GOVERNMENT OF JAMAICA

A NEW APPROACH:
NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY FOR JAMAICA

Towards a Secure & Prosperous Nation

A VISION FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

To establish a safe and secure environment for the people of Jamaica, so that together we can build a prosperous and progressive society, founded on democracy and liberty, justice and the rule of law, responsibility and respect for human rights and dignity.

Reviewed and updated through a consultative process by the
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Executive Summary

Jamaica currently has one of the highest per capita levels of homicide and violent crime in the world. This is the result of a combination of factors including imports of illegal firearms and ammunition, the supply and trans-shipment of illegal narcotics, financial frauds, including Ponzi schemes and the Lottery scam, and opportunities for corruption and extortion, all of which have encouraged the use of violence by criminals.

These problems have been compounded by the creation of garrison communities, the misappropriation of public funds, links between politics and organized crime, and the laundering of the proceeds of crime into legitimate businesses. Criminal gangs have created an environment of fear, which enables them to extort money, coerce and control communities, and intimidate people into silence.

These profoundly serious problems have deterred investment, destroyed capital formation and discouraged business development. The cost of crime and corruption to Jamaica includes lost life expectancy, injuries and health care, but also includes the higher cost of doing business in a low-trust society, losses to theft and extortion, business closures, capital flight, the emigration of skilled workers and the loss of foreign investment.

Violence, crime and corruption have profoundly retarded Jamaica's development. The economy has stagnated for most of the last four decades, with low growth and declining productivity, while other countries have transformed their productivity, economic growth rates and development prospects. The economy is now, at best, one-third of the size it should have been; it may be only one-tenth of the size it could have been. Effective action against crime and corruption would do more to improve the economy of Jamaica than any other measure.

The most important task facing Jamaica today is to root out crime and corruption, and thereby address the underlying cause of poverty and suffering in Jamaica. It is essential to seize the initiative, dismantle criminal organizations, disrupt their operations, sequester their assets, sever their political connections, and permanently degrade their ability to commit serious crimes.

The nation has many problems, and limited resources. It is therefore essential to prioritize those threats that are causing more harm, or are more likely to happen. The 2013 National Security Policy (NSP) is therefore based on a Probability-Impact Matrix, which uses estimates of probabilities and impacts as the basis for determining national security priorities and allocating resources. The threats facing the nation are ranked into four Tiers, each of which requires an appropriate response.

Tiers:

- Tier 1: high-impact, high-probability threats; the clear and present dangers. These are the top priority, and require an active response.
- Tier 2: high-impact, low-probability threats. These require constant monitoring, building early warning systems, and strengthening resilience.
- Tier 3: high-probability, low-impact threats. These are potentially serious, but represent a lesser threat than Tiers 1 and 2. They typically require preventative measures and reforms to reduce their impact and cost.

- Tier 4: potential threats that are currently assessed to be low-probability and relatively low impact. However, they require monitoring and periodic reviews, as a change in circumstances could result in them rapidly becoming more serious.

Crime, corruption and violence, along with the various social problems that exacerbate them and are perpetuated by them, are the Tier 1 threats to Jamaica. They result in so many deaths and injuries that Jamaica now has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, and, largely as a result, has also suffered from four decades of low growth. They are the foremost threats to the security of Jamaica, to the integrity of the State, to the economy, and to the lives of the people.

There is no point in merely trying to contain these problems, and limit the damage that they cause. That approach has been tried for many years, and has failed. The aim now is to transform Jamaica's prospects by decisively breaking the grip that crime and corruption have on this nation. This means dismantling the gangs, arresting their leaders and the people who have facilitated their operations, seizing their assets and putting them out of business.

This will require six key reforms, all equally important.

The Six Key Reforms:

1. Remove the profit from crime
2. Reform the justice system
3. Policing by consent
4. Adopt a coherent anti-gang strategy
5. Focus on at-risk individuals and communities
6. Strengthen systems of governance

The concept of national security includes all the measures taken by a State to ensure its survival and the safety and welfare of its people.

Section 1 - Introduction

There are many potential challenges to the integrity of the State. These include the use of conventional or unconventional forces to destabilize a government, annex resources or impose regime or policy change. They also include a range of threats to economic, institutional and social structures, such as:

- Trafficking in people, weapons and illegal narcotics.
- Money laundering and tax evasion.
- The misappropriation of public funds.
- Attempts to pervert the course of justice.
- The compromising of democracy and the political process by threats, violence and corruption.
- The penetration of government agencies by organized crime.
- High levels of migration (especially of skilled people) as a result of a lack of security and economic opportunity.

There are also threats to cyber-security, including illegal access to confidential data, government or infrastructure control systems, fraud or any attempt to compromise or undermine public confidence in the currency and the banking system; resource threats, such as the need to ensure adequate, affordable supplies of energy, food and water; and environmental threats, such as earthquakes, or hurricanes, droughts and floods (which might become more frequent in future as a result of climate change).

