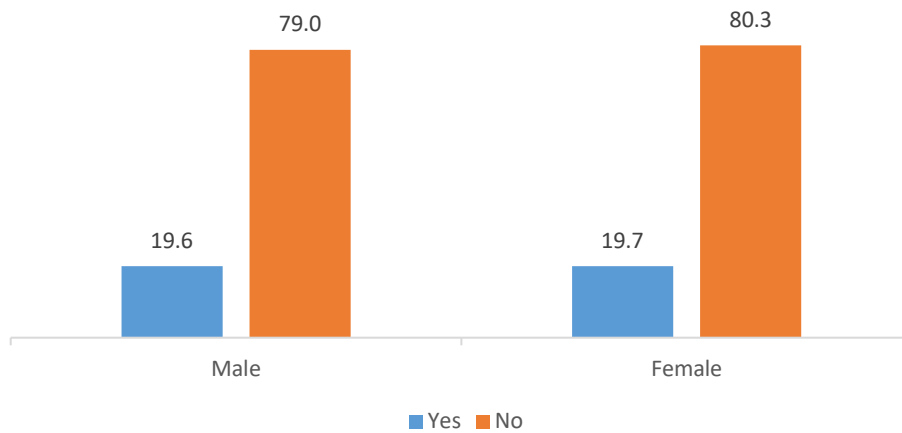
The research also explored whether the crimes for which inmates were arrested were entrusted to them by a gang, and 19.6 percent of the inmates said their crime was. Disaggregated by age, younger inmates were significantly more likely to commit a crime as a result of gang influence, with 29.9 percent of inmates aged 18–24 saying their crime was entrusted by a gang compared to 21.5 percent of those 25–35, 15.0 percent of the inmates 36–45 years, and only 9.9 percent of those 46 years and older (Figure 9). The influence of gangs in the commission of a crime was equal among male (19.6 percent) and female (19.7 percent) inmates (Figure 10). Among the inmates who declared that their crime was entrusted to them by a gang, 71.8 percent were incarcerated for violent offenses and 21.8 percent were incarcerated for non-violent offenses.

Figure 9: Crime Entrusted by Gang/Organized Group, by Age (N=724; percent)



Note: Don't know and no response, which were less than 2 percent in all cases, are omitted from this graph.

Figure 10: Crime Entrusted by Gang/Organized Group, by Gender (N=724; percent)



Note: Don't know and no response, which were less than 1.5 percent in all cases, are omitted from this graph.

Inmates Incarcerated for Intentional Homicide/Murder

Table 17 shows that 36.5 percent of respondents were incarcerated for murder. When these inmates were asked to state the motive for their crime, 15.2 percent (the highest proportion) said it was revenge, 8.3 percent stated it was self-defense, and 7.6 percent reported that it was the result of a fight. The “other” category (28.0 percent) captured responses such as gang related, community war, provocation, and robbery (Figure 11). Of the inmates incarcerated for murder, 59.1 percent reported that they used an unlicensed firearm to commit the crime (Figure 12).

Figure 11: Reason Given for Murder or Manslaughter (n=264; percent)

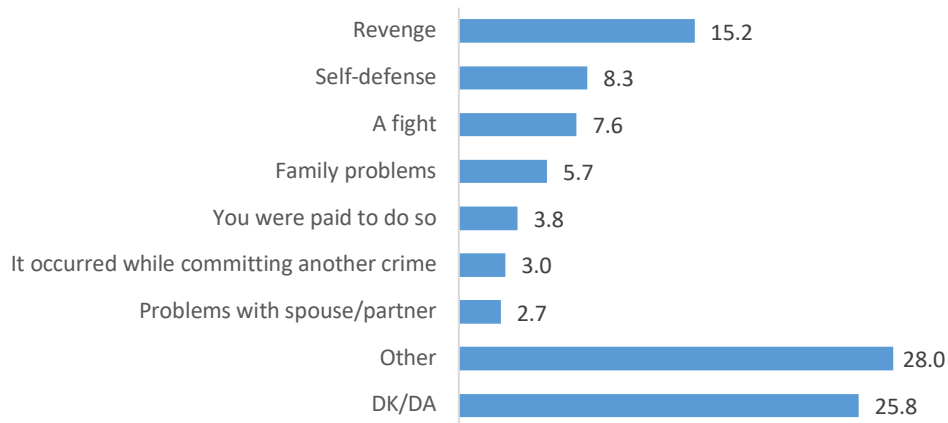
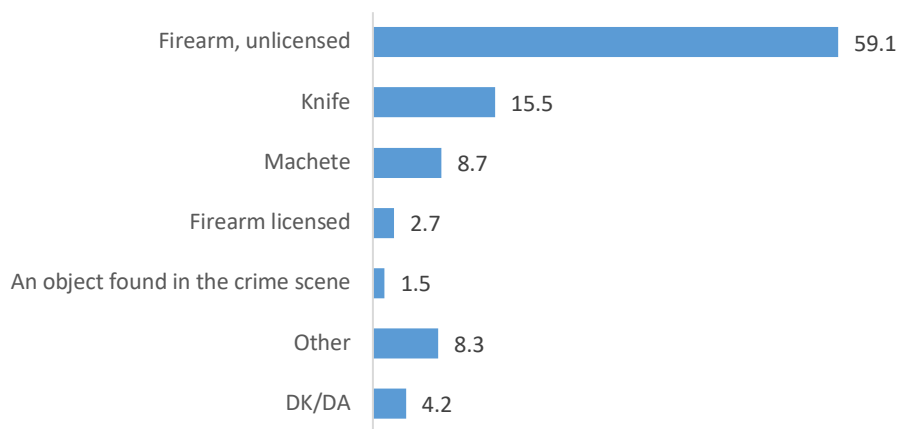


Figure 12: Weapon Used to Commit Murder (n=264; percent)



Statistics from the JCF continue to show that most murders are gang related. In 2017, 42.4 percent of all murders were gang related (PIOJ, 2017). The findings from this survey show that 25.4 percent of the people incarcerated for murder stated that the crime was entrusted to them by a gang or similar group. The results also show that 8.7 percent of the inmates who were charged with this crime were gang members when they were arrested.

Inmates Incarcerated for Property Crimes

Inmates who committed property crimes (robbery/theft, aggravated robbery/ theft, encroachment/identity theft, or scam/misappropriation/fraud) were asked two questions. First, they were asked if they had been arrested for a similar crime before and 27.4 percent had been arrested for a property-related crime prior to this arrest. Second, they were asked about the approximate value of the property involved, and the approximate earnings from property crimes ranged from \$0 to \$13,000,000 (US\$100,316.38).

Inmates Incarcerated for Drug-Related Offenses

Inmates who were charged with drug-related offenses were asked what type of drug they were selling, the main reason for engaging in the crime, and the approximate value of the drugs. Of all the inmates interviewed, only 2.5 percent were incarcerated on drug-related charges. Of this number, 44.4 percent were in for dealing cocaine, 50.0 percent were charged with selling or carrying marijuana (Table 23), and 22.2 percent had sold drugs before. The main reason given for engaging in this type of crime was that they did not see any other way to generate an income. The approximate average value of the drugs in the offenders' possession at the time of arrest was \$2,443,025 (US\$18,806), ranging from \$115,000 (US\$885.29) to \$18,000,000 (US\$138,568.12).

Table 23: Drugs Found in Inmates' Possession (n=18; percent)

Marijuana	50.0
Inhalants	0
Cocaine	44.4
Pills	0
Heroin	0
Other	0

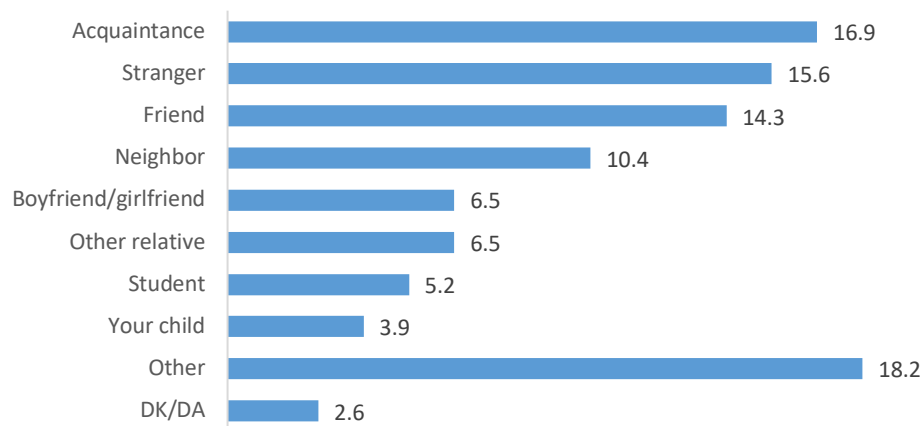
Note: Multiple responses were allowed for this question; 16 percent said they had no drugs in their possession when they were arrested and two people did not answer.

Inmates Incarcerated for Kidnapping/Extortion

Of the inmates interviewed, 12 (1.7 percent) reported that they were incarcerated for kidnapping and no one claimed to have been involved with extortion. Only five inmates responded to questions about these crimes. Three inmates said another person was involved, four stated that the crime was not committed for monetary gains, three stated that the victims were females, and one had committed a similar crime in the past.

Inmates Incarcerated for Sexual Crimes

Of the inmates interviewed, 10.6 percent were incarcerated for sexual offenses. When asked to identify the relationship they had with the victims, 16.9 percent said it was an acquaintance, 15.6 percent said it was a stranger, 14.3 percent said it was a friend, and 3.9 percent admitted that it was their own child (Figure 13). Of the inmates who committed a sexual offense, only 18.2 percent admitted that physical violence was used.

Figure 13: Victims of Sexual Offenses (n=77; percent)

Recidivism

Recidivists are people who re-enter the criminal justice system after being punished in the past (Walsh, 2012). Recidivism is one of the established indicators of the effectiveness of a prison system. It can be measured based on re-arrests (through police statistics); re-convictions or repeated court appearances (through the courts); or re-entering the prison system, violation of parole, or probation (through the prison/correctional system). Based on the percentage of people who return to the DCS, whether for custodial or non-custodial sentences, Jamaica's recidivism rate was 42.5 percent in 2017 (see [Table 1](#)). In other words, four of every 10 inmates who enter the DCS have previously been convicted of an offense. The Government of Jamaica, through Vision 2030, has set a target of 10 percent, meaning that by 2030 only one in every 10 convicts is expected to return to the DCS.

Among the inmates interviewed, 20.6 percent had been previously imprisoned for another crime. On average four and a half years (55 months) passed between the previous incarceration and the current one. The largest proportions of recidivists were convicted for robbery/aggravated robbery (19.5 percent) and possession of an illegal weapon (18.8 percent) ([Table 24](#)).

By gender, 22.0 percent of the male and 4.9 percent of the female respondents had been imprisoned before. There was no significant difference between those who were sentenced (20.4 percent recidivists) and those on remand (21.7 percent). Of all the inmates who admitted that they were previously incarcerated, 28.1 percent were 36–45 years of age and 22.1 percent were 46 years or older. The average age of inmates when they were previously incarcerated was 24 years, ranging from 12 to 58 years ([Table 25](#)).

Table 24: Crimes Previously Incarcerated For (n=149; percent)

Intentional homicide/murder	8.7
Manslaughter	0.7
Kidnapping	0.7
Crimes causing injuries	6.7
Sex crimes	5.4
Robbery/aggravated robbery	19.5
Drug-related crimes	8.1
Encroachment/identity theft	0
Possession of illegal weapon	18.8
Theft/aggravated theft	6.0
Scam/misappropriation/fraud	2.7
Extortion	0
Other	39.6

Note: Multiple responses were allowed.

All recidivists answered this question, thus no DK/DA.

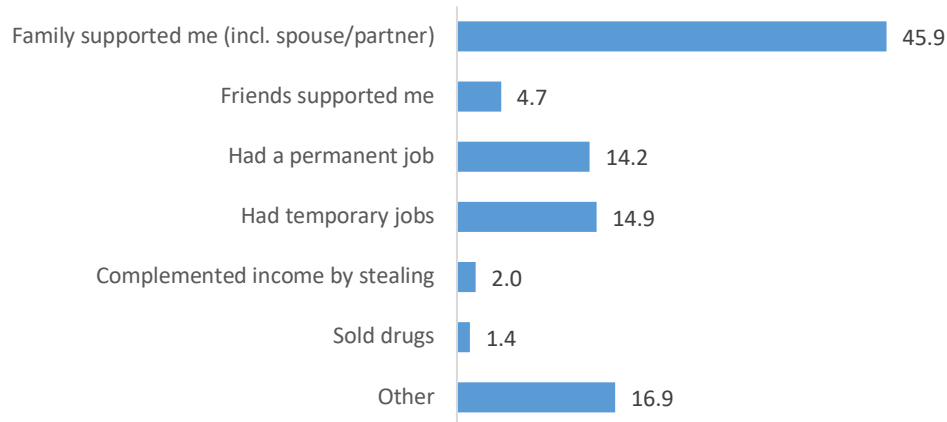
Table 25: Inmates Who Were Previously Incarcerated (N=724; percent)

Sample	20.6
Gender	
Male	22.0
Female	4.9
Legal Status	
On remand	21.7
Sentenced	20.4
Age	
18–24	11.6
25–35	20.1
36–45	28.1
≥ 46	22.1

The research further probed the experiences of the recidivists while they were previously incarcerated. The findings reveal that 69.1 percent of them did not participate in any classes or go to school while serving time. Of those on remand, 17.6 percent attended classes and, of those sentenced, 34.8 percent did so during their previous imprisonment. For most, the classes were at the secondary school level (65.2 percent). Among those who attended classes, 89.2 percent thought they were useful. The reasons for not participating included that classes were not available (38.4 percent) and that they had no interest in studying (19.2 percent). Of the recidivists, 20.1 percent learned a trade while previously incarcerated and of these 83.3 percent thought that it was useful.

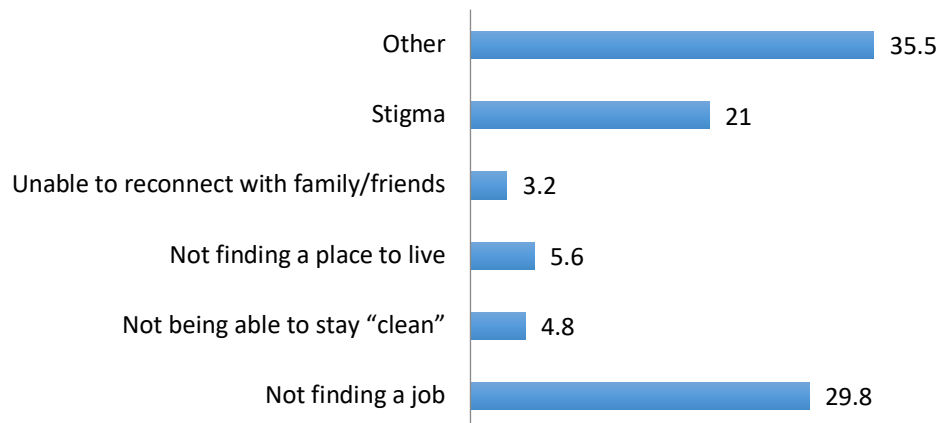
In terms of support systems after release, most of the inmates returned to live with family members (64.2 percent) after their previous incarceration and 19.6 percent lived on their own. Further, 45.9 percent were supported by their families when they left the penal system while 29.1 percent had either a permanent or a temporary job (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Means of Support after Leaving Penal Institution (n=149; percent)



Finding employment was not a major problem as most recidivists (74.8 percent) reported that they obtained a job within 1 to 4 months of their release; however, some inmates did experience challenges finding a job (29.8 percent). Another challenge was stigma; 21.0 percent of recidivists reported facing stigmatization after their previous release (Figure 15).

Figure 15: Major Challenges Faced by Recidivists (n=124; percent)



Only 10.1 percent of recidivists reported that they made contact with an organization that provides support to former inmates, with 6.7 percent contacting a non-governmental organization and 8.7 percent contacting governmental organizations (Table 27).

Table 26: Contacted Organization that Provides Support on Release from Prison (n=146; percent)

Non-government organization that provides support	6.7
Government organization that provides work support	8.7
Government agency that provides financial support	0
Police and/or defense force personnel	0
DK/DA	2.0
No support	87.9

Note: Multiple answers were allowed.

Prior Juvenile Detention

An assumption of juvenile justice is that detaining children is a last resort and only done in the best interests of the child. On exiting the juvenile detention centers, it is hoped that there would be adequate intervention to effectively treat the problematic behaviors and their underlying causes. When asked if they had previously been held in a juvenile detention centers, 16.2 percent of the inmates reported that they had—16.7 percent of the males and 9.8 percent of the females. By judicial status, 27.4 percent of those on remand and 13.1 percent of those sentenced had previously been detained in a juvenile detention center. By age, 40.8 percent of those 18–24 years of age were previously detained in a juvenile center (Table 27).

Table 27: Previous Detention in Juvenile Centre (N=724; percent)

Sample	16.2
Gender	
Male	16.7
Female	9.8
Legal Status	
On remand	27.4
Sentenced	13.1
Age	
18–24	40.8
25–35	12.7
36–45	8.8
≥ 46	5.3

Uncovering the Dark Figure

Internationally, inmate surveys help to gather information about the dark figures in the criminal justice system—crimes that may have been committed but criminal justice systems have not yet discovered them (Skogan, 2016). The current study asked respondents about participation in other crimes, previous gang activity, and gun possession for which they were never arrested.

Participation in Other Crimes

Of the inmates, 13.7 percent said they had been involved in criminal activity in the six months prior to being arrested. Of those inmates, 37.4 percent committed robbery/aggravated robbery and 20.2 percent

admitted to committing murder, both violent offenses, and 19.2 percent reported that they were in possession of an illegal weapon (Table 28).

Table 28: Crimes Committed in the Six Months Prior to Being Arrested (n=99; percent)

Robbery/aggravated robbery	37.4
Intentional homicide/murder	20.2
Possession of illegal weapon	19.2
Theft/aggravated theft	16.2
Crime causing injuries	10.1
Drug-related crimes	8.1
Extortion	7.1
Scam/misappropriation/fraud	5.1
Manslaughter	4.0
Kidnapping	4.0
Sex crimes	4.0
Encroachment/identity theft	1.0
Other	23.2

Note: Multiple answers were allowed.

Criminal Activity in Prisons

To explore crime within the prison, respondents were asked whether they had been told about or knew of crimes organized or directed from prison. Of the inmates interviewed, 16.7 percent answered in the affirmative (Figure 16). Respondents were asked which crimes they believed were commissioned from within the prison. The largest proportion (12.4 percent) thought that murders were organized from prisons, followed by robberies (7.3 percent), and extortion (5.1 percent) (Table 29). When asked if there are gangs in the prison, either currently or in the past, 25.0 percent said yes.

Figure 16: Believed Crimes Were Organized from Inside Prison (N=724; percent)

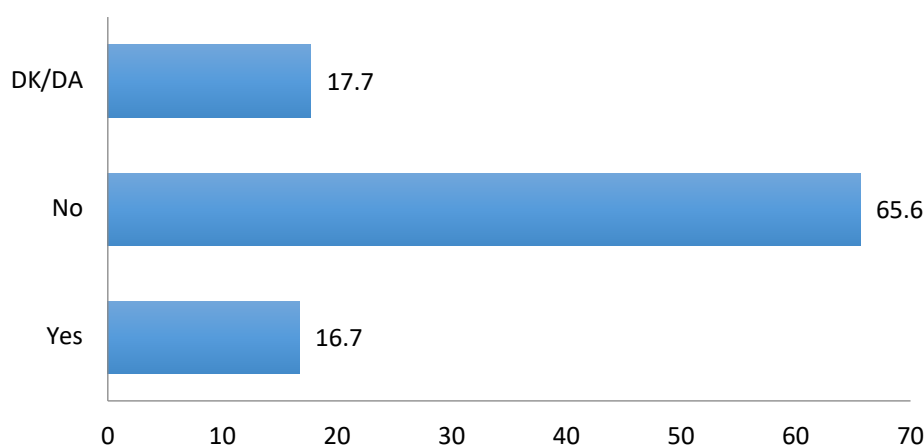


Table 29: Crimes Organized from Prison (N=724; percent)

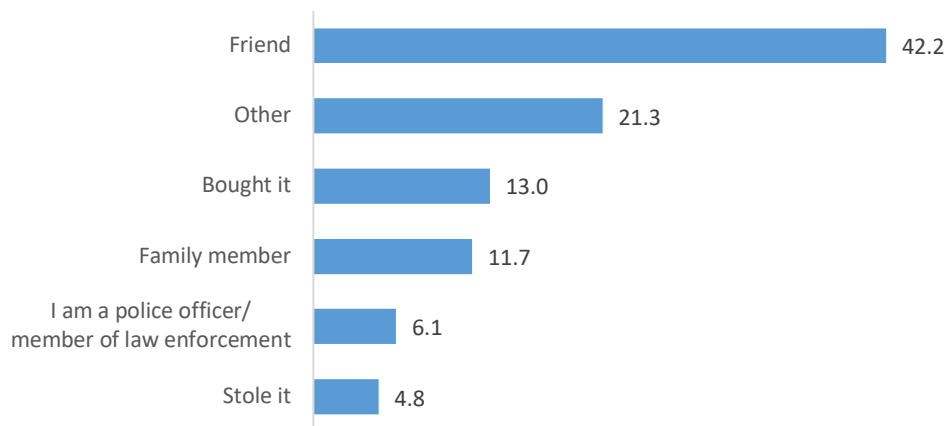
Kidnapping	2.9
Extortion	5.1
Trafficking	2.2
Robbery	7.3
Murder	12.4
Other	2.3

Firearm Usage

Of the respondents, 31.8 percent admitted to owning a firearm (Table 30). Males were significantly more likely to own a firearm (33.9 percent) than females (8.2 percent). Those who were sentenced were also more likely to own a firearm (34.9 percent) than those on remand (20.4 percent). Firearm ownership among younger inmates was higher than among other age groups, with 38.8 percent of inmates 18–24 years of age reporting that they owned a firearm compared to 31.7 percent of those 25–35 years, 31.9 percent of those 36–45 years, and 24.4 percent of those 46 years and older. The average age at which an inmate reportedly began using a firearm was 18.3 years, with the youngest age being 7 years. Respondents were also asked how they acquired their weapon and 42.2 percent got it from a friend while 13.0 percent bought it (Figure 17).

Table 30: Firearm Ownership (N=724; percent)

Sample	31.8
Gender	
Male	33.9
Female	8.2
Legal Status	
On remand	20.4
Sentenced	34.9
Age	
18–24	38.8
25–35	31.7
36–45	31.9
≥ 46	24.4

Figure 17: How Guns Obtained (n=230; percent)

Of all respondents, 26.1 percent noted that they had used a firearm and 13.0 percent had killed someone with a firearm. Of note, this is fewer than the percentage of inmates who admitted to using a firearm to commit murder.

