The GraceKennedy Foundation Lecture, 2011

"It's Not About Me"

Working with Communities: Processes and Challenges
The Grace & Staff Community
Development Foundation Experience

Frances Madden

The GraceKennedy Foundation

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Thanks to the GraceKennedy Foundation for giving me the opportunity to document and present this book.

The GraceKennedy Foundation

The GraceKennedy Foundation was established in 1982 on the 60th anniversary of Grace, Kennedy and Company Limited. The Foundation expresses, in a tangible way, GraceKennedy's commitment to Jamaica's development by making grants to deserving community groups, in support of its stated objectives, which are as follows:

1. To develop and promote the arts, health, environment, culture, and sports;
2. To establish and carry on programmes for the development of education and skills of people in Jamaica;
3. To develop programmes aimed at the upliftment of the spiritual well-being of individuals.

Guided by clearly formulated policies, the Directors have focused on assistance in four areas: community service; heritage; environment and education; the last receiving the greatest emphasis. The Foundation's scholarship and bursary programme is, therefore, an important component of its work.

By supporting capable and talented people and those who contribute to the development of their communities, the Foundation works towards achieving its main purpose, the development of Jamaica's human resources, on which our future as a nation depends.

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The GraceKennedy Foundation Lectures

The annual GraceKennedy Foundation Lecture has, since 1989, addressed significant issues in our society. Each year a person of distinction is invited to explore some aspect of cultural, political, social and economic concern. This year, we are particularly pleased to have our own Frances Madden, General Manager of the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation, as our Lecturer. Mrs. Madden has spent the last 30 years building a bridge of care and understanding between the members of the inner-city communities in central Kingston and the rest of the Jamaican society. She is much admired and deeply loved by the many people whose lives she has helped to change and is highly respected by her colleagues for the ground-breaking work she has done in the area of social work. GraceKennedy is extremely proud to be associated with her pioneering role as she has carried out its mandate of corporate social responsibility.

The Foundation is confident that this Lecture will continue in the tradition of previous Lectures and will become an invaluable resource for all who seek a deeper understanding of social change, community development, the impact of private sector investment and corporate social responsibility.

The Foundation distributes copies of the annual Lectures to schools and public libraries across the island, in the hope that the Lecture's reach will extend beyond those present at its delivery. The Foundation, as always, welcomes and looks forward to your comments.

Caroline Mahfood
Secretary/Executive Director
GraceKennedy Foundation

GraceKennedy Foundation Lecture, 2011

"It's Not About Me"

Working With Communities: Processes and Challenges
The Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation Experience

Many models of community organization and community development exist – each designed in a particular context and to meet specific needs which are experienced by the grouping of people comprising that community. These needs centre on challenges of leadership, politics, power, power relationships and conflict, of gender and human relationships, of living and working together. Regardless of the model employed, a focus on specific ideals which guide the relationships and norms of the community environment is crucial. The process of community building and development is one of social reproduction as the members of the community struggle to establish a micro-society with which they can identify and feel secure. Events in 2010 brought community relations and activities in Jamaica into sharp public focus. Some of the island's communities have been likened to micro-societies that exist and function outside of the mainstream and pose serious threats to national safety and stability. In light of this, strong calls have been made for social action, change and transformation and these highlight the urgency of addressing community development as a major factor in the maintenance of societal order.

The architect of action, change and transformation through social intervention in the communities in which the GraceKennedy & Company Limited operates is Mrs. Frances Madden, and we are proud and honoured to have her share with us the work she has led in this community development process. The very personal as well as professional case study she has prepared for this Lecture is a rich narrative, and shares with us a model of community development created in inner-city environments in which crime, violence, political influence, drug and gun power, gang rivalry and antisocial values all combine to erode the social capital of the nation. The model, instituted through the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation, stresses social intervention coupled with the preservation of human

dignity and justice; education and the development of human capital have been identified as the major focus. The processes employed are reflective of Frances's background and qualifications: she came to GraceKennedy after qualifying as a nurse in England and gaining a certificate in Psychiatric Care. Her interest in and commitment to community building was evidenced through her participation in the Bachelor's degree programme in Social Work at The University of the West Indies and her work from 1974 to 1982 as a Field Officer in the Ministry of Local Government. Her many years of involvement with GraceKennedy began in1982 when she joined Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation and worked as a permanent field officer assisting in establishing economic projects. She took a break from the Foundation in the 1990s but continued to serve as a consultant, offering training to guidance counsellors, parents, social workers, development officers, community leaders and the police working in under-served areas.

Frances returned to the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation in 2003, and she has not only re-energized and refocused the Foundation's activities in the Central Kingston communities and those close to GraceKennedy facilities but has also expended much of her energy on mediation with rival gangs to reduce violence. In this Lecture, she shares with us the theoretical framework, the philosophical base as well as her considerable experience and involvement in the community development processes employed by the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation.

Through the years, Frances has worked with several international bodies; these include the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID), the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), International Training Centre for Agricultural Development (ITCAD), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). One of the highlights of her career is delivering the keynote address at the international forum of the World Bank in Istanbul, Turkey in August 1996. Her presentation on "The effects of violence on women's access to services" has been published in several languages in 27 countries

worldwide. Locally, her work for agencies such as the Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF), the Citizens' Security and Justice Programme (CSJP) and the Social Development Commission (SDC) in garnering information for infrastructural development and the establishment of community-based organizations (CBOs) governance structures, has allowed them to take responsibility for projects in the post-implementation phase.

Frances's publications include a book entitled "Understanding Your Communities" and a presentation manual "Wholeness for Children", among many other research papers and articles. The title of this current publication: *"It's Not About Me" – Working With Communities: Processes and Challenges, The Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation Experience*, was chosen because it reflects a core principle in social work and by extension community development – the principle of selflessness. In fact, a social worker must recognize the importance of stepping outside of his or her self and understanding that community development is never about the worker.

Frances Madden has over 30 years of experience in social work and long ago embraced an ethic of care and compassion; her caring, patient and unselfish nature and her undoubted passion for her work allow her the credibility to establish and maintain the personal relationships which lead to social cohesion and influence the development of an environment which can facilitate the growth and development of community members. She stands tall among the under-served and exhibits exemplary leadership in empowering them to achieve. Her message to us from the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation is that *It's All About Us* – our personal volunteerism, our corporate social responsibility and our empathy with the human condition – it is this that will enable and enhance community stability and advancement.

The GraceKennedy Foundation proudly welcomes Mrs. Frances Madden as its 2011 Lecturer.

Elsa Leo-Rhynie
Chairman, GraceKennedy Foundation
March 2011

Frances Madden

THE LECTURE

CHAPTER 1
Community Decline

"It was as if we existed in two different worlds, yet sharing the same geographic location and experiencing the same feelings of fear and uncertainty." – Sam Richards

Introduction

In Jamaica, the operations of GraceKennedy are located on the periphery of several inner-city communities. The areas within which the Foundation works are usually referred to as "inner city", "garrison"[1], "under-served" or "barriered" communities. These communities are characterized by high levels of violence, lack of economic options for residents and a sense of powerlessness among community members. This is manifested in high murder rates, the abuse of children, high levels of drug use, lack of government structures, spatial limitations, and high levels of illegal activities and political and gang violence, which all impede production at the workplace and affect productivity. As a result, many companies that traditionally operated in the area have relocated to less volatile areas, causing an exodus that has further contributed to the social and economic decay and decline within the inner-city communities of Kingston, as in most instances the businesses formed the "hustling" base for the unemployed within these communities. GraceKennedy Limited has not been part of this exodus.

The GraceKennedy Foundation, which was established in 1982 on the sixtieth anniversary of GraceKennedy and Company Limited, has provided the opportunity and support for this

1 Communities (sometimes entire political constituencies) within which violence and intimidation are used to establish and maintain political (increasingly personal) power; for more on garrisons see Figueroa and Sives (2003).

review on social interventions undertaken by the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation. This presentation is reflective of the experiences of the author, Frances Madden, who has been working in inner-city communities for the past 30 years and is presently the General Manager of the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation. It will provide a historical overview of the socio-cultural and socio-economic conditions in the community as well as give an insight into the local dynamics and changes associated with community members and their attitude to self-development. The responses from the Grace & Staff Community Foundation to the historical and contemporary community challenges will also be highlighted.

The roles that political representatives play within the communities are acknowledged. However, the focus of this presentation is on the roles, experiences, circumstances and challenges of the local community members themselves. The presentation also provides a quasi-gendered analysis of some of the issues affecting both men and women within these community contexts.

Background

Within the Caribbean, informality, networking and "hustling" have been cemented as part and parcel of the "culture of subsistence" for the marginalized. This approach to living has become the backbone of the survival strategies of the urban poor – particularly in Jamaica. Economic vulnerability, particularly during the 1980s to the 1990s, was significantly as a result of the economic transformation taking place at the time. This process had a severely negative impact on the urban poor, whose livelihood and survival depended in large part on the structure and agency of opportunities that were made available to them. The almost relentless spate of hardships experienced

by the already marginalized poor fostered increases in illicit activities (prostitution, extortion, trading in narcotics, petty thievery and robbery as well as money laundering), and the propensity to participate in criminal activities.

In the late 1970s when the *white lady* or *virgin Mary* (cocaine) emerged, young people became monsters as they moved away from *sunshine pills* and marijuana and craved the "white stuff". As the levels of frustration increased among the young urban poor, the youth became more dependent on drugs, as for them it eased their pain and made them more fearless and forceful in their activities. Subsequent to this time, the "one-pop" guns made from bicycle bars and street signs disappeared and manufactured weapons appeared. It was within this same era that community programmes were referred to as "communist" and many of the inner-city youth withdrew from a large number of community training programmes that provided opportunities for leadership development and economic growth through small business development.

A number of community initiatives were undertaken by the government in an attempt to alleviate some of the suffering and hardship experienced by the urban poor. Many food programmes were instituted but were not well received by partisan community dwellers. The communist propaganda of the period created even further division amongst the urban and rural poor, to the extent that even the chronic poor refused assistance if that assistance was not directly handed down from the party they supported. This propaganda had such a tremendous and deep-rooted effect that the psyche of the communities was affected. The vegetable patties provided under the school feeding programme were said to contain "communist powder" which, if the children ate it, would control their minds and the boys would go on ships to be raised in

Cuba. Some parents believed this and consequently, this type of propaganda helped destroy the concept of community and at the time, continued to put community workers' lives at risk. Those persons who were willing to lend a hand and to traverse the communities to assist the poor were viewed as communist supporters. Many workers were threatened and even beaten and chased from sections of the communities. At the national level, political violence and criminality escalated dramatically. Table 1 provides an overview of the nature and levels of crime and violence that took place in Jamaica between 1976 and 1981.

> The level of political violence escalated dramatically in the 1976 election campaign, in which 162 persons were killed. This political disorder and rising crime caused the government to declare a state of emergency which remained in effect until June 1977. By 1979–80 the level of violence escalated leaving 943 persons dead including a member of parliament.[2]

This continued political polarization in the society, as well as the ineffective responses to the needs of the inner-city communities, has contributed to the community members and communities establishing their own systems of justice through "kangaroo courts" or "fowl coop justice"[3], where punishment for crime is relative to the severity of the crime.

2 Library of Congress Country Studies. n.d. Jamaica national security – an overview. Political violence. http://www.photius.com/countries/jamaica/national_security/jamaica_national_security_violence.html. Last accessed February 27, 2011.

3 Kangaroo courts/fowl coop justice is an informal court system where elders and senior community leaders make decisions on the type of punishment to be administered relative to the crime (See Dee Jupp and Frances Madden, Fowl Coop Justice. Paper presented at a DFID Conference in Barbados (1999).

Table 1 : Incidence and types of crime (1979–80)

Year	Type of Crime	Reported	Solved
1975–76	Murder	291	151
	Wounding & Serious Assault	11,682	8,966
1976–77	Murder	388	202
	Wounding & Serious Assault	14,276	10,076
1977–78	Murder	397	223
	Wounding & Serious Assault	14,532	10,030
1978–79	Murder	350	167
	Wounding & Serious Assault	15,422	11,131
1979–80	Murder	356	202
	Wounding & Serious Assault	15,467	10,939
1980–81	Murder	943	323
	Wounding & Serious Assault	21,173	11,415

Source: STATIN reports

This system led to an increase in retaliatory violent behaviour, thus silencing communities and creating mistrust among residents who became unsure of who to trust because they feared being labelled "informer".[4] This dynamic system of relative community justice also hampered production within the local business sector. Those who sought to carry out sanctions took over communities and were feared. They began to establish their own economic base through extortion and crime rings (for example, robbery and stealing).

As this system spread, established governance structures fell apart and new leadership emerged when there were income-generating activities to be implemented. Importantly, these new

4 "Informer" is the term used to define any person who reveals information to the police and other law enforcement agencies about the inside operations of the communities. The term has strong gender implications where women are called "police peggies" because they speak to the police or any law enforcement personnel outside the informal sphere, while men are called "mantel" or "pussies". The latter suggests a "womanly" characteristic of being too talkative.

Figure 1 : 1970s–1980s community perspective of violence within the community – Drawn by members of the Parade and Rae Town community

and deviant economic opportunities were primarily beneficial to the dominant males within the community. Consequently, the community suffered from a sense of alienation, hopelessness, aimlessness, frustration and aggressive behaviour among its members.