So national security includes all measures to avert, deter, mitigate or protect against any significant external or internal threats. This requires the maintenance of standing armed forces to deter attack by conventional or unconventional forces, including terrorism and narco-terrorism, and to support the police and civil authorities in the event of civil unrest. It also requires the maintenance of police, intelligence and other security services to ensure the maintenance of law and order, to control and deter crime, corruption, violence and disorder, to maintain cyber-security, protect sensitive information and prevent fraud. Finally, it involves ensuring civil defence and emergency preparedness, protecting vital infrastructure, and building resilience in social and economic systems so that they can withstand shocks.

The goal of the 2007 National Security Policy was to integrate Jamaica's policies on security and related issues, including policy goals, responsibilities and actions, into a coherent strategy. There have been significant progress since then, but much remains to be done. There have also been significant changes in both the external and internal environment since the 2007 NSP was written, so the risk assessment and associated priorities must now be recalibrated.

Cost of crime

Crime, violence and corruption are now the foremost threats to the national security of Jamaica, to the integrity of the State, and to the lives of the people. The economic cost alone is extremely high. For example:

- The 2010 World Economic Forum Competitiveness Index showed that Jamaica had fallen 17 places in three years to rank 95th of the 132 nations surveyed. This was the most rapid decline in the world.
- In the 2011 World Economic Forum Index Jamaica had fallen a further 12

places in a single year, to 107th of 146 nations surveyed.

- The World Bank Doing Business 2013 report showed that Jamaica had fallen 4 places to 94th, the ninth year of decline.
- Over the last decade Jamaica has fallen 51 places in the World Bank rankings.

Such rapid loss of competitiveness usually indicates a catastrophic disaster or profound economic crisis. In Jamaica's case, however, it happened because many countries are now forging ahead while Jamaica's economic development is still being retarded by crime and the fear of crime, along with the high cost of energy, and dysfunctional government bureaucracy. With regard to the latter; Jamaica has implemented 13 economic reforms since the last World Bank review, more than any other nation in the Caribbean region, but is still falling further behind in an increasingly competitive world. Countries in South America, Africa and Asia are progressing and prospering, while Jamaica has yet to overcome its most intolerable, ruinous and deadly burden, of crime and corruption.The cumulative cost of crime to Jamaica, however, is even higher than this loss of relative competitiveness suggests. Jamaica's development has been crippled by violence, crime and corruption and, largely as a result, the economy has stagnated for most of the last four decades, with low growth and declining productivity, while other countries have transformed their productivity, economic growth rates and development prospects. The cost of crime, therefore, includes the cumulative cost of decades of lost productivity growth. The economy is now, at best, one-third of the size it should have been; it may be only one-tenth of the size it could have been. This still does not complete the reckoning. Crime and corruption have taken an even more terrible toll on Jamaica, measured in death, pain and suffering. In terms of the percentage of the population murdered in 2009, Jamaica suffered the equivalent of a 9/11 terrorist attack every week.

The most important task facing Jamaica today is to root out crime and corruption, and thereby address the underlying cause of Jamaica's social and economic problems.

It is essential to seize the initiative, dismantle criminal organizations, disrupt their operations, sequester their assets, sever their political connections, and permanently degrade their ability to commit serious crimes.

A changing world

The world is being rapidly reshaped by scientific and technological advances, demographic trends and the shift in the balance of world population to developing countries, the rise of Asia as the new centre of global manufacturing, surging demand for resources and equally rapid shifts in the pattern of environmental impacts, and changes in the nature of risk, political and economic influence, competition and conflict, and the geopolitical balance of power.

These changes have created important new opportunities but also existential challenges for Jamaica, which has had to adjust to market liberalization, the phasing-out of preferential terms of trade and rapidly increasing competition from the emerging economies, while simultaneously contending with one of the world's highest rates of homicide and violent crime, trafficking in guns, ammunition and illegal narcotics, the rise in cyber-crime, the compromising of Government programs by organized crime, increasing pressure on water, energy and other resources, environmental degradation and climate change.

The threat environment can change very

rapidly. For example, recent events in the Middle East and Venezuela have highlighted the potential vulnerability of Jamaica's energy supplies, while the growth in the wealth, power and reach of the Mexican drug cartels threatens a number of Caribbean nations.

Jamaica needs to have robust but flexible plans for dealing with the challenges of living in a world of accelerating change, with rapidly evolving threats, problems and opportunities. In this age of uncertainty, it is essential to have the capacity to recognize the significance of critical events, and to act quickly and decisively to deal with any threats to the security of the nation.

Jamaica's national interests

Jamaica's essential interests, however, remain constant. They are founded on our most deeply-held values; democracy and liberty, justice and the rule of law, responsibility and respect for human rights and dignity.

