

# IMOGENEITY-VOLUMOUS THEORY



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# **Imogeneity-Volumous Theory**

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# Imogeneity-Volumous Theory

## Abstract

Many of the events, interpretation and understanding of particular group of people that we have are largely based on the media's image, language, terminology and perspective of them. The media do not appear to have a bias in report on a particular group of people; but the image, language and terminology play critical roles in framing interpretation that the mainstream society will have on a people afterwards. The labeled socialization of inner-city residents has never been recognized in socialization of people, how it is used to interpret actions, and its influence in retarding social solidarity among people within the same geo-political border. The labeled socialization of inner-city residents is more to destroy than to understand and/or to aid them. The current study proposed a new theory 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' that will explain labelled socialization. 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' forwards that there is 'A created culture of a people which is superimposed on them by the hegemonic class as to their image, cosmology, inner-workings, behaviour, cognition, psychology, functionality and livability, which is carried out by the labelled socialization offered by the media.'

**Keywords:** Imogeneity-volumous theory; Media; Labeled socialization; Socialization; Ghetto; Inner-city; Police; Powerless; Marginalization; Mainstream society; Vicousness; Violent crimes; Bribe; Extortion; Money laundering; Murders; Wicked; Vicious; Breast like; Mosters; Theft; Assault; Burglary; Threat; Arson; Ethnography; Phenomenology; Case study; Grounded theory; Feminism

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## Introduction

The Caribbean has been experiencing a crime problem for some time, which dates back to the 1970s. As a result of the crime problem a conference was held in 2001 to address the causes, consequences, challenges and the way forward out of this pandemic. and this was aided by the World Bank which sponsored a study to examine crime and poverty. The interconnectivity between poverty and crime is among the justification for plethora of studies that have conducted by criminologists and other scholars as a part of a comprehensive framework to understand, address and prescribe redemy for the crime problem in the region. The crime pandemic has resulted in heightened fear of victimization in the region [1-3], much so that people are afraid to report threats. Although the media provides an account and make the cases of crimes to the general public, they oftentimes disregard individual and collective security in the pursuit of reporting the information. Within the context of the crime problem experienced in many Caribbean societies, particularly Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, the media play increasing role in the fear factor. This account for increasingly less people want to venture in many inner-city communities because of label of

- 1) Vicousness
- 2) Violent crimes
- 3) Marginalized people who are willing to kill, destroy, injur and disfigure people, and
- 4) Their low level of education means that they are difficult to reason with and understood.

It is a fact that violence and crimes are more frequently occurring in marginalized inner-city communités, which accounts for the studies that have sought to examine the people therein as it relates to their behaviour, choices and causes of the violence [4]. The first person to postulate that crime is a normal part of the functioning of a society was Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 1895). He contends that "Crime is needed for society to evolve and maintain itself and that there is no society that does not have crime ....." (Durkheim, 1895), suggesting that crime must be managed in order to deal with threats to the individual, safety and rights as well as those of the society. Because a society must continue to coexist with crime [5] (Durkheim, 1895), threat will also be a normal part of the society and the media can play a role in the safety and stability of the society through its actions (or inactions). Although Durkheim's theorizing has wholesale application to a society, the issue of violence and vicious crimes are more in keeping with inner-city (marginalized) communities than in affluent neighbourhoods. In fact, many

of the vicious crimes committed against people in middle-to-upper class neighbourhoods are perpetrated by those in the marginalized areas. It is no secret and definitely no surprise that in the Caribbean, particularly Barbados, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, the crime pandemic is resulting in the silence of many people including the business class. The Caribbean has been experiencing a crime pandemic that resulted in Conference on the matter in 2001 to address the challenges, find solutions, examine the consequences and control the escalating crime and violence phenomena [6]. The crime pandemic explains why the World Bank sponsored a study on 'crime and poverty' in the late 1990s [4]. The extent of the crime problem is aptly captured in study which was conducted by [7] which found that crime and violence were the leading national problem identified by Jamaicans. The consequences of the crime problem in the region are expressed in fear and distrust as well as the unwillingness of people to report threats in whatever form.

In 2007, 7/100 Jamaicans indicated that they trust other people, 3/25 said the 'war against crime and delinquency in Jamaica is being won', 9/50 people have been assaulted and attacked, 16/25 believed that the police can be bribed [7], which speaks to the fear of reporting threats as life and/or property. Even many of social commentators in the region have offered their take on the social challenges experienced by the people. Some of the social commentaries include

- 1) 'Informer fi dead'
- 2) 'If mi hungry again you ago see mi nine (ie. gun)'
- 3) 'No skin not too tough fi bore', which epitomize the how criminality has crippled people's actions and speaks to the interconnectivity between poverty and criminality, and a rationale for a cultured violent behaviour of some people in a society

There are some social commentaries which speak to how vicious people can become because of their social realities. These commentaries include "Emergency", "Look into my eyes" and "Ghetto Anthem" is not only for record sales or "forwards" but as a means of voicing the cries of the disadvantaged majority. It is difficult to identify exactly when this crime problem begun but it is obvious that there is indeed one and that it now serves to threaten the very existence of the country. Newspaper headlines such as "Three slaughtered today", "Bodies found in Barrels downtown", "Man stabs woman to death" "Police raid finds 800 kg coke and ganja" 'Businessman murders' and 'Eye witness killed' are another expression of why people have become silent in speaking out on the crime threat and incidences. Crime and violence is not a new phenomenon as this dates back to Cain and Abel, and Durkheim opined

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that it is a normal part of society and that it is critical to the functioning a society (Durkheim, 1895), which is known by all individuals in the Caribbean and account for their unwillingness to speak on threats including

- a. Bribe
- b. Extortion
- c. Money laundering
- d. Murders
- e. Cybercrimes, and
- f. Other financial crimes including lottery scams

The influence of crime on businesses extend beyond the actual activities (ie, cybercrimes, fraud, bribery, extortion, embezzlement, arson, looting, et cetera) to

- I. Increased security costs
- II. Reduced worker productivity
- III. Influence investment and productivity
- IV. Increased health care costs because of fear, stress and
- V. Closure of business owing to crimes
- VI. Mortality (i.e. reduced life expectancy because of murder)
- VII. Injury, and
- VIII. Other socio-economic and psychological costs

With Jamaica having one of the highest violent crimes rates in the world and being among the top 10 most murderous nations [8,9] despite the influence of crimes on businesses, many business operatives as well as the general populace are highly fearful of reporting crimes and any likely threats because of the fear of being a probable victim. Many of the cases of violent crimes are committed against and by people in marginalized communities, which increase the fear of people from venturing into these areas as well as associating with its residents. The labels that are ascribed to inner-city residents include

1. Wicked
2. Vicious
3. Breast like
4. Mosters
5. Evilous, and
6. Devil like, and some people belief that those labels are

fitting of all the people

The images, language and terminology created of inner-city residents further go to marginalize, oppress, alienate, belittle, sideline, 'cast a spell on' and fashion an interpret of their expected behaviour. Instead of studying the behavioural patterns of the people and interpret their wholesale actions, people including the media use isolated (or a few cases) to determine a general framework. Residents of inner-city areas are told who they are, how they are likely to behaviour, preconditions of their intent and why the behave as they do. The labeled behaviour is more specialized to a some than the masses, and it is this mass ascribed image that is indicate the likely actions of residents. The people sometimes resist the label such to realize that the ascribed image of them goes to the socialized consciousness of many otherside to the point that there is little or nothing than can be show another perspective. The labeled socialization of inner-city residents run generations, people have been feed a continuous diet of an image of these people and when ever an activity occurs within the area the old labeled socialization emerged that is used to parcel the behaviour of the people. The labeled socialization of inner-city residents has never been recognized in socialization of people, how it is used to interpret actions, and its influence in retarding social solidarity among people within the same geo-political border. The labeled socialization of inner-city residents is more to destroy than to understand and/or to aid them. The current study proposed a new theory 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' that will explain labelled socialization. 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' forwards that there is 'A created culture of a people which is superimposed on them by the hegemonic class as to their image, cosmology, inner-workings, behaviour, cognition, psychology, functionality and livability, which is carried out by the labelled socialization offered by the media.'

## Conceptual Framework

The fear of crime and victimization are well documented in Caribbean literature [1,2] and when these are interpreted within a socio-historical context, the media plays a critical role in glamorizing crimes and increasing fear of reporting incidences in the region. In a study entitled "They Cry Respect" [4], the researcher opined that Jamaica has moved from that state of verbal violence or stick fights which existed in the 1940's, 50's and 60's the use of the gun since the 1970s, and more so post 1979. Chevannes believed that nothing is more swift and irreversible than the modern gun [4]. Already the crime rate here in the Caribbean has surpassed that level of tolerance. Headley [10] asserted that over the last 40 years, annual homicides in Jamaica averaged in the vicinity of forty (40) or more murders per

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100,000. However crime runs the entire gamut- ranging from the common property crime to fraud, racketeering and corruption in the highest places. But the most worrisome has been the high numbers of homicides which has crippled societies like Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago as well as Jamaica.