Gang Membership

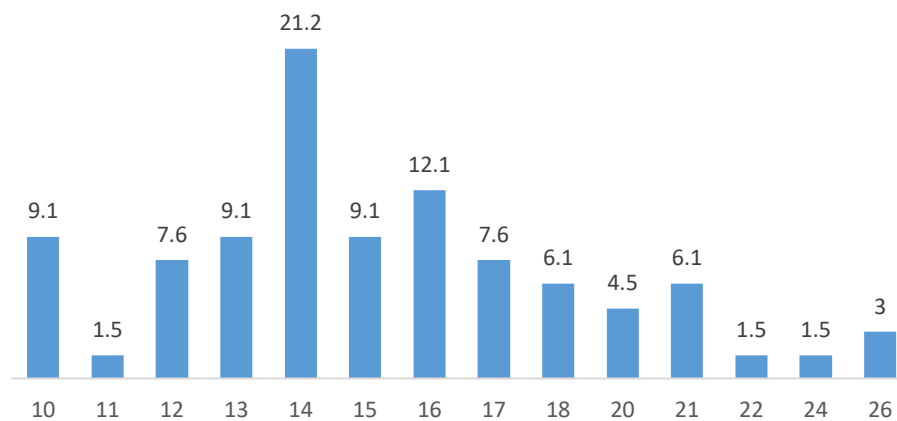
When asked if they were a member of a gang, 11.5 percent admitted that they were and 88.4 percent said they were not. Note that 19.9 percent of the respondents indicated that the crime that they committed was entrusted to them by a gang, which suggests that gangs may employ non-gang members to commit offenses. The results show that 33.7 percent of the inmates who claimed to be gang members were active in the gang.

Table 31 shows that 12.4 percent of the male inmates said they were in a gang; only one female respondent (1.6 percent of the female inmates surveyed) admitted to being in a gang. In terms of legal status, 11.7 percent of those sentenced and 10.2 percent of those on remand were gang members. Disaggregated by age, 21.8 percent of those 18–24 reported being a gang member compared to 13.1 percent of those 25–35, 6.3 percent of inmates 36–45, and the 3.1 percent of those 46 years and older (Table 31).

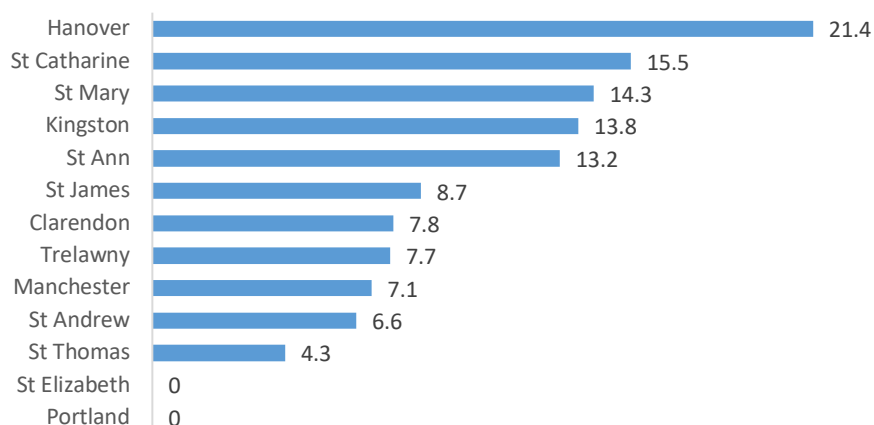
Table 31: Gang Membership (N=724; percent)

Sample	11.5
Gender	
Male	12.4
Female	1.6
Legal Status	
On remand	10.2
Sentenced	11.7
Age	
18–24 years	21.8
25–35 years	13.1
36–45 years	6.3
≥ 46 years	3.1

The average age at which inmates reported joining a gang was 15.5 years of age and the range was between 10 and 26 years (Figure 18). Of particular interest were the 15 inmates who claimed that they became a gang member after their arrest. They were all males and ranged in age from 21 to 48 years (average = 27.9 years); however, none of them indicated the age at which they joined the gang. Of this group, 33.3 percent (5) were on remand and 66.7 percent (10) had been sentenced.

Figure 18: Age Joined a Gang (n=66; percent)

When gang membership was disaggregated by parish, 21.4 percent of the inmates who admitted to being in a gang were from Hanover (Figure 19) compared to 15.5 percent from St. Catherine, 14.3 percent from St. Mary, and 13.8 percent from Kingston.

Figure 19: Gang Membership by Parish (N=724; percent)

Respondents were asked about their perception of crimes being organized from prison. When asked whether they knew of any gang members who committed offenses because gang leaders ordered them to do so from inside the prison, 23.6 percent said yes. Most inmates believed that gang members are obedient to gang leaders in prison because of loyalty to the gang (14.9 percent) and 9.5 percent also thought that offenses are carried out to gain a reputation (Table 33).

Table 32: Reasons Gang Members Commit Offenses Ordered from within Prison (N=724; percent)

Loyalty to the gang	14.9
To gain a reputation	9.5
Due to fear of personal retaliation against family and friends	4.4
Due to fear of personal retaliation outside the prison	3.6
Due to fear of retaliation if they are imprisoned	2.2

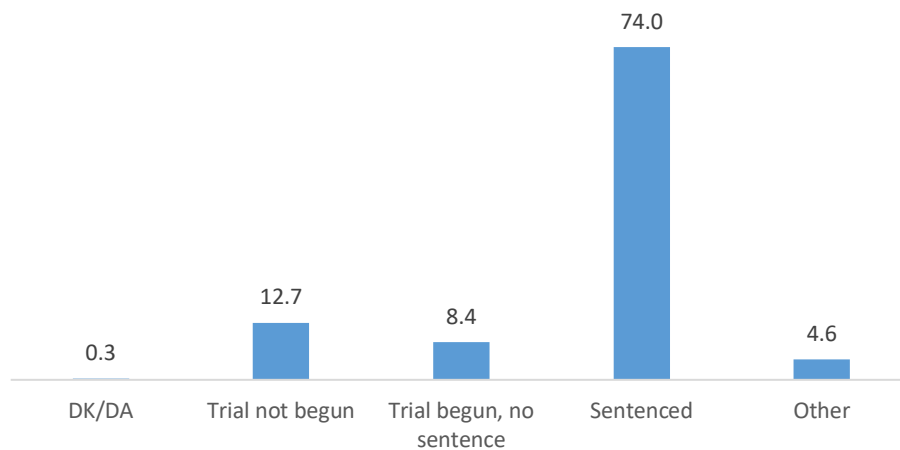
Note: Multiple responses were allowed and interviewees could answer yes, no, or don't know/no answer to any of the options.

Legal Procedures and Criminal Process

This section examines inmates' experiences while they were being processed through the criminal justice system and provides valuable information from the perspective of the system's users. This information allows outcomes of the decisions that are made within the criminal justice system to be evaluated and can be used to assess whether procedural justice is upheld. Ensuring that the due process of law is maintained is imperative for an effective democratic society. Inmates were asked about their experiences from the time of arrest through the pretrial process, and their experiences in the court system.

Of the inmates interviewed, 41.0 percent (the largest proportion) were arrested between 2016 and 2018, 38.0 percent between 2010 and 2015, and 21.0 percent before 2010. The majority of the respondents (74.0 percent) had been sentenced, 12.7 percent had not yet begun the trial process, and 8.4 percent were going through the trial process but had not yet been sentenced (Figure 20).

Figure 20: Stage of the Adjudication Process (N=724; percent)

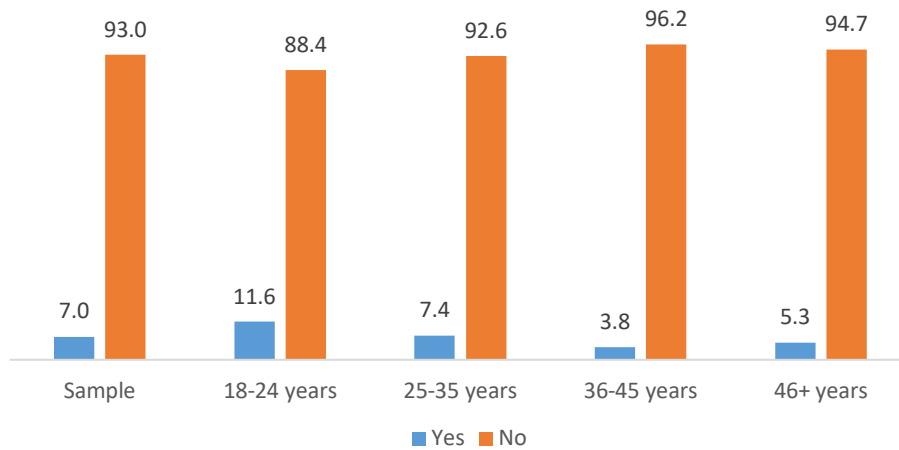


Arrest

To get an idea of how people are treated as they come into contact with the criminal justice system, inmates were asked about their experiences at the time of their arrest. When asked if the police showed them a warrant, in writing, at the time of their arrest, 93.0 percent reported that they were not (Figure 21), and of those who were shown a warrant, 62.8 percent had been incarcerated for less than 5 years.

Disaggregated by age, younger offenders were more likely to be shown a warrant, with 11.6 percent of inmates 18–24 years shown a warrant compared to 7.4 percent of those 25–35 years, 3.8 percent of those 36–45 years, and 5.3 percent of inmates older than 45 years (Figure 21). Slightly more incarcerated females (9.8 percent) reported that they were shown a warrant on arrest than their male counterparts (6.8 percent), and violent offenders (6.1 percent) were less likely to be shown a warrant in writing than non-violent offenders (7.6 percent).

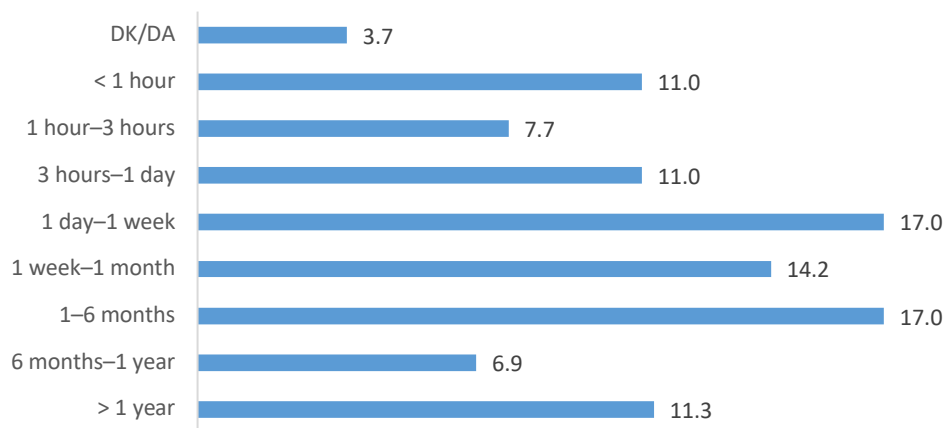
Figure 21: Inmates Shown a Warrant on Arrest, by Age (N=724; percent)



Note: DK/DA responses were added to the “no” category.

Inmates were asked how much time elapsed between when they committed the offense and when they were arrested, which is an indication of police effectiveness and citizens’ willingness to make reports. Of the respondents, 29.7 percent were arrested within a day, including 11.0 percent arrested within an hour, 7.7 percent arrested within one to three hours, and 11.0 percent within three hours to a day of the offense. The results also show that 6.9 percent were arrested between 6 months and a year and 11.3 percent more than a year after they committed the offense (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Time between Offense and Arrest (N=724; percent)



Of the inmates, 91.6 percent reported that they were taken to a police station after being arrested and 78.7 percent spent more than a week in police lock-up. When asked about legal representation, 46.3 percent of the respondents said that they were informed of their right to legal representation while they were at the police station, meaning 53.7 percent were not. Females were moderately more likely to be informed (50.8 percent) than males (45.9 percent).

To further explore breaches in due process, respondents were asked if the police used unjust tactics at the police station while taking their statement. Of the inmates interviewed, 29.8 percent reported that they were hit or were somehow physically coerced to testify or change their statement while at the police station. Males were significantly more likely to experience this type of abuse (31.8 percent) than females (8.2 percent). There were less pronounced differences across the various age groups, with youths (28.6 percent) and inmates 46 and older (20.6 percent) less likely to have this experience than inmates 25–35 years (33.1 percent) and those 36–45 years (32.5 percent) (Table 33). There was also no significant difference based on the type of offense, with 29.8 percent of those imprisoned for violent offenses and 29.7 percent of those with non-violent charges experiencing physical coercion.

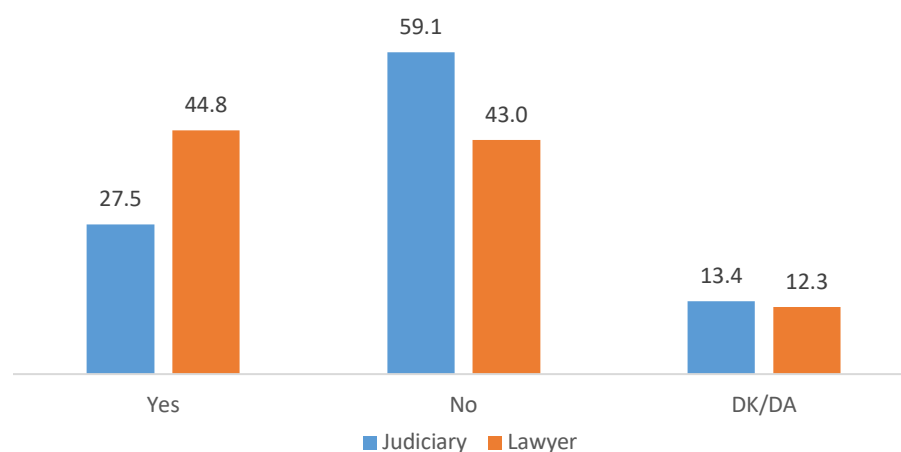
Table 33: Experienced Physical Coercion at Police Station (N=724; percent)

Sample	29.8
Gender	
Male	31.8
Female	8.2
Age	
18–24	28.6
25–35	33.1
36–45	32.5
≥ 46	20.6

The Pretrial Process

An essential component of ensuring procedural justice is ensuring that the accused is given an opportunity to present their case to a member of the judiciary. On average, it was 17.9 days between when an inmate arrived at the jail/prison and an opportunity to provide a preliminary statement to a member of the judiciary; the period ranged from 0 to 730 days. Further, 59.1 percent of the inmates stated that there was no justice or magistrate present when they made their preliminary statement,¹⁷ while 27.5 percent gave their preliminary statement before a member of the judiciary. When asked if their lawyer was present when the preliminary statement was taken, 44.8 percent said they were (Figure 23).

¹⁷ The 2013 *Criminal Proceeding Act* eliminated the preliminary statement and made a provision for a Caution Statement that is taken by a Justice of the Peace or a member of the JCF above the rank of Sergeant. The Caution Statement is admissible as evidence and can be used as a confession during the trial process. Note that many inmates (especially those on remand) misunderstood this process because the statement was made without their lawyer present.

Figure 23: Preliminary Statement Given in Presence of ____ (N=724; percent)

Of the inmates, 30.8 percent said someone informed them that they could get a reduced sentence if they pleaded guilty. Inmates who had their lawyers present were more likely to receive that information (39.5 percent) than those whose lawyer was not present (29.3 percent) (Table 34).

Table 34: Informed of Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty, by Lawyer's Presence (N=724; percent)

Lawyer Present	Informed of Reduced Sentence If Plead Guilty		
	DK/DA	Yes	No
DK/DA	74.2	4.5	21.3
Yes	0.3	39.5	60.2
No	1.0	29.3	69.8
Sample	9.7	30.8	59.5

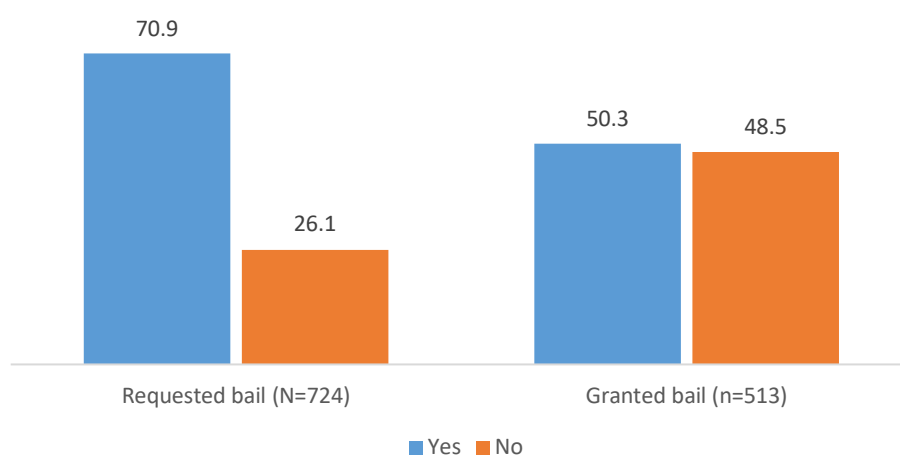
The findings revealed that 38.4 percent of the inmates pleaded guilty and 59.8 percent did not. Among the female respondents, 42.6 percent pleaded guilty compared to 38.0 percent of the males. Inmates who had their lawyer present at the preliminary hearing were equally likely to plead guilty (40.1 percent) as those who did not (40.2 percent). More of the inmates who were charged with non-violent offenses pleaded guilty (57.6 percent) than those incarcerated for charges related to violent crimes (32.4 percent). Additionally, 63.2 percent of those who were informed that they could get a reduced sentence if they pleaded guilty did so compared to only 28.3 percent of those without that information (Table 35).

Table 35: Pledged Guilty (N=724; percent)

	Yes	No	DK/DA
Sample	38.4	59.8	1.8
Gender			
Male	38.0	60.2	1.8
Female	42.6	55.7	1.6
Lawyer Present			
Yes	40.1	59.0	0.9
No	40.2	58.8	1.0
Type of Crime			
Violent	32.4	65.3	2.3
Non-violent	57.6	41.8	0.6
Informed Could Get a Reduced Sentence			
Yes	63.2	36.8	0.0
No	28.3	70.8	0.9

The Constitution of Jamaica and international conventions that guide the administration of justice¹⁸ protect citizens against arbitrary arrest and have clear guidelines for when a person is deprived of their liberty. As part of understanding whether these guidelines are being met, the study probed whether or not inmates requested and were granted bail. Of the inmates interviewed, 70.9 percent stated that their lawyer(s) requested bail, and of those, 50.3 percent reported that the judge accepted the bail request (Figure 24). A larger proportion of female respondents (62.5 percent) reported that their request for bail was accepted than their male counterparts (49.0 percent). Slightly more violent offenders (35.7 percent) received bail compared with inmates incarcerated for non-violent offenses (31.0 percent). This is counter-intuitive, but the information from the survey did not allow for further investigation. A larger proportion of the inmates 25 years and older (52.2 percent) reported that they were granted bail than inmates aged 18–24 years (43.0 percent).

¹⁸ Chapter 3 of Jamaica's Constitution, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the American Convention on Human Rights, and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Figure 24: Requested and Granted Bail (percent)

The average bail amount was \$450,137.53 (US\$3,473.55), ranging from \$500 (US\$3.85) to \$15,000,000 (US\$115,749.67). Of the inmates offered bail, 73.3 percent were able to pay it. The average bail amount for females was \$1,022,142 (US\$7,887.50),¹⁹ the median \$350,000 (US\$2,700.82), and the range from \$20,000 (US\$154.33) to \$15,000,000 (US\$115,749.67). Among male inmates, the average bail was \$377,336 (US\$2,911.76), ranging from \$500 (US\$3.85) to \$3,000,000 (US\$23,149.93).

For the 48.5 percent of inmates who were refused bail, the perceived reasons included the seriousness of the offense (27.3 percent), the inmate was a reoffender (13.6 percent), and the accused was an escape risk (7.6 percent) (Table 36). Other reasons (24.9 percent) inmates suggested their bail was denied included that other charges, including murder, were pending, in which case the law prohibits release/bail; the inmate was a flight risk; and strong evidence to support a conviction. Only 3.3 percent of the inmates reported that they were offered community service, probation, fines, or work as an alternative to prison.

Table 36: Reasons Denied Bail (n=249; percent)

Because a serious offense was involved	27.3
You were a reoffender	13.6
You were considered dangerous for the victims or witnesses	12.4
Prison escape risk	7.6
Danger that you'd hinder the judicial process	7.6
Other	24.9
DK/DA	19.3

¹⁹ Note that the average bail amount for female inmates is inflated because the sample size is small and the two respondents with the highest bail were both female.

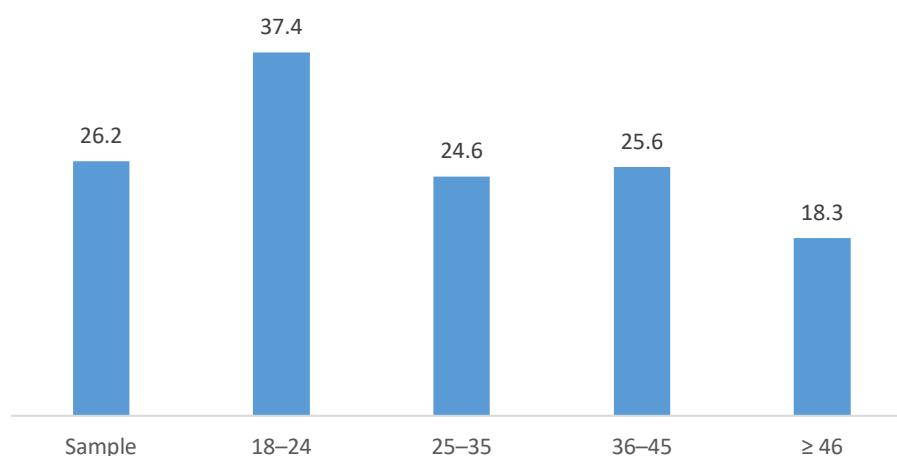
When asked how often they saw their lawyer while going through the pretrial process, 27.3 percent said they met with their lawyer once a month, 19.5 percent reported that they almost never met with their lawyer, and 3.6 percent indicated that they had no legal representation (Table 37).

Table 37: Frequency Met with Lawyer (N=724; percent)

Almost daily	3.3
Once a week	8.4
Every 15 days	8.0
Once a month	27.3
Almost never	19.5
Other	29.0
Did not have a lawyer	3.6
DK/DA	0.9

The research probed perceptions and experiences of corruption. Of the inmates, 26.2 percent believed that if they had given money to the law enforcement personnel who arrested them, they would have been let go (Figure 25), while 55.7 percent did not believe this and 18.1 percent did not know or did not answer. Younger inmates 18–24 years were more likely to have this opinion (37.4 percent) than older inmates (ranging from 25.6 percent of inmates aged 36–45 years to 18.3 percent of those 46 years and older (Figure 25).