The first duty of the Government is to protect the lives and safety of the citizens and residents of Jamaica, and ensure the stability and prosperity of the nation. This requires maintaining effective and accountable police and security forces, and an efficient and accessible justice system.

It also means taking all necessary steps to ensure supplies of energy, food and water, strengthening resilience against natural disasters, protecting the environment, maintaining efficient and productive systems of education and health-care, protecting important infrastructure (such as airports, ports, the water supply, communications networks, roads and the power supply), protecting Jamaica's sovereign territory (including terrestrial, marine and air-space), defending the nation against terrorism and trans-national crime, and rehabilitating and re-integrating deportees and former prisoners into society.

The vision is to establish a safe and secure environment for the people of Jamaica, so that together we can build a prosperous and progressive society, founded on democracy and liberty, justice and the rule of law, responsibility and respect for human rights and dignity.

The highest priority is to reduce the level of crime and violence, and the associated fear and insecurity.

Rationale: Updating the National Security Policy

There are three main reasons for updating the National Security Policy.

1. Changes in the environment

There have been significant changes in the external environment, including the expanding reach of Mexican drug cartels, changes in Venezuela and the Middle East that have implications for Jamaica's energy security, and a global recession. There have also been changes in the internal environment, including the normalization of Jamaica's largest garrison community in 2010, which contributed to a 37% decline in the rate of homicides over 2010-2011, the largest percentage fall since 1981.

2. The need to analyse probabilities and impacts

Some threats are more likely to happen, or have the potential to cause greater harm, so it is sensible to accord them a higher priority. It is important to have a clear and logical process for assigning an appropriate priority to each potential threat, as this will determine the allocation of time, people, equipment, money and other resources. This is especially important when resources are constrained. If every threat were given the same priority, resources would be stretched too thinly to be effective anywhere.

The 2013 NSP therefore contains a Probability-Impact Matrix, which uses estimates of probabilities and impacts as the basis for determining national security priorities.

The threat environment can change extremely rapidly, but the process of developing new policies (which involves consulting, drafting new legislation, reviewing and amending, finding time in the Parliamentary timetable and promulgating) can be very slow; some legislative changes in Jamaica have taken well over a decade. It is therefore essential to have clear priorities and stated commitments that allow for a rapid operational response which will not depend on further changes in policies.

This approach also makes it clear that the goals of the NSP are of overarching national interest, and removes them from the domain of sectarian politics.

3. The need to prioritize actions

Successive administrations in Jamaica have tended to respond to urgent problems with isolated initiatives, with little continuity, and to chronic, long-term problems by promoting new policies, often without the sustained attention and commitment of resources needed to make them work. In addition, Jamaica is now one of the most indebted countries in the world, with government expenditure regularly exceeding annual revenues. It is therefore essential to establish clear priorities, so that the security forces and relevant civilian agencies are optimally configured, with the right equipment and training, and can deliver the goals of national security with maximum efficiency.

Environmental Analysis

In order to determine the national security priorities it is necessary to identify the main threats to Jamaica. These include threats that constitute a clear and present danger (e.g. the high rate of homicide), and major risks within a given time horizon (e.g. a storm surge that could flood heavily populated areas), although the strategies for dealing with these are markedly different.

Horizon Scan

A horizon scan was used to identify the major potential threats in Jamaica's internal and external environment. The threats and risks identified in the scan were weighted and ranked in a probability-impact assessment matrix to determine the priority that should be attached to each threat. The review followed this sequence:

A. Review the internal and external environments.

- Identify current threats.
- Rank threats into tiers on the basis of their **probability** and **impact**.

B. Identify the measures needed to control these threats.

The risk assessment drew on two sources:

I. Horizon scans and analyses of the external and internal environments. The horizon scan was developed in consultation with senior police and military officers, and other relevant agencies.

II. Stakeholder consultation. This involved interviews with relevant personnel and strategic planning workshops with key stakeholders.

This methodology is based on models developed by the UK's National Security Council and the Ministry of Defence, and the US National Intelligence Council .

The topics reviewed in the external horizon scan included both traditional and non-traditional security threats. The traditional security threats included a range of factors implicated in the high rate of homicide, as well as potential future threats such as terrorism and the Mexican drug cartels. The non-traditional security threats included issues such as the availability of energy and other vital commodities, climate change, hurricanes, earthquakes and other risks that could result in significant loss of life or civil unrest. Jamaica has little or no control over most of these external variables. The goal, therefore, is to identify cost-effective ways to **reduce exposur**e and **build resilience**.

The internal horizon scan also reviewed both traditional and non-traditional security threats. The traditional security threats related to issues such as the economic cost of crime to Jamaica, the compromising of the political system, the extent of corruption, and the implications for foreign and domestic investment, the growth in the number of gangs, the high level of homicide and violent crime, the continued presence of gang-dominated garrison communities, and the role of the political system in encouraging informal settlements. The goal of this analysis was to identify strategies that would help to degrade and dismantle criminal structures, erode their capabilities, remove their influence over politics and the allocation of public resources, and eliminate their ability to exact extortion.