In the last two decades, the Caribbean has not only seen a rise in murders but also

1. Embezzlements
2. Money laundering
3. Lottery scams
4. Bribes
5. Arson
6. Security costs
7. Re-location of firms
8. Loss of output owing to injuries and murders, and
9. Fear and victimization

A survey on Business Victimization in Jamaica revealed that 13/20 businesses indicated being a victim of some crime in 2001; 11/50 experienced fraud; 9/10 experienced weekly theft; 1/20 had to pay extortion and 2/25 had to pay protection money (2004). Even outside of the Caribbean, a Business Survey with was conducted in 2008 by The Gallop Organization & United Nations Inter-regional Crime Research Institute (2008) found that there has been a rise in crimes against and in businesses, including

1. Theft
2. Assault
3. Burglary
4. Extortion and intimidation, and
5. Corruption

Many of the cases of crimes in a society are reported upon by the media. Although the media provide an account and publicized cases of crimes to the general public, they oftentimes disregard individual and collective security in the pursuit of reporting the information. Within the context of the crime problem experienced in many Caribbean societies, particularly Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, the media play increases the fear factor as in their desire to report and inform people of crimes make it difficult for the individual as well as the society. In fact, there have been cases in which the media's handling of the matter resulted

in further victimization of an individual, a community or the wider society. By disregarding the interest, safety and security of the individual and/or wider society, the media have made security increasingly more difficult. There are instances in which further victimization, stigmatization, and crimes against people, institutions and community because of how the media reporting and handling the matter.

The aforementioned situations highlight the additional challenges on security when the media is brought into a discussion of crime and victimization. In the thrust to report crimes (including theft, embezzlement, fraud, money laundering, et cetera), the media may play the inadvertent role of increasing the crime problem and allowing criminals to go free because of how they handle a matter. Within the context of wanting to address the crime problem in the Caribbean, 'How can a safe and stable community be assured' when the media sometimes disregard individual and collective security. Another rationale is the value of research in policy implementation as the underpinnings of the crime phenomenon silencing business people away from reporting threats and the media disregard for individual and collective security must be examines in order to create a synergy as to how we can have a safe, secure and stable community.

## Literature Review

The first person to postulate that crime is a normal part of the functioning of a society was Emile Durkheim (Durkheim, 1895). He contended that "Crime is needed for society to evolve and maintain itself and that there is no society that does not have crime ....." (Durkheim, 1895), suggesting that crime must be managed in order to deal with threats to the individual, safety and rights as well as those of the society [5] (Durkheim, 1895), threat will also be a normal part of the society. It follows, therefore, that the issue of security must be a shared responsibility in order to co-exist with crime as an inevitable component of societal functioning. Giovanni Manunta [11] argued that security is 'The Interaction (antagonism) between the three factors of Asset, Protector and Threat'. Maxwell Fyffe; however, defined security as 'Protection of the realm as a whole from acts of sabotage, espionage' which denotes that security must address

- i. Personal individual
- ii. Household/assets
- iii. Community, and
- iv. Nation, particularly in reference to Durkheim's theory that crime will continue as long as there is a society

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Giovanni Manunta [11] postulated that socio-economic and political factors should not be emphasized in security as this is more a function of asset, protector, threat and specific situation. Among the factors identified by Manunta for security is the situation. Manunta argued that one must assess the situation, suggesting that security uses empiricism to determine actions. He opined that "Situational factors are seen in different ways at academic and professional levels...Academic research is mostly directed to analyze the influence of situational factors on motivation. Situation appears to be related to opportunity and influence the offender's choice, considered as rational" [11]. The aforementioned perspective offers some explanation for how the situation can be a crime preventive mechanism. In evaluating the situation, an assessment of the environment is critical to the security conditions. The security environment constitutes the Asset, its setting and security apparatuses ('including the Protectors, and not the threat'). Another aspect to the milieu is the local setting that entails the threat as well as the 'macro-climate' (or outside milieu). Manunta contended that the 'macro-climate' includes political, ethical, socio-economic, legislature, normative and so on. Such perspectives offer explanation for the examination, policy formulation and publication of documents by the police on anti-corruption strategies (JCF, undated) as the 'macro-climate' demands corruption prevention and reduction [7,12,13,14]. Powell and his colleagues found that corruption was the 4<sup>th</sup> 'most pressing problem facing Jamaica at this time' [7], which provides the coverage for the dictates of politics anti corruption stance, documentation, strategy and programmes. Eight-five and four tenths percentages of Jamaicans indicated that the 'war against crime and delinquency in Jamaica is not being won' and that corruption will take between 1 and 11 years (64.7%) to be addressed, and that 64.7 percentages indicated that a police officer can be bribed [7]. Those findings highlight the inherent threat that can perceive by Jamaicans, including business operatives.

Understanding the present situation in Jamaica, people's willingness to change the current crime-problem and demands of the 'macro-climate' as well as the 'micro-climate, the merger between politics and crime can be drastically reduced as people recognize the need for the separation because of historical under-currency and threat level, which accounts for the heightened fear of crime and victimization. There is enough evidence that exists to show that the socio-economic situation as well as the demographic factors have not provide an explanation, which when applied have reduced the crime-problem in Jamaica. On the other hand, the 'macro-climate' as well as the 'micro-climate' was able to provide a platform for the

reduction of violence in Western Kingston, especially Tivoli Gardens. Using threat assessment, assessment of the situation, even with the lingering reality of politics, crimes, particularly murders have been exponentially reduced in Western Kingston, although economics or any other social factors have not been addressed. It is this reality that is used by Jamaicans to examine the threat levels, and who they should operate including disclosing information to the police.

The dismantling of marriage between politics and crime in Western Kingston, especially Tivoli Gardens, was reached because influence of the situational constraint the tactics in execution of the threat analysis. Clearly the threat which once existed in Western Kingston has been lowered and this has changed the perception of Jamaicans outside of Kingston on the physical harm, crime and violence and protection. People are not expressing confidence in the police being able to man the streets. Although the Western situation has happened, many people still do not believe that the 'fight' against crime has been won, which would result in them disclosing critical information to the police or even relating a threat because of the fear of crime and victimization. The issue of extortion was once popular and rampant in Kingston. Business people were extorted, had to pay protection money and this continued for years. Many business operatives would informally report the matter to a friend; but were tight-lipped about the matter when the police sought to investigate the matter. The reality is, people were cognizant of the corrupt nature of the police force [7] and other public officials which retard the reporting of the situation. In wanting to protect their lives, Jamaicans including business people, analyze the threat of insecurity and would be unwilling to report such a matter to the police. Extortion and protection money were not the only crime committed against business people in Jamaica; but they have to fear

- i. Threat
- ii. Arson
- iii. Murder
- iv. Injury from criminals if it were left that they had spoken to the police

Crimes against business are not typical in Jamaica as the literature shows that this is in other geo-political spaces [15,16]. According to Don Robotham (2003) the contributory factors to the high incidence of crime and violence in Jamaica are the general demographic, economic, political and social factors. These factors have been found to contribute significantly to the creation of an environment conducive to the high rates of violent crimes. He continued



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that there is a plethora of such factors: the size and growth of the 15-29 age group, population urbanization and density. The slum communities around parish capitals particularly Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine continue to grow as unemployed and under-educated youths migrate from rural communities in search of better conditions in the city. Professor Trevor Munroe [17] asserts that often these “better conditions” that they seek are nonexistent and the conditions are often times much harsher in urban areas than they are in rural areas. However; many choose to remain in the urban areas and hence have helped to increase the hopelessness of the area. Robotham continued to list housing and social services, levels and duration of unemployment, levels of literacy and education, cognitive and moral development, inequality and social distance and value changes in Jamaican societies in recent years, as influences on the crime rate in Jamaica. The arguments that were previously forwarded in Jamaica, equally so true for Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados and other Caribbean nations [1,2,3,6,18].

In Barbados, [3] opined that the fear of crimes is widespread because of the spatial characteristics of criminal victimization, which is equally found in Jamaica [1,19] and Trinidad and Tobago [2]. In Becker’s seminal work on crimes, he noted that crime is an economic phenomenon [20]. Becker [20], using econometric analysis - regression technique - a tool in objectivism, established factors that influence an individual’s choice to engage in criminality. Becker’s seminal work empirically establishes what is widely known as the economics of crime. Becker’s ‘utility maximization crime’ framework expresses crime as a function of many variables. This is encapsulated in Equation [1], below:

$$y = f(x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, x_5, x_6, x_7) \dots\dots\dots [1]$$

Where y = hours spent in criminal activities,

$x_1$  = Wage for an hour spent in criminal activity,

$x_2$  = Hourly wage in legal employment,

$x_3$  = Income other than from crime or employment

$x_4$  = Probability of getting caught,

$x_5$  = Probability of being convicted if caught,

$x_6$  = Expected sentence if convicted, and

$x_7$  = Age

It can be extrapolated from Becker’s work that poverty is positively related to criminality, and a rise in unemployment will increase probability of engagement into criminality. Some Caribbean scholars also examined the matter of

crime and found that it is an economic issue [21], indicating that

- A. Economic and financial crises
- B. Lower of remittances to a society
- C. Increases unemployment and poverty, and
- D. A deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of the society will increase lawless, corruption, and crimes, particularly against business that people assess as having the economic resources

In addition to poverty, other factors that influence crimes can be classified under the heading of social, cultural, economical and political conditions (Robotham, 2003) [22-25]. Policy makers continue to rely on empirical inquiry to implement policies in the Caribbean, because of the validity of utilizing positivistic theoretical perspectives. Harriott aptly summarized the failure of conventional theorizing, when he opined that “Traditional law enforcement methods have similarly proved to be ineffective” [6], which would include the long-established factors of crime. Using econometric analysis, Nobel prize winner Gary Becker [20] established that involvement in crime activities can be explained by income received from criminal activities, legal employment, probability of being caught, probability of being convicted, duration of sentencing if caught, age and income from non-criminal engagements. It can be deduced from Becker’s work that crime is predominantly an economic phenomenon, which was supported by Alfred Francis and his colleagues (2001), using data for Jamaica. Although Alfred Francis et al did not include politics among the independent variables; they found that the economic factors contributed significantly to involvement in criminality, which does not eliminate the political factor as well as socio-demographic correlates. With Becker’s work (1968) showing that the probability of being caught and the likely sentencing of the guilt party are element of engagement in crimes, the low rates of conviction of many crimes in the Caribbean is interpreted by indicator to avoid reporting threats and crimes.