With the eruption of violence in the 1970s the communities became closed off; the use of infrastructure has therefore changed and the roads have become common spaces in which all community activities take place. In instances where social spaces exist they are not used because it leaves the youth open to attack by rival factions, resulting in these spaces being abandoned and ultimately neglected because of fear. The housing stock within these communities is comprised of dilapidated buildings, informal settlements and overcrowded yards. This results in high levels of interpersonal conflict, which sometimes escalates to include entire families and the wider community. As a result, persons form little attachment to their living spaces, have no vision or goal for the community in which they live and therefore aspire to migrate to "greener pastures", be these pastures uptown, other parishes or overseas.

Additionally, high levels of frustration, little or no opportunity and increasing desperation continued to foster this desire in many individuals to migrate to "foreign" at any cost, or relocate "uptown".[5] The move uptown became a reality through the capturing of vacant lots in residential areas as community residents perceived those areas to be more conducive to improvements in their lifestyles. Additionally, some women with "foreign-minded" aspirations began generating income by becoming "drug mules", while some men armed themselves with icy-mint sweets, crackers and water in order to stow

5 Any place above Cross Roads.

away in the body of freightliners that docked at the Kingston Harbour. This led to women and men becoming illegal residents in foreign countries (as they would "run off"[6] after completing their task), while others would use the proceeds of their illegal activities to purchase houses outside of their community or uptown.

Those who chose to remain in the community sought to create viable social and economic options through buying and selling both legal and illegal goods, and preying on the most vulnerable of persons, while using fraudulent documents to solicit help from business places for non-existent sporting activities, supposedly for the young and the elderly.

Additionally, as parents found it more difficult to pay school fees, provide lunch money and purchase school equipment, some teenagers – both male and female – opted not to continue their education. The young men saw access to a gun as an option for power and economic gain as exemplified by those who had gone this route (such as the "don") and who appeared to have gained social mobility. On the other hand, his counterpart who had completed school or skills training was unable to find a job, or was working but could not furnish himself with the material things that accorded status and acceptance within the society. As a result, young women became openly involved with the older dominant males for financial gain, leaving themselves vulnerable to early pregnancy, abuse and neglect. These are some of the underlying factors that contributed to the manifestations of continuous violence within the community and further fuelled the closure or removal of businesses from the inner city to more secure locations where production could continue without impediment.

6 Refers to the act of overstaying the duration of their issued visa to take up permanent and illegal residence in that foreign land.

Defining Community

Traditionally a "community" has been defined as a group of interacting people living in a common location. The word is often used to refer to "a group that is organized around common values and is attributed with social cohesion within a shared geographical location, generally in social units larger than a household."[7]

Community may be defined also as a population group in a defined geographic area sharing values, interest, heritage and common services; having some degree of social interaction through formal and informal instructions; with the area often cutting across political boundaries, which are usually designated by artificial lines and census data of population distribution.[8]

Within the Jamaican context, the concept of community does not easily or readily align with the academic – local or international – or sociological/demographic definitions. In fact, some communities define themselves according to their boundaries which are subject to political affiliation, geographical landmarks and gang location, and which extend to affiliated communities in other locations claimed by the gang as theirs. These are usually contrary to the established boundaries delineated by government agencies. Some community members define community as the small space which they occupy on a daily basis; they wake up in the morning and go "on the corner", moving only to go to the nearest shop or herb (ganja) seller, and remain there for the entire day. Everything takes place on the corner – including basketball or football – which is their community.

7 George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of community: Areas of agreement," *Rural Sociology*, 20 (4), 1955, p. 111. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community

8 Resources available for community development (no author named, c. 1994).

The politically polarised community boundaries are like gates to "hell",[9] despite "free" light, water and in some instances free housing and profitable hustling. Community in this instance controls the movement and daily living of residents and labels them PNP or JLP. People in these communities become abstract – they have no singular face; the political labels replace their individuality and they are only seen as JLP or PNP or the enemy. It then becomes easy for anyone to be killed, as the perpetrator does not attach any feelings or concept of person or relationship to the one being killed, even if the person was related to the perpetrator (adult or child), or was a schoolmate for many years. In other words, if an individual residing in a PNP area is caught "out of bounds" in a JLP zone, and vice versa, he or she can be murdered based on assumed political affiliation, especially during political campaigns when the climate is politically charged and hostile. There is no perception that the victim could possibly have no political affiliation. Instead, that individual's murder is seen as a "stripe" for the perpetrator. The statement would be made that "a duppy jus' mek". The depersonalization of the individual removes the community's ability to grieve and death becomes another reason for a party or celebration – but not necessarily for the life of the deceased.

Mullaly (2002) posits that "[w]hen one's personal identity matches the negative portrait or social identity provided by the social world, then we have a case of internalized oppression."[10] This internalized oppression acts as a stimulus for the individual to be violent towards the competing political label, which is actually a person. So ultimately what we have is a situation where each competing label or person blames the other for his or her deprivation or poverty. In fact, the

9 Bob Marley says in his song "Time Will Tell", "You think you're in heaven but you living in hell…".

10 Bob Mullaly, *Challenging oppression and confronting privilege*, 2nd edition (Canada: Oxford University Press, 2002).

label affiliated to the governing body is always perceived as receiving greater benefits but this is not necessarily so. However, it continues to fuel resentment from "the other side", which further feeds the internal oppression.

In summary, inner-city communities are generally politically polarised, self-defined, have an informal justice system and are dynamic in their definition of boundaries. Within the context of these communities, it is the dominant male or female who maintains this unique status quo in terms of internal leadership or governance.

Community Structure

The hierarchy of the community structure consists of the Member of Parliament (MP), the councillor, the dominant leader/activist, corner leaders and crews. The dominant leader maintains the community boundaries and ensures that the ruling political affiliation is maintained. He or she is responsible for ordering sanctions for anyone who violates the rules or *disses* the programme. He or she provides bail bonds and medical fees for his corner groups, is feared by community residents and wields significant power.

Power

Depending on the type of inner-city community or garrison, the manner of acquisition of power varies. So for example, within one type of community, there might be many corner groups but only one main leader, who is generally politically and strategically appointed, while having varying numbers of satellite affiliates. In other communities, the process of acquiring leadership appears to be less hostile in terms of appointed positions. However, in these cases the internal structures can be fairly fragmented with a lot more turf or "corner" rivalry. Power can be achieved by anyone who has:

- Significant influence over the community and its members
- The ability to exert and instil fear over the community and its members
- Relative monopoly of the political spoils through his or her affiliations
- Relative monopoly over the fire power and ammunition within the borders of that community
- Strong connections with constant sources of cash or remittances (usually from overseas)

This leader operates on two levels, the formal and the informal. Formally, there is interfacing with the political directorate while maintaining community stability and political affiliation; many benefits from the political directorate for the community come through this dominant leader (typically male) who delegates to his sub-leaders/foot soldiers. Additionally, the dominant leader is in charge of the gangs and corner groups that execute his informal wishes. Some of the corner groups will feed into the gangs but not necessarily all members of the corner groups will make that transition. There are times when these informal groupings take authority unto themselves and have to be chastised by the dominant leader. Supporting this leader are sub-leaders. These sub-leaders, numbering five or six persons depending on their areas of responsibility, ensure succession. Sub-leaders are delegated the responsibility for the proper functioning of the governance structures within the community, the dispensing of scarce resources and the distribution of work.

Recruitment into Gangs

Gang members are recruited based on their intra-community status. This refers to their association/affiliation to the strata of power. In some instances many young males are recruited based on their lack of status; they are persons who often times

are referred to as "waste people", meaning that they have no relatives or family structure to deter negative influences. In other instances parents are weak, or there is no strong male relative with influence. Often times the parents have died or have been killed so there is no family member willing or available to provide the basic nurturing or care-giving roles. The dependence on these informal structures of power then sets in, to procure a living for survival. It is further reinforced by the quasi-adoptive nature of the relationship between the leader and his sub-leaders and their followers and waste people. They are sent to buy ganja, run errands, carry messages and act as look-outs on the corners. They are guaranteed a meal, a place to sleep and any other spoils that can be made available.

There are other factors that predispose an individual to being recruited to a gang in a community. Insecurity, fear, exposure to high levels of violence, living in a community that is closed to external forces, having inbuilt levels of hierarchy that establish the degree of entry or free access to the community and the lack of social and economic intervention, all contribute to gang-related recruitment activities and influence the choices people make in being affiliated. In these situations where there are no real choices, individuals must comply. It is in such situations that the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation offers an available choice. This will be discussed at length in Chapter 2, which details the responses of GraceKennedy and Company Ltd.

The Psychological and Physical Impact of Gang Crime and Violence on Families and Communities[11]

As a result of the gang-related activities in these kinds of communities, the types of crime committed generally include

11 Curtis Sweeney, "The impact of crime on families and communities." (Kingston: Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation, 2010).

murder, carnal abuse, rape and robbery. This is within the context of the bigger picture which is depicted in Table 2. The detailed impact of these are discussed below.

Table 2 : Incidence and types of crime in Jamaica, 2008–2010[12]

Major Crime Categories			
YEAR	**2010**	**2009**	**2008**
Murder	1297	1297	1509
Shooting	1364	1527	1415
Rape	595	610	725
Carnal Abuse	480	450	422
Robbery	2528	2734	2408
Break-Ins	3371	3456	2171
Larceny	318	476	267
Total	**9953**	**10758**	**8917**

Source: Jamaica Constabulary Force statistics, 2010

Psychological Impact

Crime, especially violent crime, can have a profound impact on many aspects of family and community. For survivors, the psycho-social consequences are often the most pernicious as they struggle to deal with the trauma and grief. The trauma and grief are pervasive and are sometimes evident in the mood of the community, with behavioural manifestations such as fear, anxiety, aggression and depression being exhibited. Families are often dislocated and broken up. Some residents appear to be perpetually traumatised, dealing with one trauma after another, hardly recovering from one before having to deal with another. The following stages provide an insight into the physical and psychological effects of trauma, particularly murder:

12 Jamaica Constabulary Force, Major crime statistics report with tables and graphs, comparative crime statistics and analysis (Kingston: Jamaica Constabulary Force, 2010).

- **Shock**

This usually is manifested in denial or disbelief that the person is gone. Sometimes a person faints, temporarily loses speech and is disoriented. Often, the shock continues for a while with constant crying and as the days pass, the emotion turns to anger and irritability.

- **Anger and Irritability**

This refers to the rage that sometimes leads to hate and aggression as well as the impulse to retaliate, which contributes to the perpetuation of violent crime. Some families begin making plans to remove from the community where their friends and main support live. As they move into their new environment depression sets in, although somewhat delayed. For those who stay in the community, the depression follows even sooner.

- **Depression**

For the most part, the manifestations include but are not limited to the following:

- Feeling sadness, hopelessness, apathy and suicidal
- Loss of focus and motivation for school or normal activities
- Children sometimes are left without a caregiver and they have to fend for themselves emotionally and financially; this makes them prime candidates for abuse
- The burden of mothering siblings is ascribed to the older children, who in turn are unable to complete their education

The depression is followed by anxiety and fear, which make the victim paranoid.

- **Anxiety and Fear**

Anxiety and fear make the victims hyper-vigilant as they feel vulnerable. They experience flashbacks (sometimes hallucinations, phobias and paranoid thinking), insomnia,

nightmares and panic attacks, these attacks occurring especially in children. Additionally, some children are triggered (frightened) by sounds such as gunshots from a nearby firing range, or from the sound of box drink cartons being stomped on, fire crackers exploding or cars backfiring. In many instances these are manifested in the children who the Grace & Staff Foundation counsel.

- **Guilt, Shame, Self-Blame**

This refers to the feeling of self-recrimination; that one could have prevented the event from occurring. For example, in the case of rape and carnal abuse, "I should not have sent her to the shop, she would not have been harmed"; and in other instances, "I could have avoided walking there at that time and on that road."

- **Feeling Disconnected or Numb**

This explains the desensitization of youth to violent crimes, as they experience little or no arousal to violence. Could this be acceptance of the situation while creating a value-based justification for criminal activities? This is food for thought.

Physical Impact

This can be debilitating for persons as it has an impact on them in the following ways: racing heartbeat, aches and pains, fatigue, edginess and agitation and muscle tension. It also includes disability, for example, blindness and loss of hearing or paralysis of a limb, as well as mental disturbance such as aural and visual hallucinations.

The feelings of trauma and grief typically last from a few days to a few months, gradually fading as the thoughts and feelings are processed. However, despite periods of mental reprieve from grieving, many individuals and families may still be troubled from time to time by painful memories or emotions,

especially in response to triggers such as an anniversary of the event (death, attack, threats) or an image, sound or situation that reminds them of the traumatic experience, especially when the perpetrator is never caught or punished and can be seen moving around the community. In addition, violence does not only affect the emotional or physical status of the individual but also the economy of the community, education and communication.