Figure 25: Bribing Law Enforcement Officer Would Have Resulted in Release, by Age (N=724; percent)



When asked if certain members of the criminal justice system had ever approached them for money or belongings since their arrest, 22.2 percent said a member of the police force had, 11.2 percent mentioned prison staff, and 0.8 percent said someone from the defense force had (Table 38). Specifically breaking down which prison staff requested the bribe, the largest proportion was security personnel (10.8 percent), with a small number of inmates saying it was treatment or administrative staff. Regarding court officials, three inmates (0.4 percent) stated that a prosecutor asked them for money or belongings, one (0.1 percent) was asked by a magistrate, and three (0.4 percent) said court personnel asked them.

Table 38: Request for Money or Belongings (N=724; percent)

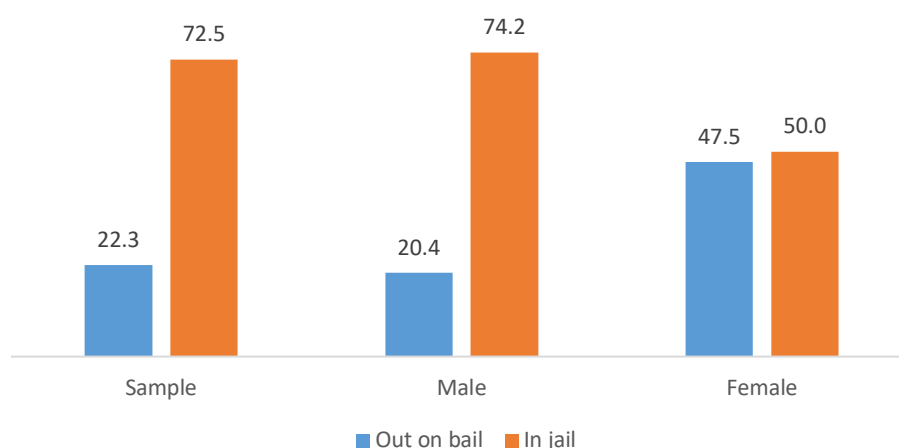
	Police	Defense Force	Immigration Officer	Prison Staff	Court Officials		
					Prosecutor	Magistrate	Court Personnel
Yes	22.2	0.8	0.4	11.2	0.4	0.1	0.4
No	76.4	97.9	97.5	87.7	72.5	72.8	72.5
DK/DA	1.4	1.2	2.1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.1
NA					26.0	26.0	26.0

Notes: Multiple responses were allowed for this question.

NA refers to inmates who had not yet come into contact with prosecutor, magistrate, or court personnel.

The Adjudication Process

The majority of inmates who were convicted were in jail when their sentence was passed (72.5 percent) while 22.3 percent were out on bail. Females were more likely to be out on bail (47.5 percent) than males (20.4 percent), and males were more likely to be in jail (74.2 percent) than females (50.0 percent) (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Status When Sentence Was Passed (n=564; percent)

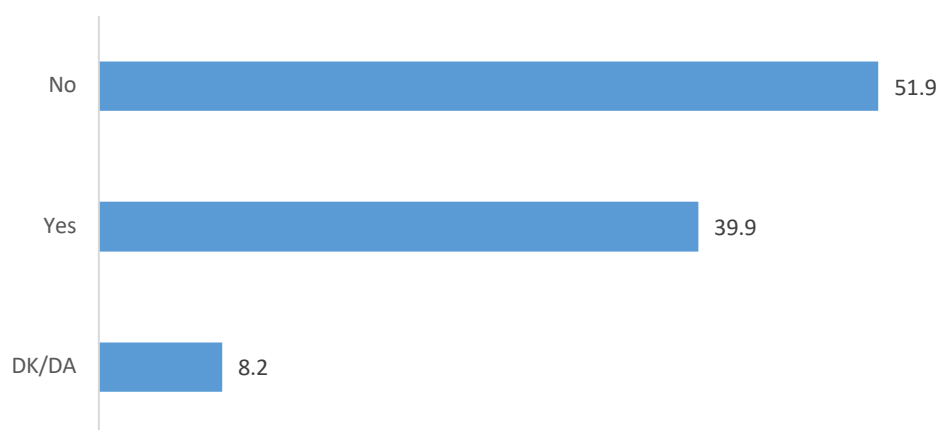
To estimate the duration of the adjudication period, inmates were asked how much time elapsed between their arrest and when they were sentenced. The average period was 28.2 months. Since most inmates were in jail when their sentence was passed and the adjudication process took an average of 28.2 months, the pretrial detention period can be inferred to be over two years for most inmates. The adjudication period for violent offenders was an average of 32.3 months, while those who committed non-violent crimes were processed more speedily, taking an average of 14.6 months.

The adjudication period for females (on average 53.4 months) was longer than that for their male counterparts (26.2 months), suggesting cases are processed more slowly for females.

The average sentence was 11.2 years, ranging from 3 months to 83 years. With the exception of the nine inmates (1.2 percent) who were imprisoned without the possibility of parole, inmates' release dates

ranged from 2018 to 2052. Of the inmates interviewed, 49.3 percent expected their sentence to be reduced, allowing them to leave the prison early (Figure 27).

Figure 27: Expected a Reduced Sentence (n=536; percent)

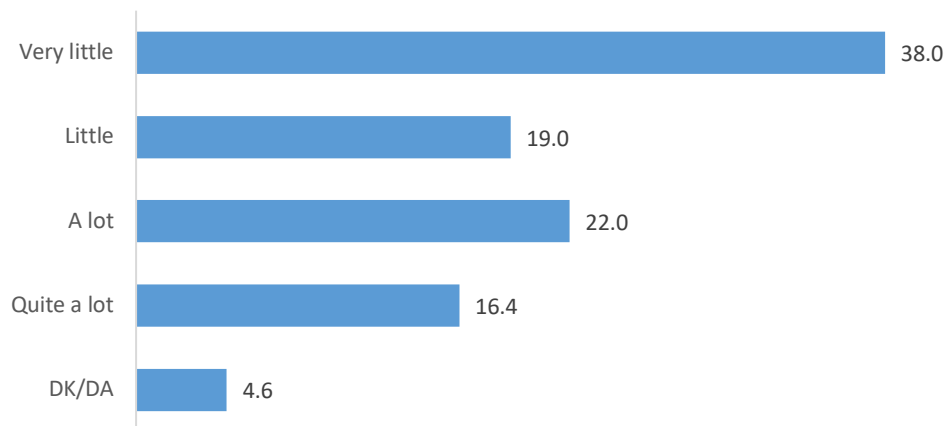


When asked how much of the adjudication process they understood, 31.3 percent understood quite a lot of what was happening at their hearing and in court and 19.4 percent understood a lot (Table 39). However, 19.3 percent reported that they understood little and 28.6 percent said they understood very little of what was taking place at their hearing and in court. The results showed that 50.8 percent of male and 50.0 percent of female inmates stated that they understood what was taking place.

Table 39: Understanding of Trial Proceedings (n=597; percent)

	Sample	Male	Female
Quite a lot	31.3	30.9	36.4
A lot	19.4	19.9	13.6
Little	19.3	19.9	11.4
Very little	28.6	27.8	38.6
DK/DA	1.4	1.2	—

Of the inmates, 48.9 percent said they had never communicated with a judge or magistrate, 26.6 percent spoke with them once, 11.4 percent spoke with them twice, and 11.6 percent spoke with them three or more times. An important element of the effective administration of justice in a democratic society is the defendant's perception that they have a voice that is acknowledged as their case is processed. The results showed that 38.4 percent of inmates thought that the magistrate listened a lot or quite a lot to what they had to say, however 57.0 percent felt that the magistrate listened to them a little or very little (Figure 28).

Figure 28: Attentiveness of Magistrate (n=305; percent)

The study also probed access to legal support, and 4.3 percent of the inmates reported that they had no lawyer (Table 40). Reasons included that they did not have enough money, they were not made aware that they could access legal aid, they did not want a lawyer, and they did not have enough time to secure a lawyer.

Of the inmates, 49.9 percent reported that they had one lawyer throughout the process, while 45.3 percent indicated that they had two or more lawyers (Table 40). Regarding the type of lawyer, 56.9 percent said that their main representation was a private lawyer and 37.8 percent inmates said they were defended by a legal aid lawyer. Regarding the quality of their defense, 46.5 percent believed that their main lawyer defended them either well or very well, but this was more likely if the inmate had a private lawyer (54.6 percent) than a legal aid lawyer (39.8 percent).

Table 40: Number of Lawyers (N=724; percent)

DK/DA	0.6
0	4.3
1	49.9
2	30.7
3	9.3
4	3.3
5	1.2
6	0.4
7	0.4

Prison Conditions

This section explores the living conditions of inmates held in the facilities managed by Jamaica's DCS. The survey asked specific questions related to living conditions, including where they sleep, facilities for sanitation and hygiene, access to and quality of drinking water and food, health care, personal safety, and illicit activities while incarcerated. Inmates were also asked about their family support, programs and activities offered by the DCS, and projections for their life after incarceration.

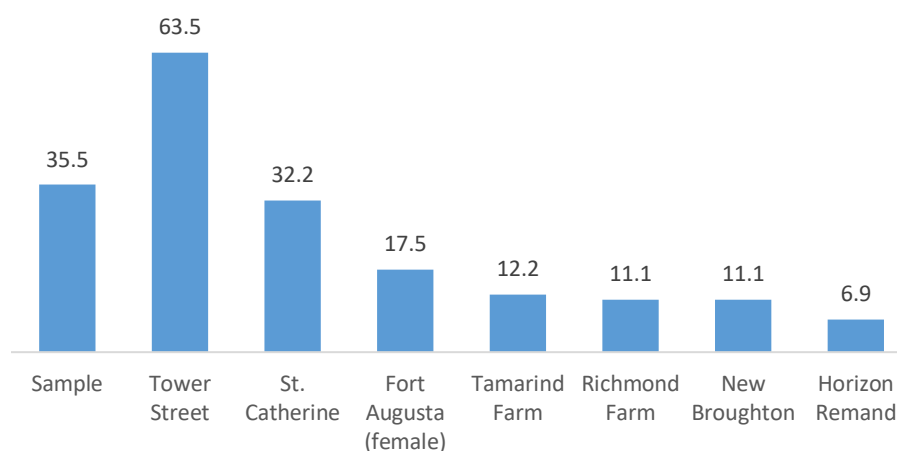
Overcrowding

Overcrowding is a concern for prisons because of problems associated with social control and the challenges it poses to health and safety. Two indicators were used to measure prison overcrowding.

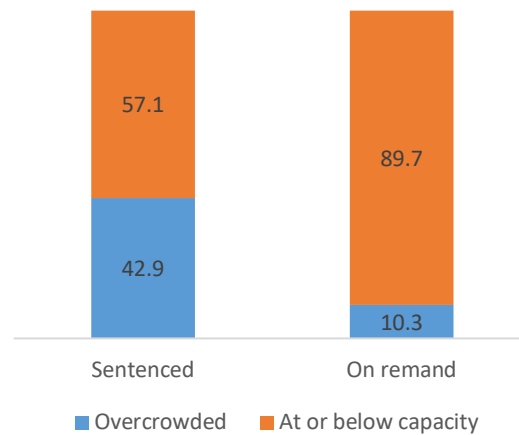
First, inmates were asked how many people their sleeping situation was designed to accommodate and how many people were actually using the space. Inmates believed that the place they occupied was designed to hold, on average, 5.8 people, and, on average, 6.2 inmates slept there the night before. A new variable was computed using the difference between these two variables. The range for this variable was -32 to +30, with all zero and positive numbers indicating inmates who were living in overcrowded conditions (35.5 percent), and negative numbers representing inmates sleeping in spaces at or below ideal capacity (64.5 percent).

Disaggregated by institution, 63.5 percent of the inmates in Tower Street and 32.2 percent of those in St. Catherine were living in overcrowded conditions (Figure 29). This is not surprising since these are the reception institutions for convicted males, meaning that all convicted males handed over to the DCS enter these two institutions for classification on conviction prior to being sent to other correctional facilities. They are also the two maximum-security facilities for males, and most inmates were incarcerated for violent offenses and therefore held in the more secure facilities. By judicial status, more sentenced inmates lived in overcrowded conditions (42.9 percent) than those on remand (10.3 percent) (Figure 30).

Figure 29: Housed in Overcrowded Cells, by Institution (n=693; percent)



Note: N value is less than 724 because not all inmates replied to this question.

Figure 30: Overcrowding by Judicial Status (n=691; percent)

Note: The N value is less than the 693 from Figure 29 because two inmates who responded to the overcrowding questions did not respond to the judicial status question.

Second, respondents were asked how many people in their cell/dorm did not have a bed. Of the overall sample, 41.9 percent said that someone in their accommodations did not have a bed. The proportion was highest in Tower Street (66.3 percent), St. Catherine (33.1 percent), and the Horizon Remand Centre (29.9 percent).

The first measure of overcrowding is preferred because not having a bed is not necessarily due to overcrowding. For example, there may be inadequate funding to acquire beds, or inmates may sleep on a mattress or hammock as opposed to a bed.

Inmates were also asked where they slept the previous night, and 41.2 percent reported that they slept on a bed compared to the 41.9 percent of inmates who responded that some fellow inmates did not have a bed. The two most overcrowded facilities had the most inmates sleeping on mattresses: Tower Street (30.1 percent) and St. Catherine (48.8 percent). Of note, 82.0 percent of the female inmates said they slept on beds and another 16.4 percent slept on mattresses. Of concern are the 21.0 percent of the respondents at Tower Street, 17.5 percent at St. Catherine, and 4.2 percent at Horizon who stated that they were sleeping on the floor (Table 41).

Table 41: Sleeping Arrangements (percent)

	Bed	Mattress	Hammock	Floor	Other	n=
Tower Street	17.8	30.1	24.3	21.0	6.9	276
St. Catherine	16.9	48.8	0	17.5	16.9	160
Horizon	62.5	18.1	0	4.2	15.3	144
Tamarind Farm	100.0	0	0	0	0	31
Richmond Farm	96.8	3.2	0	0	0	42
New Broughton Sunset	100.0	0	0	0	0	10
Fort Augusta (women)	82.0	16.4	0	0	1.6	61

Sanitation and Hygiene

Inmates were asked who provides a range of basic items needed to maintain proper hygiene and to live comfortably within the penal institutions. Though beds and mattresses were supplied predominately by the prison (64.0 percent), family members supplied shoes to 88.4 percent of the inmates, clothes to 84.7 percent, towels to 71.4 percent, and sheets to 67.4 percent (Table 42). Of the female inmates, 90.2 percent were supplied sheets by DCS compared to 7.5 percent of the male respondents. Since some inmates said that no one provided them sheets (14.0 percent), towels (20.0 percent), or a bed/mattress (13.5 percent), these numbers are estimates of the proportion of inmates who are without these items. Items such as pillows and blankets were generally not offered to inmates.

Table 42: Personal Items Provided by ____ (N=724; percent)

	Sheets	Towels	Clothes	Shoes	Bed/Mattress
The prison	14.5	3.7	11.2	4.3	64.0
Family	67.4	71.4	84.7	88.4	19.3
Another inmate	2.1	2.2	0.8	1.5	1.9
Other	1.4	1.1	1.2	1.8	0.7
No one	14.2	20.0	2.1	4.0	13.5
DK/DA	0.4	1.5	0	0	0.6

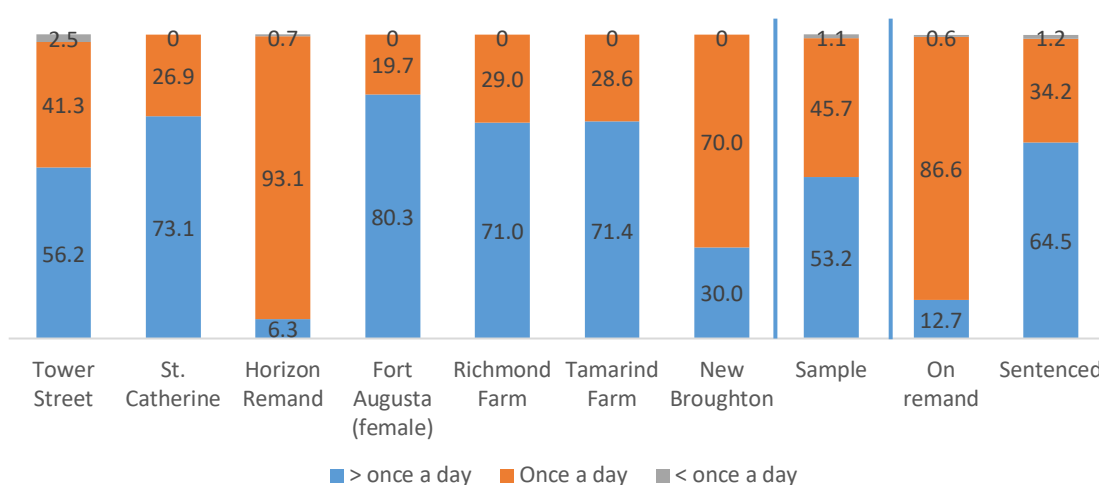
Inmates were also asked to specify the personal care items provided by the prison (Table 43). The majority of the respondents reported that they were provided toilet paper (97.2 percent), soap (95.7 percent), and tampons/sanitary napkins (96.7 percent of the females). Additionally, some of the inmates were provided toothpaste (63.3 percent) and toothbrushes (50.3 percent) by the prison. A larger proportion of female inmates had access to all personal care items. Although razors were not made available to inmates,²⁰ all male institutions have a barbershop that they can access to for personal grooming (personal communication, 2018). Note that the barbershops are used as a part of the rehabilitation process.

²⁰ Though 3.7 percent of inmates (27) said that they had access to razors, the staff at the correctional institutions reported that inmates are not allowed to have them.

Table 43: Personal Care Items Provided by the Prison (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Male	Female
Toilet paper	97.2	97.0	100.0
Soap	95.7	95.6	96.7
Toothpaste	63.3	61.8	78.7
Toothbrush	50.3	48.6	68.9
Pillow	8.1	7.7	13.1
Deodorant	55.5	54.3	68.9
Razor	3.7	3.6	4.9
Blanket	9.5	9.2	13.1
Tampons/pads (Females only)	96.7	—	96.7

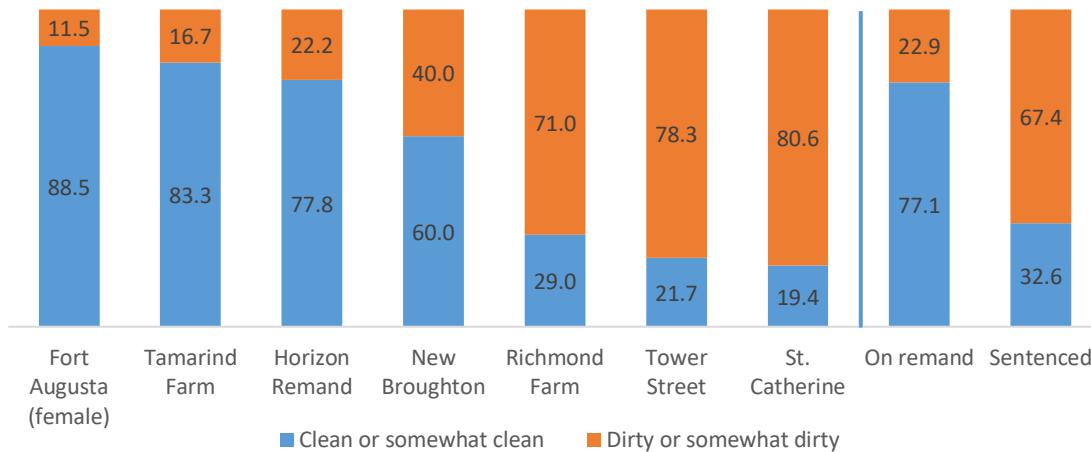
On average, inmates were allowed to shower 11.3 times a week and the median was 14 times, indicating that inmates were generally showering twice a day. Of the female inmates, 80.3 percent showered more than once per day compared to 73.0 percent of the inmates at St. Catherine, 71.4 percent at Tamarind Farm, and 71.0 percent at Richmond Farm (Figure 31). Of the sentenced inmates, 64.5 percent showered more than once per day; however, of those on remand, 86.6 percent were allowed to shower only once a day because they are on lockdown for longer hours than sentenced inmates (Figure 31).

Figure 31: Frequency of Showers, by Institution and Legal Status (N=724; percent)

When respondents were asked to evaluate the cleanliness of the toilet facilities, 57.6 percent said they were dirty or somewhat dirty compared to 42.4 percent who reported that they were clean or somewhat clean. Inmates residing at the maximum-security facilities were more likely to say the toilet facilities were dirty, with 80.6 percent at St. Catherine describing the toilets as dirty and 78.3 percent at Tower Street compared to 16.7 percent at Tamarind and 22.2 percent at Horizon (Figure 32). Of note, only 11.5 percent of the women at the Fort Augusta facility said that the toilets were dirty.

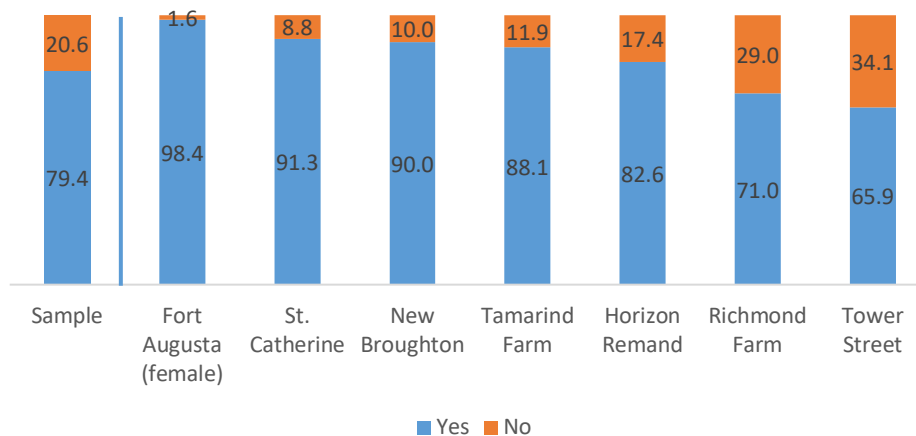
The results also show that inmates on remand have access to cleaner toilet facilities than sentenced inmates, with 22.9 percent of those on remand believing the toilet facilities are dirty compared to 67.4 percent of the sentenced inmates (Figure 32).

Figure 32: Cleanliness of Toilet Facilities, by Facility and by Judicial Status (N=724; percent)



Adequate access to drinking water and its safety are vital to the health of the inmates. When asked to rate their access to drinking water, overall, 79.4 percent reported that they had enough water to drink; however, fewer of the inmates at Tower Street (65.9 percent) and Richmond Farm (71.0 percent) felt they had enough drinking water (Figure 33).