“Political crimes and crime-politics relationships may be most sharply manifested in the garrisons, but are evident in political activities outside of them” Harriott [19] said. He went to say that “Much has been said about the crime-politics nexus in popular discourse, and some of this is shared by authors in this volume [19]. It can be extrapolated from Harriott’s perspective that political mobilization is pivotal to the social roots of crime in the Caribbean, especially in Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana. According to Sives reporting a respondent that “When the JLP declared war on the PNP in 1942, JLP ruffians began to attack PNP meetings” [26]. She went on to say that “The Battle

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of Rose Town demonstrated that the PNP had developed an ability to match the JLP on the streets of Kingston. .... The PNP were not attacking anybody but they would defend themselves now that they were powerful and strong, they would match the Labourites" [26]. This suggests that politics in Jamaica was accounting for violent crimes. It should be noted here that nexus between politics and crime is typical in the Caribbean - Haiti (United Nations and World Bank, 2007). A statement by United Nations and World Bank [27] highlights the crime-politics paradigm in the Caribbean.

Political violence is not a novelty in Haiti's history, and it neither started nor ended with the Duvalier regime, although this regime's violent record was unprecedented. "Papa Doc" Duvalier (1957-71) began to institutionalize political violence soon after he was elected in 1957, by establishing a force of cagoulards ("hooded men") charged with silencing supporters of rival candidates (who challenged the election results), as well as other dissidents, which gradually developed into a more extensive network of spies for the Duvalier regime [27]. Gun ownership is an outgrowth of the drug trade and, in some countries, a legacy of party politics and associated garrison communities. Within these environments which promote the demand for weapons, reducing gun ownership is a difficult undertaking. At the regional level, coordination between law enforcement agencies on intelligence and interdiction are important. At the national level or sub-regional level, better gun registries, marking and tracking can help, as can improved gun interdiction in ports. Long run and sustained reduction in the demand for guns, however, will hinge on progress in combating drugs and on changing the cultural factors which increase the demand of young men for weapons [27]. The extraordinary crimes in the Caribbean, particularly in the capital city of Kingston, Jamaica, are mostly prevalent in the communities on the economic margins. Harriott [19] held that for the most part, these areas are deprived of the material economic base whereby its members can reproduce and adequately maintain themselves. Harriott goes further to speak of blocked legitimate opportunities and social exclusion that result in the alternate illegitimate opportunity structure that engenders aggressive behavior and violence. The alternative structure created by these individuals is the means through which they "get paid" and are able to "survive". This structure goes against the societal norm that dictates that a legitimate 9 to 5 job is the acceptable means of getting money. These inner city members resort to what Professor Bernard Headley [10] describes as basic street leveled crime and violence, which includes robbery, petty larceny, house breaking, stickups or even murder as their means of survival.

At first glance, the statement: Poverty causes violence,

appears simple and truthful, evoking no real form of objection as we sit back and observe what is happening in parts of the world today, for example, 'Third World' developing countries. This is further reinforced by the availability of a plethora of rather convincing scholarly writings that put forward the same idea -in more or less- the same way. After perusing a number of articles and texts, the one thing that becomes clear is that the term poverty is synonymous with an undesirable social problem or state. These writings suggest that individuals or groups, who find themselves in a state of poverty, usually want to escape and as such require the help of forces greater and more influential than themselves. However, this classification is limited in scope as there are many more dimensions to the term poverty. Since the 19<sup>th</sup> century, maintain Haralambos et al [28], researchers have tried to establish a fixed standard against which to measure poverty. First, there is relative versus absolute poverty. Measures of absolute poverty are usually based on the idea of subsistence. In other words, people are in poverty if they do not have the basic resources to maintain human life. Here poverty is defined in purely material terms and is essentially viewed as material deprivation (for example shortage of money). However the term can be expanded beyond simple material deprivation to multiple deprivations. For example, inadequate educational opportunities, unpleasant working conditions, or powerlessness can be regarded as aspects of poverty. None of these conditions is necessarily directly related to the income of the individual. Each implies that broader changes than simply increasing the income of worst-off individuals are necessary if poverty is to be eliminated. Measures of relative poverty suggest that the term must be used in relation to the standards of a particular society at a particular time. Here, poverty is seen as a by-product of inequality. According to this view, the point at which the dividing line that separates the poor from other members of society is drawn will vary according to how affluent the society is. The poor in a society then can be identified as those whose income or resources fall so far short of the average that they do not have the particular society's acceptable standard of living (Haralambos).

The existence of different categories and forms of violence also calls for a rigorous classification that is free of biases, ambiguity and short comings [29]. Barak [30] asserts that violence is "the threat, attempt or use of physical force by one or more persons that results in physical or non-physical harm to one or more persons". Barak's definition is instrumental as it sets the boundaries (for example violence as physical) that are necessary for every definition. Though Barak's definition of violence will be the type mostly referred to, the definition provided by Salmi will also be useful. Essentially, Salmi sees violence as "any act that threatens

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a person's physical or psychological well-being, integrity or wholeness". Note carefully, in all but one instant (which will be pointed out) Barak's violence will be the type that this paper speaks of. As indicated in the introduction, many people believe that there is a clear link between poverty and violence. Using the Frustration Aggression Thesis (FAT) of Dollard et al (1939) it can be understood why this belief would seem logical. Influenced by Freudian ideas, and anchored in the Behaviorist school of thought, this thesis suggests that aggression is always a consequence of frustration and cyclically, frustration always leads to aggression. This aggression may be disguised, deflected, or delayed, however it is always there. Under the umbrella of this theory, poverty whether material or multiple deprivation, would be an instigator of frustration which would undisputedly lead to aggression (violence).

This analysis or reasoning finds it support, for example, amongst the literature of many scholars. Harriott [1] maintains that the extraordinary high inclination to violence in the Jamaican inner cities or 'ghettos' is not surprising as, for the most part, these are the areas deprived of a material economic base whereby its members can adequately maintain themselves. Harriott goes further to speak of blocked legitimate opportunities and social exclusion (characteristics of poverty) that result in an illegitimate opportunity structure, (created by frustration with the legitimate structure) that engenders aggressive behavior and violence. To this, Headley [10] added that the root causes of the alarmingly high levels of Jamaican street crime and violence are in a society that either "withholds or denies prized possessions from a significant number of its citizens". He maintains that these citizens resent their situation and "resentment has a way of developing into acrimony and bitterness, which later influences crime and violence", suggesting that people are cognizant of those realities and their behaviour as it relates to the absence of relating crimes and threats will be based on the what obtains in the society. Pfannl [31] asserts that poverty appears as both the cauldron for violence and the result of the violence exerted by society on the weakest, most vulnerable of its members. In situations of hopelessness, without work or any chance for upward socio-economic mobility, people become desperate and frustrated. As in real life, the poor Brazilian children in the movie, *City of Gods*, grow up in desperation in the outskirts of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. For them, violence by way of guns, drugs and killings appears the only way out. With all this being said, we must be careful to realize that these authors never indicate that one factor-poverty explicitly or directly causes the other-violence. The above literature merely reiterates the view that there is a relationship

between the two factors. Where poverty is persistent, there appears a rising trend towards violence; however this is not the same as saying poverty causes violence.

There are host of reasons why we cannot take this assertion for granted. The first and most important reason lies in the criteria necessary for establishing a causal relationship. According to Haralambos et al, scientific quantitative methodology dictates that for

- a. (Poverty) to cause
- b. (Violence) then 'A' must occur before 'B'

This criterion evokes a number of controversial arguments. For example, many authors put forward the view that it is violence that causes poverty and indeed not the other way around. Pfannl, in his study of the violence ridden slums of Brazil, purports that violence does not originate from poverty. It is poverty, he argues, that is produced and sustained by direct and indirect violence. When poor children are abandoned by society in their most basic needs of care and decent education, this constitutes an extreme form of violence, albeit indirect, exerted by society. This violence, we may recall, is essentially covered by Salmi in his definition. Pfannl continued that without the opportunity to go to school and receive quality education, there is no hope for personal advancement or a better future. The media's role which is to inform and educate the public on matter of importance, oftentimes report crimes as they happen, reveal threats against individuals and business, provide insights into fear and victimization by members of the society against other groups and eagerly report incidences cases with understanding that they have a role in individual and national security. If security is to 'protect from harm or attack', then the media must ensure that reporting any matter should not open the individual and/or business to unsafe conditions Figure 1 [32].