Impact on the Community's Economy

The impact of violence on the community's economy takes the following forms:

- Loss of the bread-winner results in the inability to pay rent and support children's education and everyday needs
- The loss of investment within the community both from the government and the private sector
- No social agencies will intervene within the community
- Movement is curtailed, cutting off all economic gain as persons are unable to go to work or hustle. Families cannot offer help to other family members, as sometimes they live on the borders, thus creating further hardship
- Extortion (in kind or financial) of small businesses within the community, especially the cookshops
- Loss of income by the community residents as small businesses are forced to close
- Physical trauma (for example, being confined to a wheelchair or losing limbs or sight) resulting in the inability of that individual to work at his or her full capacity or any at all

Impact on Education

- Closure of schools as parents fear for themselves and their children's lives
- Difficulty concentrating on school work, which affects the ability to study effectively, leading to poor performance

- Inability to attend school due to violence
- Students lose interest in school
- Increased levels of school dropout
- Children fending for themselves when parents are killed; this leads to absenteeism and a drop in motivation

Impact on Communication

- Language change – Youth within the community develop their own unique way of communicating either through body language or the transformation of words to take on new meanings; for example, zimmi or "see mi" which means "Do you understand what I am saying?" (Refer to Appendix I, Youth Language). An example of body language is two fingers imitating the gun. Pointing in the air, this expresses a joyful feeling if you are at a dance, or showing respect at a funeral. When pointed in someone's direction it has an opposite sentiment, usually a threat. Gestures like this could cause retaliation in the form of murder.

The Impact of Violence on the Women

Police statistics show that in September 2009, 16 women were killed in the country in comparison to 11 over the same period the previous year. There were also incidents of the discovery of decomposing bodies, presumably of females. Police statistics show that there were 45 incest cases in 2008, 6 women committed suicide, 1,315 were wounded and 2,615 were assaulted. In addition to this, 151 women were shot and 165 were killed.[13]

These statistics are staggering and the reasons behind violence against women vary. In most garrison communities women are punished for being "informers". Being labelled informer

13 "Violence against women: the full story." *Jamaica Observer*, Monday, November 30, 2009. http://www.jamaicaobserver.com/magazines/allwoman/Violence-against-women--the-full-story#ixzz16FojEOAa

sometimes leads to their demise. Their work (for example, sweeping the streets) may take them across borders. In preparation for the "crash programme" or street-cleaning jobs, they have to traverse different sections of the communities in the early morning hours. In the conduct of their duties such women run the risk of being labelled informers as the probability of witnessing illegal activities increases. As a consequence, once there is a police response to a crime in the area, it is assumed that these women early risers are the ones that "snitched" (a term used interchangeably with informer); and this assumption typically ignites serious violence against these women, which may result in their death.

Domestic Violence

Domestic violence is another major contributor to violence against women. It usually occurs as a result of the male dominance in the male-female relationship. Women have very little say in relationships. The male is not necessarily seen as the provider; he is more of the protector. He is supposed to ensure that his woman and children are safe. However, many men struggle with the frustrations of everyday life (lack of opportunity; stagnated development; feelings of being stuck in the community and that particular life context; having no money; feeling emasculated because of his inability to provide for his children and many "baby-mothers"; inability to wear or own the status symbols that form part and parcel of his male identity). Tensions and tempers flare easily as a result and simple retorts or comments from his female partner(s) ignite his already simmering anger and result in physical violence. This reaction to the situation of hopelessness has become commonplace within many of the neighbourhoods and many women have accepted it as part of everyday "man and woman sum'ting".

Over time, the aggression and abusive tendencies have morphed into a rite of passage for many young males who have come to believe that "nuh gyal nuffi run mi head". This implies that the woman must not be allowed to tell the man what to do or think, as she is to be the one to take orders and to accept his infidelity and abuse as he sees fit. Women are beaten at times for sitting on the corner with friends as this is construed as worthlessness on their part and an unwillingness to make the man successful. It is also seen as neglecting the house and children. He exerts his will violently, as this is natural to him. This weird norm prevails in many communities and it continues to sustain domestic violence.

In instances of such violence, the woman sometimes moves back to her mother or she moves away from the community. The ex-boyfriend will not allow her to speak to another man in the same neighbourhood, as this is considered to be disrespect and warrants severe consequences.

The man's ability to fend for his family is greatly dependent on his level of power within the community or his ability to exert his will in the community (which many times includes violence). This measure of authority is empowered through his level of connection to the community leader. Exerting his will violently is one of the fruits that his family reaps as a result of his status within the community. His violence is his way of showing that he is in control as the role he plays on the streets is re-enacted at home.

Women are also beaten for "news-carrying", for telling men about their mothers (an insult) during altercations, and if there is constant rivalry over men. These beatings are usually ordered by the community leader and they are so cruel and demeaning that the women sometimes end up in hospital and

cannot report it to the police (silence is golden); this would incur greater reprisal against extended family members. Females from the early age of 12 are extremely vulnerable and at risk as the dominant males demand sexual favours. Parents of these underage girls are afraid, so they cooperate, leave the community or send the girl to reside with other relatives. If she develops a relationship with a male from a rival corner or across the border, the perceived disrespect is even greater; she is, however, able to use the opportunity to gain her revenge by telling the new man that the old boyfriend is "preeing" (planning to kill) him. This, at times, contributes to major violence within the community.

It must also be noted that many women are afraid of their male children if or when they begin to assume and pattern the violent roles and behaviours learnt or imitated from their father or the dominant community leader. Consequently, as their male children continue to be involved in these violent activities they go into denial and pretend it is not happening; this is a form of mental coping for the parents.

The Grace & Staff records highlight a discussion session in which a female senior citizen exclaimed that she was experiencing heavy bleeding (like a menstrual period) since the shooting in her community started. The fear of the situation had caused her body to react unconventionally, given her age. Additionally, there are students who will not sleep on a bed; they go under the bed, as they fear being killed in a home invasion.

There are children who experience the murder of their parents for which nobody is ever punished and the community acts as if it never happened. Consistent community denial is the norm in these cases, as the fear of reprisal for being an informer paralyzes community members. This coping mechanism of

denial forms part of the community's value system. Lips are sealed and the children are told, "Never mind, leave it to God. He will take care of it." It is therefore very difficult to counsel a child and to attempt to facilitate healing when the perpetrator passes him or her every day and people in the community constantly whisper, "A him kill yu mada and fada; him fi dead back."

Some girls, when older, will therefore seek to be friendly with a male in a gang in order to gain revenge and protection; in the case of the boys, they become affiliated to the most notorious group and get their revenge. This does not happen overnight; it sometimes takes years, long after the community has forgotten the incident. This accounts for the vast majority of delayed reprisal killings, many of which are undocumented.

In summary, many women in our communities are frozen in denial, fear and trauma and devastated that they have lost control over their children. This has contributed to them having a feeling of powerlessness and hopelessness. They are also terrified to speak and there is no trust in the law.

Social Capital[14]

In a study on violence and urban poverty in Jamaica, Moser and Holland (1997) point out that, "The clearest impact of endemic violence on a community is the social fragmentation that often results in eroding social capital."[15] Social capital has numerous definitions but it is basically the norms and social relations that enable people to work or collaborate together. Social capital only exists when it is shared. According to a famous African proverb, "a human becomes a human because of other

14 Dee Jupp and Frances Madden, "Social capital". Paper presented at the ACSWE Workshop (June 1999).

15 Caroline O.N. Moser, and Jeremy Holland, *Urban poverty and violence in Jamaica* (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1997).

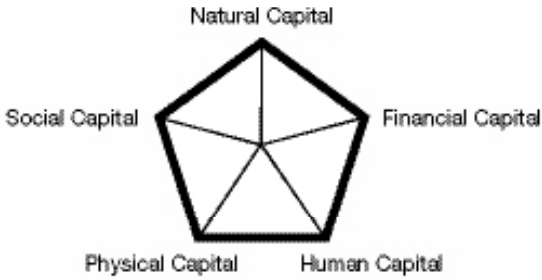
humans". Social capital therefore involves the interpersonal and inter-organizational relationships, networks and kinships that enable or hinder collaboration.

The essential components of social capital include:

- The nature of the relationships – embracing issues of trust, tolerance, reciprocity, respect and acceptance
- The level of interconnectivity between different or unlike groups of persons
- The importance of relationships between formal and informal organizations
- The access to and quality of participation by individuals in organizations, networks and associations

Social capital is one of five kinds of capital which must exist for development to take place. The five kinds of capital can be seen as the five points of a pentagon (Figure 2):

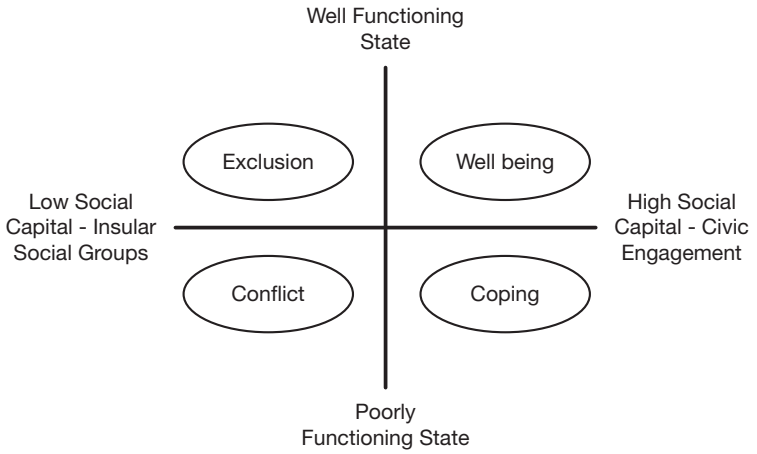
Figure 2 : The five kinds of capital



Source: Jupp and Madden, Social Capital (1999)

If any one point on the pentagon is undercapitalized then there will be risk to the achievement of development goals.

Figure 3 : Relationship of social capital to the effectiveness of the state



Source: Jupp and Madden, 1999

The relationship between social capital and the effectiveness of the state is shown graphically in Figure 3. Where there is a synergy between high stocks of social capital (the extent of civic engagement) and a well functioning state, the result is high levels of social and economic well-being. However, where stocks of social capital are high but the state fails to meet its obligations, the strength of social relationships will enable the society to merely cope and not advance. Where stocks of social capital are low, the state may exclude or ignore certain sections of civil society. If the state is dysfunctional and social capital is low then conflict may ensue. Social capital accumulation is thus generally seen as a "good thing". With our emphasis on the element of a need for interconnectivity between unlike groups, we can avert criticism that some social capital accumulation is negative (for example, the Mafia, inner-city gangs, prostitution rings, ethnic control of resources/niches).

Social Capital Erosion in Jamaica

Deprived urban areas and rural areas in Jamaica are often characterized as having low stocks of social capital; that is, there is little trust, respect, organization and participation in local or national decision-making. This inhibits development efforts as there is not the collective will to enable change for the good to occur and to be maintained. Consultations with persons in deprived communities reveal that they recognize that stocks of social capital have been eroded over the last three decades. The following discussion presents the perceptions of community members as to why this has happened, as expressed to the author.

- **Loss of Freedom, Movement and Association**

The older generation bemoans the loss of free movement. In the old days, people could move freely at night, across communities, between town and country, between neighbourhoods. Community events were automatically inclusive – garden parties, dances, festival celebrations and political meetings. People did not judge you by your associations. Inclusion even extended to strangers who would be given food, accommodation and advice.

Now, movement is restricted by varying levels of "turfism" (political or gang), high levels of suspicion and mistrust; what your motives are; who you associate with and how you dress and conduct yourself shape the extent of your freedom. This has led to a culture of fear manifested in such edicts as "walk and live, talk and die". People have been increasingly unable to articulate freely their needs, demands and problems. Fear constrains access to the outside world – insiders do not want to be accused of making contacts or disrespecting the community leader, while outsiders feel threatened and refuse to provide services which are needed.

- **Degradation in Household Relations**

Families were regarded in the past as supportive and extended, poor but caring. A number of factors have led to severe deterioration in family life, particularly in inner cities. These include overcrowding, the breakdown of extended family networks of support, exposure to violence and abuse, out migration of older persons (the advocates of traditional social norms and values), economic hardships and the inability to attain present rather than future aspirations. All these lead to stress and frustration, which manifest themselves in verbal and physical abuse, the widening of generational communication gaps (blaming, "writing off"). Furthermore, the older generation often feels that their knowledge and experience are worthless, "back-a-time t'ing" and the new generation is left to "figure it out for themselves". "Home" becomes "a house" devoid of social connections.

- **Shift in Community Power Relations**

Previously, the power brokers were older professional persons who were automatically accorded respect. These persons would be able to represent the community in negotiations with service providers, provide advice and refer community members to the appropriate channels to address and solve problems. Community persons could exercise their franchise relatively freely.

The 1970s and 1980s saw a shift in power to the area leaders and then to the "dons". Politics, drugs and guns defined power relations. Appropriation of community resources and assets by leaders and their followers led to constraints to access by others. This, in turn, led to deterioration in levels of trust and participation. Social groups became exclusive and isolated. As a consequence, the interconnectivity between unlike groups deteriorated over time.

- **Disrespect**

Over recent decades the increase in levels of crime and violence in inner cities has led to stigmatization. Inner-city communities are regarded as hostile "no-go" areas and the inhabitants are seen as "savages".[16] The community residents consider that this perception of them is disrespectful. Public service providers refuse to enter certain areas and the opportunities for networking and building relationships beyond the community have ceased. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that incidents of police harassment have increased. As a consequence, portions of particular political constituencies have become cut off, creating openings for the exercise of blatant manipulation by the power brokers who provide, interpret or withhold information.