Figure 33: Adequate Access to Drinking Water (N=724; percent)



In addition to access, inmates were asked about the quality of the water and 61.8 percent said that the water they had access to was poor or very poor. Institutions where the majority of the inmates reported poor water quality were Tower Street (73.2 percent), Horizon (71.5 percent), Richmond Farm (67.8 percent), and Fort Augusta (63.4 percent).

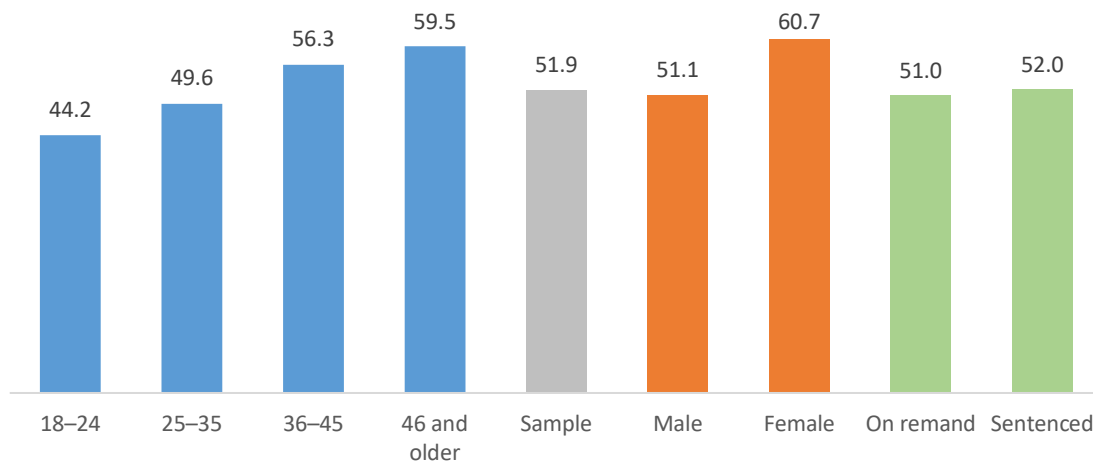
Respondents were also asked to rate the quality of the food they were provided. A significant percentage of the inmates expressed dissatisfaction with the quality of the food, with 78.9 percent rating it poor or very poor. Disaggregated by institution, an overwhelming number of the inmates interviewed at Tower Street (91.7 percent) reported that the food was poor or very poor. Inmates at Horizon (76.4 percent), Fort Augusta (62.3 percent), and Tamarind Farm (61.9 percent) also reported that the food quality was poor or very poor (Table 44).

Table 44: Quality of the Food and Water (N=724; percent)

	DK/DA	Very Good	Good	Normal	Poor	Very Poor
Sample						
Quality of Water	1.4	3.0	9.7	24.2	29.3	32.5
Quality of Food	1.1	0.8	4.8	14.4	23.8	55.1
Tower Street						
Quality of Water	0.7	0.4	16.5	19.2	30.8	42.4
Quality of Food	0.4	0.4	1.1	6.5	20.3	71.4
St. Catherine						
Quality of Water	2.5	6.3	12.5	31.9	23.8	23.1
Quality of Food	2.5	0.6	1.9	15.6	23.8	5.6
Horizon						
Quality of Water	1.4	2.1	6.3	18.8	33.3	38.2
Quality of Food	0.7	0	5.6	17.4	27.8	48.6
Fort Augusta						
Quality of Water	1.6	11.5	21.3	32.8	27.9	35.5
Quality of Food	1.6	3.3	14.8	18.0	23.0	39.3
Richmond Farm						
Quality of Water	0	3.2	6.5	22.6	32.3	35.5
Quality of Food	0	3.2	12.9	32.3	32.3	19.4
Tamarind Farm						
Quality of Water	12.4	0	9.5	33.3	31.0	23.8
Quality of Food	2.4	0	7.1	28.6	33.3	28.6
New Broughton						
Quality of Water	0	0	40	30	10	20
Quality of Food	0	10	50	30	0	10

Health Care

The research explored access to and quality of the health care offered to inmates. Of the inmates interviewed, 51.9 percent had been sick at some point during their incarceration, including 51.0 percent of those on remand and 52.0 percent of those sentenced. Not surprisingly, older inmates were more likely to get ill, with 59.5 percent of inmates 46 years and older having been ill compared to 44.2 percent of those younger than 25. Disaggregated by gender, 60.7 percent of the females had been ill compared to 51.1 percent of the males (Figure 34).

Figure 34: Sick during Incarceration, by Age, Gender, and Judicial Status (N=724; percent)

Note: Two people did not report ages so were not included in the sample.

Health problems experienced while incarcerated included flu/chest infection (16.4 percent) and stomach problems (9.0 percent) (Table 45). The “other” responses included asthma (20 inmates or 2.7 percent) and pain (20 inmates or 2.7 percent), including headache and backache.

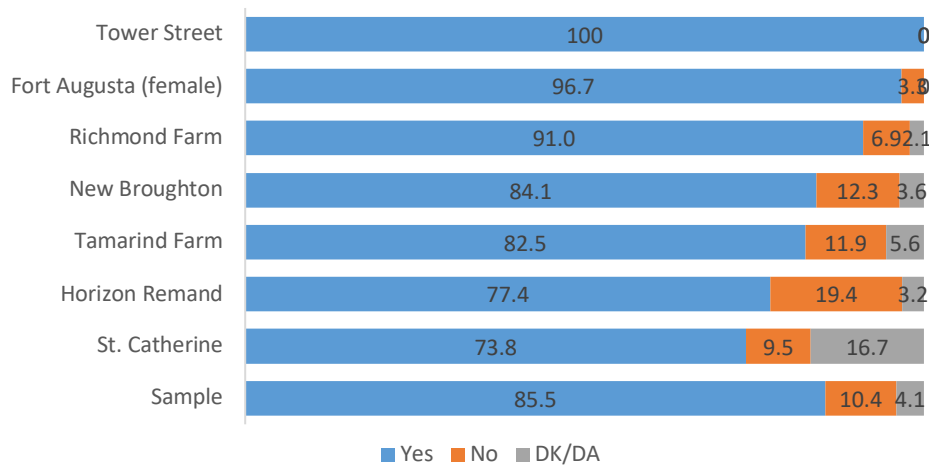
Table 45: Health Problems While Incarcerated (N=724; percent)

	Sample	Female	Male
Flu/chest infection	16.4	21.3	16.0
Stomach problems	9.0	11.5	8.7
Depression/anxiety	1.9	4.9	1.7
Tuberculosis	0.4	0	0.5
HIV/AIDS	0.4	0	0.5
Other	32.6	37.7	32.0

Note: For this question, multiple responses were allowed.

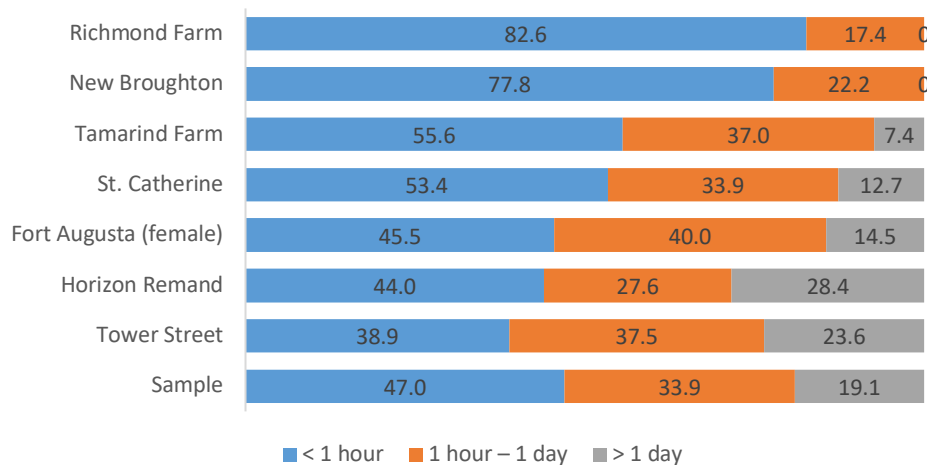
When asked about access to healthcare, 85.5 percent of the inmates said it was accessible. Of those without access, most were housed at Horizon (19.4 percent) (Figure 35). The difference in access between inmates on remand (89.8 percent) and those sentenced (84.4 percent) was not significant.

Figure 35: Access to Healthcare (N=724; percent)



Of the inmates who had used the health care system, 47.0 percent reported that they were seen within one hour of indicating that they needed care, 33.9 percent were seen between one hour and one day, and 19.1 percent were seen after more than 24 hours. Inmates in institutions with smaller populations were more likely to be seen within an hour (Richmond Farm, 82.6 percent; Tamarind Farm, 55.6 percent; and New Broughton Sunset, 77.8 percent) (Figure 36).

Figure 36: Wait Time to Receive Medical Care (n=556; percent)



Note: The figures for New Broughton should be interpreted with caution as only 9 inmates provided information on the wait time for healthcare.

Although the healthcare was considered accessible, 41.8 percent thought that the quality was poor or very poor, while 26.6 percent thought it was good or very good and 31.6 percent felt it was normal (Table 46). Inmates in the two larger facilities were more likely to perceive the healthcare as poor or very poor (Tower Street, 52.3 percent, and St. Catherine, 45.0 percent). The results also show that 36.2 percent

of the incarcerated women at Fort Augusta thought the healthcare they received was good or very good compared to 51.8 percent at Tamarind Farm and 44.4 percent at New Broughton.

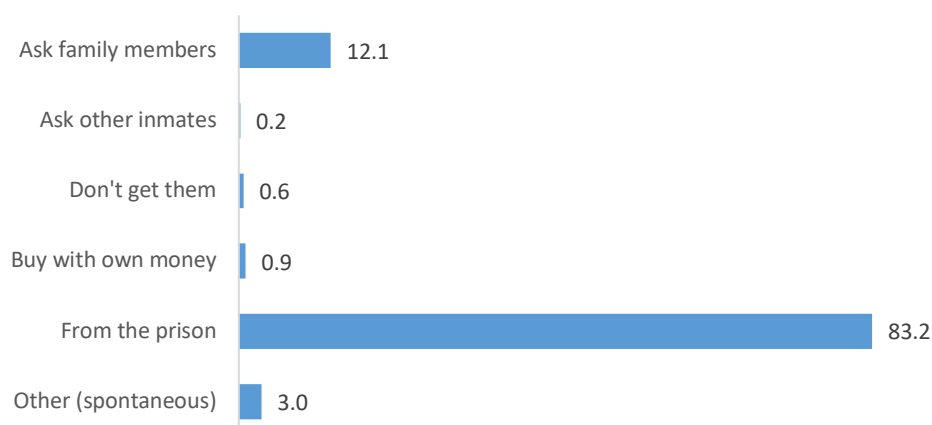
Table 46: Quality of Medical Care (percent)

	Good or Very Good	Normal	Poor or Very Poor	n=
Sample	26.6	31.6	41.8	572
Tamarind Farm	51.8	14.8	33.3	27
New Broughton	44.4	33.3	22.2	9
Horizon	37.8	33.6	28.5	119
Fort Augusta	36.2	31.0	32.8	58
Richmond Farm	28.6	38.1	33.4	21
St. Catherine	20.0	35.0	45.0	120
Tower Street	17.4	30.3	52.3	218

Note: The figures for New Broughton Sunset should be interpreted with caution as only 9 inmates provided information on the quality of the medical care.

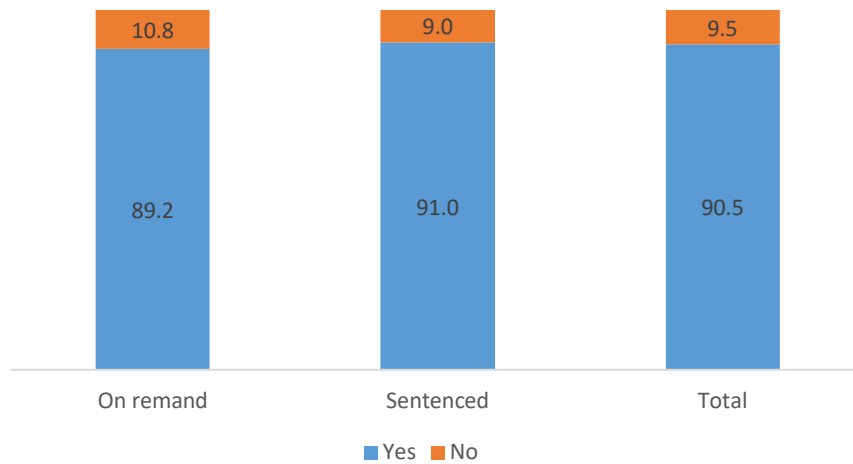
When asked how they got the medicines they needed, 83.2 percent of the inmates received what they needed to treat their health condition from the DCS, while 12.1 percent received it from family (Figure 37). Disaggregated by judicial status, 89.2 percent of those on remand and 81.5 percent of those sentenced got their medication from the DCS, and sentenced inmates were more likely to ask family for their medicine (13.9 percent) than those in remand (5.4 percent).

Figure 37: How Inmates Access Medicine (n=660; percent)



Of the inmates interviewed, 90.5 percent reported that they had been tested for HIV, with 91.0 percent of the sentenced population saying they had been tested compared to 89.2 percent of those on remand (Figure 38).

Figure 38: Inmates Tested for HIV (N=724; percent)

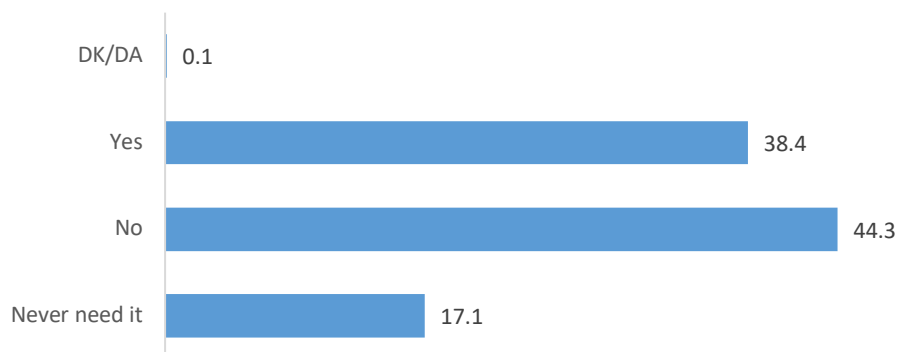


Note: DK/DA (0.1 percent) and NA (0.3 percent) were rolled into the no responses.

To get an indication of the ability of the prison authority to respond to health situations that cannot be dealt within one of its institutions, inmates were asked if they had been taken to a hospital while incarcerated and 39.5 percent said that they had visited a hospital while in prison.

As part of inmate healthcare, the survey asked inmates about access to dental care (Figure 39). The results showed that 38.4 percent of inmates received treatment from a dentist when they needed it; however, 44.3 percent did not, while 17.1 percent indicated that they never required dental care.

Figure 39: Received Dental Care (N=724; percent)



Recreational Activity/Pastime

When inmates were asked how they spent their time in general terms, 21.8 percent reported that they spent most of their time working, 20.3 percent said sleeping, 18.9 percent stated they were mostly studying, and 13.3 percent said watching television (Table 47).

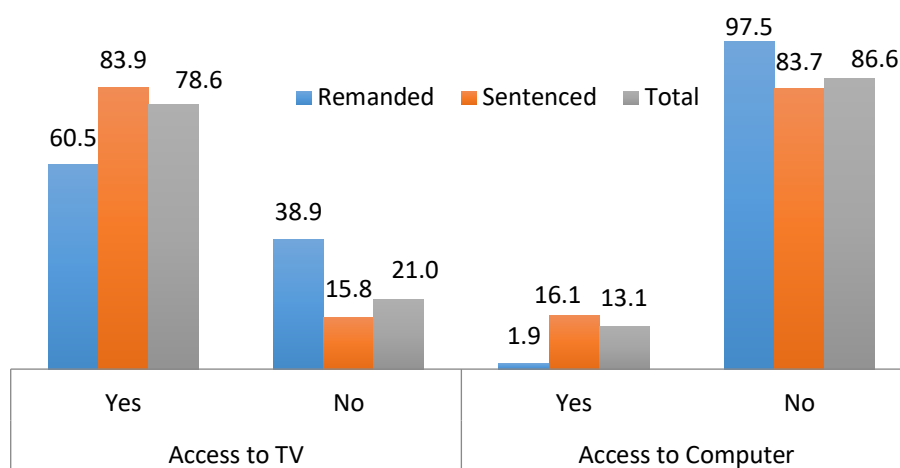
Disaggregated by institution, most of the men at New Broughton (80.0 percent) and many of those at Richmond Farm (41.9 percent) said they were working. This is not surprising as these institutions are located in rural areas with lots of farmland and they have smaller populations than the other facilities. Although Tamarind Farm is similarly designed, it is located in an urban area with less land space and a larger population; only 16.7 percent of the inmates reported that they spent most of their time working. Tamarind Farm has an expanded classroom facility and 31.0 percent of the inmates reported that they spent their time studying. Of the incarcerated females, 34.4 percent spent their time studying while 32.8 percent spent it working. At St. Catherine, the largest proportion (32.5 percent) of the men were working. Of note, 45.8 percent of the inmates at the remand facility (Horizon) spent most of their days sleeping.

Table 47: How Time Was Spent (N=724; percent)

	Working	Sleeping	Studying	Sports or Leisure Activities	Cleaning	Watching TV	Other
Sample	21.8	20.3	18.9	7.6	1.7	13.3	16.0
New Broughton	80.0	0	0	0	10.0	0	10.0
Richmond Farm	41.9	19.4	12.9	3.2	0	0	22.6
Fort Augusta (females)	32.8	19.7	34.4	0	0	1.6	11.5
St. Catherine	32.5	10.6	21.3	10.0	0.6	10.0	15.0
Tower Street	19.6	13.8	21.7	8.3	3.3	14.5	18.5
Tamarind Farm	16.7	19.0	31.0	0	0	26.2	7.1
Horizon Remand	2.8	45.8	3.5	10.4	0.7	19.4	16.0

When asked about their access to television, 78.6 percent reported that they did have access (Figure 40) and the average number of hours spent watching TV per day was 7.85 hours. Inmates on remand had less access to television (60.5 percent) than those who were sentenced (83.9 percent). Fewer inmates had access to a personal computer (13.1 percent) (Figure 40) or the internet, but those who did used them on average 3.71 hours a day.

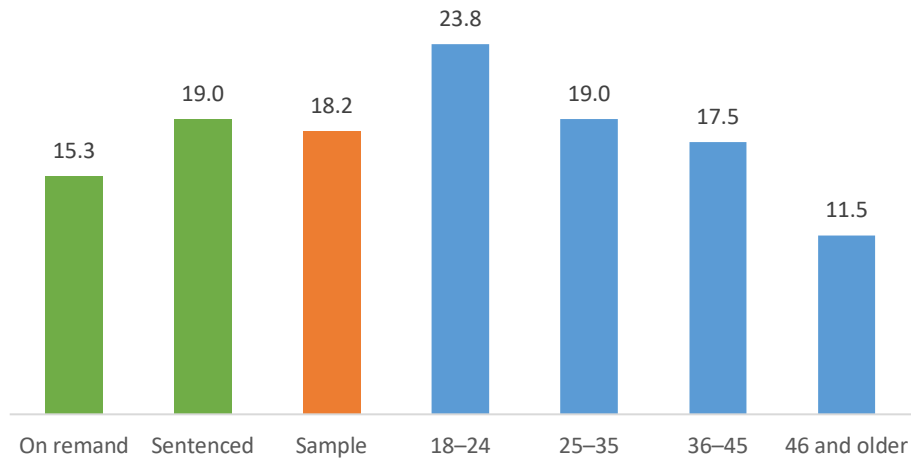
Figure 40: Access to Television and Computer (n=719; percent)



To study inmates’ access to mobile phones, two estimates were used (Figure 41). First, inmates were asked about their use of a cellphone and, second, they were asked about other inmates’ access.

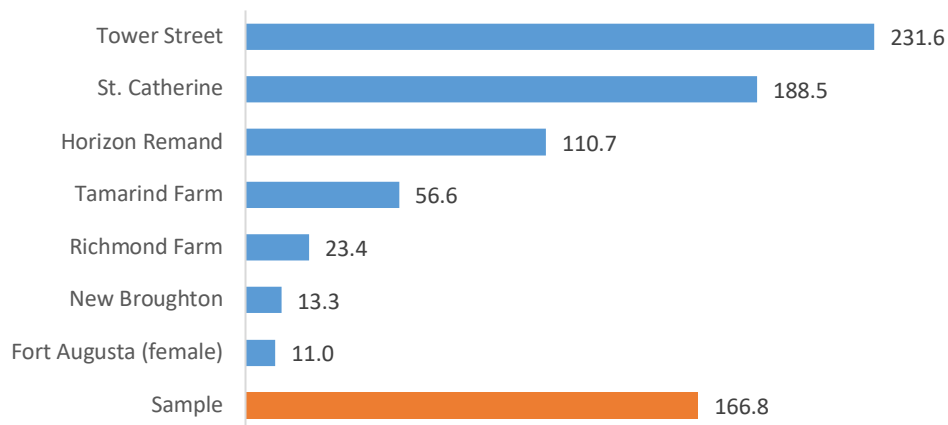
Of the respondents, 18.2 percent admitted to having access to a mobile phone, and more sentenced inmates reported having access (19.0 percent) than those on remand (15.3 percent). Younger inmates (18–24) had greater access to mobile phones (23.8 percent) than older inmates.

Figure 41: Access to Mobile Phone, by Judicial Status and Age (N=724; percent)

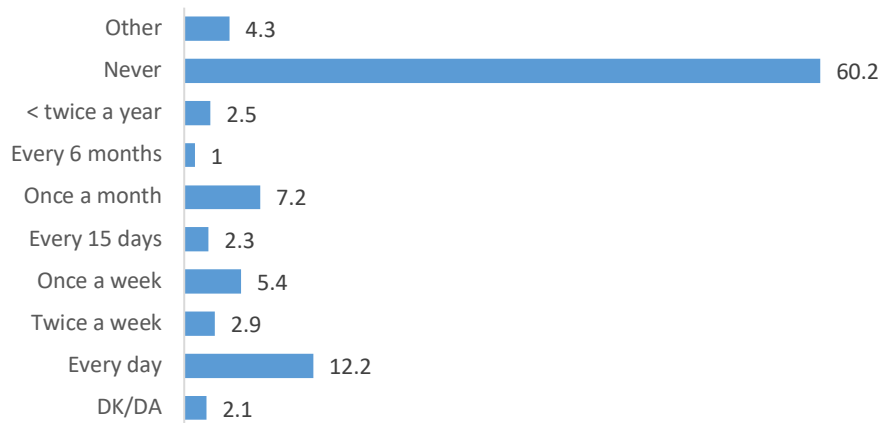


On average each respondent knew of 166 inmates who were thought to have used a phone inside the prison during the previous month (Figure 42).