## Methodology

Max Weber (1949, 1974, 1981) was the first to argue that an 'Interpretivism' approach can be employed in the examination of social phenomenon. Weber opined that why human behave the way they do is lost in quantitative methodologies (or positivism). He therefore, forwarded the use of subjectivity (feels, beliefs or meanings) in social inquiry, which began the use of interpretivism in the social sciences (Rabinow and Sullivan, 1979). For years, the inquiry of social phenomenon was based on objectivity until Weber introduced an alternative paradigm. This gave rise later to the emergence of

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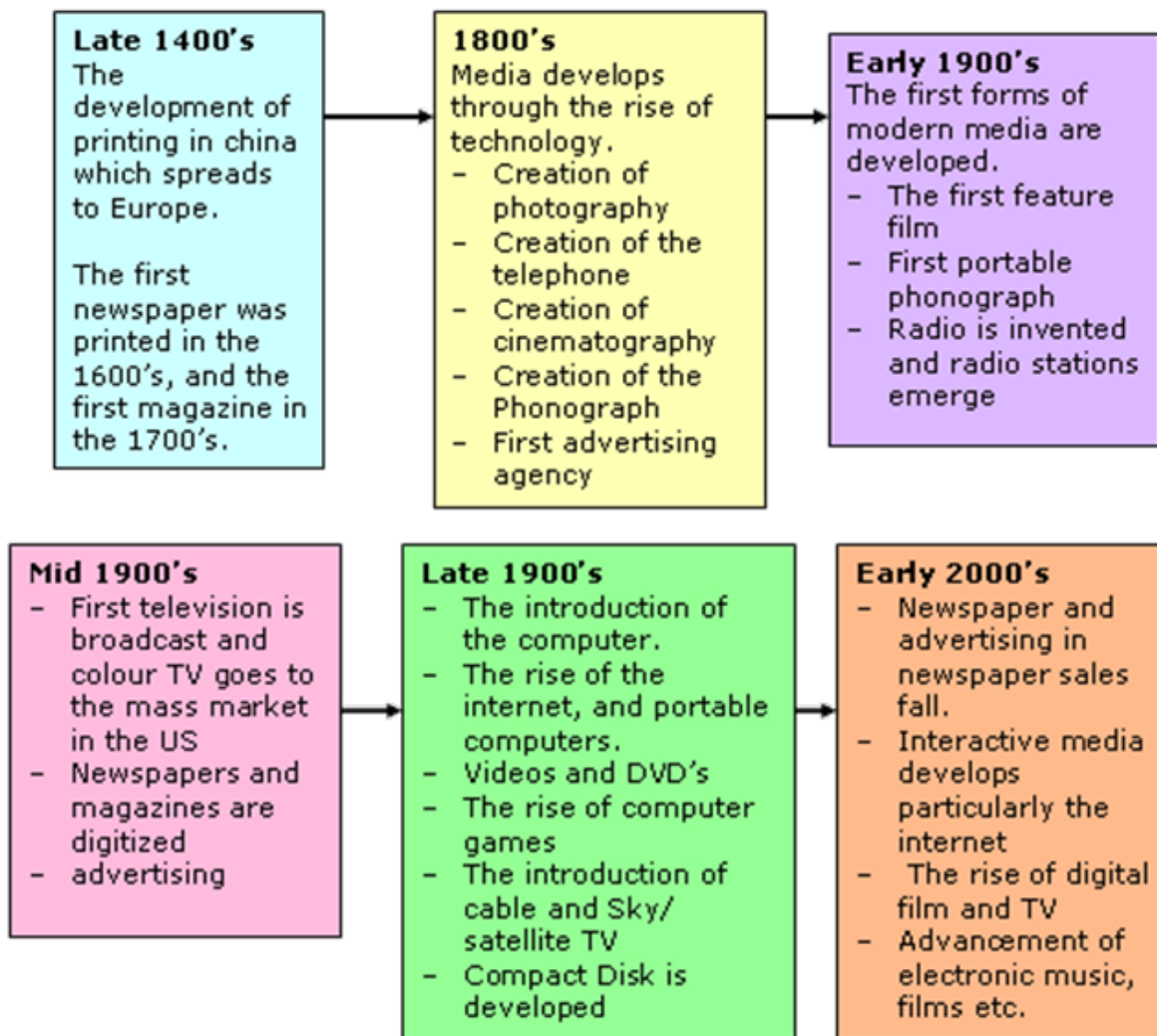


Figure 1: History of the Media [32].

- Ethnography
- Phenomenology
- Case study
- Grounded theory
- Feminism
- Biography
- Historical comparative analysis, and other

methodologies (discourse analysis, heuristic inquiry, action research and context analysis) were in keeping with an alternative paradigm in scientific examination as approaches in understanding human behaviours

One such subjective methodologies which is long established in the literature is phenomenology (Flick, 2006; Silverman, 2005). Phenomenology is one of the methodologies in qualitative research that evolved as an alternative paradigm to objectivism. It focuses on constructing meanings instead of discovering meanings. Crotty ably provided

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a classic argumentative of meaning constructions in understanding human realities. He contended that "From the constructionist viewpoint, therefore, meaning (or truth) cannot be described simply as 'objective'. By the same token, it cannot be described simply as 'subjective'. Some researchers describing themselves as constructionist talk as if meaning are created out of whole cloth and simply imposed upon reality" (Crotty, 2005, 43). Suggesting that understanding people's behaviour can be interpreted from a perspective of meaning constructions and more than from an objectivistic approach - which emphasises precision, measurement, falsification and measurement. In keeping with the constructionist perspective on reality that it is a construction of meanings; then, this work in seeking to understand the phenomenon of transnational organized gangs (or networks) and strategies to address them in the Caribbean region employed social constructionism as the matter requires some construction of meaning in order to grasp the complexity in this area.

## Document Reviews

The researcher reviewed written documents including books, journal articles, and scholarly articles online. The review was to determine

- I. Theoretical framework
- II. Employed strategies
- III. Epistemological framework for the study, and
- IV. How to interpret the information. A major reason for the document review was to assist in triangulating and validating information obtained in one secondary source

## Focus group

Many focus group sessions were arranged with on average 10 participants being in each group. Participants were met at shops, lawns, bars, and corners, with each session having a duration of approximately 70 minutes. The focus group allowed for the collection of pertinent qualitative data in a short period of time [33-35]. Due to the nature of the topic, it was only appropriate to use such a method as this technique allowed for the understanding of the nuances, feelings, beliefs and meanings. Due to its informal atmosphere, it encourages participants to speak more freely and completely about attitudes, behaviours and opinions [32-38]. This allows the researcher to glean valuable insights into the conscious, semiconscious, and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics amongst the group [38,39] that would not have been obtained using survey research.

## Interviews

Semi-structured interviews as this researcher felt it was necessary to ask both opened and closed ended question [33-35,38]. This is because for some questions a yes or no response will unearth the essence from the respondents; while for other questions, the researcher felt the need to go in-depth as new ideas will evolve that explain the phenomenon that was studied. In addition, this researcher also used this mixed method because in some cases there was the need to predetermine the questions as there were certain questions that the researcher felt needed to have been asked. However since this researcher did not want to limit the respondents' responses to a mere yes or no answer, the researcher also went along with the non-directive approach toward questioning the respondents. This allowed the interviewers to 'digress' by asking question based on the respondents' responses given. Furthermore, this enabled the researcher to probe far beyond the given answers. By so doing, this researcher was able to use formulated words (slangs coined within the environment with set understood meanings to the respondents) familiar to the people in question. Thus, enabling this researcher to communicate with the respondents in a better and comfortable way as this was how they understood and perceived the world. As a result, this allowed this researcher to approach them in their world. Elite interviews are most effective in obtaining information about decision-making and the decision-making process [40] as the subjects may be treated as 'experts' [40]. The interviews took the form of a "guided conversation" [41,42] where the interviewees were seen not as "passive conduit for retrieving information", but more for interpretation and perspective thus facilitating a deep probe. The questions for the elite interviews were guided by the literature review and pre-existing notions of the researcher.

## Participants

The research was conducted a fifteen-year period. One of the senior researchers lived in four of the areas for at least four year period. The population comprised on all the people residing in fourteen inner-city areas in Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine. Initially, the researcher(s) interacted with the people for about twelve months in order to become familiar with the people, acquired their trust and willingness to speak openly about matter and participated in many of their activities in order to understand how they live, interpret events and behaviour and see how they interact with other residents and the police.