- **Mutual Class Distrust**

Further fragmentation of societal relations has developed from strong feelings of inequality; poor communities blame the "rich" for milking the country dry, perceiving one law for the "rich" and another for the poor (for example, lack of administration of justice in white-collar crime cases, exploitation of workers). At the same time, persons at the top perceive inner-city residents as hostile, illiterate, lazy and always waiting on free handouts or overseas remittances. Repercussions have led to workers' strikes, pilfering and destruction of property, which have worsened employee-employer relationships. There is thus no social contract operating in Jamaica although it operates in other Caribbean countries.

- **Failure of Old Institutions**

The church, educational institutions and welfare organizations have lost status and respect. Schools have lost their central role in value- and norm-setting, teachers are no longer automatic

16 Newspaper headlines referring to inner-city violence as "A night of savagery".

role models; the stresses of large classes, discipline problems, low salaries and lack of resources have led them to lash out at students, take on extra tutoring work to supplement their income and pay less attention to the provision of quality education and guidance.

Church leaders are no longer community based and are not as influential as previously in moulding values and attitudes. Younger people are not joining established churches. The youth often feel alienated from the church and turn to gangs to acquire self-respect, status and feelings of solidarity. There has also been a shift in the teachings of many churches from helping one's neighbour to promotion of the secure knowledge that the passport to heaven is assured through baptism alone.

- **Increased Individualism**

A number of factors have been highlighted by communities which have contributed to the increase in individualism. These include the breakdown of extended family support networks (mentioned above), decreased freedom of movement (mentioned above), increasing importance attached to status and manifestations of wealth, decrease in trust and the availability of individualized entertainment/recreation (TV, cable and telephone). Households have increasingly retreated inside their own space and erected high zinc fences. People "mind their own business" and the old reciprocal arrangements of "day-fi-day", child minding and food sharing have largely disappeared.

- **Degradation of Values**

The cause of the breakdown in the quality of relationships is often cited as a general degradation in moral values. Exposure to the negative aspects of American culture, TV violence and sex and "slack" musical lyrics are regarded as leading to a culture of tolerance of unacceptable behaviour. Children are

exposed to violent behaviour and guns at home and in the community from a very young age. They grow up accepting these as norms: "When I grow big mi gwan kill dem big boys who trouble mi" (words of a 3-year-old in Southside); "See how him trigger finger look like 'im father own, 'im soon come bus gun like 'im" (a proud mother in Southside showing off her baby).

How Do We Rebuild Stocks of Social Capital?

The foregoing has provided us with an assessment of some of the causes of the present situation as perceived by community members themselves. If social capital is a good thing, then we face a number of challenges. These challenges surround getting answers to the following questions:

- How do we start to rebuild stocks of social capital?
- What implications are there for programming?
- Can we influence the reconstruction of productive relationships?
- How can we increase levels of trust and tolerance, interconnectivity between unlike groups, include both formal and informal groups and increase opportunities for participation?

Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation takes the view that a holistic approach is necessary to achieve community development. It therefore uses a participatory methodology which allows the community to share information, identify, analyze and prioritize issues for intervention and decide on programmes best suited for implementation by the Foundation. These programmes are the pillars on which social capital can be rebuilt. These pillars include the following:

- **Economic** – ensuring employability of youth and providing micro-credit financing

- **Educational**, which includes financial support, professional mentoring and provision of facilities for academic improvement. **Mentoring** and **job shadowing** provides the student with a role model who assists in guiding and facilitating him or her towards making informed career choices. This person also offers the student a confidante who will listen and give advice during times of difficulty. Additional **educational support** is provided for those students who have fallen behind due to the impact of violent activities in their areas; for example, weekend classes and workshops to help students complete their academic syllabuses. These activities are carried out at homework centres which are equipped with a social worker who provides a listening ear to the students, identifies problems that need to be addressed and makes referrals to the Grace & Staff counsellor when necessary. **Exposure** and **positive activities** such as attending the Pantomime and musicals, going on beach trips and participating in the photography club are also activities provided for students and parents.

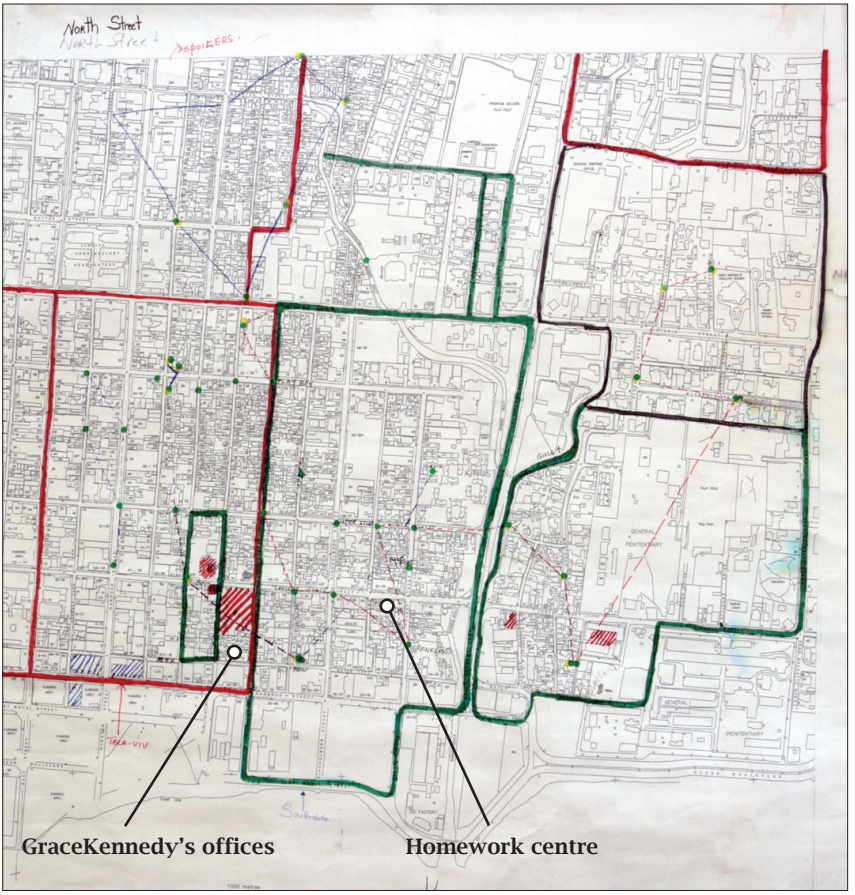
- **Counselling** of individuals or group counselling, where individuals are allowed to express themselves in order to arrive at ways in which they can cope with their circumstances. Career counselling ensures that the children are focussed in the selection of academic subjects that are best supportive of their career choices. This also influences futuristic thinking and gives young people a sense of purpose; that is, an avenue to transcend their present circumstances.

- **Health Support** – providing emergency health support for prescriptions and through a health clinic.

- **Capacity Building and Governance** – provide support for the Parents of Inner City Kids (PICK) who facilitate a meeting of parents each month, and Central Kingston Task Team (CKTT) which organizes rival groups for dialogue.

Chapter 2 will examine the Grace & Staff Foundation's response to the erosion of social capital in the communities. It will highlight the nature and level of involvement of the Foundation regarding its roles and the interventions it has instituted or facilitated through community empowerment and capacity-building.

Figure 4 : Grace Kennedy's offices in relation to the volatile communities of Parade Gardens/Rae Town as outlined by the Central Kingston Task Team (2005)



KEY

PNP boundaries

JLP boundaries

CHAPTER 2
GraceKennedy's Response

The Birth of Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation

The Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation was established in 1979, arising from GraceKennedy & Company's belief that the business community needed to take a more proactive approach to corporate social responsibility. The main function of the Foundation was to provide community support while alleviating the impact of the prevailing social and economic conditions that were impeding production.

GraceKennedy, committed to maintaining its roots, opted to remain at its present location on Harbour Street. The Company chose to take the proactive and novel approach of investing in the communities in which it operates[17] – by funding and supporting developmental activities and programmes which engaged the residents and allowed them to participate in the decision-making process. This was a catalyst in empowering community residents to take responsibility for the sustainable development of their future.

17 Below are the locations/borders of the communities in which GraceKennedy operates:

Spanish Town
The entire area bordered to the north by Rio Cobre River, south by Lime Tree Grove through to Port Henderson Road, east on Burke Road and west by the Spanish Town Bypass.

Majesty Gardens
Majesty Gardens is a community in South West, St. Andrew. It is bordered on the north by Spanish Town Road, on the south by Moonlight City, east by Marcus Garvey Drive and west by Hunts Bay Lane.

Central Kingston
Our area of work in Central Kingston is bordered north along North Street, east along South Camp Road, north on Victoria Avenue, east along Paradise Street then south along Rae Street to Tower Street, east along South Camp Road, south along Port Royal Street and west along Hanover Street.

Barbican Baptist Church

Carlton Alexander, then Chief Executive Officer of GraceKennedy, declared in his speech on GraceKennedy's philosophy and nation building that, "[t]he company is a partnership between the shareholders, the employees and the community in which the company operates and earns its revenues and profits."[18] He stated that the slogan "*We Care*" did not only apply to the Company's staff and shareholders but was intrinsically linked to "our involvement in the community as good citizens". As such, he argued that the "[c]ompany must be prepared to assist financially and, through its people, to fulfil the community's needs". He believed that in doing so, it would be possible to build the community and contribute towards the creation of useful citizens. So when the staff conceptualized the idea of the Foundation he supported this initiative on the basis that it had full staff participation. Once the idea had the backing of a wide cross-section of staff, he wholeheartedly supported the initiative to establish the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation.

- **Mission and Objectives**

The Foundation's mission was originally "To build a bridge of human care and understanding." In subsequent years, after an expansion of its scope of work and programmes, the mission was revised to reflect the involvement of the Company as well as the partnership with the community. Today the Foundation's mission is "Building a bridge of human care and understanding through community involvement and volunteerism, to achieve organizational strengthening and community empowerment."

In order to achieve its mission, its objectives are:

1. The relief of poverty, suffering and distress among the poor and unemployed

18 Carlton Alexander, Grace, Kennedy's Corporate Philosophy. In *Nation building: A businessman's perspective* (Kingston: Grace, Kennedy Ltd., 1983) p. 88.

2. The education of the dependents of the destitute and unemployed
3. Supporting activities which promote community development

- **Funding**

Since its inception, the Foundation has been funded by staff contributions, which are matched by the Company in the ratio of 2:1. As the Foundation's programmes expanded, the Company established an endowment fund in order to meet the increasing demands of individuals.

- **Structure**

A Board of Directors leads the Foundation and gives oversight to its activities. There are five committees as follows:

1. Education
2. Projects
3. Membership
4. Fundraising
5. Finance

A Chairperson, who is a Director on the Board, heads each committee. Chairpersons select core members from the wider staff to serve on the committees.

The Foundation's Programmes

- **Economic Activities**

In the early years, the Foundation focused on micro credit, whereby young entrepreneurs wishing to expand their small businesses were provided with loans to purchase stock. This formed the core of the Foundation's activities but as international bodies began to show interest in supporting micro businesses, Grace & Staff, the Mel Nathan Institute,

Can Save and CIDA (Canadian International Development Agency) teamed up to establish an agency called the Credit Organization for Pre-Micro Enterprises (COPE). Its operations were implemented in communities where the local agencies were already working. These agencies provided supervision for loans given to clients. Over the years this organization has grown and is now the COPE Foundation with its own structure and staff, working independently across communities. Table 3 highlights the number of loans and grants facilitated by Grace & Staff during the period 1985 to 2010.

Table 3 : Loans and grants by year (1985–2010)

Year	Loans	Grants
1985–1990	247	103
1991–1996	152	104
1997–2002	22	8
2003–2007	11	10
2008–2010	30	18
Total	462	243

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation records

- **Education**

This is a core programme which not only offers support for students in need of assistance with school fees at the secondary and tertiary levels but also provides an environment conducive for studying and doing homework. At the same time it provides an opportunity for like-minded youth from rival communities to socialize and build trust on neutral ground in what are called Homework Centres. These centres are operated in three communities across Kingston and St. Andrew. They are:

- Majesty Gardens
- Barbican
- Parade Gardens

Supplementing the education effort are: mentoring, job-shadowing, career guidance, psychometric assessment and slow learner assessment programmes as well as a photography club, which offers motivational activities and provides external exposure for the students. For those students wishing to pursue educational opportunities overseas, PSAT (Preliminary Scholastic Achievement Test) and SAT (Scholastic Achievement Test) classes are also offered. Presently, there are over 30 students in universities overseas pursuing first degrees, masters and doctorates in various professional fields. Additionally, opportunities for skills certification and training are provided through the Human Employment and Resource Training (HEART) programme and supported by Grace & Staff for parents and unattached youth to increase employability. Tables 4 and 5 highlight the number of students that Grace & Staff has supported in high school and tertiary level education from 1983 through to the present.