Figure 42: Inmates Who Used a Mobile Phone in Prison (n=369; absolute number)

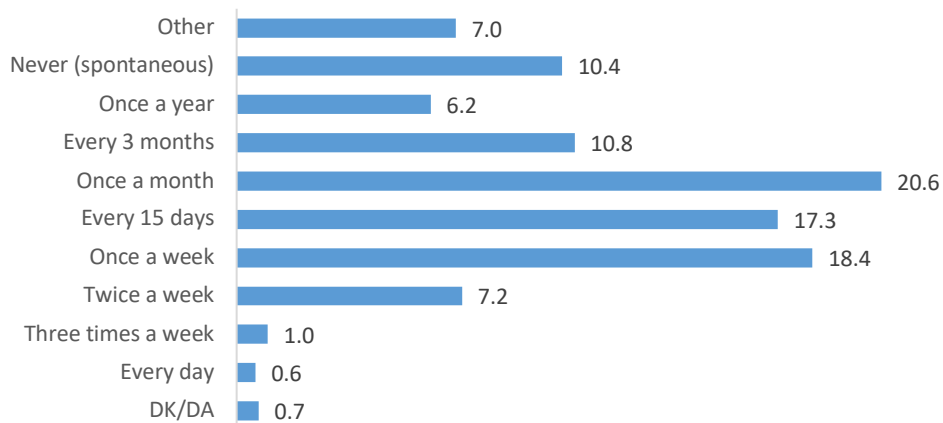


Inmates were also asked to indicate how often they interacted with relatives on the phone. Not surprisingly, 60.2 percent said never since most institutions do not provide this service to the inmates because the correctional institutions do not have the necessary infrastructure (Figure 43).

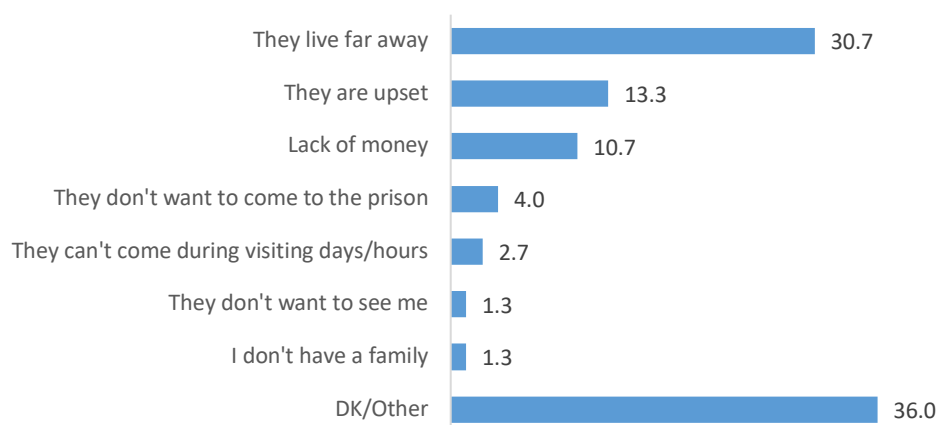
Figure 43: Interaction with Relatives on the Phone (N=724; percent)

Family

When inmates were asked how often family members visited them (Figure 44), 27.2 percent said they received visits at least once a week, while 10.4 percent never received visits. Among the incarcerated females, 21.3 percent saw their family members at least once a week, 24.6 percent every 15 days, and 19.7 percent at least once a month. Male inmates received visitors more frequently, with 27.7 percent receiving visits at least once a week, 16.6 percent every 15 days, and 20.7 percent once a month.

Figure 44: Frequency of Family Visits (N=724; percent)

Inmates who did not receive regular visits were asked why (Figure 45), and the most frequently cited reason was because relatives lived far from the facility (30.7 percent).

Figure 45: Reason for Limited Family Visits (n=75; percent)

Inmates were also asked about their perception of how relatives are treated by prison personnel when they come to visit. The results show that 29.5 percent of the inmates who received visitors thought that their loved ones were treated well or very well, 14.0 percent perceived that they were treated so-so, and 25.0 percent believed that they were treated badly or very badly.

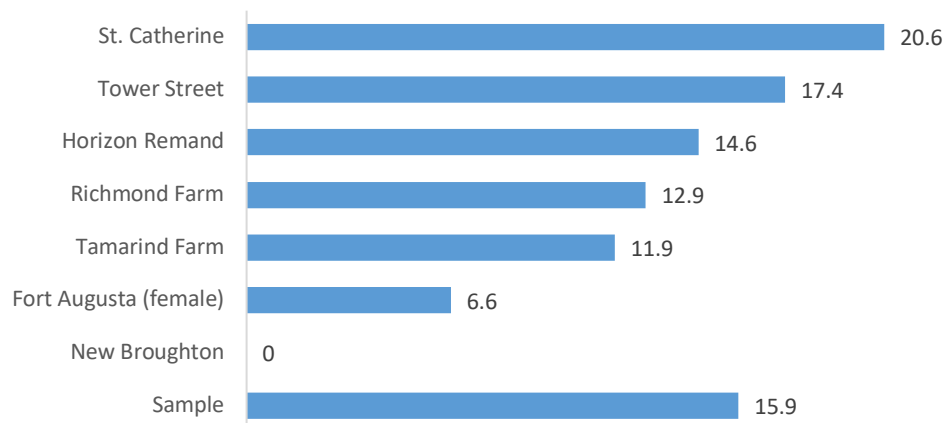
Inmates were asked whether relatives had to pay to get selected services or items to them, and 7.7 percent stated that relatives paid to bring in forbidden items while 5.9 percent paid to bring in food (Table 48).

Table 48: Item/Services Family Paid to Get into Prison (N=724; percent)

Getting other items through	8.7
Bringing in forbidden items	7.7
Bringing in food	5.9
Bringing in work materials	3.2
Entering the prison	0.7

The responses in Table 48 were used to create a new variable indicating whether relatives had to pay to bring one or more items into the prisons. Of the full sample, 15.9 percent indicated that relatives had to pay and the rate was highest at St. Catherine (20.6 percent), Tower Street (17.4 percent), and Horizon (14.6 percent) (Figure 46). When the analysis was restricted to paying to bring in forbidden items, the rates were highest at Tower Street (9.4 percent), St. Catherine (8.1 percent), Tamarind Farm (7.1 percent), and Horizon (6.9 percent).

Figure 46: Paid to Get Items into Prison, by Institution (N=724; percent)



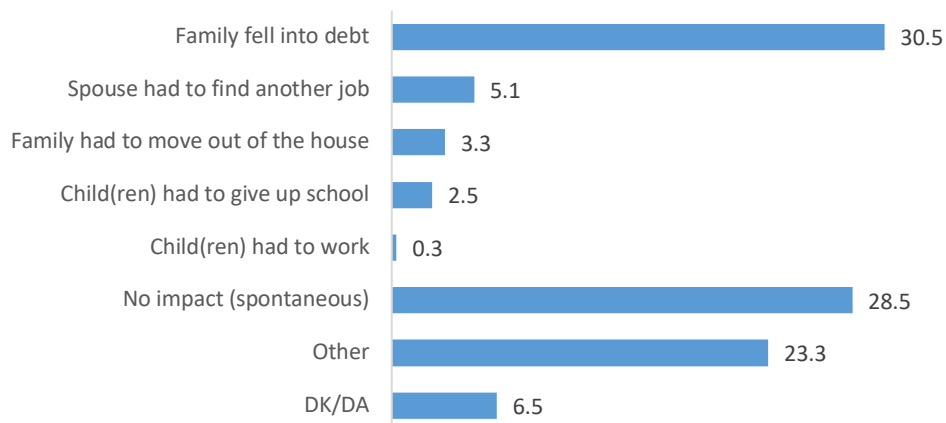
Inmates were asked about the support they received from family members. The majority got clothes and shoes (72.4 percent), money (71.3 percent), and food (69.8 percent) from family (Table 49). Inmates also reported that they obtained medicine from family members (15.1 percent). Other ways inmates received family support were books, including exercise books and puzzle books, and toiletries.

Table 49: Support Received from Family (N=724; percent)

Food	69.8
Clothes and/or shoes	72.4
Money	71.3
Medicines	15.1
Work materials or tools	9.9

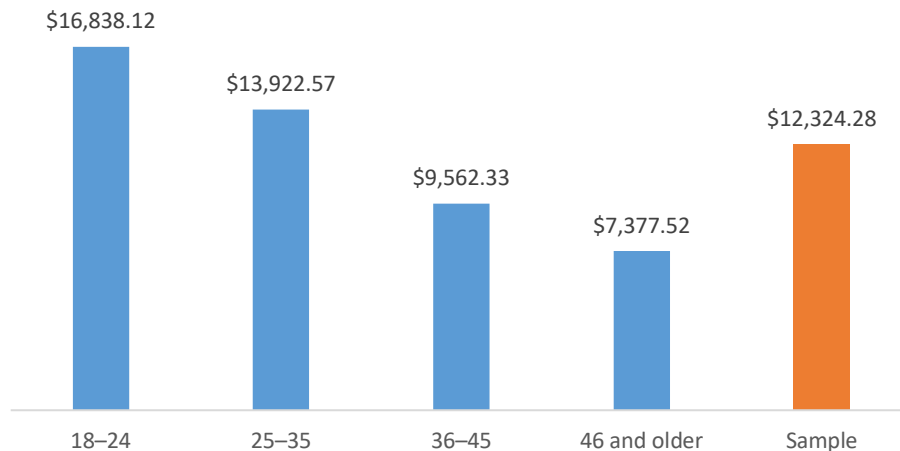
Inmates were asked about the impact of their detention on their family. The largest proportion (30.5 percent) said that their family had fallen into debt, 5.1 percent said their spouse had to find another job, and 3.3 percent said that their family had to move out of the house (Figure 47). Detention also specifically affected inmates’ children, with 2.5 percent reporting that their child(ren) had to give up school and 0.3 percent saying their child(ren) had to work.

Figure 47: Impact of Detention on Family (N=724; percent)



Another indicator of the inmates’ support systems is the amount of money that is available to them to take care of their personal needs within the prison. Inmates were asked to estimate their expenditures within the institution over a one-month period; the average was \$12,324 (US\$98.87). Disaggregated by gender, male inmates spent a little above the average (\$12,895, US\$99.26) and females significantly below the average (\$6,305.31, US\$49.53). Personal expenditures decreased with age, with the youngest inmates (18–24 years) spending an average of \$16,383.12 (US\$126.12) monthly compared to inmates 46 or older, who on average spent \$7,377.52 (US\$56.90) over the same period (Figure 48).

Figure 48: Money Spent in Prison Monthly (n=667; J\$)



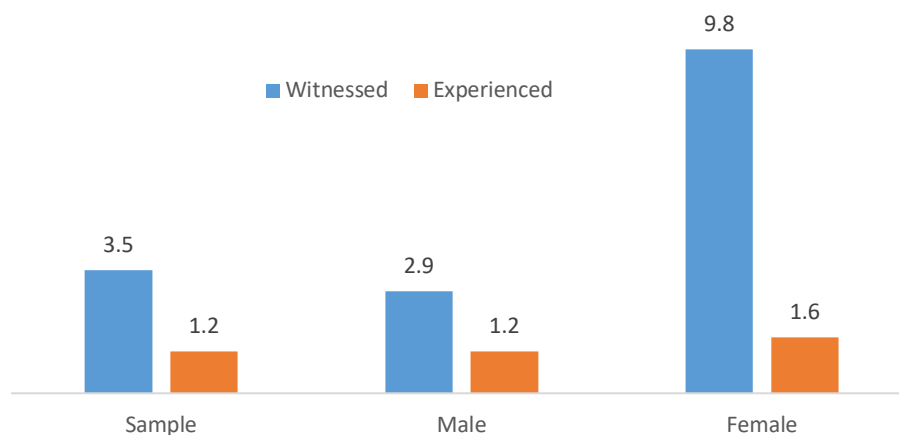
Sexual Experiences

Sexual practices among the incarcerated is a topic that is not sufficiently explored in Jamaica. A report by CARICOM-PANCAP (2016) noted that the DCS has taken measures to confront the problems in the institutions. For example, Tower Street and St. Catherine have segregated sections called “Special Block” to house people who are alleged to be or identify as gay, bi-sexual, or transgender, and men who have sex

with men (MSM). Presumably, this segregation is designed to protect these inmates from those who may display intolerance, stigmatize, or discriminate against them.

This study examined sexual behavior among the incarcerated. When asked if they had witnessed another inmate being forced to have sexual intercourse, 3.5 percent of the inmates indicated that they had. Disaggregated by gender, 2.9 percent of the male and 9.8 percent of the female inmates reported that they witnessed the sexual victimization of other inmates. When asked if they themselves had been forced to have sexual intercourse, 1.2 percent (1.2 percent of males and 1.6 percent of females) indicated that they had (Figure 49).

Figure 49: Witnessed or Experienced Forced Sexual Intercourse (n=724; percent)



Note: The four inmates (0.1 percent) who did not respond to this question were included with the “no” responses.

Female inmates were asked if they were using contraceptives to prevent pregnancy. Two women reported using contraceptives, neither of them stated that this was forced; one woman was on remand and the other sentenced; both had been incarcerated for less than five years. Of the female inmates, 52.5 percent had received gynecological examinations in prison.

Personal Safety

Respondents were asked how safe they felt in the institution compared to where they resided before being incarcerated. The majority of the inmates (81.8 percent) reported that they felt less safe in the prison environment, 5.8 percent said they felt safer, and 11.3 percent said they felt just as safe (this was a spontaneous response, not included as an option in the survey).

The research also probed inmates’ experiences of victimization. Of the inmates, 49.9 percent had had personal belongings, including clothes and shoes, stolen. Disaggregated by institution, 55.4 percent of inmates at Tower Street, 60.6 percent at St. Catherine, and 51.6 percent at Richmond Farm had been victims of theft (Figure 50).

When inmates were asked if they had been attacked or beaten in the previous six months, 19.1 percent said that they had. Disaggregated by institution, 24.3 percent of the inmates at Horizon Remand, 19.6 percent at Tower Street, and 18.8 percent at St. Catherine said that they had (Figure 50). Respondents were also asked if they had witnessed other inmates being beaten. A majority (82.2 percent) had, including 90.2 percent of the inmates at Tower Street, 85.7 percent at Tamarind Farm, 82.5 percent at St. Catherine, and 83.9 percent at Richmond Farm (Figure 50). Among the inmates who reported experiencing personal victimization, 62.3 percent said that other inmates were the main perpetrators; among those who witnessed victimization, 87.1 percent reported prison staff were the main perpetrators (Table 50).

Figure 50: Victimization (N=724; percent)

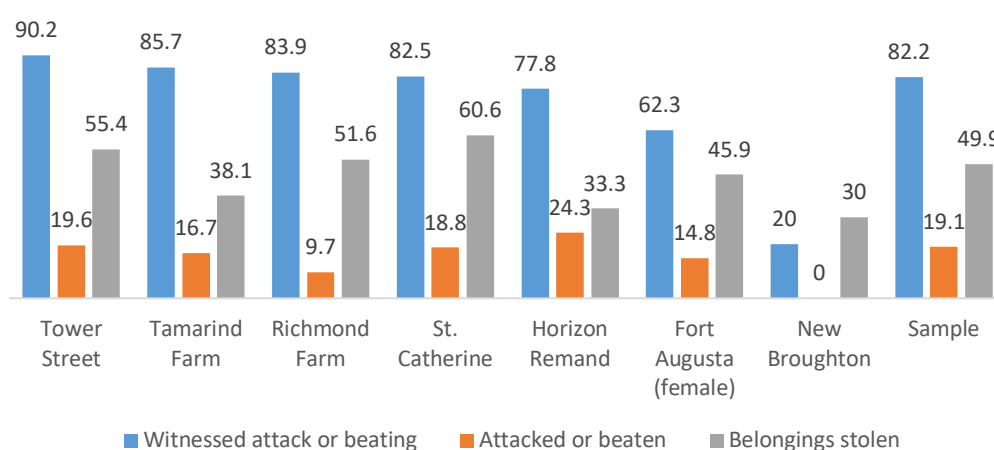


Table 50: Main Victimizers (percent)

	Attacked Inmate	Attacked Other Inmates
n=	138	595
Other inmates	62.3	68.6
Prison staff	58.7	87.1
Police	1.4	1.5
Jamaica Defense Force	0	0
Immigration Officer	0	0
Other	0	0

Note: Multiple answers were allowed.

Access to Alcohol and Drugs

To probe the inmates' access to alcohol and illicit drugs within the institutions, respondents were asked if they had witnessed other inmates use drugs and 72.4 percent indicated that they had. Inmates who were sentenced were more likely to witness substance abuse (76.2 percent) than those on remand (59.9 percent).

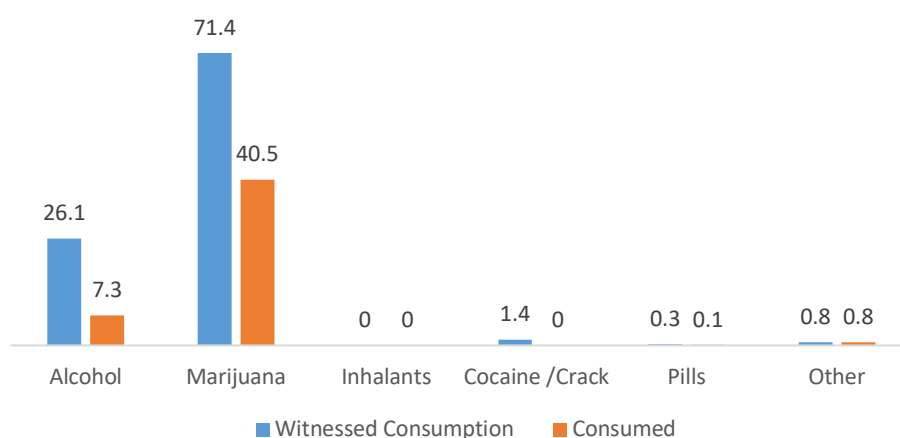
Disaggregated by institution, 79.7 percent of the inmates at Tower Street, 81.3 percent at St. Catherine, and 83.3 percent at Tamarind Farm witnessed other inmates using drugs or alcohol (Table 51). Women witnessed drug use much less than men, with 34.4 percent of the women at Fort Augusta stating that they had seen other inmates using drugs.

Respondents were also asked if they had used drugs over the previous month and 42.5 percent of the inmates admitted that they had, including 47.8 percent of inmates on remand and 41.3 percent of those sentenced. Disaggregated by institution, 52.1 percent of the inmates at Horizon Remand, 50.0 percent at Tamarind Farm, and 46.0 percent at Tower Street had used drugs or alcohol (Table 51). Drug consumption was lowest among the females (4.9 percent) and older inmates held at the New Broughton (10.0 percent). The main substance that inmates both witnessed being consumed (71.4 percent) and used (40.5 percent) was marijuana (Figure 51).

Table 51: Alcohol/Drug Use, by Institution (N=724; percent)

	Witnessed Use	Consumed
Sample	72.4	42.5
Tamarind Farm	83.3	50.0
St. Catherine	81.3	42.5
Tower Street	79.7	46.0
Richmond Farm	77.4	41.9
Horizon Remand	63.9	52.1
Fort Augusta (female)	34.4	4.9
New Broughton	20.0	10.0

Figure 51: Drugs Used (N=724; percent)



Among the inmates who said they used drugs or alcohol, 54.2 percent were using daily and 24.0 percent were using 2 to 4 times a week (Figure 52). Inmates claimed to have spent an average of \$6,094 (US\$46.91) to access the drugs over the previous month. The majority of inmates (56.9 percent) thought that it was

difficult or very difficult to get illicit substances in prison (Figure 53). Inmates stated that the main people responsible for getting illegal substances into the prisons were staff members (45.2 percent) (Table 52).

Figure 52: Frequency of Drug/Alcohol Use (n=308; percent)

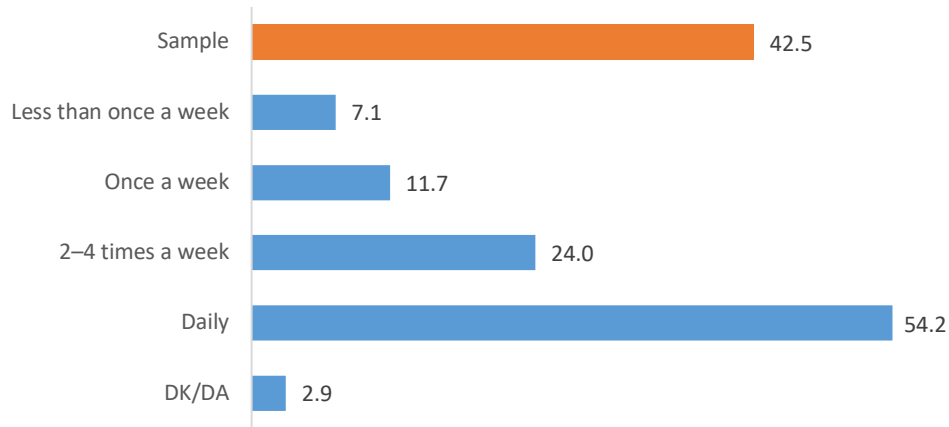


Figure 53: Accessibility of Drugs (N=724; percent)

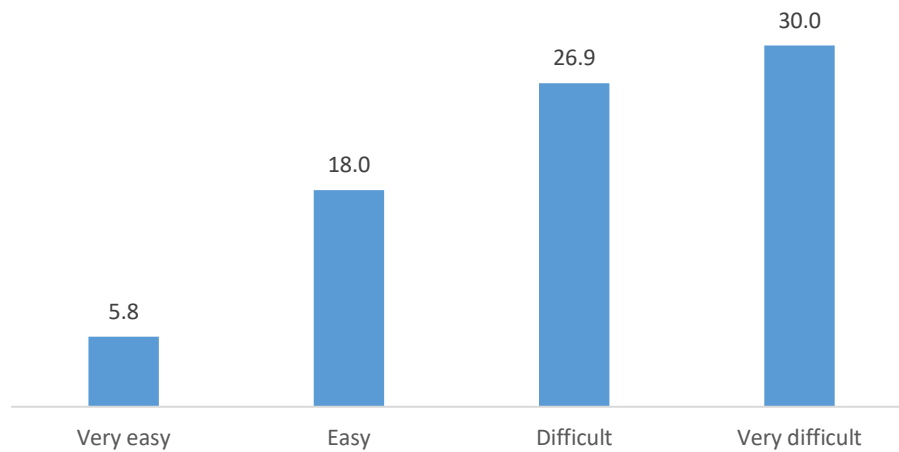


Table 52: People Bringing Drugs/Alcohol into Prison (N=724; percent)

Prison staff	45.2
Police officers/guards	2.5
Relatives or visitors	2.3
Other	11.0
DK/DA	39.0

Reintegration Programs

Respondents were asked about what activities they engaged in. Educational activities referred to core academic programs at the established schools within the institutions and other educational activities were

vocational training, such as arts and crafts, welding, and carpentry. Of the respondents, 49.0 percent were involved in sporting activities, 47.4 percent in educational programs, and 25.1 percent in prison cleaning or maintenance (Figure 54). A large number of those on remand were involved in sporting activities (58.0 percent), while the majority of those who were sentenced were engaged in educational activities (55.0 percent) (Table 54).