The non-traditional security threats include weaknesses in the planning and regulatory systems that have resulted in communities and infrastructure being located in areas that are prone to flooding, vulnerable to storm surge, on unstable slopes or above aquifers, thereby increasing the number of lives at risk and the potential economic cost to Jamaica of a major natural disaster.

Probability-Impact Matrix

The threats and risks identified in the horizon scans were weighted and ranked in a probability-impact matrix, using the following parameters:

- The probability that an event will occur within a given time horizon.
- An estimate of the impact of each event in terms of fatalities, economic loss, and the risk of civil unrest.

Each category in the Probability-Impact Matrix corresponds to a Threat Tier, and each Tier is assigned an appropriate response, as follows:

Probability-Impact Matrix schematic

	High impact	Low impact
High probability	**Tier 1** Top priority; active response	**Tier 3** Medium priority, regular review
Low probability	**Tier 2** Monitor carefully, build resilience	**Tier 4** Low priority, occasional review

Tier 1 threats are clear and present dangers, and are therefore the top priority. They require an active response.

Tier 2 threats are major potential or imminent threats, but there are two caveats:

- First, some of these threats have the potential to cause catastrophic harm to Jamaica so it is important to actively monitor all Tier 2 items so that they can be rapidly upgraded to Tier 1 if necessary.
- Second, the concept of 'low probability' always refers to a particular period of time. For example, it is inevitable that Jamaica will experience a major earthquake one day, as it sits above several active faults. If this risk was evenly distributed over the next 100 years, that would give a 1% chance of a major earthquake in any one year, and a 10% chance of occurring within the next decade. Tier 2 threats therefore require constant monitoring. It is particularly important to build early warning systems and strengthen resilience.

Tier 3 threats are typically persistent but relatively low-impact problems, and are therefore unlikely to pose an existential threat. Here too, however, it is important to note another caveat, which is that social and economic systems can behave in a non-linear manner. As the Arab Spring uprisings demonstrated in 2011, a situation may appear stable, but then a single incident can trigger catastrophic consequences (such as an uprising that overturns the established order). Tier 3 threats typically require reforms to resolve underlying problems and reduce potential tensions, such as improving governance, eradicating corruption and building stronger institutions. This will increase resilience, and reduce the probability that a Tier 3 threat could suddenly become more serious.

Tier 4 threats are potential risks that are currently seen as less probable, and also as having less potential to inflict harm. However, Tier 4 threats require monitoring and occasional review, in case there is a change in the situation that causes a Tier 4 threat to become more serious.

Assessing probabilities and impacts

The probability-impact matrix, which is the basis for the organization of threats into these four tiers, requires analyzing and then integrating risks and impacts.

There is an important question with regard to Tier 2 events (high-impact, low-probability). How much time, effort and money should be assigned to prepare for something that is not currently happening? Given the current fragile state of the economy, and with the security forces under pressure on other fronts, this is a pertinent question. The answer is that the nation cannot afford to neglect high-impact, low-probability events, but they require a different kind of response. For example, if the sea level is expected to be higher in future, the first step is to stop any new permanent construction from being built too close to the shore. That way, by the time the sea level has risen, there are fewer people in harm's way.

Calculating risks

The probability-impact matrix is based on risk analysis, which requires some explanation.

- Risks are the combination of two factors; the chance that a particular event will happen to a person (or a country), and the number of times (or the length of time) that the person is exposed to that risk. If, for example, there is a 1/1,000 chance of a person being hit by a car when crossing a busy road, that might seem like an acceptably low risk. However, if 10,000 people cross the same road every day, then, on average, 10 people will be hit by a car every day. That might not seem so acceptable.
- Similarly, if there is a 1/300 risk of a serious accident at a nuclear power plant in any given year, then that might be expressed as one serious accident, on average, every 300 years. That might seem like an acceptably low risk. If, however, there are 300 nuclear power stations in the world, then, on average, there will be one serious accident every year. That too might not seem so acceptable.
- When a risk is expressed as a 'one in a hundred year event', many people assume that that means that the event will not happen for a century – or, if it does happen, that it won't happen again for a hundred years. Neither of these interpretations is correct; a 'one in a hundred year event' means that each year there is a 1% chance that the event will happen. So it is just as likely to happen in year 1 as in any other year. It is also important to note that the probability remains the same, even when the event happens. For example, if the event actually happens in year 5, then the probability of it happening again in year 6 is still 1%[1].

Risks are usually expressed as percentages, or on a scale of zero (impossible) to one (certain). So an extremely low risk has a probability close to zero, while a threat that is already affecting Jamaica would have a probability of 1, or 100%.