Table 4 : Number of students assisted by year (1983–2010)

Year	Number of Students	Year	Number of Students
1983–1988	159	2002	94
1989–1994	467	2003	99
1995	121	2004	153
1996	163	2005	214
1997	187	2006	295
1998	110	2007	349
1999	125	2008	349
2000	140	2009	369
2001	159	2010	395
Sub Total	**1631**	**Total**	**3948**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation records

Table 5 : Number of students who sat exams (CXC, CAPE/A-LEVEL) + Assisted at Tertiary Level

Year	CXC	CAPE/A Levels	Tertiary
2003–2006	79	38	14
2007	28	18	23
2008	26	17	44
2009	48	26	54
2010	40	25	93
Total	**221**	**124**	**228**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation records

- **Counselling**

Counselling is offered to community residents and students who are experiencing life-threatening issues and who are in need of psychosocial support. The core of the counselling activities is manned by a counselling psychologist at Grace & Staff Community Foundation. From time to time, some of the clients are referred to psychologists, psychiatric clinics and church counselling institutions for long-term care. Table 6 shows the number of trauma cases for which counselling was provided, as well as the number of beneficiaries of career counselling and financial support during the period 2006 to 2010.

Table 6 : Number of persons receiving counselling for the period 2006–2010

Year	Trauma	Career Counselling	Financial Support
2006*	77	144	164
2007	54	131	100
2008	52	94	49
2009	19	69	40
2010	53	160	82
Total	**255**	**598**	**435**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation records
**2006 was a campaign year leading up to the elections of 2007. Notably, there was a higher number of trauma cases in this period.*

- **Health Support**

It became necessary to establish health support for the vulnerable groups as in periods of increased violence persons from these groups cannot access health care from the established institutions which are outside of the community. This is because taxis and other forms of transportation refuse to enter these volatile communities out of fear that they might be caught in the crossfire or robbed. Consequently, this programme seeks to alleviate the hardships experienced by the most vulnerable groups: children, the indigent and the elderly. To address these hardships, the Foundation partners with non-governmental organizations (such as the Salvation Army); state agencies (such as the Ministry of Health's Programme for Advancement through Health and Education (PATH) and community-based organizations (such as Parents of Inner City Kids (PICK)) to provide effective health care for the needy. The Foundation also provides prescription support for asthmatics and geriatrics who cannot access medication at the treatment facilities either because it is not available or is too expensive. Table 7 illustrates the number of patients seen at the clinic.

Table 7 : Salvation Army Geriatric Clinic 2003–2010

Date	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Jan–Dec	300	227	334	354	527	532	751	300

Source: Salvation Army Clinic, Tower Street, monthly reports

- **Capacity Building and Governance**

The Foundation has assisted in establishing several non-government and community-based organizations. These have been instrumental in supporting the work of the Foundation and in facilitating community change and development. They include the Central Kingston Task Team (CKTT) whose responsibility is to convene bi-weekly meetings with rival

groups to ensure that misunderstandings are clarified and solutions are agreed upon. This group also facilitates the entry of social agencies that wish to carry out interventions in the community. Additionally, the Learning Institute of Central Kingston (LICK) is a youth club that meets weekly and consists of high school and tertiary-level students. Their activities include peer education, peer counselling and rap sessions on current activities as they relate to sexuality and sexually-transmitted diseases. PICK is responsible for parent education and they meet twice per month to conduct these workshops. They also assist in identifying other opportunities for tertiary-level scholarships. The Foundation's work through these organizations has continued to empower community residents to take responsibility for the sustainable development of their future by continuing to:

- Fund and support developmental programmes
- Provide economic activities
- Educate and counsel community residents
- Provide health support
- Ensure capacity-building through education and skills training

Over the years, the Foundation's programmes have been improving the communities' social and economic outlook while developing the level of trust among community members that is needed for free access to the community by persons wanting to carry out social intervention programmes similar to those of Grace & Staff. This level of interaction of GraceKennedy within the communities in which it operates has helped to strengthen governance structures through the education of youth as well as to repair the damaged bridge of human and social capital.

CHAPTER 3
Processes and Challenges

Introduction

The Grace & Staff Foundation has definitely helped to repair the damaged bridge of social capital as well as build new bridges in many communities in which it operates. However, the challenges in doing so are many. This chapter will examine the challenges experienced by the Foundation within the communities over the years, as well as highlight the processes used in establishing the interventions undertaken to make a positive change and create a base for a trusting relationship within these communities.

Importantly, the work that the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation undertakes forms an integral part of the capacity-building and forward-planning approach to self-help, self-actualization and individual/group development within the communities. The Foundation's involvement utilizes the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) process, which involves individuals and groups engaging in discussions to analyze the past, review the present and determine the future.

Guiding Principles of Social Intervention

The social intervention process used by the Grace & Staff Foundation was designed and implemented against the background of social work ethics which clearly speak to the following elements:[19]

- **Human Dignity and Worth**

This encompasses respect for individual and cultural diversity; value for all human beings, their beliefs, goals, preferences

19 BASW, The College of Social Work. n.d. Code of ethics. http://www.basw.co.uk/about/codeofethics. Last accessed February 10, 2011.

and needs; respect for human rights and self-determination; protection for vulnerable groups and most of all, partnership and empowerment with providers of services.

- **Social Justice**

This promotes fair access to resources, reducing disadvantage and exclusion and, more importantly, the need to treat the clients equally without prejudice and discrimination.

- **Volunteers**

Foremost for the Foundation is the fact that we aim to give quality service, which will enable people to develop their potential while being assisted by the Foundation to provide for their personal and social needs. There are approximately 250 staff participants who give their service voluntarily through the Foundation. The level of participation encompasses mentoring/job shadowing, events planning, teaching as well as fundraising. The ensuing table shows the types of services that are given by GraceKennedy staff members and the different areas in which members are actively involved. It is important to note that there are overlaps regarding the number of staff participants as many members are competent and volunteer willingly in multiple areas.

Table 8 : Types of service offered by the Foundation

Types of Service	Number of Staff Participants
Event planning	89
Teaching	45
Mentoring	50
Fundraising	52
Visiting children's homes	4
Administrative	16
Total	**256**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation records

- **Integrity and Competence**

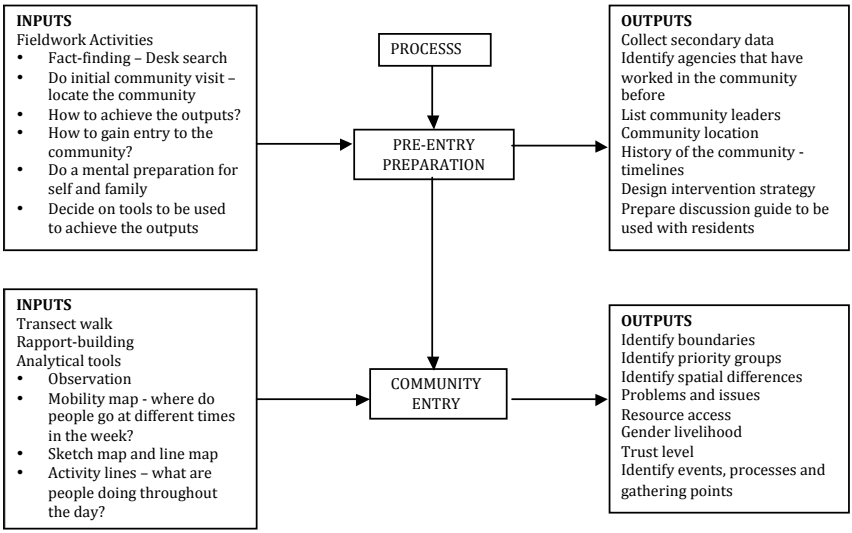
Integral to the intervention process is the emphasis on honesty, reliability and confidentiality as well as sustaining and expanding competence in providing quality service. It is based on the aforementioned that social intervention can best be defined as the process of empowering and enabling individuals to make their own decisions through taking responsibility for their own development. In other words, the Foundation teaches the man to fish for a lifetime rather than feeds him for a day.

It must be emphasized that the social intervention process did not begin with money but rather with engaging various groupings, sub-groupings (church groups, youth groups, political representatives and clubs, community leaders, gang members and community residents) within the community in order to identify what needed to be done to create positive development and change. This grassroots approach to engagement assisted the Foundation in defining its programmes and negotiating with stakeholders on how the partnership would unfold. The following illustrations (Figures 5–7) identify the steps in the Participatory Learning and Action (PLA) process used by Grace & Staff in implementing its programmes.

In carrying out the process workers must prepare themselves mentally and physically as community work takes energy. Figure 5 shows the things that need to be done at each stage of the process to build the base for a trusting relationship within a community. The pre-entry prep stage provides information that must be used to begin the dialogue with the community residents. It allows the worker to become knowledgeable about the community and able to select aspects of this unique and dynamic information gained as ice-breakers or positive talking points. Community discussions must never start on a negative note; rather, they must focus on what made a programme work

or not work, that is, the changes in the community, which is the preferred follow-up discussions that should take place after a positive talking point(s) or introductory ice-breaker as previously mentioned.

Figure 5 : Building the Base for a Trusting Relationship

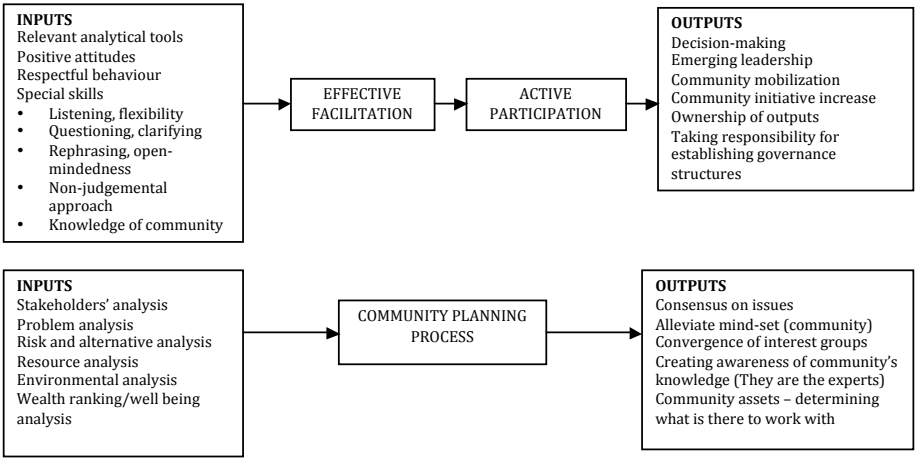


Community entry involves the actual entry into the community by the worker, where he or she will begin conducting a walkabout while building rapport with the residents. Walking with a community representative is also important, as this person will be able to interpret what is observed.

The next phase of the process, intervention and engagement as detailed in Figure 6, involves the worker facilitating, guiding and enabling the residents in the decision-making process. As such, the worker's facilitation skills must be utilized. They range from listening, respectful and positive behaviour, to rapport-building in a non-judgemental way and with an open mind. This aspect is not about power or status and the worker must suppress his or her biases about the community

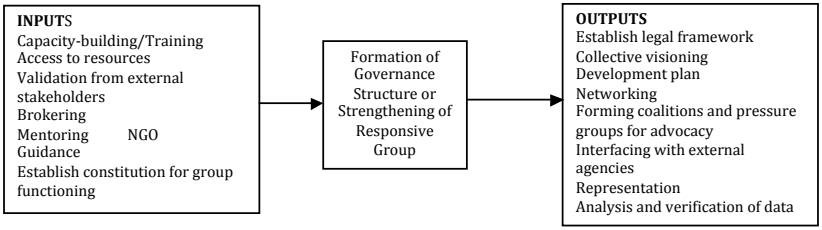
as the community can sense the genuineness of the worker's participation.

Figure 6 : Intervention and Engagement



The planning process is important as it provides the community with a plan that is not abstract; a plan that details the possibilities for real, positive change. This can only be achieved, though, if the community is aware of the root cause of the problems they are experiencing. This root cause analysis is produced with community participation via facilitation and planning. However, the availability of resources and assets to assist with the solution is very important and additionally, the support of various stakeholders (primary/secondary) who can contribute via the financing of the implementation of the positive change is also a key ingredient for success.

Figure 7 : Formation and Strengthening of Governance Structures



In some instances it is not necessary to establish a new governance structure as there might exist an already limping group that may just require capacity/institutional strengthening. This could take the form of access to resources, training and validation from external stakeholders or NGO support. Alternatively, new bodies may need to be formed to satisfactorily achieve the community's governance structures. As detailed in Figure 7, the formation and strengthening of governance structures within a community supports sustainable community development at all levels.

Formation of Community Governance Structures

Following the engagement process at the community level, varying social groupings emerged to take on the mandate and responsibility to implement and effect positive change. For example, women within the community came together and formed a group called Parents of Inner-city Kids (PICK). The main focus of this group surrounds parent education, education for their children, as well as the debriefing of persons traumatized by violence. This group also assisted in establishing the first homework centre at 74 Tower Street, as well as the manning of the facility. Meetings are held twice a month and on every second Sunday, PICK members engage in reflection – exercises and open discussions – pertaining to challenges and issues in their own lives. This process sets the agenda for the meetings held on the last Sunday of the month. On this occasion, a guest speaker is invited to speak on any of the previously discussed challenges.

Additionally, the Learning Institute of Central Kingston (LICK) is a youth club that meets weekly at homework centres and it consists of high-school and tertiary-level students. There are three homework centres – Majesty Gardens, Barbican and Tower Street, the biggest of which is the Tower Street centre.