Figure 54: Participation in Activities (N=724; percent)

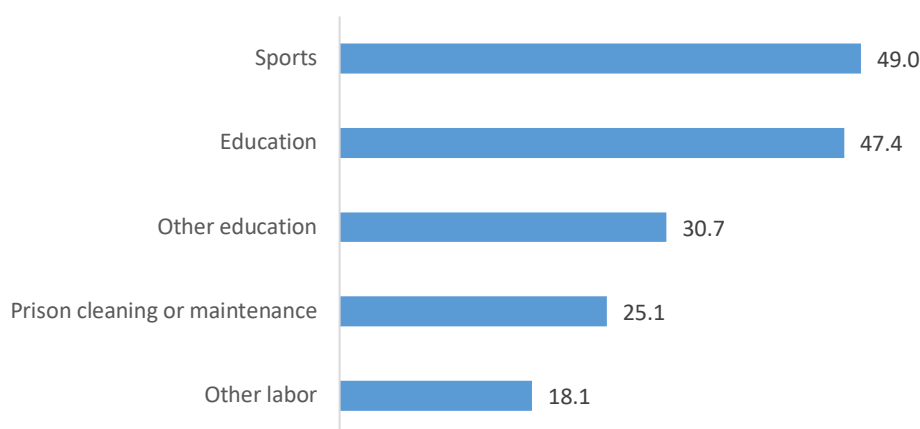


Table 53: Activity by Legal Status (N=724; percent)

	On Remand	Sentenced
Sports	58.0	46.6
Education	20.4	55.0
Other education	11.5	36.0
Prison cleaning or maintenance	13.4	28.2
Other labor	4.5	21.8

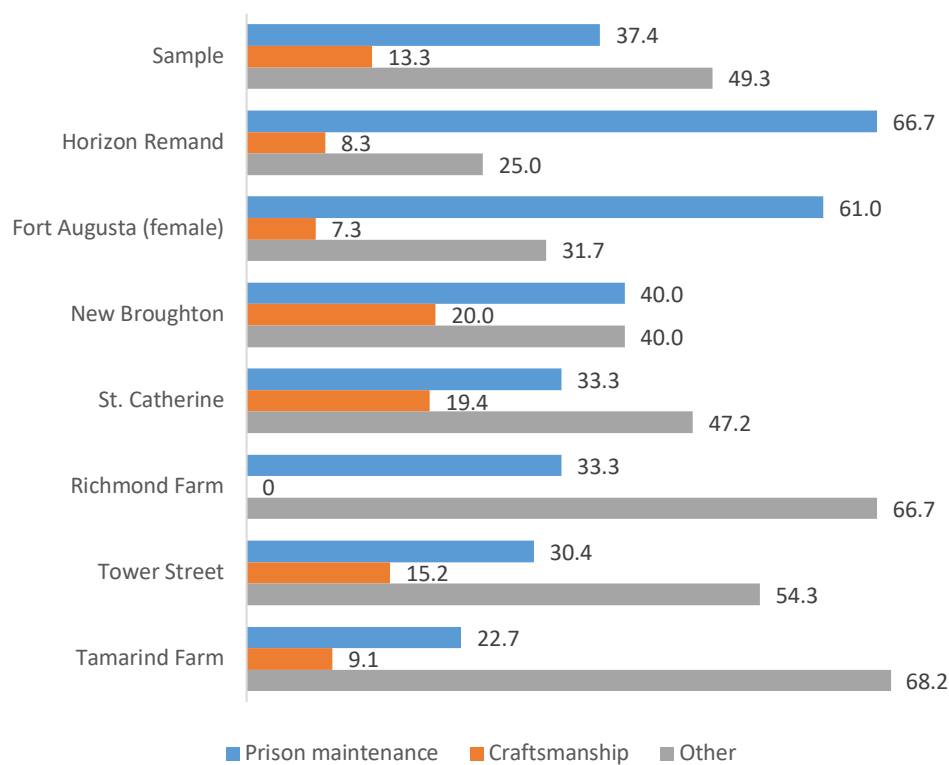
When asked whether they worked within the prison, 37.3 percent of the inmates reported that they did, and more females (67.2 percent) worked in the prison than males (34.5 percent). As anticipated, sentenced inmates (44.5 percent) were more likely to have worked (44.5 percent) than those on remand (11.5 percent). Older inmates, 36–45 years of age (45.0 percent) and 46 years and over (52.7 percent) were more likely to be working in the prison than the younger inmates, with 24.5 percent of the inmates 18–24 years and 32.7 percent of those 25–35 years reporting that they worked in the prison (Table 54).

Table 54: Worked in Prison (N=724; percent)

Sample	37.3
Gender	
Male	34.5
Female	67.2
Legal Status	
On remand	11.5
Sentenced	44.5
Age	
18–24	24.5
25–35	32.7
36–45	45.0
≥ 46	52.7

Of those who were working, 37.4 percent were doing prison maintenance tasks such as cleaning and working in the kitchen and 13.3 percent were doing tasks related to craftsmanship (Figure 55). Of the incarcerated females, 61.0 percent were doing maintenance tasks, 7.3 percent were engaged in craftsmanship, and 31.7 percent were doing other work. Of the respondents who were working, 49.3 percent reported that they received payment for their services.

Figure 55: Types of Work Done in Prison (n=270; percent)



When inmates were asked if they had acquired any skills while incarcerated (Table 55), 13.8 percent said they had learned a trade. Disaggregated by institution, 37.7 percent of the female offenders at Fort Augusta, 14.1 percent of the inmates at Tower Street, 14.1 percent at St. Catherine, and 16.7 percent at Tamarind Farm stated that they had acquired a trade. Of those who picked up a trade, 5.0 percent learned about the food and beverage industry, 7.0 percent about electrical wiring, and 11.0 percent about computers. The majority of the respondents (63.0 percent) indicated that they acquired other trades while in prison, however they were not asked what those were (Table 56).

Of all the inmates, 50.3 percent had engaged in academic studies (Table 55), including 75.4 percent of inmates at Fort Augusta (women), 66.7 percent at Tamarind Farm, 62.3 percent at Tower Street, and 57.5 percent at St. Catherine. Of those who studied, 73.4 percent were at the high school level, which is not surprising as most inmates reported that they had not completed secondary school, compared to 15.4 percent at the basic/elementary school level and 8.2 percent taking primary/preparatory school courses.

Table 55: Acquired a Trade or Engaged in Academic Studies, by Institution (N=724; percent)

	Trade	Academic
Sample	13.8	50.3
Tower Street	14.1	62.3
St. Catherine	14.1	57.5
Horizon Remand	1.4	7.6
Fort Augusta (female)	37.7	75.4
Richmond Farm	16.1	35.5
Tamarind Farm	16.7	66.7
New Broughton Sunset	10.0	40

Table 56: Trades Acquired in Prison (n=100; percent)

Welding	12.0
Computer	11.0
Cosmetology	9.0
Electrical	7.0
Food and beverage services	5.0
Building	5.0
Ceramics	4.0
Automotive	0
Other	63.0

The research explored why inmates were not engaged in employment or educational programs. Of the respondents who did not work, 48.3 percent cited the lack of available opportunities as the main reason (Table 57). Of those who did not attend classes, 39.6 percent stated that it was because of the lack of availability of classes and 18.1 percent indicated that they had no interest in studying (Table 58).

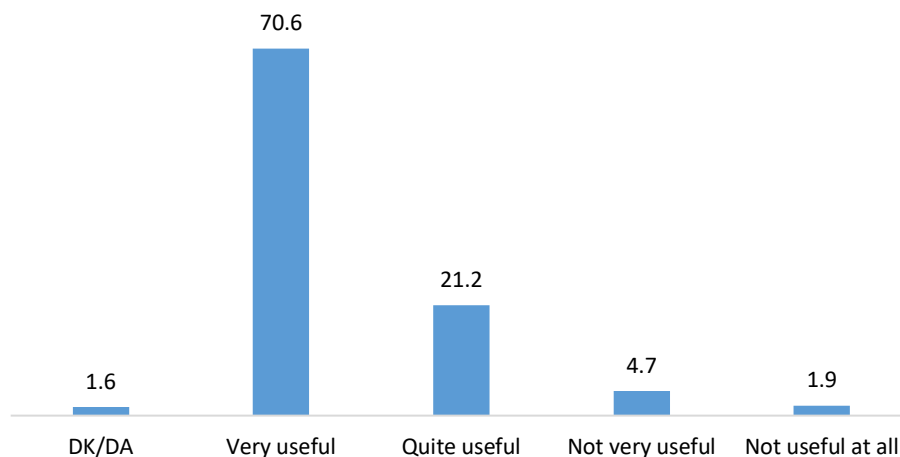
Table 57: Reasons for Not Participating in Work Programs (n=453; percent)

They don't provide any work	48.3
Because I don't like to work	5.1
Because I don't like the jobs that are available	4.9
Because it's not profitable	3.1
Because they don't have material/tools to perform work	0.7
Other (spontaneous)	36.0

Table 58: Reasons for Not Attending Classes (n=359; percent)

It was not a choice (no school or classes available)	39.6
I have no interest in studying	18.1
I dropped out right away because I didn't like it	1.7
Teachers would not come	1.1
DK/DA	4.2
Other	35.4

The research further probed inmates' perceptions about how the programs will impact them after they are released. Of those who studied, 91.8 percent believed that their training will prove very useful or quite useful (Figure 56).

Figure 56: Perception of Usefulness of Training (n=364; percent)

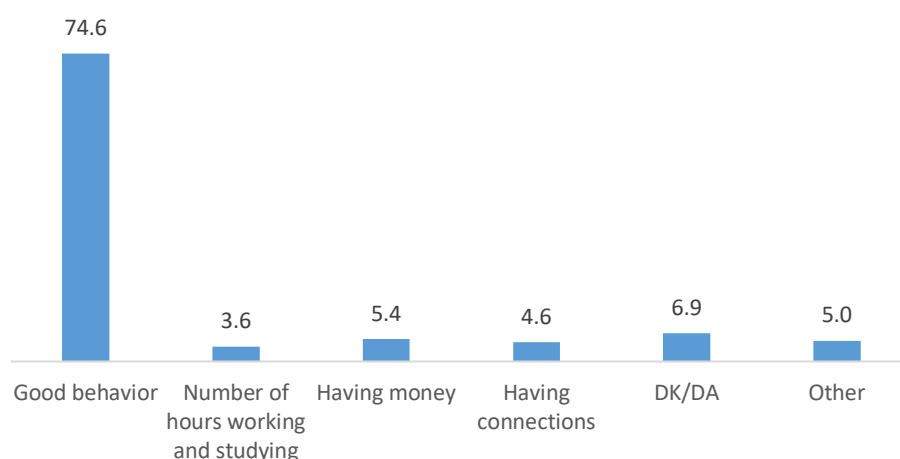
Inmates were asked to rate the psychological support they received at the correctional centers (Table 59). The results show that 28.8 percent of the inmates felt that these services were good or very good, 12.7 percent said they were normal, and 14.7 percent rated the services as poor or very poor. Of note, 17.3 percent said that such assistance was not available. These results are disaggregated by facility in Table 59.

Table 59: Perception of Psychological Support Offered by the Prison (N=724; percent)

	Very Good	Good	Normal	Poor	Very Poor	We Don't Have Such Assistance
Sample	9.9	18.9	12.7	8.6	6.1	17.3
Tower Street	7.6	18.5	9.8	9.4	8.3	15.9
St. Catherine	16.3	16.3	15.0	9.4	4.4	10.6
Horizon Remand	4.2	13.9	11.8	9.0	2.8	27.1
Fort Augusta	14.8	32.8	19.7	4.9	6.6	11.5
Richmond Farm	0	25.8	12.9	12.9	9.7	32.3
Tamarind Farm	19.0	21.4	14.3	2.4	4.8	19.0
New Broughton	20.0	30.0	20.0	0	10.0	0

Note: "Don't know" responses are not presented.

When asked what factor was more important in being granted bail or partial freedom (such as accessing parole services), 74.6 percent recognized that good behavior was critical (Figure 57).

Figure 57: Most Important Factor in Receiving Bail or Partial Freedom (N=724; percent)

Expectations: Life after Incarceration

The research probed how inmates were preparing for life after incarceration. The majority (68.4 percent) of the respondents had already spoken to someone about where they will live on release (Table 60), with slightly more females (72.1 percent) having done so than males (68.0 percent). Another question asked inmates whom they expected to live with once they were released and 41.0 percent said they intended to live with their partner compared to 24.4 percent who said they would not return to live with their partner (Table 60). More of the incarcerated females (44.3 percent) intended to live with their partner than the males (40.7 percent). Additionally, somewhat more females intended to live in their family home (54.1 percent) than their male counterparts (52.2 percent). Of the inmates, 10.6 percent reported that

they did not know where they will live (Figure 58) and 25.8 percent said they have not talked to anyone about living arrangements (Table 60).

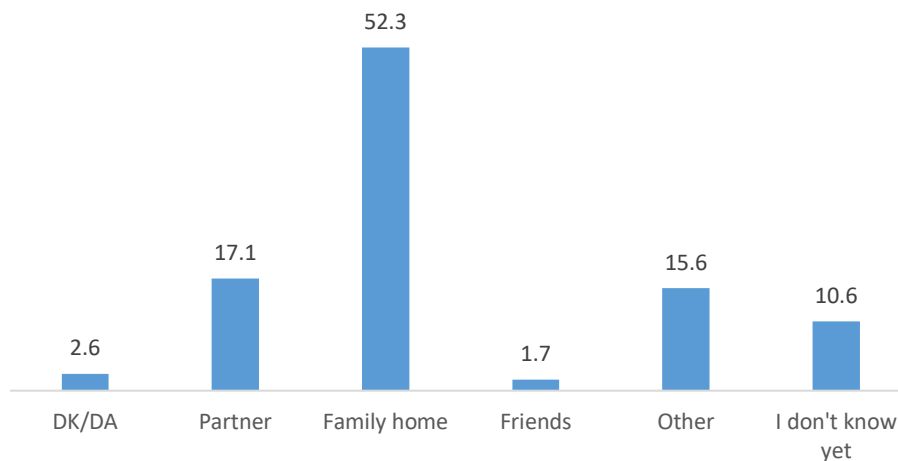
Regarding where geographically they would live, 51.2 percent of the inmates said they would not go back to live in the same neighborhood they were living in prior to their arrest compared to 44.6 percent who said they would (Table 60).

Table 60: Living Arrangements after Release (N=724; percent)

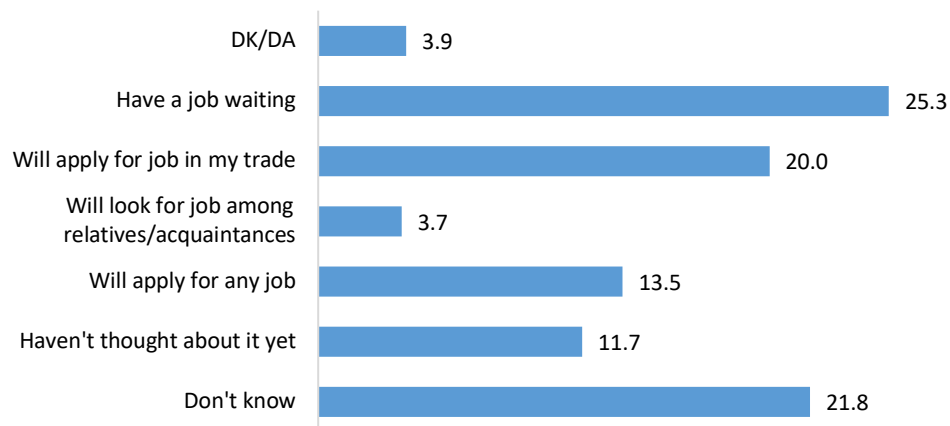
	Talked to someone about where to live	Have a partner and/or child(ren)	Going back to live with partner and/or child(ren)	Going back to live in same neighborhood
DK/DA	5.8	1.1	4.0	4.1
NA	—	—	30.5*	—
Yes	68.4	69.5	41.0	44.6
No	25.8	29.4	24.4	51.2

* Did not have a partner or child.

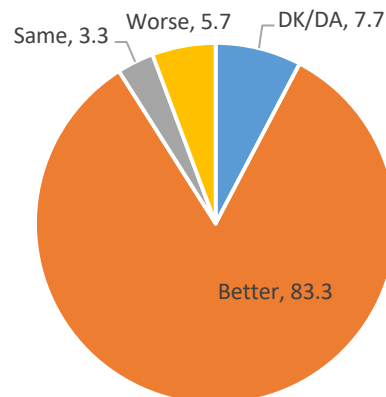
Figure 58: Who/Where Intend to Live with after Release (N=724; percent)



In terms of employment prospects, 25.3 percent of the inmates said that they had a job waiting for them, 20.0 percent indicated that they would apply for a job related to their trade, 3.7 percent said they would be looking for a job among their acquaintances or relatives, and 13.5 percent said they would apply for any job. Further, 21.8 percent were unaware of where they would work and 11.7 percent said they had not thought about it yet (Figure 59).

Figure 59: Employment after Release (N=724; percent)

Inmates generally had a positive outlook. Of the respondents, 83.3 percent believed that things would be better after they are released than before they were arrested, 3.3 percent said things would be the same, and 5.7 percent said things will be worse (Figure 60). Slightly more males projected that life would be better (83.7 percent) than females (78.7 percent).

Figure 60: Perceived Situation after Release (N=724; percent)

The research explored the major issues that inmates feared about being released from prison (Table 61). Respondents were asked to respond to two sets of scenarios. The first group asked inmates which of three scenarios (not having a place to live, not finding a job, and my family rejecting me) they were most afraid of. The largest proportion (36.2 percent) said their greatest fear was that their family would reject them, while 29.6 percent said they most feared not finding a job and 15.9 percent most feared not having a place to live.

The second group had four scenarios regarding personal safety. The largest proportion of inmates (44.1 percent) said that they were most afraid of being arrested after they were released, while 26.5 percent were most afraid of being killed because of what they did (Table 61).

Table 61: Most Feared after Release (N=724; percent)

Group One		Group Two	
My family rejecting me	36.2	Being arrested again	44.1
Not finding a job	29.6	Being killed because of what I did	26.5
Not having a place to live	15.9	Getting sick or developing an addiction	8.4
DK/DA	18.4	Being attacked or hurt	8.3
		DK/DA	12.7

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they thought that their family and friends would support them after they were released. Table 62 shows that 88.5 percent believed that their family would support them and 60.8 percent said their friends would. On the other hand, 4.8 percent thought their family would ignore or reject them and 11.9 percent thought that their friends would.

Table 62: Support Once Released (N=724; percent)

	Family	Friends
They'll support me	88.5	60.8
They'll ignore or reject me	4.8	11.9
DK/DA	5.0	18.5
Other	1.7	8.8

When asked if they believed that they would be rearrested again (Table 63), 89.9 percent stated probably not or most probably not compared to 4.7 percent who said probably or most probably. Males were more likely to believe that they would be rearrested (5.0 percent) than females (1.6 percent). Disaggregated by age, the youngest inmates (18–24 years) were more likely to expect to be arrested again (10.9 percent) than any of the other age groups.

Table 63: Perceived Likelihood of Being Arrested Again (N=724; percent)

	DK/DA	Most Probably Yes	Probably Yes	Probably Not	Most Probably Not
Sample	5.4	1.8	2.9	14.2	75.7
Gender					
Male	5.3	1.8	3.2	15.2	74.5
Female	6.6	1.6	0	3.3	88.5
Age					
18–24	7.5	4.1	6.8	17.7	63.9
25–35	3.9	1.1	2.8	14.1	78.2
36–45	8.1	1.3	1.9	12.5	76.3
≥ 46	3.1	1.5	0	13.0	82.4

Outside of the general rehabilitation programs, access to specifically tailored pre-release services are important in preparing inmates for reentry into society. Programs include creating a resume (1.1 percent), assistance in finding a job (4.3 percent), opening a bank account (0.8 percent), or finding a place to live (1.7 percent). Inmates were asked about access to pre-release services, and 89.0 percent said there was

no access such services in prison (Table 64). The facilities with the highest percentages of inmates accessing services were New Broughton (40.0 percent) and Tamarind Farm (14.3 percent).

Table 64: Access to Pre-release Service in Prison (N=724; percent)

	DK/DA	Yes	No
Sample	2.5	8.6	89.0
New Broughton	10.0	40.0	50.0
Tamarind Farm	0	14.3	85.7
Richmond Farm	0	12.9	87.1
Fort Augusta (female)	0	9.8	90.2
St. Catherine	1.3	9.4	89.4
Tower Street	4.0	8.3	87.7
Horizon Remand	2.8	2.8	94.4

Respondents were asked about their knowledge of agencies that offer assistance to people being released from incarceration. Of the inmates, 76.7 percent said they did not know of any government office or agency that helped inmates find a home or a job during the first months after release. Further, 59.7 percent said they did not know of civil society groups (e.g., churches, human rights groups, or special groups) that helped people coming out of jail. More inmates knew of civil society groups that provided this assistance (37.2 percent) than government offices or agencies (19.3 percent) (Table 65).

Table 65: Knowledge of Organizations that Provide Post-release Services (N=724; percent)

	Government	Civil Society
Yes	19.3	37.2
No	76.7	59.7
DK/DA	4.0	3.2

Female Offenders

There is scant literature produced in the Caribbean about women who are incarcerated. In Jamaica, women account for less than 10 percent of the total prison population, which is a male-dominated correctional service environment (Leslie, 2020; Morris, 2008). This study seeks to fill this gap by developing a profile of female inmates. The goal is that the information garnered from this survey will contribute to a better understanding of women's experiences of incarceration, the environment, and gender-specific needs.

Sociodemographic Profile, Childhood, and Life Story

The average age of the female inmates was 36.2 years, with 31.1 percent being between 25 and 35 years old and 23.0 percent being 18 to 24. Of the women interviewed, 9.8 percent had completed university, while 6.6 percent had started but not completed their university education.

Looking at their employment history, 70.5 percent were employed in the month before they were arrested. Typically they entered the job market when they were on average 18.8 years old, were self-employed (18.0 percent), and earned an average of \$134,225 (US\$923.77) monthly. Most (67.2 percent) of the female offenders expressed satisfaction with their economic situation before their arrest.