The perception of risk is not necessarily the same as statistical risk; it tends to vary by context and between individuals. For example, Jamaica has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, which should be a matter of the greatest concern to all citizens. However, most people take threats far more seriously when they believe themselves or their families to be directly

[1]This is true unless the event actually does make it less likely to happen again. For example, an earthquake might relieve the strain on a fault, so that the chance of another earthquake is then lower than before.

exposed to the risk, so will effectively assign a lower value to a stranger being murdered further away. The killing of a friend, relative, acquaintance or neighbour is far more directly and personally threatening.

The distribution of homicides in Jamaica is very uneven; most occur within six of the nineteen police divisions. So many Jamaicans are probably more concerned, in practice, with the distribution of the homicides than with the total. This may partially explain why Jamaica tolerates one of the highest homicide rates in the world; many who live in secure homes in 'good' areas do not seem to feel that they are exposed to an intolerable level of personal risk. By contrast, in Italy and Colombia, the elite (including judges and politicians) were targeted, and, probably as a result, there was sufficient political commitment to break the power of organized crime in those countries.

Threats can be rated in terms of the actual or probable harm that they would cause. This can be measured in terms of the number of deaths or serious injuries, the amount of infrastructure lost, or economic loss, such as cost of repairs and replacement, the increased cost of health care, insurance or security, financial capital written off, reduced income or a reduction in the rate of economic development and growth.

Impacts

Threats can be rated in terms of the actual or probable harm that they would cause. This can be measured in terms of the number of deaths or serious injuries, the amount of infrastructure lost, or economic loss, such as cost of repairs and replacement, the increased cost of health care, insurance or security, financial capital written off, reduced income or a reduction in the rate of economic development and growth.

Threats can have very different patterns of impacts. For example, a hurricane might have a devastating impact on agriculture, but have little effect on the homicide rate. In some cases, however, events are connected and the risks are then compounded. For example, a rise in the level of violent crime might deter investors, increase the rate of skill and capital flight, and force businesses to move out of the worst-affected areas, which would result in rising unemployment and a reduced rate of economic growth, which would result in turn in increased poverty and public debt, which might force a reduction in the size and capacity of the police force, and so on. This combination might then lead to a further rise in the rate of violent crime, thus triggering another round of damaging consequences. As this suggests, the risks that often do the most damage are compound risks that are also linked together in positive feedback loops, so that the process becomes self-sustaining, and continues to drive a country in a particular direction.

The Total Expected Impact metric

One way of comparing the impact of diverse events with different probability profiles and potential impacts is to estimate the total expected impact (TEI) for each event. This allows comparisons between different threats by calculating the expectation value for the number of fatalities, which is the estimate of the probability of the event multiplied by the estimate of the number of lives that would be lost if the event occurred[2]. So, in this case, TEI=P*F. This is a way of integrating risks and impacts, as indicated in the following examples[3]:

- There is a 50% chance that food prices will be so high this year that some cannot afford to eat; it is estimated that 40 people will starve. That gives a TEI of 20 lives[4].

[2] TEIs can also be used to compare between other types of impacts, such as economic losses.

[3] These are not intended to be realistic examples.

[4] These are 'statistical lives'.

- There is a 10% chance of a major earthquake this year, and it is estimated that it would cost 2,000 lives. That gives a TEI of 200 lives.

This means that it is five times more likely that the country will be affected by high food prices than by an earthquake, but the earthquake is a much greater threat, because the TEI is ten times higher.

When an event is already happening, its probability becomes 100%, so that then becomes its weight in the analysis. So a 100% chance of an event that would cost 1,000 lives gives a TEI of 1,000 lives.

Another important difference is that risk mitigation may have dramatically different costs for different events (per expected life saved). For example, it might be possible to reduce the number of fatal traffic accidents relatively cheaply, by installing traffic-calming measures at every accident black-spot, while the cost of ensuring that every building can withstand an earthquake might be relatively expensive. In a situation where resources are very limited, it might be necessary to calculate the cost of each possible intervention in terms of dollars per expected life saved in order to be able to choose the policy option that saves the greatest number of lives for a given budget.

However, the TEI score gives a relatively straightforward and useful first-order ranking of events for prioritizing actions in order to achieve the maximum expected impact reduction. This then allows a comparison between different kinds of threat, such as crime, which is already killing over 1,000 people each year in Jamaica, and an extreme event like an earthquake, which could kill more people if it happened, but has a relatively low probability of happening in any one year. If, for example, it is estimated that a major earthquake in Jamaica might kill 10,000 people, but has only a 1% chance of occurring in any one year, that would give a TEI of 100. If, however, 1,500 people are being murdered in Jamaica every year, the TEI is 1,500, which is fifteen times higher than for the earthquake. This is, in fact, why crime is a Tier 1 threat, while a major earthquake is classed as a Tier 2 threat.