The centres provide neutral ground for students to study and participate in peer counselling activities.

Another example involves men from opposing sections of the community who came together and created the Central Kingston Task Team. Importantly, this initiative was borne out of the need to create peace. The main focus was to create and foster a sense of unity and calm within and across the communities (Refer to Appendix II – Case Study in Capacity-building, which demonstrates this concept).

Noteworthy in this process is the support given by the then Member of Parliament who attended all the meetings, listened, took suggestions and bought into the ideas put forward by the young men. In addition, he brought a lot of attention to the community by introducing agencies that needed to enter, engage and invest in the communities. Emerging from these discussions was the realization by the men that the women/ their partners played an integral role in the perpetration of violence. They felt that meetings should be convened with these women to discuss mutually existing issues and the impact that their individual and collective actions have had on the community as it relates to violence. This gave rise to the Women's Task Team (WTT), which served a similar function to that of the Central Kingston Task Team (CKTT). In support of the governance structure, mediation plays a vital role and is usually done with the assistance of national bodies like the Peace Management Initiative and the Dispute Resolution Foundation.

Working with Youth – Through Education

The Grace & Staff Community Foundation strongly believes in the development and capacity-building of the human capital within these community contexts. Particularly important to

this belief regarding development and the way forward is the investment in the youth whose future, under the "normal circumstances" of community violence, tension and crime, is usually short-lived. The true potential of many young persons is never realized without consistent and intensive intervention. It is to this end that the Foundation pays extensive and intensive attention to the motivation, encouragement and support of the youth in the communities through its education programmes.

The students who form part of this programme are not selected by the Foundation; rather, their parents apply for assistance based on need. The parents must tender the last school report for the child and attend an interview, which is carried out by the Education Committee. No child is rejected because of low grades. Children are assessed and sent to the counsellor who then refers each student to the school relevant to his or her academic needs. All students must do a psychometric profile upon achieving Grade 9 as this activity assists with career choices and allows the students to select their CXC subjects relevant to these choices. Supporting the education programmes are motivational trips (to the beach, plays, musicals), which only students who have achieved 60–70 averages may attend. However, if a student is assessed to be in need of remedial attention and achieves a 50 average, he or she is rewarded for making progress. The Camera Club is another educational support programme; it is not only for fun as it provides the students with a skill that can be used to create employment, as the students receive training from professional photographers. Additionally, the Fifth and Sixth form students are taken on trips to The University of the West Indies where they are given a campus tour. This allows them to concretize the vision/goals to which they aspire; in other words, they can envision and touch the dream of one day being "on campus". It also helps them to meet people for networking purposes.

Despite presentations on the various opportunities during career week, one common observation made over the years is that students are afraid to make the next step. Fear, anxiety and uncertainty usually hinder the smooth transition into tertiary education or employment. The efforts of the Foundation extend to particular cross-sections of young people as is broken down and expanded on below.

Unattached[20] Youth

Many young people residing in inner-city communities are without family support, especially in times of violence. This loss of support stems from a number of contributing factors including endemic community conflict, which results in the murder of fathers and mothers and guardians in general. In these instances they are left to fend for themselves with no parental guidance or structure, which puts them at greater risk for becoming gang members.

The Foundation has responded in a plethora of ways:

- For those youth who need remedial assistance the Foundation has referred them to various remedial centres/ facilities for their personal development and continuation of their progress.

- **Skills Certification: [Refer to Skills Training Programme, Table 9]**
  Those youngsters who have gone to secondary school are aided in furthering their life skills through the emphasis on certification in order to make them employable. All participants from 2004–2008 have subsequently completed their HEART training successfully and are now employed at various levels. Participants who were competent at level

20 Unattached refers to youth without connections to family; that is, no known relative/s exist.

two have gone on to complete levels 3 and 4 on their own. Since 2006, government agencies have taken on this skill certification programme to increase the employability of youth. However, Grace & Staff continues to provide training in data entry for community residents.

Table 9 : Skills training programme – Competence level

Year	Skill Areas	Male Application	Female Application	Competent (C) / Sent for HEART Training (HT) to achieve competence
2004–2005	Data Operations	20	65	9 females (C) up to level 2; 76 sent for HT
	Barber	3	0	3 sent for HT
	Body work	5	0	5 sent for HT
	Business Management	0	2	2 sent for HT
	Cabinet Making	2	1	3 sent for HT
	Carpenter	20	0	20 sent for HT
	Cashier	0	2	2 sent for HT
	Child Care	0	2	2 sent for HT
	Cosmetology	0	37	3 (C) up to level 2; 34 sent for HT
	Nail Technology	0	6	2 (C) up to level 2; 4 sent for HT
	Construction	53	0	6 (C); 47 sent for HT
	Masonry	6	0	6 sent for HT
	Cooking	1	4	5 sent for HT
2006–2007	Data Operations	16	30	10 males (C); 6 males sent for HT; 14 females (C); 16 females sent for HT
2007–2008	Data Operations	6	23	1 male (C); 5 males sent for HT; 9 females (C); 14 females sent for HT
2009	Data Operations	0	31	5 (C); 26 HT in progress

	Electrical installation	31	0	31 sent for remedial classes before HT
	Garment Construction	0	18	18 sent for HT
	Interior Decorating	0	1	1 sent for HT
	Mechanical Engineer	4	0	4 sent for HT
	Welding	34	0	4 (C) to level 2; 30 sent for HT
	Steelwork	3	0	3 sent for HT
	Nursing	0	2	2 sent for HT
	Painting	16	1	3 males (C); 14 sent for HT
	Plumbing	6	0	6 sent for HT
	Tiling	1	0	1 sent for HT
	TOTAL	**227**	**225**	

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; programme started in 2004. HT = HEART Training; C = Competent

- **Unattached Youth Attending School**

Most of these youth, although attending school, have no place to live. They lack the basic essentials (clothes/uniforms, books, shoes, and so on). The Foundation therefore provides support in the form of lunch money, food, clothing (everyday wear), as well as personal toiletries. In some instances the Foundation assists with the construction of rooms on family land so that these youth will not have to sleep in open lots, at bars or in empty buildings. In addition, the Foundation acts as liaison with school guidance counsellors to ensure continued attendance and ongoing support and supervision.

Overcoming Adversity – A True Story

Ron (not his real name), a shy 13-year-old boy, and his brother, was brought to the Foundation by their mother who had recently been diagnosed with terminal cancer and was told that she only had three weeks to live. She had a total of 16 children, 14 of whom were girls and, with the exception of one girl, all were already baby-mothers. Her major concern for her two boys was that she did not want them to become involved in gun crimes and she felt that if she died leaving them without support they would go astray. She brought them to the Foundation as she felt this was her only hope for the boys. She said, "Ms. Madden, yu 'affi tek care a dem." A week later she died.

At the Foundation we wondered what to do with these boys as they were slow learners and had no special place to live. Our first move was to assess Ron, then we placed him in a school for slow learners and provided the necessary support for him in terms of food, clothes and books. One of his bigger sisters provided shelter for Ron and his younger brother until Ron graduated from primary school at the top of his class and was placed in a government institution to continue remedial classes and learn a skill.

Ron did well at the institution but failed mathematics. However, he graduated despite his non-mastery of mathematics. Ron, now 18 years old, is attending HEART Academy where he is learning a skill and working at mastering math. We continue to provide support for Ron, who has built a small room for himself and his brother. We also furnished Ron with a bed and dresser and re-roofed his makeshift board house. Foundation support for Ron will continue until he is employed. His brother continues in school and is following a similar programme path to Ron's through Grace & Staff.

Attached[21] *Youth*

In the instances where these youth are young (i.e., under 17 years old), the Foundation works through and with the Ministry of Education to get them back into the general school system. They are assessed and then referred to the relevant placement sites.

- **Regular Students**

This group consists of students who have great potential but who are at risk because parents are unemployed, have more than one child in high school, or have severe economic constraints which do not allow them to readily support these children. As a response, the Foundation assesses the needs and categorizes the types of responses required. For example, in the instances where parents are physically and/or mentally incapacitated, full tuition and support is provided. For students who have challenges meeting basic needs as well as tuition costs – and more importantly for whom the circumstances are not as severe as the afore-mentioned – the Foundation covers 50 percent of their costs.

- **Tertiary Level Students**

These are students who aspire to attend university or other tertiary level institutions. They are assisted with fees (Refer to Table 10) and, in extenuating circumstances, given academic support (books, lunch money and bus fares).

Table 10 : Number of tertiary students assisted 2006–2010

Year	# Students	First year	Second year	Third year	Fourth year
2006	14	14	—	—	—
2007	23	11	9	2	1
2008	44	19	17	7	1

21 Attached refers to youth with known family or relatives.

2009	54	18	21	12	3
2010	93	29	21	17	6
Total	**228**	**91**	**68**	**38**	**11**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation
(There is an additional 20 students from various parishes across the island who were not a part of the programme but were assisted with school fees in 2010.)

Youth Employment Programme

Complementing all of the above programmes is the psycho-social support counselling, mentoring, motivational teaching excursions (summer camps, study camps, beach trips, attending plays and concerts); job shadowing, photography club, career counselling and placement as well as the youth employment programme throughout the summer. The job facilitation comprises the following layers:

Jobs Specifically for the Very At-Risk and Unattached Youths

These may be temporary jobs focussing on the health and sanitation of the community; this includes the cleaning of empty buildings and open lots, for example, as well as providing security at special events in downtown Kingston. Table 11 provides a breakdown of the number of males and females within this category for whom employment opportunities have been provided 2003–2010.

Table 11 : Christmas employment: Males and females 2003–2010

Year	Male	Female
2003	20	16
2004	315	100
2005	315	158
2006	62	16
2007	2	16
2008	10	19

2009	10	21
2010	5	22
Total	**739**	**368**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation
(Employment includes cleaning open lots; identifying golden agers for the food basket programme; preparing food baskets; marshalling at fireworks)

Jobs for Unattached Students Attending School

Youth who fall within this category are provided with placement in supermarkets on a part-time basis to assist them in earning an income.

Jobs are also provided for the regular cohort of students during their summer vacation period for 4–5 weeks. A breakdown by gender is provided in Table 12.

Table 12 : Summer employment: Males and females 2004–2010

Year	Male	Female	Total
2004	30	30	60
2005	37	28	75
2006	40	52	92
2007	22	48	70
2008	35	35	70
2009	33	37	70
2010	23	47	70
Total	**220**	**277**	**497**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; statistics not available for periods prior to 2004

Return on Investment in Education

Reviews of the Foundation's investment in education indicate that students who are assisted and encouraged through staff and Foundation support excel at the local and international levels. Many of the students are accepted to prestigious colleges

and universities because of the hard work and natural talent they possess, reflective again of their innate potential. To this end, PSAT and SAT programme classes are held on Saturdays and Sundays for students wishing to sit these exams as they aspire to attend universities overseas. Students who perform very well are often invited to participate in youth leadership programmes at prestigious universities in the USA and some students also become members of the American High School Association, which provides them with linkages globally. For those students who receive full scholarships from universities overseas the Foundation provides minimal financial support to assist them in their transition/settling into the university. The Foundation's mandate is to empower the mind and to change young people's outlook and approach to life. Therefore, investing in education, we believe, is the number one priority for creating a more productive, socially aware, responsible and solid foundation for the future.

Volunteerism

The success of our education programme is greatly dependent on staff volunteers who provide teaching, mentoring and job-shadowing services to the students/participants. These services extend at times beyond the Fourth to Sixth form through to tertiary-level pursuits. The main focus of this particular service is to facilitate and enable the personal development and goal achievement of every student/participant. In instances where the specialized subject area cannot be taught by staff volunteers, assistance is sought outside of the Company. Students from the programme, who are presently pursuing Masters and PhD degrees overseas, also mentor other students online.

Mediation

At times, rumours or propaganda is spread which could lead to tremendous long-term political or gang violence. It is therefore necessary to bring rival factions together to discuss the rumours and clear the air to ensure calm in the community. These mediation sessions are held each week in the first instance and then bi-weekly as calm returns and prevails.

Venting

This encompasses the whole process of allowing residents to express their anger or frustration and inner feelings. At times, individuals may feel they have been wronged and the counselling psychologist allows them to be open and talk things through.

Debriefing

This involves talking through traumatic incidents which have affected individuals in the community. It is an intimate process that allows for the individuals and/or groups who are directly or indirectly involved or affected to speak from the heart and relate to and with each other.

Networking and Partnership

This process involves identifying social agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or government agencies to assist and partner with them in helping to deal with the issues. These groups also include private sector entities that partner with us to provide assistance with medication for HIV/AIDS, malaria and cancer patients.

Challenges

We will now examine the historical and contemporary challenges associated with functioning in the communities. The challenges will be broken down into categories, which will be reflective of the dynamics involved in manoeuvring the issues affecting the communities.

Challenges for Grace & Staff Foundation

- Further withdrawal or (under-funding) of welfare safety net programmes such as the PATH programme, which creates a backlash in terms of the number of persons seeking assistance; for example, golden agers, fire victims and the unemployed.

- Recession and redundancy of various positions in the Company have an impact on membership and funding of the Foundation.

- Funding (demand-driven) can only give assistance to a limited number of individuals (especially in the case of students who want to move on to tertiary institutions). The perception that private sector companies and groups have access to large financial sums is a major deterrent to fund-raising activities for the Foundation.