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## Marginalization

The residents of the inner-city communities all commented that they are not only marginalized by the general structure; they have inherited the marginalization. A group inner-city young men who have either being deported from First World Countries (like United States and United Kingdom) or educated at the secondary level and are unemployed label their experience 'inherited marginalization' and 'cultured exclusivity'. They noted that most people whom they had communicated with from middle-to-affluent neighbourhoods initially believe they are 'wicked', 'evilous', 'murderers', 'devils', and 'thieves'; then on knowing then apologize for this interpret and image of them. During the general focus group discussion, one of the young man titled the whole situation 'inherited marginalization' and 'cultured exclusivity'. He opined that for years, he heard his parents, grandparents, relatives and community members spoke that the media have created this image of them and that most of the people herein

- 1) Desire to work honestly
- 2) Peaceful
- 3) Non-violent
- 4) Courteous and kind
- 5) Mild, and
- 6) Ambitious, but lack the resources as well as opportunity to transfer their current socio-economic and geographical situation

Then, he said that this is a clear case of 'inherited marginalization' and 'cultured exclusivity'. Others hearing of the comments and tone of the young man concurred with him that the outside community know of them through the lens of the media, which project an image of them that is based on a few cases. They commented that the cases in one inner-city community may be replicated in others, and these are used to interpret and label all such areas. Because of the labeled position it becomes a culture, they are therefore marginalized, and excluded from opportunities, privileges and human rights. The sentiments echoed by residents in the inner-city community above was replicated across all the other studied communities. In another another inner-city community, residents entitled their experienced 'entombed marginality'. When the researchers enquired what this meant, an individual remarked that they are marginalized by all groups in the wider society including the politicians. He contended that they are trapped in marginality, can do nothing about the situation, frustrated by the meagre existence they are offered, rejected and left

for dead, treated with disdain, marginalized by the State's apparatuses (including judiciary and security). Then, "would you feel living my life" he asked the researchers. "We are entombed into marginality" he said. Another added that, "Our experiences more than entombed marginality, it is psycho-social entombed marginality."

Across the studied inner-city communities, there appear to be a general 'psycho-social entombed marginality' as many of the residents are so frustrated that they are afford to aspire, believe in a system of hope, lack the willingness to think that better is every coming, fear the State, believe that the police is set upon them like a demon in the event that they become deviant. Some young men on a corner said that "The police are licenced to kill inner-city residents." During the conversation with the young men, an elder male about 70 years old indicated that "The police is not to serve and protect, they are to exterminate the marginalized as we are considered as pest to be go rid of." There was back and forth of this perspective for about ten minutes as marginality was used by everyone in the group. The central themes which emerge in the discussion about the police, the State, politicians, opportunity, employment and violence were marginality, labeled marginality, misintepretation and inequality. In a series of discussions with some elderly inner-city residents, they indicated that the people are felt for dead, their children are not offered the same opportunities as those in middle-to-affluent folks, 'living is a burden and die is more burdensome for the family', everything turns to nothing, the young people are frustrated souls, and the 'elders await God to call them home'. The tone of the discussion was hopelessness and powerlessness. They felt powerless, expected nothing more than the frustrated offered to their parents and dread the future for their children. One elderly female indicated that she had lived in the area for over four decades and each year it appears that hopelessness rises to a new heights. "I am unable to work at this point, some days I am able to eat once, some times I'm waiting for a miracle, and just living with little expectations for myself and fear what will come of the next generation."

## Powerlessness

The issue of hopelessness runs as a theme through many of the communities and powerlessness is used more frequently than an adjective. A few believe that there saviour will come from 1) sports (football, track and field) and/or entertainment (singing, or DJ). The researchers saw many of them in daze, and one elderly lady who was sitting with her hand on the side of her facing looking in space, utter the words "I'm frustrated, confused and frustrated" then became silence. During another focus group session with

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some community members whom were mostly middle-aged people, an individual walked into and said “Mi frustrated, Mi feel like tek up my gun and kill anybody in mi way” (meaning, I am frustrated, I am feeling like to go for my gun and kill anyone who is in from of me). The researchers asked the man who was happening in him. He remarked, “I have no money, my children need assistance, and there is nothing that I am able to do because I’m not working”. “I’m frustrated, confused, and disappointed with what is happening to me, as I’m feeling helpless”. “Mi understand; but how will this make things any better” another middle aged man said. He continued that “A few years ago I felt the same way being unable to provide for my children. I felt helpless and worthless as a father. One of my children’s mother would sent everything for the children from spending money to clothing. She was in the States [United States], and I felt frustrated, as I did not feel like a man.” It is the powerlessness of not being able to change their socio-economic situation, provide for their families, see the destruction of their children and lives, that made them entombed by circumstances.

The people were lost as to the way forward. They had lost faith in the politicians, they wanted some betterment, there was no ending of the socio-economic turmoil, and all of them indicated that the structure can do better to make a difference; but no one care about them. To summarize the powerlessness of their situation, an individual said “To be poor is a crime. Living in an inner-city is a prison sentence without the probability of patrol. In a cage will all walls and no window in a desert.” “With no economic resources, low social standing, and little social coverage, we are unable to do thing about our situation. We are just living, waiting for God to send some assistance and knowing that everything is possible; but nothing is happening”, another respondent said. In seeking to make the researchers understand the extent of the issue, a respondent recalled a popular phrase which is ‘Every wa yu tun macka juck yu’ [meaning, Everything that you do, it turns out wrong], which epitomizes their powerlessness and ‘entombed live’. “It is the difficulty of not being able to change one’s situation and circumstance that make the frustration even more insense. Despite this fact, the majority of us, state on the straight and narrow path because we understand the trap that is set for us. We are preys, the structure is out there to enslave us. And it does not care for our right, and human rights is a myth in this parts” another person lamented to the researchers. There is a general sentiment like the one previously given across the inner-city communities and that many of their efforts have been stopped because it would be an escape from the entrapment, which deepens the frustration in inner-city areas. A respondent gave a situation

that happened to display the travails of the people in inner-city this way. The elderly women (in her eighties) said “If you’re to use illegal guns, police will kill you. If you robe someone, your faith is similar to gun carrier (or murderer). If you sell a little something like weed (ie. marijuana), you are hounded by the police. And if you do nothing, they will take you to the station for questioning as they (ie. police) believe that you are planning something of social deviance. For those who work, you are paid a meage wage that can’t cover your daily expenses, minimum wage. The minimum for frustration, which adds to ones frustration”. The general sentiment was there is no where to ‘turn’ for real help from this caged experience.

Another elderly women (ie. retired) said I spent most of my life working for a company close to her (inner-city area) and annually we were supplied with a basket of goodies, a cheque of Jamaican \$6,000, and cash of Jamaican \$1,500 on the night of the Christmas dinner. Some four years ago, another company took over the company, indicated it was an error to give the money (Jamaican \$7,500). She reiterated that the money was used to purchase basic necessitates, and that being retired the money was welcomed. “I have stopped attending the Christmass dinner as basket of goodies comprised of mostly alcoholic beverages and I’m not a drinker. And I an upset with them for doing what they did.” She continued that “I’m just waiting for my father [God] to take me as there is nothing I can do to what is happening”. The woman lifted her hands and eyes to heavens, sigh as though there was a deep burden and ‘daddy’ (meaning God). The pain was echoed by another elderly women in the same group who said “It happened to me as well. And there is nothing I can do. What can we do at this age?” Interviewing two elderly women one Sunday evening, they recall how politics has claimed the lives of many people, which as not he case in the 1960s. They gave the instance of elderly persons as well as pregnant mother being physical hurt in the name of politics because it was alledged they were on the opposing political side. One retired elderly women said “My house was gutted in fire by arsonist who claimed I was a JLP”. She added “My never voted since I was born. In fact, in 1976, I became a christian and has been following God ever since. I have only voted for God and has never voted for any J (JLP) or P (PNP) has I have witnessed so much bloodshed by the two sides”. The structure does not provide any good opportunities fo rhte people in inner-city areas, and when it does, you are dictated to like children. For those who try singing (or DJ) and sports (football, et cetera), this escape is pressuring. “The people are frustrated by the structure, little is their meal and misery is the right of being alive”, one middle aged respondent said. A theme echocing across the

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communities was 'frustration', 'little escape routes', and one respondent said "Just listen to many of Bob Marley's song to hear the lamentation of poor inner-city people like - No woman No Cry; Want more; Get up, stand up; Trenchtown rock; I shot the sheriff; Burnin and lootin; Them belly full (But we hungry); and Bounty Killa's 'If Mi hungry again Yu Ago see mi nine'. This means "If I in need of something to eat, I will robe, kill and so you will see a gun".

Powerlessness was highlighted throw their speech and action of bewilderment. They constued that even when they apply themselves doing things like higglering, singing, and other other mode of escape the system retards their development and mobility. "To live its burdensome" one respondent said. The bureaucracy, leadership, legislation, political milieu, security and defence are used to entrapped the inner-city's people souls. "Everything is entrapment, the escape is death and this comes as a burden for the frustrated living souls" one young man commented.