Conclusion

The reason why crime, corruption and violence, along with the various social problems that both exacerbate them and are perpetuated by them, are the Tier 1 threats to Jamaica is as follows. First, they are already happening. Second, they result in so many deaths and injuries that Jamaica now has one of the highest homicide rates in the world, and, largely as a result, has also suffered from four decades of low growth. No other threat to Jamaica has a comparable social and economic impact. **Crime, corruption and violence are therefore the primary threats to the nation**

	HIGH IMPACT	LOW IMPACT
HIGH PROBABILITY	**Tier 1: Clear and present dangers**	**Tier 3: Persistent problems**
	1. Transnational organized crime (including trafficking in narcotics, weapons, ammunition and people, money laundering and cybercrime - including Lottery scams, identity theft and fraud). 2. Gangs and domestic organized crime (including contract killing, intimidation and extortion, kidnapping, dealing in narcotics and illegal weapons and money laundering). 3. Facilitators who launder the proceeds of crime. 4. A political system compromised by links to organized crime. 5. Corruption of elected and public officials, public works contracts awarded to criminals. 6. Lengthy delays and weaknesses in the justice system that undermine public confidence in justice. 7. Corruption in the institutions of state, e.g. in the security forces, police, prison and justice systems. 8. Gang-dominated garrison communities.	1. Low growth, high rates of unemployment, poverty, increasing disparities of wealth, education and opportunity; resulting in a risk of social unrest. 2. Possible loss of credibility with key international partners; resulting in a risk of reduced influence and support. 3. Deportees 4. Informal settlements
LOW PROBABILITY	**Tier 2: Major potential threats**	**Tier 4: Potential risks**
	1. Mexican and Central America cartels and narco-terrorists who might try to extend their influence across the Caribbean. 2. Terrorism (with particular regard to the tourism industry). 3. Energy and resource security, climate change, natural hazards, biodiversity loss.	1. Food security. 2. Water security.

Section 2: Policy
Tier 1 Threats: Clear and Present Dangers

- Transnational organized crime (e.g. trafficking in narcotics, weapons and people, money laundering and cybercrime - including Lottery scams, identity theft and fraud).
- Gangs and domestic organized crime (e.g. intimidation, extortion, contract killing, kidnapping, money laundering and dealing in narcotics and illegal weapons).
- Facilitators who launder the proceeds of crime.
- Links between the political system and organized crime (e.g. corruption of public officials, with public works contracts awarded to criminals).
- Lengthy delays and weaknesses in the justice system that undermine confidence in justice.Corruption in the institutions of state, e.g. in the security forces, police, prison and justice systems.
- Gang-dominated garrison communities.

Assessing Tier 1 Threats

The most important and immediate threat to national security and to the lives of the people of Jamaica is the high rate of violent crime and homicide, which is higher than in most civil wars. Violence is the most significant cause of premature death and disability amongst young males in Jamaica. This is not true of the entire population, where the main causes of premature death and disability are obesity, hypertension, diabetes, heart disease, cancer and other degenerative diseases, but organized crime, violence and corruption have had a far greater economic impact. The economy is now, at best, one-third of the size it should have been, it may be only one-tenth of the size it could have been. This means that violence, crime and corruption are the main causes of poverty in Jamaica, with all of the attendant problems, such as deficient infrastructure, education, housing, health and nutritional status.

Politics, Organized Crime and the role of the facilitator

The main causes of violence and homicide are transnational criminal organizations and local gangs, who are supported by corruption, fraud, extortion and money-laundering. Gangs fight, intimidate and kill to enforce their control over territory, the distribution of weapons, narcotics, and the proceeds of fraud, scams, extortion and other forms of crime. The trans-border shipment of narcotics (mainly into North America and Europe), the imports of weapons (predominantly from the USA, with smaller flows from Haiti and Central America) and frauds such as the Lottery scam generate large profits for criminals. The connections between politics and organized crime mean that some of these funds are used to corrupt officials and compromise the political process, which in turn has resulted in some major criminals being given protection.