Looking at family history, 57.4 percent of the female inmates were physically punished as a child. A large proportion had their first child before the age of 18 (57.7 percent), including 17.8 percent who had their first child before the age of consensual sex (16 years). Of the female respondents, 29.5 percent witnessed their parents using marijuana or other drugs when they were a child and 23.0 percent reported that their parents drank alcohol frequently.

Criminal Career

Of the women interviewed, 52.5 percent were incarcerated for violent offenses, and the two most prevalent crimes were homicide (24.6 percent) and drug possession or dealing (14.8 percent). Notably, 47.5 percent noted that someone was physically injured as a result of the crime they committed. Though 91.8 percent said they had never had a firearm before, 16.4 percent were carrying a weapon at the time of the crime. In 47.5 percent of the cases, the woman was charged with someone else, and in 19.7 percent, the crime was entrusted to them by a gang or similar group, though only one female (1.6 percent) reported being a member of a gang. For 95.1 percent of the women interviewed, this was their first time in prison; however, 9.8 percent (6) had been detained in a juvenile correctional facility in the past.

Legal Procedure and Criminal Process

Of the women interviewed, 65.6 percent had been sentenced. On arrest, 50.8 percent were informed of their right to a lawyer. When asked if someone hit them or used physical force to compel them to testify or change their statement while they were at the police station, 8.2 percent said someone had. Most (73.8 percent) spent more than a week at the police station after they were arrested. When asked if they pleaded guilty, 42.6 percent said yes and 55.7 percent said no. In 78.7 percent of the cases, their lawyer requested bail, which was accepted 62.5 percent of the time. The average bail amount for the female inmates was \$1,022,142 (US\$7,887.50), the median was \$350,000 (US\$2,700.82), and the range was \$20,000 (US\$154.33) to \$15,000,000 (US\$115,749.67). Of the female offenders, 48.7 percent were on bail when their sentence was handed down. Understanding the process is important and 36.4 percent of the women noted that they understood quite a lot about the adjudication process compared to 38.6 percent who said they understood very little. Interestingly, understanding a little or a lot was split 50/50. Of the women, 54.1 percent had a private lawyer and 57.1 percent thought they were well represented.

Prison Conditions and Life after Incarceration

Female offenders had recently been relocated from the original Fort Augusta facility to the current Fort Augusta location on South Camp Road, therefore the institution was relatively new. The women were living under much better conditions than their male counterparts. Most perceived that where they slept was at or below the ideal capacity; 82.0 percent were sleeping on beds and 16.4 percent on mattresses.

Regarding hygiene, 80.3 percent were allowed to shower more than once per day and 88.5 percent said the toilets were somewhat clean or very clean. Access to water and the quality of water and food are key

indicators of the state of inmates' living conditions. Though 98.4 percent of the women reported having adequate access to drinking water, 32.8 percent thought the quality was poor or very poor and 62.3 percent also thought that the quality of the food was poor or very poor. Also, 96.7 percent reported having access to basic hygiene articles, such as tampons and pads.

Access to healthcare was good, with 96.7 percent saying they had access within the facility and 45.5 percent noting that they were seen within an hour of notifying someone they were ill. The quality of the healthcare was thought to be normal by 31.0 percent of the women and good or very good by 36.2 percent; however, 32.8 percent thought it was poor or very poor.

Of the incarcerated women, 75.4 percent were engaged in some form of educational activity and 67.2 percent worked in the institution.

Of the female respondents, 37.7 percent reported that their families have fallen into debt because of their incarceration.

Regarding life after their release, 72.1 percent have talked to someone about where they will live and 54.1 percent envisioned going to live in their family home. Also, many of the women were optimistic, with 78.7 percent believing that life would be better after their release than it was before they were arrested and 80.3 percent believing they would have the support of their family.

Youthful Offenders

Youthful offenders (18–24 years) accounted for 20.3 percent of the respondents. In examining the risk factors among the youth, 38.8 percent were parents, 45.6 percent were physically punished as a child, 49.7 percent had a family member who had been imprisoned, and 24.5 percent had a family member currently in prison. Educationally, 66.7 percent had not completed high school, and of those who left school, 47.1 percent were expelled.

Though 84.4 percent of the younger inmates had worked at some point, only 55.1 percent were working at the time of their arrest, meaning that unemployment was high among this group. The highest proportion (11.6 percent) were construction/factory workers and 9.5 percent were self-employed.

Of the youths, 40.8 percent had previously been held in a juvenile detention center, though this could have been recidivism or youths being transferred from the child to the adult justice system to continue their sentence, which was not explored in this analysis. Of the youth respondents, 51.7 percent were charged with a co-accused. Of the crimes committed by this age group, 29.9 percent were influenced by a gang. At 21.8 percent, gang membership was higher among the youth than in the other age groups, and the average age they reported joining a gang was 15.3 years, ranging from 12 to 21 years. Of this age group, 38.8 percent reported that they had a firearm and 68.7 percent said they were carrying a weapon when the crime was committed.

Of the youth, 38.1 percent pleaded guilty. Bail was requested for 72.8 percent of them and the judge accepted 43.0 percent of those requests. When sentence was passed, 82.2 percent were in jail. Of the young inmates, 55.8 percent said they understood what was happening in court. Regarding re-arrest, 10.9 percent of the young respondents believed that they would be arrested again after release.

Conclusions and Recommendations

This inmate survey explored inmates' experiences before incarceration, as they were processed through the criminal justice system, as they served their sentences, and as they contemplated life after being released. Findings shed light on a variety of opportunities for improvement within the prison system and have broader implications for the Jamaican criminal justice system. This section summarizes the findings and provides recommendations to address challenges and to use this research to catalyze policy changes.

Sociodemographic Profile, Childhood, and Life Story

Findings from the survey suggest that incarcerated individuals were exposed to several risk factors at the individual (e.g., school achievement and impulsivity), family (e.g., child-rearing methods, child abuse, and family composition), and community (e.g., delinquent peers, neighborhood factors, and socioeconomic status) levels that predisposed them to criminal behavior. Both national and international research has shown that children exposed to such risk factors are more likely to demonstrate violent behavior or engage in criminal activity (Farrington, Loeber, and Ttofi, 2012; Gayle, 2009, 2017, 2018; Howell and Hawkins, 1998). In particular, at-risk youth in Jamaica's urban communities are often exposed to varied forms of direct and indirect violence. For instance, physical punishment from parents or caregivers, domestic violence, intimate partner violence, family or friends being killed, family involved in criminal activities, and gang violence. They also endure extreme poverty and hunger (Gayle, 2018).

Findings from the inmate survey support prior research in terms of risk factors. For instance, within the home, a significant number of the respondents experienced physical punishment as a child (61.6 percent), including 20.9 percent who witnessed their mother being physically abused by their father or mother's partner. A significant percentage of the inmates witnessed their parents using addictive substances, with 31.1 percent saying their parents used alcohol frequently and 32.7 percent saying their parents used illegal drugs. Further, 67.8 percent of the inmates reported that they had used marijuana and the average age of first use was 16 years. Research shows that adverse childhood experiences, such as witnessing physical abuse, being victims of physical abuse, and observing alcohol and drug abuse in the home, have a significant negative impact on a child's later life by increasing the likelihood of engaging in delinquent behavior (Moore and Tatman, 2016).

In addition, 39.0 percent of the inmates had a family member who had been previously incarcerated and 16.2 percent reported that they had relatives currently imprisoned. This suggests that there could be some amount of social learning of deviant behavior in the family environment. Research suggests that permanent and temporary separation from a parent, due to divorce or incarceration, increases a child's probability of being involved in criminal offending (Farrington, 1995; Murray and Farrington, 2008a). Particularly, parental incarceration has been associated with youth antisocial behavior, offending, mental health problems, drug abuse, school failure, and unemployment (Murray and Farrington, 2008a, 2008b).

Though a large proportion of the inmates were high school dropouts, most stated that they were gainfully employed and satisfied with their economic situation and that of their family prior to their arrest. Among the inmates who dropped out of school, 25.2 percent did so because they were expelled and 19.0 percent of females reported that they dropped out because they became pregnant. Both of these findings are

cause for concern. Evidence suggests that children who care about school and who have strong social bonds in school are less likely to engage in delinquent activities (Cullen, Benson, and Makarios, 2012; Hirschi, 1969). High academic achievement has been identified as one of the most important protective factors fostering healthy and pro-social development of children and youth (Farrington et al., 2012).

Lastly, the survey found that the main community level risk factor was the presence of gangs in the community where incarcerated individuals grew up. Significantly more males reported that the community they lived in had gangs. Of the respondents, 11.5 percent belonged to a gang and 19.6 percent of all crimes were related to gang activity. International research has found that social environment and neighborhood dynamics influence the likelihood of children and youth involvement in delinquent behavior and gang membership (Hill, Howell, Hawkins, et al., 1999; Howell and Egley, 2005; Sampson, 2011). In Jamaica, research suggests that individuals join street gangs at a young age, that in some communities gang leaders are often seen as role models and mentors, and that both formal and informal social controls and community cohesion have deteriorated to the point that some citizens rely on street gangs to maintain a certain level of local order and services, such as, policing, medical assistance, and education (Harriot, 2008; Harriott and Katz, 2015).

Recommendations

The Government of Jamaica has concentrated its efforts on addressing violent behavior among youth and improving pressing social issues through primary interventions, such as positive parenting skills, vocational training, and labor market attachment (Gayle, 2018). We recommend that such efforts be sustained through further investment while strengthening training with individual change interventions that can support youth transitions out of crime. In addition, we suggest that the government develop effective primary intervention strategies that target risk factors and enhance protective factors, such as developing effective relationships with parents and family and strengthening social bonds with school and pro-social institutions. For instance, developing interventions that address prenatal trauma for young mothers, strategies to improve parenting and child-rearing practices, and school-based interventions. Currently, the government is developing a violence prevention strategy that focuses on families and children. One of its main components is to enhance school-based interventions that improve attendance and reduce truancy while reducing the use of suspension and expulsion policies, which have been found to exacerbate delinquent behavior (McCord, Widom, and Crowell, 2001).

In terms of community risk factors, efforts should emphasize strengthening a public health approach to gun and gang violence. For instance, promising evidence-based practices, such as Cure Violence, have been found to be effective in reducing gun- and gang-related shootings and killings (Butts, Gouvis, Bostwick, et al., 2015). In Jamaica, the Peace Management Initiative was inspired by this framework and has contributed to reducing homicides by 96.9 percent in one of the intervention communities during a five-year intervention period (Ward, McGaw, Hutchinson, et al., 2018). Other comprehensive gang intervention strategies that have yielded beneficial results include those that carefully balance legislative actions, suppression and prevention initiatives, and that are well conceived and well implemented (Harriot and Katz, 2015). However, more research is needed to better understand the root causes of involvement and the police response to gangs in Jamaica.

Criminal Careers and Inmate Profiles

In examining the criminal careers of the incarcerated individuals, findings reveal that most of them were incarcerated for murder (36.5 percent), with more male (37.6 percent) than female offenders (24.6 percent) incarcerated for this crime. The second most prevalent crime was possession of illegal weapons (26.2 percent), and 54.3 percent of respondents reported that they were carrying a weapon when the crime occurred compared to 45.2 percent who were accused of using the weapon to commit the crime. The findings show that of those who carried a weapon, 73.0 percent said it was an unlicensed firearm. Of the inmates, 55.7 percent reported that the victim suffered injuries during the course of the crime.

Of all inmates interviewed, 19.9 percent reported that they drank alcohol or used drugs in the six hours before the crime occurred. Of the crimes, 19.6 percent were entrusted to the inmates by gangs. Younger inmates (18–24 years) were significantly more likely to commit crimes through gang influence (29.9 percent) than those 25–35 years old (21.5 percent), and 23.6 percent of the inmates interviewed perceived that crimes are organized from prison. Of the respondents, 43.1 percent were charged along with someone else, and younger inmates were more likely to have a co-accused (51.7 percent) than any of the other age groups.

Among the inmates interviewed, 20.6 percent had been imprisoned previously for another crime (recidivists) and, on average, four and a half years (54.8 months) passed between the last incarceration and the current one.

Recommendations

While the issues surrounding firearms and gangs are largely outside of the control of the DCS, they require attention from law enforcement and social services agencies. Findings from the survey suggest that policing and crime prevention strategies should continue to focus on violent crimes and on firearms, which are the most popular weapon for perpetrators of homicides in Jamaica. Consideration should be given to coordinated efforts and comprehensive strategies, including law enforcement (i.e., policing, probation, and prosecutorial agencies) and community-level interventions. For instance, improving police capacity in identifying problem areas or hot spots, increasing accountability and social support for youth gun offenders on probation, and reducing processing time for gun offenders. Comprehensive community-based interventions that focus on changing social norms toward gun violence and the use of firearms, providing treatment and support for offenders and their families, and community mobilization (Makarios and Pratt, 2012). The literature has shown that community-based approaches outperform other more limited interventions based solely on a punitive approach (Makarios and Pratt, 2012).

Legal Procedure and Criminal Process

In terms of police efficacy in resolving crimes, 29.7 percent of the respondents said they were arrested within 24 hours of committing the crime while 17.0 percent were arrested between a day and a week of the offense.

The research showed that there are issues related to the due process afforded offenders that require attention. Of the inmates, 93.0 percent said they were not shown a warrant at the time of their arrest and 29.8 percent reported that physical coercion was used while they were at the police station to get them

to testify or to change their statement. Use of physical coercion is unlawful and can result in the trial being dismissed since any such confession or statement is inadmissible in court if the physical coercion is proven.

Focusing on the pretrial and adjudication processes, 53.7 percent of offenders reported that they were not informed of their right to legal representation and 59.1 percent reported that they did not give a preliminary statement in the presence of a justice or an attorney. Of the inmates, 49.9 percent reported that they had one lawyer throughout the legal process and 45.3 percent indicated that they had two or more lawyers; meetings with their lawyer were infrequent. The average period of time between arrest and sentencing was two years and four months. Of those interviewed, 47.9 percent said they did not understand the adjudication process. Regarding legal representation, 46.5 percent were satisfied but those with private lawyers were more likely to say they were defended well or very well (54.6 percent) than those with legal aid lawyers (39.8 percent).

Recommendations

While out of the scope of the DCS, we recommend rights-based education and awareness of judicial processes be provided to Jamaican citizens (e.g., multimedia awareness campaigns, information telephone line, resource manuals, and community volunteers), with special emphasis on vulnerable populations such as women, juveniles, the mentally ill, and the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) population. Education and awareness allows people to affirmatively claim their rights and seek assistance.

A key recommendation is improving relations between the police and the communities they serve, especially reducing unjustified police use of physical force and unlawful arrests. This could be done by focusing on increasing procedural justice and police legitimacy, which in turn will improve public trust. Procedurally just behavior is based on treating people with dignity and respect, giving individuals a voice during encounters, being neutral and transparent in decision-making, and conveying trustworthy motives (Mazzerolle, Bennett, Davis, et al., 2013). International research has shown that procedural justice policing strategies reduce the use of force by the police during interactions with civilians (Wood, Tyler, and Papachristos, 2020). Additionally, evidence indicates that if the community trusts the police, they are more willing to follow the law and more likely to cooperate with and engage authorities (Tyler, Jackson, and Bradford, 2014). Officers who feel respected by their supervisors and peers are more likely to accept departmental policies, understand decisions, and voluntarily comply with them (Haas, Van Creen, Skogan, et al., 2015). Consequently, officers are more likely to bring this respect to the communities they serve.

We also recommend that the government sustains its efforts to put procedures in place within the court system to speed up the trial process, improve performance, and support the judicial transformation desired by 2030. Consideration should be given to implementing a systemic and coordinated approach to integrating information systems and streamlining the processes of all major agencies involved in the administration of justice as a key component to successful criminal justice reform.

We suggest that government efforts focus on continuing to support complementary approaches to dealing with crime, such as restorative justice. While restorative justice is widely used as an adjudication method for minor offenders, we suggest its reach be expanded to other stages of the judicial process,

such as post-conviction and sentencing. Research suggests that restorative justice can increase both efficiency and fairness, while improving victim and offender satisfaction, restitution compliance, and recidivism (Latimer, Dowden, and Muise, 2005; Sherman, Strang, Angel, et al., 2005). We also recommend further research be conducted to assess the impact and implementation of restorative justice in Jamaica. For instance, nuanced evaluations could contribute to a better understanding of what types of restorative justice approaches work best for specific offenders and crimes, and the long-term impact of restorative justice programs on victims and offenders. Assessments should measure victim satisfaction, level of empowerment, healing, self-blame, and community engagement (Laurent, 2019). For offenders, it is key to better understand how restorative justice can facilitate their process of reintegration into the community and what, if any, is the effect of restorative justice on desistance from crime.

The legal aid system should be adequately resourced, as almost two of every five inmates were using this facility. The Ministry of Justice should continue to strengthen access to legal representation by supporting the operation and mission of the Legal Aid Council in providing free legal representation to indigent defendants. Special attention should be given to vulnerable populations having increased difficulties in navigating and participating effectively in their criminal matters, such as minors and young people, people with intellectual disabilities, indigenous people, the elderly, and immigrants. Legal scholarship suggests that when defense attorneys are provided before a defendant's first appearance, they can prevent clients from making incriminating statements (Ho, 2013). Lawyers can also help defendants better understand and navigate the court process and the implications of their choices (Chin and Holmes, 2002; Ellmann, Gunning, Shalleck, et al., 2004). Lawyers can improve clients' capacity to assist in their own defenses (Kalhous and Meringolo, 2012) and advocate for release on recognizance or manageable bail (Colbert, Paternoster, and Bushway, 2002). In this sense, it is important to sustain government efforts in allocating sufficient funding and salaries for legal counsel of indigent defendants. It is also important to ensure the continuity of defense counsel at first appearances and in subsequent judicial appearances throughout the legal case.

Lastly, as mentioned above, we recommend that communication strategies and public education campaigns be developed to increase awareness and understanding of constitutional rights, legal proceedings, and the criminal justice system.

Prison Conditions and Life after Incarceration

Findings from the survey reveal general dissatisfaction with prison conditions and sanitation, which is consistent with prior scholarly research and reports from international organizations (IACHR, 2012; Leslie, 2019, 2020; UNHRC, 2010; U.S. Department of State, 2019) observing that prison conditions in Jamaica are poor. The primary reasons for poor conditions are overcrowding, limited food, low-quality medical care, physical abuse, inadequate sanitary conditions, and limited meaningful opportunities for education, work, and recreation. Specific findings and recommendations for each of these issues are discussed below.

Overcrowding

In terms of prison overcrowding, 64.5 percent of the inmates interviewed indicated that the place where they slept was at or below the institution's ideal capacity, meaning that 35.5 percent of inmates reported living in overcrowded conditions. A second measure found that 41.9 percent of the inmates did not have

beds. Overcrowding negatively affects access to basic and necessary services, as may be demonstrated by 57.6 percent of the respondents indicating that the toilet facilities were dirty. While 79.4 percent of the inmates reported that they had enough water to drink, 61.8 percent reported that the quality of the water was poor or very poor.

Recommendations

We recommend that the Jamaican government address overcrowding in the country's prison system. A large body of international literature on overcrowding in prison suggests that, when it persists at high levels, it is associated with negative consequences on inmate's health and behavior and increases the risk of suicide (D'Atri, 1975; Huey and McNulty, 2005; Lawrence and Andrews, 2004; Leese, Stuart, and Snow, 2006; Wooldredge, 1999). Overcrowding can be reduced by either increasing the capacity of the prison system or reducing the number of prisoners. The first option is expensive, requires a high level of public financial investment in infrastructure and services, and does not produce long-term change in overcrowding levels since new prisons usually fill up quickly. Reducing the prison population is a more effective mechanism and can be done by introducing changes to criminal procedures, reducing the use of pretrial detention, improving inmate classification and housing decisions by using risk assessment tools, and providing adequate resources and continuous political support using alternatives to custodial sentences.

Hand in hand with reducing the prison population, current conditions in the prison facilities need to be improved. Most prison infrastructures in Jamaica are old and deteriorating and in many cases pose a threat to the safety of both inmates and staff (Leslie, 2019, 2020). Infrastructure plans for new facilities should be developed with a rehabilitative purpose in mind. Research has shown that prison design and spatial environments influence rehabilitation and desistance processes and impact the way staff and prisoners interact (Beijersbergen, Dirkzwager, Van der Laan, et al., 2016; Fairweather, 2000; Hancock and Jewkes, 2011; Jewkes and Johnston, 2007; Moran and Jewkes, 2015). For instance, prisons with designs that resemble the outside world, with campus layouts, and open and flexible spaces have been found to encourage personal and intellectual creativity (Hancock and Jewkes, 2011) and to create more positive relationships between inmates and prison officers. Prisons so designed are healthier and more humane (Beijersbergen et al., 2016) and thus contribute to the overall rehabilitative goal of penal institutions.

Nutrition

When asked about the quality of the prison food, 78.9 percent of the inmates rated it as poor or very poor and this was consistent in five of the seven surveyed institutions. Findings also show that 69.8 percent of the respondents received food from family members, maybe due to the poor quality of the facility-provided options. International research suggests that, in general, 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, and heart disease) (Collins and Thompson, 2012; Cook, Lee, White, et al., 2015). Moreover, some research suggests that improved nutrition may result in better prisoner behavior and lower recidivism rates (Zoukis and Frazee-Walker, 2013).

Recommendations

We recommend that prison authorities be informed of the negative effects of poor nutrition and that attempts be made to improve the quality of food provided to prisoners. Additionally, strategic and collaborative partnerships with non-profit organizations and nutrition professionals or graduate students could be an important mechanism to develop effective nutrition education campaigns and workshops for both prison staff and inmates. These services could be provided at little or no cost to the prison system.

Health

Of the inmates, 85.5 percent indicated that access to medical care was generally provided when needed and in a timely manner, with 47.0 percent saying they were seen within one hour of reporting that they needed care. However, the quality of the medical services was considered poor or very poor by 41.8 percent of the respondents. More specifically, in terms of mental health services, 17.3 percent mentioned that such assistance was not available and 14.7 percent rated them as poor or very poor.

Recommendations

We recommend steps be taken to ensure adequate and timely healthcare. For example, policies to provide healthcare services and medication to incarcerated individuals in a timely manner at no charge need to be reviewed or developed. Also, collaborative partnerships with health authorities and medical, psychology, and psychiatric students could be created to provide preventive care and address minor health issues. Of note, telemedicine has been found to reduce costs in providing health-related services (e.g., transportation and staff supervision) and to improve care (Fox, Sones, and Waters, 2007).