## Exclusivity

The inclusion and exclusion of the people in inner-city communities was aptly captured in a view of a respondent that "The only things that wer are included in are

- I. Jails
- II. Court rooms
- III. Voting
- IV. Churches
- V. Morgues
- VI. Hospitals, and
- VII. Schools"

He continued that "And we are excluded from some excluded from some churches, hospitals and schools because of price, status and social exclusion (ie. out of place)." The aforementioned perspective was sanctioned by almost all of the residents in the studied population, and some when even further. One partipants commented that "We [innercity residents] are offered the best seat in the worse places, particularly in the jails and morgues", indicating the extent of the social exclusion and oppressiveness. Another residents said "Look at the high distribution in the society. Look at the status and faces of people on the corporate boards. Look at those whom are superior in the beauty pageants. Look at the labels place on us compared to them. Is there not a clear case of social biasness in the society?" Another injected and added that "To make matters worse, high income flies pass the inner-city residents and this has always being the

situation in Jamaica.". Various examples were brought to the forefront to emphasise the social exclusion in Jamaica, and the media events were highlighted by a class division and social standing in the society. "Our photographs are used to highlight frustration, what not be like, pain, anguish, and misery" one resident commented.

"The people are paralyzed by the socio-economic and political structure, and feed a constant diet of exclusion and the best thing they believe we are capable of is to mark an 'X'on election day and sometimes is is spoilt as we write '+' and this is how we are seen", one resident indicated to the researchers. The social exclusion runs deep in Jamaica and some people even try to forget that inner-city residents exist by not driving in some areas. One resident, a domestic helper, indicated that her bosses said one day "We need to exterminate them as they are parastic creatures", which epitomizes the social gap between the classes in Jamaica. One young women said, "They will have sex with us, but they will never marry us" which speaks to the clear line of demarcation. Another said "They speak to us like we are dump [ie. senseless]". The very music that is germinated from inner-city residents (ie. Dennis Brown, Bob Marley, Peter 'Tosh'McIntosh, Bunny Wailer, Buju Banton, Shabba Ranks, Alton Ellis, Bunti Killa), they seek to control and when they are unable to do so they support with disdain. One elderly man said "Bob was view as the dutty head rasta boy from Trench Town. And today they see him as in icon for the people". There is a clear case of irony in the social exclusion "As they do not live amongst us, but they want to represent us". A resident said "They are a set of vampires and blood suckers", which comes from the song of Peter Tosh.

"Look at our roads with 'craters', 'pools', 'mosquitoes harbours', and the gullies with debris, silt, shrubs and trees and compared them to those in pristine upscale communities" one resident commented. One domestic assistance in an upscale community opined that "Dogs, cats and other pets are taken care of more than we are. In fact, if I add the value of the pets'care including meals, that is more than my pay for the week." The mystery in Jamaica as it relates to the social exclusion is not the clear reality of it; but the denial that it is so 'bad'. "And we are expected to give of our best to a man who does not care about us" one resident said. Another remarked that the divide between the people in Jamaica is captured in language enunciation. "We talk or chat and they speak. We shit and they deficate. And this goes on", a young man said.

## Media

The media continue to label people, particularly inner-city



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residents, in Jamaica because of a bias against them. They show inner-city residents as

- 1) Vulgar
- 2) Social deviants
- 3) Uneducated
- 4) Senseless
- 5) Under-socialized
- 6) Vicious
- 7) Worthless
- 8) Uninspiring
- 9) Ambitiousless
- 10) Passive, and
- 11) Boisterous, and that they have created upon themselves their situation

One resident said they believe that we are the product of our own actions and inactions, and that lack of ambition that we do not possess that accounts for our predicament. "For decades, the media have been highlighting the negatives on inner-city residents and/or areas" and by doing so "They have produced a labeled socialization which is used to interpret our actions and explain our behaviour" a young woman said. The media portrayal of inner-city residents is that they are hopeless, cannot be properly socialized, something must be done to terminate the class, and they will infest the good people on the outside in the wider country. "When I see news on particular issues on inner-city residents, I fear them, if I had not lived there and sometimes because of my personal knowledge of the situation, I question the motives and intention of the media", a resident said. The people concurs with the residents account of media's portrayal of ghetto people, and they label 'us' as behaviour a way shown in a particular case or set of events. All the people across the studied communities believed that the media must be playing to a certain script. As the intended image of ghetto people is basically the same across the different media landscape, which could not be coincidental. The media intend to show a certain image of ghetto people and the continuous viewing of the matter is supporting labeled socialization. Many people get their information from the media, they rarely scrutinize it for accuracy, accept the information as forwarded and the interpretation that they have of the matter is based on this labelled socialization. The media want this interpretation of the people, the image is a portrayal of their creation and training of the mind is just

what they have fashioned of it. The labelled socialization is intended to create a certain stereotype of interpretation, create knowledge of belief, project as general behaviour, and create fear of the cognitive map embedded in the psyche of the listeners or viewers. It is a label image that the media work on of a people, framed it as fact, and allow people to believe that they know without wanting to investigate the matter. It is a biased perspective of the label and one that is inculcated with fluidity, repetitiveness and consistency of the label and germinate a culture.

"The labeled socialization created by the media reflect the hegemonic construction which later becomes mainstream culture" one residents commented. Another resident said "Michael Jackson indicated that before you judge me, get to know me, which is not the position held by the media and some people who have fed a diet of the label socialization". The image of ghetto people is a fictitious one by enlarge, one that is difficult to overcome, one that is now a part of the socialization of the mainstreamed society, which is nothing more than a labeled socialization. "The media want to stipulate the behaviour of ghetto people, state their likely actions, project their next downfall, show likely progression of viciousness and provide a recipe of ingredients that depict why they cannot be trusted. "Our every move must be placed under the microscope with microscopic precision; the white collar crimes with their degrees and social standings are rarely highlighted with the same level of venom and ghetto people mishaps" one participant indicated. The residents believe that are least likely to make errors; but these can be made and repeated by affluent people within the society. The use of disability as character trait, plot device, or as atmosphere is a lazy short-cut. These representations are not accurate or fair reflections of the actual experience of disabled people. Such stereotypes reinforce negative attitudes towards disabled people, and ignorance about the nature of disability [43].

Above all, the dominant images [of disabled people] are crude, one-dimensional and simplistic [43]. The image that is engineered of ghetto people is carefully planned in order to reduce and/or remove mainstream support. "They are not even aware of how they have been cultured by the media, their interpretation of ghetto is not of their doing, and the label is so cultured that they can't recognize the truth from the lies" one participant said. The labeled socialization is everything and anything outside of this is considered to be fictitious truths. "The labeled socialization is whole act, cognitive domain, perspective, customs, beliefs and norms that is fashioned by people from the media image of what is" a resident said. Another indicated "We are what we eat, drink, listen to, read, view and conceived", suggesting that

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media is socializing mainstream society with their labels of people. The same negative imagery, languages and messages used to label disabled people [43] is similar to those constructed of ghetto people, which is expected to infiltrate culture, psyche and socialization of mainstream society.

The consensus among residents is that the general behaviour of ghetto people is mostly different from the image created by the media. "We are forced to live by the label the media want us to, we resist this categorization and will never subscribe to their dictate of us" a young resident forwarded. The label is not the reality, and "We know that they [mainstream people] do not know this and we continue to fight against the stigmatization that the media repeatedly used to say who we are. But like a phoenix we will rise from the image and the labeled socialization may never change. But we are glad someone has come to write our story. Yes, hi-story!" The residents believed that the volume with which the media sells the image drowns their reality, and like Bob Marly said 'Get us stand Up' and 'Lively up yourself' which they are been using for decades to repeal the labeled socialization.

## The Police

One of the loudness cry among inner-city residents is the blatant disrespect of the police for them, their dignity, human rights and the rights of person. They contended that the police have been fed a diet of their

- 1) Viciousness
- 2) Disregard for law and order
- 3) Civility, and
- 4) Compassion

The residents chided the police for

- i. Political victimization
- ii. Political biasness
- iii. Murdering people
- iv. Intimidatory tactics, and
- v. Forgetting to serve, protect and reassure all citizenry irrespective of socio-political and economic standing in the society

One young resident claimed the he has been intimidated on a few occasions and he has witnessed this repeatedly against both

- A. Decent, and
- B. Indecent people in the inner-city.

The aforementioned perspective was concurred with by all the residents including the

- a) Elderly
- b) Women
- c) Young
- d) Christians, and
- e) Sexes

The residents indicated that even in cases where members of the communities are 'bad' (ie. murderers, gunmen, thieves, rapists, et cetera), the police are likely to physically assault them than treat them as innocent until proven guilty by a court of law. One elderly participant indicated that "They [police] are judge, jurors, arresting officer, hangman, and lawyer. And when they say guilty, the next step is execution." The police enter inner-city areas with a perspective of the residents labeled and created by the media. The officers have been labeled socialized by the media, their every knowledge and early socialization have been fashioned by the media (ie. labeled socialization). The labeled socialization frame their thinking of inner-city residents much so that fear entering ghetto areas. One elderly residents indicated that "Many of the police officers are either drawn from inner-city communities or rural areas"; yet they behave like monster on seeing their own kind." The people mentioned that there are some

- a. Vicious
- b. Dishonest
- c. Murderous, and
- d. Dreadful people in inner-city areas and that the police are cognizant of this and rightfully so much approach more so like with caution

"Caution does not shoot first then ask question after. As something the wrong person is left injured on the ground" one woman indicated. The general tone of residents is that the police enter the areas on the labeled socialization of the media, create distrust on leaving and left many people psychologically wounded because of the level of disrespect shown to even elderly people. One middle-aged resident indicated that he was called 'boy' by a police officer of about 25 years, which was younger than his first child. This sentiment was echoed across the studied population. Middle-aged residents indicated that they have been physically

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assaulted by young police officer, in fact some claimed to have been 'boxed' and belittled words used to describe them. An elderly woman said a police officer commented that "A so unu tan. Everybody know say unu a wicked." Another participant said they are either 'gal' or 'boy' and this is used to label from those young to old. "There is little respect offered them even by senior police officers who should know better" one elderly woman lamented. The elderly people across the communities indicated that this was not the case in the 1960s, as police were respectful, people loved and respect them, many wanted to be police, and today people fear them to the point of some want to eliminate them.