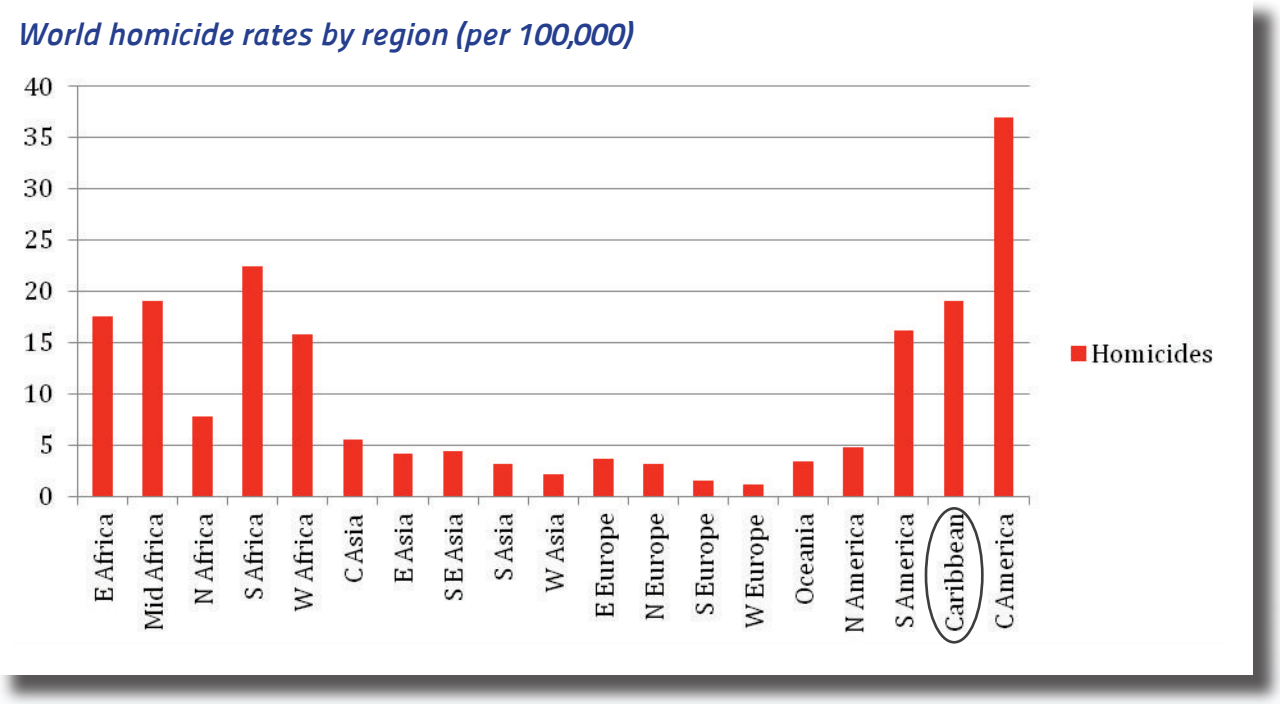
In a further blurring of the boundaries, some of those who profit from crime appear to be respectable citizens. Organized crime depends on facilitators; lawyers, accountants, politicians, bankers and real estate brokers who assist the criminals by protecting them, laundering the proceeds of crime (which lawyers can conceal by

claiming 'client confidentiality'), creating shell corporations, operating offshore bank accounts, establishing front businesses to conceal illegal activity, creating a facade of respectability for these businesses by serving as proxy directors, and investing criminal profits in legitimate enterprises, real estate and other assets and holdings. The wealth, power and influence of major criminals and their facilitators distorts the economy, makes it harder for legitimate businesses to survive, deters investment and causes a haemorrhage of skills and capital from Jamaica.

Homicide

Central America, Southern Africa and the Caribbean region have the highest homicide rates in the world[5]. Key factors in Central America and the Caribbean are the prevalence of criminal gangs and organized crime, in conjunction with proximity to the USA; simultaneously the world's largest consumer of illegal narcotics and the world's largest exporter of weapons.

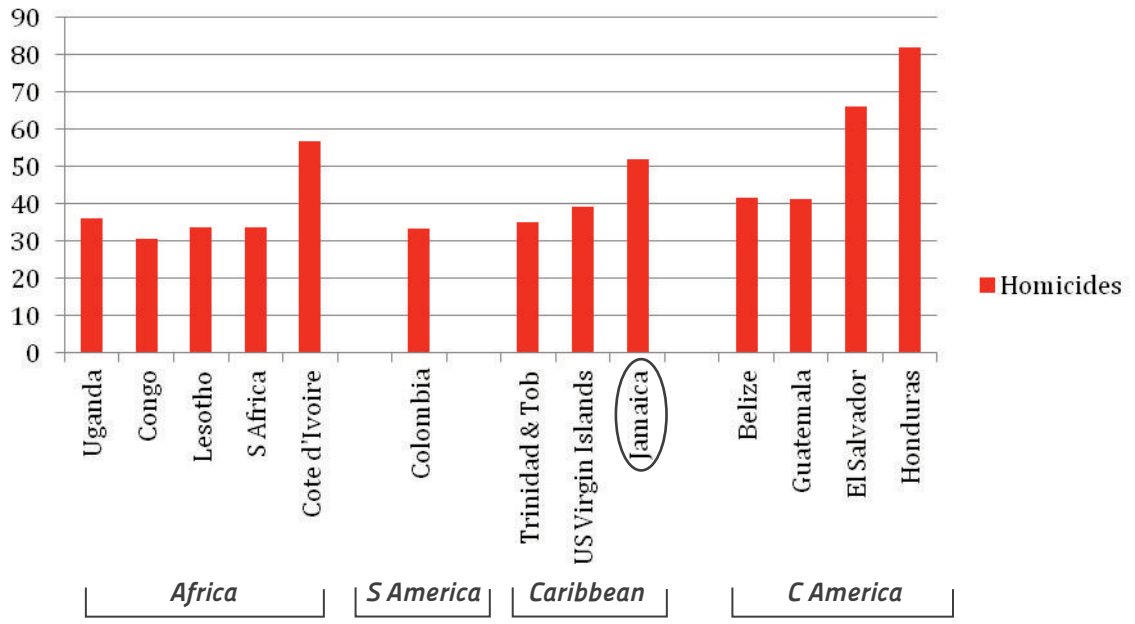
World homicide rates by region (per 100,000)