- Parents refuse to send their children to the homework centre, as they are afraid of unexpected, sudden upsurges of sporadic violence across borders.

- Finding temporary housing for students is problematic. There are students at the tertiary and high-school level who have major difficulties finding places to live. The lack of family support compounded with the financial constraints makes the task of securing housing a difficult one.

Challenges for the Youth

- Inability of the youth to reason, leading to misunderstandings and miscommunication.

- Generational grudges. These are transferred to the children through socialization and unspoken grievances. For example, if two male adult relatives have differences, we have found that there are instances when their children are reluctant to associate with each other, despite them being related by blood.

- The need for more employment opportunities for the youth.

- Due to the high unemployment within the communities, it is difficult for students who aspire to attend university to find guarantors for student loans.

- The level of paranoia among the youth is still very high and is a barrier to them getting access to employment outside of the community, as they always feel threatened.

- Some of the youth do not see themselves as being committed to any gang or being controlled by any leader. As a result, they do not see the proposals for change as applying to them and so they are not willing to buy into the change process.

- Early sexual engagement is a major challenge within the community. As a result of the high levels of violence, young men feel it necessary to impregnate young girls to leave something of themselves behind if they should die. This fatalistic outlook underpins the lack of hope and anticipation of an early death, which is part of everyday

life. Females serve as vessels to carry on the name of these young men and in some cases, this action is supported by their parents.

- Youth are perceived as trouble-makers in the community and are therefore excluded from participation in the planning process.

Challenges to the Community

- The hidden agenda of some leaders. Some leaders have vested interests in maintaining and encouraging the violence and the upsurge in community tensions by pushing division. These desires serve as major deterrents to the development of the human and social capital of the communities and significantly impede the progress of growth at the individual and collective level.

- Persons recently released from prison and deportees, who are not aware of the changes which have taken place during the period of their incarceration or migration, typically return to the community with a desire to regain their power base (if they were leaders). This creates additional tension in the community.

- Community leaders are sometimes slow to react when violence flares up. This delays the mediation process, as youth are angry and are reluctant to meet.

- Sporadic upsurge of violence due to misunderstandings and hidden agendas of leaders, which produces tension within the community.

- Linkages of gang leaders to other supportive groups outside of the community. This allows the gangs to bring in unknown persons to help fight “wars”.

- There are parents who do not take responsibility for their children. In other words, they have given over their authority to the television, cable and other sources of socialization. In addition, they show very little or no interest in their children's education and development.

Challenges Associated with Law Enforcement and Politicians

- Police officers and politicians attending community meetings. Persons are less inclined to divulge sensitive information, which is often times incriminating in nature. The fear of being interdicted for offences and being arrested is a real issue for many persons. Very often, community group meetings are made up of individuals who are being sought by the law in connection with criminal offences. In addition, the deep-seated lack of trust in the police as a whole prevents open disclosure and association. At the community level, the stigma of "informer" carries with it severe consequences. As such, individuals and groups are wary of participating in any forum at which the police or the law will be present.

- Police are slow to react in some instances when there is an outbreak of violence. Social location (geographic and class-based) prevents speedy and reliable intervention and assistance by the police to some residents. The perception at the grassroots is that the police only visit when persons are already dead and when the violence has escalated to the point of no return.

CHAPTER 4
Successes and the Way Forward

Notwithstanding the challenges, over the years, the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation has been able to successfully support sustainable community development at all levels. The Foundation has been able to:

- Educate youth and provide educational programmes and support for all age levels
- Provide counselling
- Support health care
- Finance skills training programmes
- Provide employment
- Build human and social capital within the communities
- Relieve poverty through its various programmes
- Facilitate at all levels capacity building and governance within the communities

With a focus on education, the Foundation has been able to see a number of successes. For example, among the 131 female students assisted financially and otherwise with Caribbean Examinations Council/Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate (CXC/CSEC)[22] exams (Table 13), 575 of 775 subjects were passed, a 74.4 percent subject pass rate, over an eight-year period (2003–2010). Many of these young women have gone on to receive jobs or have furthered their education. A further breakdown of the subject results of females reveals that 19 percent of the subjects were 1s, 40 percent were 2s and 41 percent were grades of 3.

22 CXC is now called CXC/CSEC (Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate) and the higher level exam is referred to as CXC/CAPE (Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination).

Table 13 : CXC/CSEC results of females, 2003–2010

Year	Level	# Students	# Subjects Taken	Passed	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
2003		4	18	18	0	4	14
2004		13	74	52	4	22	26
2005		17	99	70	8	25	37
2006		19	112	70	6	30	34
2007		15	90	67	13	22	32
2008		12	80	59	10	24	25
2009	4th Form	4	8	7	1	5	1
	5th Form	26	153	115	28	51	36
2010		21	139	117	40	45	32
TOTAL		**131**	**773**	**575**	**110**	**228**	**237**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; statistics not available for1983–2002

For the 90 males assisted with CXC/CSEC (Table 14) over the same period 2003–2010, the subject pass rate has been 74.3 percent, an almost exact replica of the females. Fourteen percent of the subjects were 1s, 43 percent 2s, and 43 percent were grades of 3.

Table 14 : CXC/CSEC results of males, 2003–2010

Year	# Students	# Subjects Taken	Passed	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3
2003	4	19	19	2	11	6
2004	7	39	23	2	10	11
2005	12	74	56	4	24	28
2006	3	18	17	10	2	5
2007	13	86	68	5	25	38
2008	14	80	58	3	25	30
2009	18	102	68	15	32	21
2010	19	108	82	14	39	29
TOTAL	**90**	**526**	**391**	**55**	**168**	**168**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; statistics not available for 1983–2002

The CXC/Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE) results of the women are just as interesting (Table 15). Of the 82 females that took 234 subjects, 198 subjects were passed, an 84.6 percent subject pass rate. The breakdown is: 4 percent were grades of 1, 17.2 percent were 2, 26.2 percent were 3, 28.3 percent were 4 and 24.3 percent were grades of 5.

Their male counterparts (Table 16) included 42 boys taking 148 subjects and passing 123 of them, an 83.1 percent subject pass rate.

Table 15 : CXC/CAPE results of the females, 2003–2010

Year	# Students	Level	# Subjects Taken	Passed	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
2003	2	'A' level	6	6	0	0	0	3	3
2004	3	L/6	4	3	0	3	0	0	0
	3	U/6	5	5	0	1	2	2	0
2005	9	L/6	30	26	0	4	6	7	9
	1	U/6	3	3	0	0	0	3	0
2006	6	L/6	21	14	1	2	3	4	4
	4	U/6	16	15	0	1	5	4	5
2007	12	L/6	12	8	0	0	1	6	1
	3	U/6	13	11	0	3	3	2	3
2008	6	L/6	23	21	0	4	8	2	7
	3	U/6	6	6	0	2	2	1	1
2009	11	L/6	25	24	0	7	6	6	5
	5	U/6	16	13	0	1	2	6	4
2010	9	L/6	35	32	5	5	12	6	4
2010	5	U/6	19	11	2	1	2	4	2
TOTAL	**82**		**234**	**198**	**8**	**34**	**52**	**56**	**48**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; L-Lower 6th Form and U-Upper 6th Form. Statistics not available for 1983–2002

The breakdown is as follows: 11 percent were 1s, 14 percent were grades of 2, 21 percent were 3, 22 percent were grades of 4 and 32 percent were grades of 5.

Table 16 : CAPE/CXC results of males, 2003–2010

Year	# Students	Level	# Subjects Taken	Passed	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5
2003	1	'A' levels	4	4	0	0	0	3	1
2004			NO	BOYS	SAT	CAPE			
2005	3	L/6	9	6	0	1	1	1	3
	2	U/6	6	5	0	0	0	2	3
2006	1	L/6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
	3	U/6	11	11	0	1	2	4	4
2007	3	L/6	9	9	7	1	0	1	0
2008	6	L/6	24	21	1	0	10	4	6
	2	U/6	7	3	1	2	0	0	0
2009	6	L/6	24	19	0	3	4	4	8
	4	U/6	16	16	1	5	3	4	3
2010	6	L/6	21	15	4	1	2	2	6
	5	U/6	18	14	0	3	4	2	5
TOTAL	**42**		**148**	**123**	**14**	**17**	**26**	**27**	**39**

Source: Grace & Staff Foundation; L-Lower 6th Form and U-Upper 6th Form. Statistics not available for 1983–2002

The data reveal that the girls and boys were passing their subjects at the same order of percentage magnitude; that is, the CXC/CSEC subject pass rate for girls was 74.4 percent and for the boys, 74.3 percent. For CXC/CAPE, the girls' subject pass rate was 84.6 percent in comparison to the 83.1 percent rate for boys.

One of the noticeable differences is the girls outscoring the boys with 19 percent 1s in CXC/CSEC subjects in comparison to the boys 14 percent but the boys outscoring the girls in CXC/CAPE with 11 percent 1s in comparison to the girls 4 percent 1s in their CAPE subjects. It is clear that the educational

programmes of the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation are having a positive impact on youth within these communities.

In fact, a total of 3,948 individuals have been assisted (through high school and up to the tertiary level) by the Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation between the period 1983 and 2010 (Table 4). More specifically, for 2003–2010 (Table 5), 221 students in the Foundation's educational programme sat CXC/CSEC exams, 121 sat CXC/CAPE and 228 were assisted at the tertiary level.

For skills training, within the period 2004–2009 (Table 9), 227 females and 225 males participated in the Foundation's skills training programme via HEART, whereby certification in their area of interest was the objective in order to make them employable. All participants from 2004 to 2008 completed their HEART training successfully and are now employed at various levels.

Providing direct short-term employment for individuals in the summer and Christmas periods is also a success for the Foundation. In 2004–2010 (Table 12), the Foundation provided 220 males and 277 females with summer employment. For the same period (including 2003), 739 males and 368 females were provided with work over the Christmas season. In essence, providing education, a trade skill and employment for youth and other individuals are tried and proven methods for mitigating against poverty.

Additionally, the Christmas outreach programme administered within this period (2003–2010) has seen a total of 5,650 food baskets being distributed to golden agers across inner-city communities such as Central Kingston, Cassava Piece, Craig

Town, Payne Avenue and Majesty Gardens and including several churches. The breakdown is as follows: 2003–2005 and 2007, 650 food baskets distributed; 2006 and 2008, 750 food baskets distributed; 2009, 700 food baskets and 2010, 850 food baskets distributed.

Labour Day activities have also been a mainstay success for the Foundation in that over the years (since 1983) it has successfully brought rival groups together to implement Labour Day activities. The Foundation has focussed on repairing chairs, desks and blackboards in the homework centres as well as refurbishing and/or painting schools and clinics and building shelters for golden agers. Additional activities include the planting of trees within school compounds, which provides shade for children at lunchtime and also improves the environmental aesthetics. To date, a total of 27 different communities have benefitted from these activities.

For the counselling activities across communities, the Foundation has seen a total of 255 trauma cases, conducted 598 career counselling sessions and provided financial aid to 435 individuals for the period 2006 to 2010 (Table 6). Financial aid in these cases includes providing funds for transportation back home, providing money for food, school clothes and shoes and materials for house repairs.

As the Foundation continued through the years of building human and social capital, it developed a strong health care programme of which part of its agenda included providing prescription support for a total of 3,325 individuals (Table 7) via the Salvation Army Geriatric Clinic in the period 2003 to 2010. In general, this programme seeks to alleviate the hardships experienced by the most vulnerable groups: children, the indigent and the elderly.

The Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation has also been focussed on the community's capacity building and governance. As such, it has facilitated the women within the community to form the group called the Parents of Inner-city Kids (PICK). The main focus of this group surrounds parent education, education for their children as well as the debriefing of persons traumatized by violence. In fact, the Jamaica Business Development Centre conducted training for PICK representatives in bookkeeping and how to facilitate meetings. After their capacity-building training, they went on to manage the finances for an International Development Bank (IDB) project for the construction of toilet facilities and the cleaning of open lots across political borders. Another success for the Foundation can be seen in the level of attendance and participation at the Learning Institute of Central Kingston (LICK) homework centres. A review of the Grace & Staff Foundation attendance registry[23] for the biggest homework centre at Tower Street reveals that for the period 2005–2010 a total of 3,706 first to third formers attended the centre and for the fourth to fifth formers, a total of 11,331 attended for the same period.

The Foundation has also facilitated men from opposing sections of the community coming together to create the Central Kingston Task Team (CKTT), an initiative borne out of the need to create peace. Additionally, the Women's Task Team (WTT) was formed, which serves a similar function to that of the CKTT. It should be noted, however, that in support of these governance structures mediation plays a vital role and is usually done with the assistance of the national bodies, the Peace Management Initiative and the Dispute Resolution Foundation.

23 LICK Centre Attendance Registry, 2005–2010, for 1st–3rd formers and 4th–5th form students; Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation data.

The Way Forward

We have explored the past, highlighted some of the major problems faced by community residents and presented a process plan that explains how and why we choose to work in a particular way to implement the Foundation's social intervention programmes. However, we cannot disregard some of the facilitating factors which have contributed to the success of our programmes.