One of the researchers witnessed intimidation and the belittlement of a young man. A young rasta man about 5 feet 11 inches, chocolate complexion, well groomed and serious was approached by a group of police officers who were on patrol. An officer who was about the same age as the young man, asked him to give him a search. The young man had an annoyed look and so the police said "You stinking rasta boy, who no bathe, mi no like rastas." He was physically assaulted without remorse by the officer in the midst of his superior officer. The researcher had to ask the senior officer to intervene in the matter, and suppress the behaviour of his junior officer. The junior officer did not take kindly to the comments and reprimand of his superior, so he went aside and began using negative labels to address the young man. The young rasta man then said it was a frequent and regular occurrence of his to be treated this way by police officers. He remarked that 'Dem if dead', 'Mi hate all a dem. Rastas are nobody.' You could see the venom, the hatred and the belittlement on the countenance of the young man.

The researcher witnesses many other cases on police abused meted out to young men, women and children during the interview period. Two police officers tried on a few occasions to intimidate one of the researchers. When the officer ascertained the credential of the researcher, he remarked "I am not afraid of anybody" and left the site. The researcher was later questioned by a police officer who was extremely polite, fair-minded and astute. He asked the researcher "Why are you doing her. Why not leave" Clearly he meant no harm; but it appeared that they had never had the opportunity of interfacing with someone of this social standing in an inner-city area. After leaving the police session, the researcher walked into another case of labeled socialization in which some police officers asked a young "If he shot at a police patrol a few weeks ago. One of the officers, was assaulting the young man. He insisted that he does not have a which was a question asked of him by the police. The young man asked some neighbours to call his

grandmother to verify his identity. He was then handled and taken to the police station for questioning. The researcher was in anguish seeing what residents have been saying and explaining why the young people feared the police so much. The researcher had never seen this kind of treatment in his upscale neighbourhood, and wondered if he was in another country.

There is another occasion when the researcher witnessed a police officer wanting to shoot a young man. A police patrol was reviewing the area close to the researcher conducting a corner focus group discussion, when the police came out of the vehicle requested a young man to give them a search. He was smoking marijuana (weed, a spliff), on searching the young man a 'gun' fell on the ground from his pants. One of the police men, in the midst of many people including the researcher, held his gun out pointing in the direction of the young man and saying 'run boy'. The youngster was boxed, he held onto the other officer, the next kept pointing the his gun on him, the youngster was hit with the gun of the officer he was close to, while the other officer wanted to shoot. The officer whom the young man held on pledge with the other officer not to shoot as he might be killed in the process. There was a tussle between the young man and one of the officers, and the other who wanted to shoot him remarked "this is your lucky day". The residents remarked "I hope you saw it and write what you saw." The young man was taken into the patrol vehicle with the officers after about 10 minutes of tossing and one wanting to kill him.

## Discussion

Like [1,2] opined the fear of victimization had held many people hostages to silence, because of the extent of the crime problem. Braithwaite [3] contended that Barbadians have become so fearful because of the crime problem that fear of victimization had entrapped many people into silence, which was similarly the case in Jamaica [6]. Following the high proportion of people who feared victimization as well as the types of violent crimes in addition to their scope and viciousness, there was a concerted effort of Caribbean people to arrest the crime pandemic and the media have played a critical role in this endeavour. Many of the cases of violent crimes in Caribbean societies are brought to the fore by the media, and so doing they have labeled residents and created an image of people that is wrongly so. The crime pandemic in the Caribbean is sometimes aided by the carelessness of the media's handling of issues, and the neglect of the protection of the individual and society. The media have a collective responsibility in individual and national security, and play the sensationalized game; they fail to recognize the value of security of all concerns.

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Blatantly reporting anything without recognizing the value and their role in individual and collective security, the media open individuals to further harm and thereby expand the fear factor as well as victimization. The media's role is not primarily to report and inform the public at all costs without paying attention to security of all concern and the image they create on reporting matters. The actions of the media are critical to safe and stable of the crime pandemic in the region. They must recognize that while crimes are a part of a society, its stability has to be the role of all individuals collectively playing a role. Hence, if report a matter will cause injury, harm, victimize and make it unsafe for someone or a collective group (including a nation), the media must ensure that this does not happen. Security is a collective effort, and for this to be achieved in a society the media must actively play their role. Stability of the crime is not singly actions between victim and perpetrator, it also the actions (or inactions) of the media. In that, falling to protect an individual or a collective group cannot increase stability in a society as this will increase victimization and crimes.

There is no denial that corruption [7,12,14,]; crime and violence [1,4,7,9,10,26,27,44-49]; mistrust, economic hardship and perceived manipulation of the society for the benefit a few [7], police abuse [18]; rogue culture [50,51], and crime and poverty (Robotham, 2003) in the Caribbean account for the collect effort address the crime pandemic. The reality is, crimes are substantially committed in inner-city areas in Caribbean, particularly in Jamaica [52], which means that reporting crimes will highlight the ghetto and young male phenomena. The media have played a role in bringing the violent crimes to the people and in so doing they have created a label and an image of particular people. The people in inner-city communities opined that the media's image of them is highly fictitious, although crimes are committed in their areas and some of the people behaviour as depicted by the highlights. The life portrayed by the media is a fabrication of the real wholesale culture and socialization of people in the inner-city. The media are blame for their image of ghetto residents as though they are mostly

- 1) Vicious,
- 2) Dangerous
- 3) Highly social deviants
- 4) Vulgar
- 5) Senseless
- 6) Fools, and
- 7) Other negative labels

The image framed by the media of particular people are those have by many people and nothing else because they are fearful having seen the labeled image. There is some truth to the media portrayal of the people as some of them just as the labels given. In fact, many of them are anti the created image of the general populace in those areas. Empirical studies have been conducted on the media portrayal of people in other nations and the results revealed that the image is a distorted reality [53-59]. According to Inimah et al. [53] "The disabled person as evil, for example, is often combined with the disabled person as sexually degenerate. The point is that the overall view of disabled people is decidedly negative and a threat to the well-being of the non-disabled community" (p. 223), which is in keeping with the views expressed of people in ghetto areas in Jamaica. A part of the rationale for the image of people can be owing to the number of them in the media as outlined by Inimah et al. [53]. The media account of people, therefore, frame the mainstream society's interpretation of imaged group and that label fashion a socialization. This is identified by residents in this study which is described by Inimah et al. [53] that "Media images and stories influence thinking and establish social norms. People with disabilities have endured misrepresentation, defamation, and lack of representation in the media news and entertainment" (p. 224). The aforementioned perspective aid in understanding what is happening to ghetto residents in Jamaica and how the media's information is crowding out the reality of true representation of people.

Many people are not even conscious that there is a labeled socialization to which they ascribe based on the media's image of people. Like Inimah and colleagues opined the people are grown up on the media's account of what is, which is rarely verified and 'establish norms'on people. Inimah et al. [53] aptly summarized the challenges of people based on the labeled image of the media that "This lack of awareness is a problem in the sense that the wider society may not have a positive attitude towards PWDs [People with Disabilities] and this may slow down the process of mainstreaming and their being included in the normal daily activities"(p. 224). Such a perspective highlight how the mainstream society follow a labeled socialization without the recognition of this and demanding of the media fairness, equity and balance in the portrayal of people. The labeled socialization of the media is owing to their "The choice of words, images and messages can determine perceptions, attitudes and behaviours" [53], which is rarely isolated by many people before they interpret messages. The failure of people to critically examine the intent of the media, their messages, the purpose of their perspectives and volume of information they forward on a people make the labeled

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socialization a reality in contemporary society. The media is socializing people on labels and images which are unverifiable facts, and that they know will never be tested by many people. The role the media play in sensitizing people, creating labels and images of particular people is highly powerful and frame a mainstream culture. The current study found this to be the case, which concurs with the work of Inimah et al. [53]. Inimah and colleagues opined that "... It comes out clearly that the media is a powerful means in mainstreaming of people with disabilities. It has a major role to play in sensitizing the mass society regarding the plight of people with disabilities" (p. 227), suggesting that the media can play a demonizing role of people which is the case on ghetto people in Jamaica.