Prisoner Victimization

Inmates reported being victims of property theft (49.9 percent) and physical violence (19.1 percent). The proportion of inmates who reported having seen other inmates being beaten was higher (82.2 percent). Inmates reported being beaten mostly by other inmates (62.3 percent) and by prison staff (58.7 percent). International scholarship suggests that prison misconduct and violence is related with certain prison conditions (e.g., overcrowding, treatment by prison staff, and access to programs and basic needs) as well as inmates' individual traits (e.g., gender, drug or alcohol addiction, and gang membership) (Byrne and Hummer, 2007). Studies have found a direct relationship between feelings of safety and levels of victimization within prisons (Wolff and Shi, 2009). In line with these findings, the majority of Jamaican inmates (81.8 percent) reported feeling less safe in prison than where they lived before being arrested.

Recommendations

We recommend that authorities review and revamp the training curriculum for prison staff, emphasizing human rights, de-escalation, and positive engagement with prison populations. International research has shown that more respectful staff treatment and better prison conditions can reduce prison violence (Lahm, 2009; Rocheleau, 2013). We also recommend strengthening internal mechanisms for reporting and investigating acts of misconduct, and for imposing consequences for violence inside the prison. Lastly, any efforts to curb violence inside prisons should be based on a deep understanding of the causes of violence, strong rejection of the use of violence and torture, and engagement of inmates' voices in the

solution rather than relying solely on building more facilities or on punitive solutions. Therefore, additional research is needed to provide a more nuanced picture of institutional and individual factors associated with violence inside Jamaican prisons. This information would be useful for prison administrators to promote effective prison reforms and create a supportive environment for inmates' experiences of incarceration and treatment overall (Liebling, 2004).

Drugs and Alcohol in Prison

When asked if they had used drugs or alcohol within the prison in the previous month, 42.5 percent of the inmates said that they had. In addition, 72.4 percent indicated that they had seen other inmates using illicit substances. Marijuana was the main substance that inmates witnessed being consumed (71.4 percent) and used themselves (40.5 percent). Lastly, 45.2 percent reported that the main people responsible for getting drugs and alcohol inside the prisons were prison staff.

Recommendations

The DCS has implemented strategies to offer treatment options to offenders struggling with substance abuse disorders both in custody and in the community. For instance, the DCS collaborated with the National Council on Drug Abuse to develop the Substance Treatment and Referral Tool, which is administered by the Probation Aftercare Officers to people serving non-custodial sentences (Ministry of National Security, 2018). Therefore, we recommend continued efforts to strengthen the scope and content of substance abuse disorder programs in prison and in the community based on available evidence-based treatment practices. Equally important is increasing access to treatment programs and to tailor interventions to inmate needs. While some offenders might respond positively to models based on abstinence, others might require medication-assisted treatment.

We also recommend strengthening the financial, human, and technical resources needed to operate diversionary programs that are already available in the country, such as drug treatment courts (OAS, 2019). This mechanism offers community drug treatment as an alternative to prison, preventing incarceration of offenders whose criminal activity is related to a substance use disorder. While the drug treatment program has shown positive effects in reducing reoffending in various international settings (Koetzle, 2011; Lowenkamp, Holsinger, and Latessa, 2005; Wilson, Mitchell, and MacKenzie, 2006), more research is needed to measure the impact of this model in Jamaica and to demonstrate its cost effectiveness.

Lastly, hiring and training need to be revamped to improve the integrity of prison staff, reduce the prevalence of corruption, and strengthen disciplinary systems for misconduct committed by correctional staff.

Rehabilitation

When asked about their main pastime as part of their daily routines, the most common answers were working (21.8 percent), sleeping (20.3 percent), or studying (18.9 percent), which suggests that a significant proportion of the prison population remains idle and unengaged in employment or educational activities. When asked which of several activities they participated in, the common answers were sports (49.0 percent), educational programs (47.4 percent), and prison cleaning or maintenance (25.1 percent). Opportunities for rehabilitation inside prison remain scarce and participation in the available programs is

limited. In terms of work inside the prison, in the previous month, 37.4 percent had done prison maintenance, 13.3 percent were involved in craftsmanship, and 49.3 percent did other types of work. Of those respondents that learned a trade, 11.0 percent learned computer skills, 9.0 percent studied cosmetology, and 7.0 percent learned electrical skills. The issue is whether and how much these activities are designed to produce positive rehabilitative change, which is out of the scope of this report and thus is an area that requires further research.

Many individuals entered Jamaican prisons with educational deficits, with 48.8 percent of the respondents not having completed secondary education and 7.5 percent having never completed primary education. Access to and participation in educational programs inside prison seems to be low. While 47.4 percent of the inmates reported being engaged in academic studies in prison, those who were not participating reported that the main reason was that it was not a choice or classes were not available (39.6 percent). Along the same lines, 48.3 percent reported that work programs were not provided.

Recommendations

The Ministry of National Security and DCS have developed several initiatives to expand educational programs inside prisons. For example, in partnership with the Jamaica Foundation for Lifelong Learning, they have trained teaching staff to deliver the High School Diploma Equivalency curriculum. Also, in partnership with Stand Up for Jamaica and with financial support from the European Union, they have improved education in prison by offering inmates the opportunity to obtain the Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate. On a smaller scale, a partnership with HEART Trust/NTA offers scholarships to inmates to pursue associate of science degrees in business administration through the University of the Commonwealth Caribbean's online platform (Ministry of National Security, 2018). Of note, the Government of Jamaica listed rehabilitating and reintegrating inmates as part of Vision 2030, Jamaica's National Development Plan.

Therefore, we recommend considering education a strategic priority to ensure that the goals of inmate rehabilitation and reintegration are met and to provide the necessary funding to expand basic and secondary education programs to cover all inmates. In parallel with allocating funding, we recommend that the DCS continue to develop partnerships with the Ministry of Education and non-governmental organizations and to engage with local colleges and universities to diversify the ways in which access to education can be expanded inside prisons. Findings from international literature suggest that offenders who received educational programming during incarceration were less likely to recidivate than those who did not participate (Bozick, Steele, Davis, et al., 2018).

A significant percentage of inmates said that they worked in facility maintenance jobs, which is useful for the prison but is not likely to increase employability or enhance future employment opportunities after offenders are released. We recommend that, in addition to educational opportunities, prisons offer vocational training and opportunities for work experience. These opportunities should be accompanied by interventions supporting individual change (e.g., substance abuse and mental health) by increasing the number of psychologists and social workers that can support behavioral change interventions. Research shows that in 2015 there were only three psychiatrists employed by the DCS to provide services to correctional staff, inmates, and juveniles (Leslie, 2020). The literature suggests that comprehensive strategies

to improve employability or offer employment opportunities, while also targeting individual, cognitive, and behavioral change (e.g., substance abuse and mental health), more effectively reduce recidivism and increase employability than those that solely focus on finding and maintaining work (Apel, 2011; Taxman and Kras, 2016).

Examples of work-related programs include vocational training in specific trades that are up to date with the demands of employers and that can ease the transition to viable employment after release. Also, prison industry programs or work release programs that allow inmates to leave the prison facility during the day for jobs in the community and return to the prison after work is done offer opportunities for work experience and can serve as rehabilitative tools. Finally, we encourage collaboration with businesses from the private sector to engage them in training offenders prior to their release, with the goal of linking offenders with employment after release. Available international research suggests that interventions such as prison industries, work release, vocational training, and employment programs in the community varied in their success in reducing reoffending (Seiter and Kadela, 2003). Some studies of employment and work release programs found little evidence of reduced recidivism (MacKenzie, 2006). More recent research has found positive effects of work release programs on both employment and recidivism (Duwe, 2012, 2015), but evidence is still mixed.

Lastly, we recommend that custodial sentences be a measure of last resort for both adult and young offenders. Expanding alternatives to incarceration, such as electronic monitoring, probation, community service, and fines, could enhance offenders' rehabilitation and reintegration. The DCS provides probation services through the Community Probation Service, which could benefit from an influx of financial and technical resources to increase its reach and effectiveness. Research has shown that imprisonment is not an effective crime control strategy, that it does not have an effect on deterring crime, and that it is not more effective than community-based sanctions in reducing reoffending (Cullen, Jonson, and Nagin, 2011; Nagin and Snodgrass, 2013; Killias, Gillieron, Kissling, et al., 2010). Other authors have found that individuals released from prison have higher reoffending than those serving community sentences (Bales and Piquero, 2012).

Reintegration

Findings from the survey show that services supporting offenders' transition from custody into the community are scarce and that one of the inmates' major fears on release relates to the rejection and stigma caused by incarceration, followed by being unable to find and maintain a job. The majority of the respondents (89.0 percent) indicated that they did not have access to pre-release services inside the prison. For those who did, these programs included creating a resume (1.1 percent), assistance in finding a job (4.3 percent), opening a bank account (0.8 percent), or finding a place to live (1.7 percent).

When asked about governmental or non-governmental agencies supporting the transition from prison into the community, most inmates were unaware of government offices (76.7 percent) or civil society organizations (59.7 percent) providing post-release services. Even though they did not have access to these services, 89.9 percent stated they would probably not or most probably not be arrested again. It is well documented in international literature that offenders face a myriad of challenges on release, both

individually and socially (Sampson, 2011; Visher and Travis, 2012). When former prisoners do not have support to overcome the challenges of returning to society, they often reoffend shortly after their release. Thus pre-release and post-release support is critical to success in terms of identifying needs and strengths and establishing long-term reintegration goals (Kendall, Redshaw, Ward, et al., 2018).

The largest proportion of the inmates (36.2 percent) said their greatest fear regarding leaving prison and returning to the community was being rejected by their families, followed by not being able to find a job (29.6 percent) and not having a place to live (15.9 percent). Many inmates rely on family support on release, with 52.3 percent reporting that they will go back to live with their families and 17.1 percent planning to live with their partners. Access to jobs is another pressing issue for inmates returning to the community, with 25.3 percent saying they have a job waiting for them but the vast majority concerned they might face difficulties.

Recommendations

The Ministry of National Security and DCS have made efforts to better prepare individuals to transition to a life out of crime and lead productive lives (Leslie, 2019, 2020). However, these programs lacked sustainability and there were challenges coordinating with other state agencies and community-based organizations (Leslie, 2019, 2020). Thus, reintegration in Jamaica can be defined as an ad-hoc and underdeveloped set of activities in prison and in the community implemented with different motivations and approaches (Leslie, 2020). We recommend that full consideration be given to developing and adopting a comprehensive national reintegration policy.

A reintegration policy should embrace the philosophy that reentry starts the first day of incarceration rather than in the days prior to release. It should address the individual needs and practical challenges faced by formerly incarcerated individuals, such as access to substance abuse and mental health treatment, finding and maintaining employment, access to education and training opportunities, ensuring housing, and re-establishing family bonds. Research has shown that reentry strategies that focus on individual-level change are most effective at reducing recidivism (Andrews and Bonta, 2010; MacKenzie, 2006; Visher and Travis, 2012; Visher, Lattimore, Barrick, et al., 2017). These programs are usually designed to address specific criminogenic needs, such as substance abuse and addiction treatment, cognitive development, and educational and vocational training. The results are mixed when focusing on increased opportunities to reunite families, work, and obtain housing (Lipsey and Cullen, 2007; Seiter and Kadela, 2003; Visher and Travis, 2012). This does not mean that programs addressing these structural factors are irrelevant to the process of reintegration. On the contrary, several scholars suggest that there is an intrinsic link between the two, and that individual change and transformation is a condition for success in other areas, such as securing stable housing and employment (Andrews and Bonta, 2010; MacKenzie, 2006; Taxman, Young, and Byrne, 2002; Taxman and Kras, 2016). We further recommend that reintegration programs include expunging criminal records for minor offenses after a stipulated amount of time.

A national reintegration policy would ensure strong collaboration and coordination of services between the DCS, other government agencies, and non-governmental organizations that offer support to ex-offenders returning to the community (Leslie, 2019). Ensuring that these organizations work within the

framework of a national reintegration policy and guaranteeing their financial and technical capacity to deliver complementary services in an effective and timely manner should be a strategic pillar of reintegration efforts.

Lastly, correctional decision-making processes need to be improved based on reliable and accessible information. For instance, data systems integrated across prison facilities and with other criminal justice agencies (e.g., police and courts) would contribute to better understand inmates' trajectories through the criminal justice system and improve correctional planning and management. Adopting risk assessment tools would provide institutions with a more reliable, bias-free, and evidence-based approach to allocating resources based on each inmate's criminogenic needs and the risk they pose to the community. Further, such information would support the implementation of plans to guide rehabilitative and reintegration efforts.

Female Offenders

The childhood and youth experiences of a large proportion of women in prison are considered risk factors for criminal behavior. Of the female inmates interviewed, 57.4 percent were physically punished as a child, 57.7 percent became a mother before the age of 18, including 17.8 percent who had their first child before the age of consent (16 years old), and 19.0 percent dropped out of school because they became pregnant. The majority of the incarcerated women were first time offenders (95.1 percent) and were serving time for violent (48.3 percent) or drug-related offenses (14.8 percent). Female respondents considered their living conditions good, with access to beds, clean toilets and showers, water, and female hygiene products. Though they had access to healthcare within the facility, only a few reported having access specifically to sexual and reproductive healthcare. Of the incarcerated women, 75.4 percent were engaged in some form of educational activity and 67.2 percent worked in the institution. These findings are in line with results from prior ethnographic research conducted in the country, which highlights that women in prison were mostly mothers with a history of trauma and abuse. Their experience of incarceration prevented them from acting as mothers, and child separation caused high levels of distress and affected their mental well-being (Morris, 2008; Leslie, 2019).

Recommendations

We recommend that DCS consider gender-responsive strategies to address the specific risks and needs of the female inmate population. International evidence suggests that gender-responsive strategies and practices acknowledge the realities and criminal trajectories of female offenders by specifically selecting staff for the women's institutions and developing program content and materials. These interventions commonly address issues such as abuse, trauma, family relationships, substance use, and mental health disorders while enhancing offenders' strengths and capabilities (Bloom, Owen, and Covington, 2004; Messina, Bloom, and Covington, 2019). For instance, DCS should carefully consider implementing services that address trauma emanating from abuse and child separation and provide opportunities for female inmates to maintain contact with their children and their families.

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- United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners: <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/TreatmentOfPrisoners.aspx>
- Death penalty: <http://www.deathpenaltyworldwide.org/country-search-post.cfm?country=jamaica>

Appendix 1: Project Team

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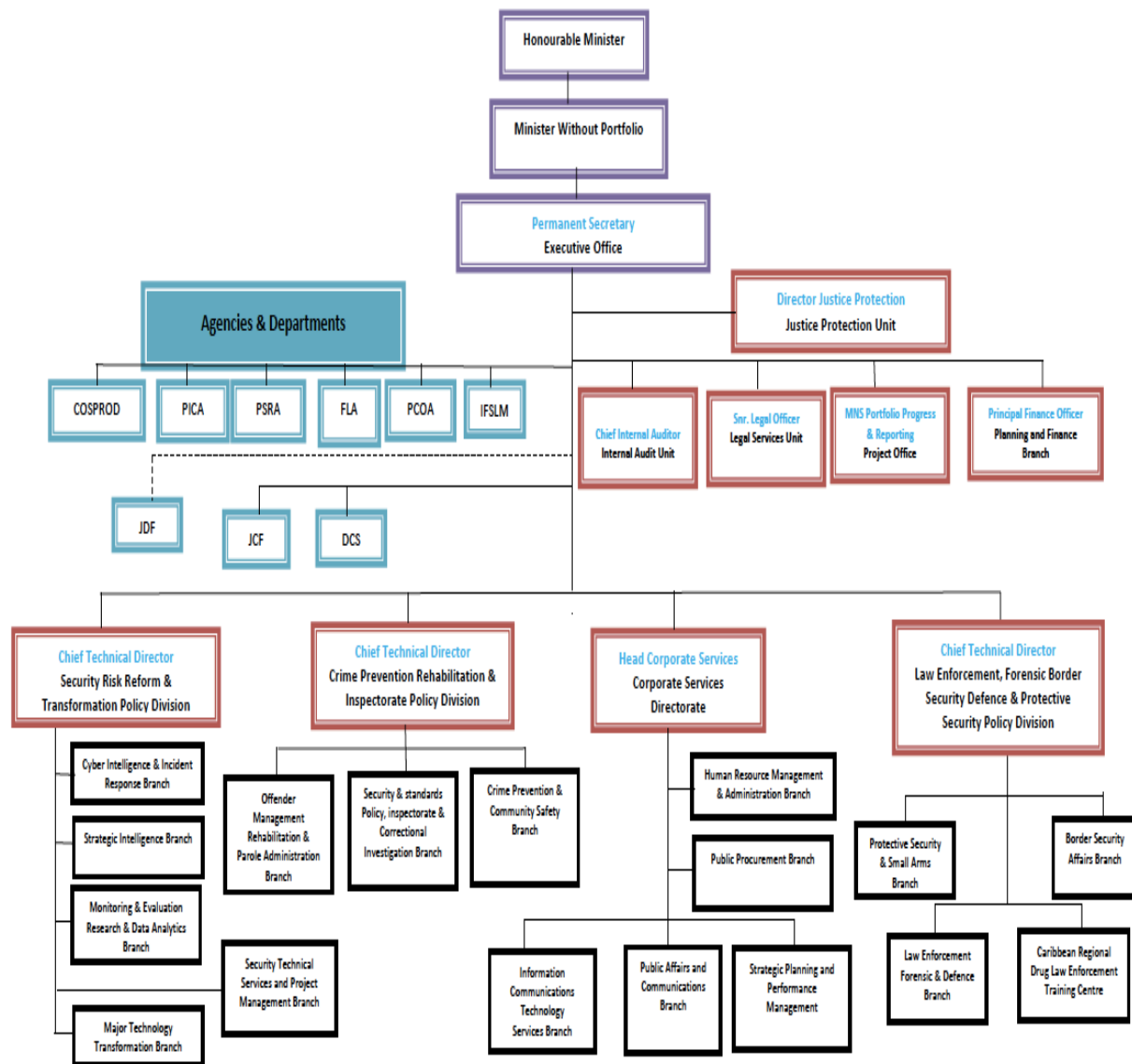
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Appendix 2: Organizational Structure of the DCS



Source: Ministry of National Security, Five Pillar Strategy.

Appendix 3: Consent Form

Department of Correctional Services/University of the West Indies, Mona Consent Form

Research Title: Correctional Services Inmate Survey

Purpose and Description: The University of the West Indies, Mona with the support of the Inter-American Development Bank is conducting research on your life before imprisonment, your experience with the police and court systems, living conditions in prisons and the reintegration into society after convicted individuals leave the prison.

Procedures: It will take us about 45 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Would you be willing to participate? I will read you some general questions about yourself. If there are any questions that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and we will skip to the next one. If there are any that you do not understand, please tell me, and I will gladly repeat them for you.

Risks: The psychological impact of recounting your experiences.

Benefits: The research will benefit the larger society by facilitate a greater understanding about the risk factors for criminality, it will also help the Correctional Services to create a better system. Additionally it will help in the teaching and learning of Criminal Justice issues.

Participation and Withdrawal: Participation in the study is completely voluntary and may withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty or criticism. Participants may withdraw by informing the researcher that they no longer wish to participate and from whom no questions will be asked, soliciting an explanation. Also, participants may skip any questions that make them feel uncomfortable or embarrassed during the course of the interview.

Confidentiality: We assure you that the information you provide will be completely confidential, that no authority will ever learn about your responses. We also want you to know that this research has nothing to do with your criminal proceedings, nor will it have any effect on your prison situation. We would also like to inform you that we will not share the information you provide us to the Superintendent or the prison staff. This survey is anonymous, which means that you do not have to provide your name, nor any other information that may identify you.

Compensation: No compensation will be given for participation

Contact Details for Researcher/ Principal Researcher: If you have any questions regarding the research project, you may contact the principal investigator Ms. Nicola Satchell, Lead Researcher, Centre for Leadership and Governance, University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston 7. Tel 977-5935/ 375-4162. Email: Nicola.satchell02@uwimona.edu.jm.

Rights as a Research Participant: For independent advice on your rights as a research participant you may contact Commissioner..., Department of Correctional Service.

Statement of Declaration:

I the undersign, hereby willingly participate in this research project being undertaken by

[Mr./ Mrs./ Miss] _____

entitled _____

In agreeing to participate, I understand that:

1. My anonymity will be preserved at all times because my name and any other identifying information will be kept strictly confidential; and the results of this report will be reported in such a manner that I will not be identifiable in anyway.
2. I can refuse any question that I do not want to answer.
3. I can discontinue participation in this research at any time and for any reason, without fear of negative consequences to me.

I _____ have read this consent form, been given the opportunity to ask questions, and all questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. In signing this consent form, I am agreeing to participate in this research project.

Signature of Participant _____ Date _____

Signature of Researcher/Interviewer _____ Date _____

Signed in the presence of _____

For Superintendent _____ Date _____

Appendix 4: Sample Frame and Data Collection

Institution	Category of Inmates					Completed
	Population	On Remand	Sentenced	Appellant	Sample Total	
FEMALE						
Fort Augusta (50% of population)	109	18	34	3	55	61 Day 1 (August 30)
MALE						
Tower Street	1516	22	180	69	271	37 Pilot (July 31) 44 Day 1 (August 7) 72 Day 2 (August 9) 58 Day 3 (August 10) 22 Day 4 (August 21) 52 Day 5 (August 23) 28 Day 6 (August 24) Total 276
St. Catherine	877	2	152	6	161	80 Day 1 (August 28) 80 Day 2 (August 29) Total 160
Horizon Adult Remand Centre (Population excluding those in for safe keeping)	788	132	8	2	142	21 Day 1 (August 13) 52 Day 2 (August 15) 71 Day 3 (August 17) Total 144
Richmond Farm	149		26		26	31 Day 1 (August 31)
Tamarind Farm	211		39		39	42 Day 1 (August 31)
New Broughton	33		6		6	10 Day 1 September 8)
TOTAL	3683	173	393	78	700	Total 724 (excluding pilot)

Appendix 5: Types of Crime

This variable was created by recoding all of the crime categories in question 56 of the questionnaire such that respondents who committed one or more of the crimes listed under the “violent crimes” column in the table below were designated as people who committed violent crimes, while people who committed one or more of the crimes listed in the “non-violent crimes” column were designated as people who committed non-violent crimes. Where people checked both violent and non-violent crimes, they were designated as committing violent crimes. This is consistent with Jamaican law where the most serious offense committed takes precedence in legal settings in terms of sentencing and crime classification. Where an inmate did not check any of the crimes listed in question 56, they were given the opportunity to state which other crimes they committed. These people were classified as having committed violent or non-violent offenses based on Jamaican law. In computing this variable, 45 respondents did not answer and thus were excluded from computations that used this variable.

Violent Crimes	Non-violent Crimes
Intentional homicide/murder	Drug possession/drug dealing
Manslaughter	Encroachment/identity theft
Kidnapping	Scam/misappropriation/fraud
Robbery/theft	Burglary/break-ins
Sex crimes	Possession of illegal weapon
Aggravated robbery/aggravated theft	Other non-violent crimes
Other violent crimes	