These include the co-operation the Foundation receives from other social agencies especially those in the health, education and poor relief sectors. Refer to Appendix III, which details our partners and collaborators. The Foundation has earned the respect of the community because of the impact its programmes have had on them. The Company itself has had a long history of giving back, especially in the field of education.

Another facilitating factor includes the responsiveness of GraceKennedy and Company Limited staff members (including retirees) in assisting in all aspects of the various programmes including fund raising, mentoring and teaching. This has ensured that the Foundation's human resources are supported at all times. In fact, these volunteer staff members have become part of the cadre of staff working with the Foundation. Additionally, the external teacher volunteers (for example, two Campion College teachers, a past student working with the Ministry of Health, two St. Catherine High School teachers and an accountant) have made a tremendous contribution, commuting to and from the Homework Centre to give of their best, sometimes after a hard day's work.

The Foundation, however, would like to make the following recommendations for future interventions:

1. Youth inclusion – New programmes must be geared towards youth inclusion and intervention strategies must focus on a youth development approach that gives young people the opportunity to:

- Build organizational skills so they can establish and manage governance structures; rebuild trust, dignity and self-worth among themselves and gain the confidence to take responsibility by participating in the community decision-making processes
- Encourage collective thinking; help the youth to reconnect with people of all generations and status
- Get the youth to create a shared vision for the community; programmes should focus on personal strengths and talents rather than weaknesses
- Develop personal competencies that will allow the youth to take opportunities when they present themselves inside or outside of the community
- Reconnect to the concept of community rather than political affiliation, gangs or designated leaders
- The youth should be viewed as resources in the community development process

2. We must encourage social agencies to become proactive and more responsive to the needs of the community. This can be achieved if we train representatives from social agencies and other entities interested in working with underserved locations to understand the dynamics of working within these communities.

3. All community intervention programmes need to incorporate a strong psychosocial component to deal with youth trauma and dysfunctional families.

4. Other large companies could use the GraceKennedy model or a model which they find effective to make intervention in inner-city communities as this is where there is great need.

APPENDIX I
Youth Language in the Inner City – Some Examples

Term	Meaning
Scratch me	Constantly asking for money
Strap	Constantly carrying a weapon
Crawlers	Those who move from house to house via rooftops in times of violence
RRR/Do so	Yes
Spankling	Looking good/clean
Lava law	Hot law
Fire law	Law
Tek weh yourself	Move; go away
Bling	Jewellery
Tourist product	Sea and beach
Mek your duppy	To murder
Raging bull	9mm gun/firearm
Tall-up, tall-up	Rifle
Zee mi	Do you understand
Cherry	Virginity
Eat down south	Oral sex
Coffin vs sepulchre	Lunch box/Styrofoam box
Come	Orgasm
Juice	Discharge
Lens	Police car
Pung guy	Gay
Yow dawg	Hello
Body bag	Coffin
Strap for cash	Going to rob
Body glove	Tight clothes
Pampa-B	Extra bottom; padding to enhance the bottom
Lay-lay	Idle

Ray-ray/Poop-eena	A mixture of used clothing
Bill-back	Rest
360	Will circle back; return
Forward	Come here
I Shaff	To take a bath
Number 2	Bottom (The number 2 is omitted from the language)
Fambily	Friend
Mad	Good
Rugu-rugu	Greeting; salutation
Blister	Wanting to have sex with a woman
Bing-bong	Telephone call
Jump thru the winda [window]	To use aphrodisiacs such as linseed, gomorra bit [Gum Arabic], Icinglass, Irish moss, oysters, honey, stout (no lime or milk)
Shatta-bone	Doing drugs
Swiper	Persons who practice oral sex
Yoggi	Entering forbidden zone
Yow	Yes, it is safe; come in
You a happen/ you a shappen	Things are going well for you
Rue	Vex
Fire stick	Gun
Shadow	Soldier
Babylon	Police
Smoke coke	Vexed, outraged, mad
Bug di line	Create diversion/upset the peace
Poser food	Turkey neck; reference to its resemblance to oxtail

APPENDIX II
A Case Study in Capacity Building: A Police and Private Sector Partnership

A. Overview

GraceKennedy and Company Limited is one of the Caribbean's largest and most dynamic corporate entities, whose operations span financial and food trading. The group comprises a varied network of more than 40 subsidiaries and associated companies located across the Caribbean and in North and Central America. In Jamaica, its operations are located on the periphery of several inner-city communities.

These communities are characterized by high levels of violence, a lack of economic options for residents and a sense of powerlessness among community members. This is manifested in a high murder rate, the abuse of children, high levels of drug use, lack of governance structures, spatial limitations, high levels of illegal activities and political and gang violence, which consequently impede production at the workplace.

In the past, some private sector companies opted to relocate to less volatile areas which resulted in an exodus that further contributed to the social and economic decay and decline within the inner-city community of Central Kingston. GraceKennedy and Company Limited, however, chose to take the proactive and novel approach of investing in the community by supporting developmental activities and programmes to build the capacity of the residents and empower them to participate in the sustainable development of their environment.

The Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation was established in 1979, arising from the Company's belief that the business community needed to take a more proactive approach to address the environmental factors impeding production. The Foundation's mission is to "Build a bridge of human care and understanding through community involvement and volunteerism, to achieve organizational strengthening and community empowerment." It allows the community to determine its own vision and take

responsibility for its own development. In order to achieve this mission, its objectives are:

- The relief of poverty, suffering and distress among the poor and unemployed
- The education of the dependents of the destitute and unemployed
- Supporting activities which promote community development

Funding for the Foundation is achieved through staff contributions which the Company matches 2:1. Since its establishment it has developed a rapport with the communities and has become one the most respected social agencies working in the inner city. The purpose of this case study is to document the processes used in uniting the warring factions of three inner-city communities from 2002 to the present.

B. Situation Analysis

The communities in focus have traditionally been plagued by gang or political violence. However, more recently gang warfare took precedence, contributing to over seven deaths per month, an increase in sexual violence against teenage girls, the closure of schools, businesses and social programmes. It also contributed to the movement of residents out of the communities; the creation of distrust among those left behind and decreased participation by residents in neighbourhood activities for fear of being called "informer", a label that can elicit violent reprisals.

As a result, there was limited external input in these communities from social agencies as they feared for the security of their staff. These areas became known as garrisons or barrier communities. The social and economic conditions of residents declined and this negatively affected the business sector. Some intervention was therefore needed to make the community more conducive for business and for social intervention.

C. Intervention

Step 1 – Problem Identification/Analysis

The problem identification process involved visits to various community gathering spots ("corners") to encourage residents'

participation in the identification of problems being faced by the community. Using the participatory approach, including trend and problem tree analysis, it was determined that priority should be given to interventions that would stabilize and decrease the high level of violence within the community as this would provide a foundation from which the underlying social and economic issues could be tackled.

Step 2 – Consensus Building
Several meetings were convened with stakeholders including community leaders, the political directorate, local businesspersons, corner leaders, religious representatives and the police to present and discuss the findings from the problem analysis process and to gain consensus on it.

The consensus-building process involved a series of discussions, which allowed stakeholders to vent their feelings and anger in order to clarify and agree on the findings and develop a plan of action. This process was critical to the sustainability of the intervention, as the change process could not be implemented without prior approval and agreement from the power brokers.

Ultimately, it was determined that stability and a decrease in violence could only be achieved if there was unity among the three rival communities. This unity would enable dialogue through which the community could achieve stability and a reduction in violence.

Step 3 – Establishing a Forum for Dialogue/Mediation
Subsequently, it was important to establish dialogue that would facilitate the unification of the three rival communities. As a result of the Foundation's long history of working in the inner city and the esteem in which it was held, it was agreed that they would convene and facilitate fortnightly meetings with stakeholders and corner leaders to:

- Provide a forum for mediating issues that could cause violence to erupt in the communities
- Allow stakeholders to debrief, vent and take responsibility for their actions in order to resolve interpersonal conflicts that could otherwise evolve into gang violence

- Inform the youth of their legal rights and entitlements under the law
- Unite rival community factions through face-to-face interaction and the sharing of cell-phone numbers to allow leaders to report infractions of gang members and suspicious behaviours of community residents that could lead to violent reprisals
- Identify permanent and seasonal employment for youth within the community
- Identify underlying problems that contribute to the upsurge of violence and suggest ways of tackling them
- Provide a forum for social agencies to propose their community development programmes or projects in order to reduce misunderstandings about their motives and agenda
- Identify the various external linkages that support community violence

Step 4 – Building Trust and Fostering Commitment from the Wider Community

To demonstrate to the wider community that the three rival factions had indeed united and were committed to creating stability, a march across community boundaries was organized and implemented by the stakeholders and corner leaders. The march culminated with a celebration along a known volatile border. The event involved leaders, business persons and residents giving testimony about the past violence and its impact on the children and the general livelihood of the community. Subsequently, it was decided that youth killed in past violence should be remembered in a memorial service as part of the healing process. To sustain the initiative, the leaders gave their commitment to supporting cross-border sporting activities to help in building trust.

Step 5 – Organization/Capacity Building

To ensure continuity of the group meetings, the stakeholders decided to establish themselves as a legitimate group. Consequently, they named themselves a Task Team, established a mission statement and code of ethics and set objectives. Two criteria were established for the selection of executive members – literacy and presentation of self. Members were not elected; roles and responsibilities were assumed and used as a binding contract.

D. Summary Outcomes

At the end of two years, police reports showed a decline in gang and other related violence within the targeted communities. Other social agencies began working in the communities to establish other governance structures, such as community development committees. These committees are responsible for representational issues at the local government level. The Task Team has represented the community at seminars and workshops on proposed housing developments; they have been trained in conflict resolution and anger management and have participated in civil dialogue concerning violence reduction. The Task Team is also involved in the discussions regarding the redevelopment of the capital city.

Where streets were once deserted they are now buzzing with economic activity (cooking, buying and selling). Residents now freely visit relatives and friends in rival sections of the community, an indication that the unification process is indeed working. A memorial service was held to commemorate the victims of past violence and a football team, comprised of members of all three communities, was created. The team participated in their first sporting event and received the winning prize of $50,000. Part of the proceeds was used to pay for registering the Task Team as a benevolent society.

Income-generating activities for youth within the community were identified through the efforts of the Task Team. Unused open lots, buildings and equipment, which were abandoned when agencies pulled out of the communities due to previous violence, were identified as resources for wealth creation.

HEART Trust/NTA has assessed nearly 100 youth from the community for skills certification and/or entry into training programmes. This will ensure that a wider cross-section of the youth become employable. A Women's Task Team was established as a satellite group to hold dialogue with women in the community who are also involved in the perpetration and support of violence. Members of the Task Team are now willing to do short-term volunteer work.

Challenges

Notwithstanding the above achievements, there still remain many challenges to overcome. These are as follows:

- Inability of the youth to reason, leading to misunderstanding and miscommunication
- The hidden agenda of some leaders
- Persons recently released from prison and deportees, who are not aware of the new processes
- Leaders are sometimes slow to react when violence flares up
- Lack of employment opportunities for the youth
- The level of paranoia among the youth is still very high and is a barrier to them having access to employment
- Sporadic upsurges of violence due to misunderstandings and the hidden agenda of leaders, which produces tension in the community
- Some of the youth do not see themselves as being committed to any gang or controlled by any leader; they are therefore not willing to get involved in the change process
- Linkage of gang leaders to other external supportive communities
- Police officers/politicians attending mediation sessions
- Slowness of police to react in some instances when there is sporadic violence

Facilitating Factors

- The co-operation of the political directorate from opposing parties
- The availability of a neutral venue at GraceKennedy and Company Limited
- The mandate of the Foundation supports the work of the Task Team
- Respect for the work of the Foundation in the communities
- The provision of seasonal and short-term work for residents through the Foundation
- The maturity of some community leaders
- The availability and accessibility of community police officers

Lessons Learned

- Capacity-building is a long-term endeavour that involves changing the attitudes and values of the human element; this can only be achieved through positive reinforcement over time. It should not be confused with conformity and should be carried out within a participatory process, which allows the communities to learn and earn while doing.

- It is important to facilitate dialogue that enables individuals to vent, reflect and learn from past experience.

- It is also important that the facilitating agency has a track record of respect, trust and integrity to eliminate suspicion of the agency's agenda.

- There is need for psychological support for persons who have been traumatized or exposed to violence. The internal suffering and torment is so great that it predisposes the youth to violent behaviour.

APPENDIX III:
Grace & Staff Community Development Foundation Partners and Collaborators

Barbican Baptist Church
Wesleyan Methodist Church
St. Andrew Settlement
Downtown Pastors Fraternal
Sampars Cash and Carry Limited
GraceKennedy Limited employees and subsidiaries
Greenwich Town Adventist Church
Mico Care
Guidance Counsellors Association
Child Guidance Clinics
Parents of Inner City Kids (PICK)
Central Kingston Task Team (CKTT)
Women's Task Team (WTT)
PATH Programme
HEART Trust/NTA
Catalyst Ohio
Kingston Restoration Company (KRC)
National Housing Trust (NHT)
Jamaica Constabulary Force
Member of Parliament/Councillor
Ministry of Education
Peace Management Initiative (PMI)
United Nations Development Programme
Poor Relief Department
Jamaica Aids Support
National Family Planning Board
Mr. Patrick Stanigar
Media

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