The media continue negatively label residents in ghetto areas in Jamaica. The people declared that the messages aired by the media are fictitious account of who they are and that they do not subscribe to their labeled positions. The people do not deny that there are some negatives about the behaviour of some residents; but this is not a general socialization and this is it a labeled socialization. Clark et al. [59] in a study found that "In terms of the findings, in 2007 overall, 23% of mentions were positive, 29% neutral or balanced, and 48% negative; this was a slight improvement on previous years. During a week in August 2005, the results were 12% positive, 30% neutral and 57% Negative (p. 6), which is generally concurring with the accounts of people in the present research. In fact, a group of scholars chided the media for their use of the term 'gangs' to describe the behaviour of some young people [60], and Andersson, and Lundstrom entitled an article 'Teenagers as victims in the press' which summarizes the messages of the media [61,62]. The negative portrayal of people in the media has been well documented [63-65], and their account reflect the hegemonic prescription of people at the time. Scholars have written on how the media have stereotype Black people, and this was a labeled socialization. The reality is, the media's stereotype of Black people is both a product of white males as well as minorities [66], which is equally the same for inner-city residents. The media do not only portray an abstract behaviour of people, they use events, situations, a few instance and ideas to fashion an image that they want people to have of a group (or people). The people do not live this socialization. The general media's messages partially depict a behaviour; but it is not wholesale and for the most part represents a small fraction of the behavioural pattern of the people. The mainstream society is not even cognizant that they are following a labeled socialization and while a proportion of the media's portrayal is truth, the messages do not reflect a general socialization. Instead, the media's image is a counter socialization which lives with the general

socialization.

The media have been highlighting the crimes, the viciousness, the individuals involved; the types of crimes and sometimes by forwarding the issues open the individuals and/or institutions to more victimization. In reporting some incidences, the media would have an individual stating what happening without hiding the person, distorting the voice and other identifier. In so doing the individual to exposed and later become target for crimes and victimization. In the wanting to inform, educate and present issues, the media sometimes do not protect the individual and/or business. People have been murders, victimized and injuries because of the report of the media. Furthermore, businesses have been destroyed, 'burnt', and other crimes have been committed because of how information was brought on the media. Security means that the individual and/or business cannot be harmed on reporting a matter, which has repeatedly happened in the Caribbean. It appears that the coverage of crimes is more in keeping with sensationalization of the information than individual and collective security. Even in the case of presenting the issues on extortion in Kingston, the media featured the information without paying critical attention to safety of the victim. It followed that people were further victimized, injured and murdered because of the media's failure to recognize the importance of securing the victim(s); primarily because they (people in inner-city communities) are not held with the same degree of respect as those in affluent areas. In fact, there human rights are held to a lower level compared to those in upscale communities.

Safety and stability in the Caribbean, particularly as it relates to crime and victimization as well as fear of reporting crimes, must be taken into consideration by the media when deciding to report issue. Other approaches are instituting

1. Laws protecting the media from reporting issues that can harm an individual or a collective group
2. The media must have a moral conscience in reporting matter
3. Charge the media for crimes that are committed which result from their recklessly and negligence to protect someone or institution from being exposed to harm

While there is no sensible argument to be purported that the media are solely responsible for crimes; there is an argument that can be made forwarded for their indirect involvement into unsafe and unstable situations. The portrayal of particular people is made a labeled socialization in the mainstream society that is not true and blatantly disregarding the safety of anyone in the society because

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they are labelled a particular way aid in the marginality of that group. Such realities have increased people apprehension, fear and stigmatized a particular group of people. The labeled socialization to which mainstream Jamaicans have been fed over the decades by the media is creating marginalization, and furthering the divide between the social classes in the society.

The police have been using the labeled socialization to devalue the life and human rights of particular groups, people can be labeled and measured without spending some time to know them. When Robotham (2003) opined that the police is a part of the crime problem in Jamaica, it is wholly truth as they continue to create monsters by their actions and/or inactions to particular groups. Another diet that has been fed to the police is the relationship between crime and poverty (Robotham, 2003); [4,6,22], which the police employed in interpreting how to address the crime problem. The media's portrayal that poverty and crime are interrelated means that lowering the crime problem must begin by pressuring ghetto residents. Despite all the effort to marginalize, belittle, exterminate, isolate and oppressive those in inner-city communities, neither the media nor the police have been able to address the crime pandemic. In fact, Bourne [25] found that crime and poverty are not interrelated which support a rationale why the media's image and the labeled socialization fed to the mainstream society has not made an impact on the crime pandemic.

Using the labeled socialization on inner-city people, mainstream society must know that these will not solve the problems. Many people have grown on the labeled socialization of particular people in the society, isolating them, and caging them like wild boars will not alleviate the social problem of crime and violence. Durkheim [25,67] indicated that crime is a normal part of society, suggesting that the labeled socialization of ghetto people as vicious, killers, beast, wild, social deviant and other negative connotations as well as excluding them from mainstream activities will be remove the problem of crime as it is a normal part of human's existence. The reality is using labeled socialization to interpret people's actions, behaviour, likely tendencies, and motivation, do not provide a comprehensive understanding of them as they are different from the labels with which you have grown and policies therefore will be ineffective in tackling the crime pandemic as image created of ghetto people is not the solution. Instead, like Haller et al. [68] forward "Even something as mundane as the words used to refer to a group are important because they have ramifications both for the self-perception of people with disabilities and what the general public believes about disability" (p. 62), suggest the extent of imagery, labels, messages, and language on

a particular group of people, whether they are disabled, young, old or inner-city residents.

## Conclusion

The labeled socialization to which mainstream society has been experiencing, employing and using to interpret the behaviour of inner-city residents in Jamaica is largely fictitious, superficial, and deceptive, which is a creation of the media to represent the lived experiences, lifestyle and behaviour of a group of people. The people in inner-city areas continue to resist the images, language and terminology of the media; but because of how the media go about the imaging management and production, which is clearly the brain child of the hegemonic class, the people therefore must be conceptualized a particular way by mainstream society. The labeled socialization is an imagery of a particular group of people carefully framed by the media so that onlookers will interpret the messages, languages and terminology as intended on the group. Although the image, language and terminology that is used to interpret the behaviour of the people is fictitious, without the context of repetition and crowding out effect, mind control and the closeness to the proximity of the behaviour, the hegemonic class is to fashion a labeled perspective that is practice by the mainstream society. The people in inner-city areas in Jamaica are 'entombed souls' carefully imaged by the structure in order to demonize them, belittle their importance, and lower their authentic human value. The cases which are used to create the label do exist and their accuracy is true; but, the generalizability is a labeled image and not based on empirical observations.

The media's imagery of a particular people is to ghettoized the whole society, using a few cases. This ghettoization summarizes negative contents including lifestyle practices, cognitive domain, and the platform for interpreting other social construct. Mainstream society is not even cognizant it engaged into labeled socialization, its interpretation of the people is based on another's images and biases, and that the evidence of generality is fictitiously based. For decades, the media has been using imagery, crowded-out effect, frequency and emotive matters to create how they want people to act on hearing or seeing a particular group. It has created a volume of imagery so covert that onlookers are swept by the issues, messages and emotions of the stories. This paper proposes that there is an 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' operates in a society and that this retards rationality, objectivity, measurement, and proof of events. 'Imogeneity-volumous Theory' states that media can create a labeled perspective of a particular group that it self to mainstream society, using crowded-out effect, repetition, and these fashion labeled socialization of people without

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them being cognizant of the learnt biases they have framed about people without knowing them or wanting an opportunity to know them.

Undoubtedly, violent crimes and violence are substantially synonymous with inner-city communities which is a fact forwarded by the media and interpreted by mainstream society. The irony is the fact of the happenings but the percentage of people whom are responsible for these activities. There is a small proportion of inner-city residents whom are engaged, involved and participated in criminal activities, other social deviances, lewdness and crude behaviour (ie. vulgarity); but the portrayal of the media are that the behaviour are widespread, define the people therein and that they under-socialized. Such an image created by the media do not reflect a generality of the people in inner-city area; but that there is a scaffolding of themes, perspectives, activities and behaviour to substantiate the messages. The messages are so loud that they crowd out the effect of the truth, and people are grown up on this labeled perspective (ie. labeled socialization). This labeled socialization is anchor to mainstream society's fear, belief, marginality, exclusion and isolation of people in inner-city areas.

The police and other people in mainstream society have been labelly socialized by the media's messages that they adopt biases, their actions are guided by them, and stereotype the people. Labeled socialization is not limited to the media's messages on inner-city residents as this extend to many groups (like the disabled, youth, elderly, people with multiple sexual partners). The media through its messages label people and mainstream society interpret them bases on those perspectives offered. The negative stigmatization that those with disabilities have undergone is a history of oppression and negative representation [54-57,69,] as are young people [59,70]; the Blacks [62-65], and now inner-city residents [66-71]. In summary, Imogeneity-volumous Theory accounts for how messages (image, language, and terminology) can be used to socialize people who acquire the biasness of the sender without recognizing the depth of the reasoned perspective and the fact that their actions and interpretations of the people are not fashioned on objectivity, generality and falsification [72-75]. The volume of the messages is so frequent, fluid, persistent, appeared truthful, repetitive and of close proximity to the reality that many in mainstream society's cognitive processes accept the perspectives as fact, interpret the people by the messages, also label the people in a vacuum, and ready to marginalize, exclude, and sideline them without a thought.

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