[5] Data from the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: UNODC Homicide Statistics: Homicide level for 2010 or latest available year.

However, each region contains both violent and relatively peaceful nations. Homicide rates in the Caribbean, for example, vary greatly from Martinique (4.2) to Jamaica (52.1 in 2010[ii]. The chart below therefore shows the level of homicides in the most violent countries in the world; those with homicide rates over 30/100,000.

The world's most violent countries



Jamaica (current population 2.8 million) has one of the world's highest per capita levels of violent crime. The UN Office on Drugs and Crime's 2011 Global Study on homicide reported that Honduras had the highest homicide rate in the world, with 82.1 homicides per 100,000 people. El Salvador was second (66/100,000), Côte d'Ivoire third (56.9/100,000) and Jamaica fourth (52.1/100,000) . The homicide rate in Côte d'Ivoire was largely due to the civil war, but this ended in April 2011, which meant that Jamaica was probably then in third place[6].

Jamaica's rate peaked at 1,680 homicides (62/100,000) in 2009, when it was close to that of El Salvador, but it fell by about 40% (the largest drop in three decades) after a major criminal was extradited in June 2010 following a joint military and police operation in a heavily fortified gang-dominated garrison community, which was then normalized with a strong police presence and comprehensive social intervention programs.

[6] There is a controversy about the homicide data for Venezuela. The official statistics for 2011 indicated that the homicide rate was 48/100,000, although independent estimates suggested that it reached 67/100,000. In 2012, the Interior Minister confirmed that the homicide rate had reached 65/100,000. If this is correct, Venezuela has overtaken Jamaica to become the third most violent country in the world; because the homicide rate in Venezuela has risen sharply, while the rate in Jamaica has fallen.

Putting homicide rates in context

Terrorism usually evokes a far stronger response than crime, but crime kills far more people than terrorism. For example, some 3,506 people were killed during the conflict in Northern Ireland (current population 1.8 million). The conflict lasted 32 years, which gives an average of 110 deaths per annum. So the rate of killing in Jamaica, the greater part of which is the result of gang violence, is about 15 times the rate in the low-level insurgency in Northern Ireland, or about 10 times higher on a per capita basis. So the rate of killing as a result of crime in Jamaica in 2009 was about 10 times higher than in the insurgency in Northern Ireland.

By the end of 2011, some 50,000 people had been killed or disappeared since Mexico declared a 'war on drugs' in December 2006, which is approximately 17 times more than died on 9/11[7]. Mexico's population is just over 1/3rd of that of the USA, so, on a per capita basis, Mexico suffers the equivalent of nearly nine 9/11 events each year.

The comparison with Jamaica is even more extreme, because of Jamaica's much smaller population. In terms of the percentage of the population murdered in 2009, Jamaica suffered the equivalent of one 9/11 event each week.

Organized crime and gangs

There are different 'generations' of gangs in Jamaica. At one end of the scale, there are international criminal organizations, with a significant presence in more than one country, well-connected to other criminal networks overseas. These transnational organized criminal structures (TNOCs) are involved in trafficking weapons and narcotics, money-laundering into overseas assets, domestic businesses and real estate, and the diversion of large government contracts, the latter requiring collusion from allies inside the political and governmental system. In addition to penetrating the state, TNOCs are also more likely to undermine the agencies of state, by bribing, intimidating or killing public officials, thereby weakening both the integrity of the state and public confidence in law and justice. Some of the most influential members or facilitators of these criminal organizations are also involved in business or politics, which allows them to appear legitimate.

At the other end of the scale, there are local gangs, predominantly young men who are fighting to defend 'their' territory. Their crimes are largely opportunistic and local, including extortion and protection rackets (for example, a tax may be levied on workers to 'buy bullets to protect the community'), as well as distributing weapons and narcotics. Some communities have the misfortune to have several such gangs, who fight each other to control the area.

There are also intermediate-level gangs, who are typically affiliated to one or other of the two main political parties, because they first became powerful by providing directed political violence in exchange for public works contracts[8]. They were then able to expand their role in other areas of the economy. Some of these gangs became major players in the distribution of narcotics and firearms, came to dominate particular sectors, and to cover much wider geographical areas .

[7] Nearly 3,000 people died in the four coordinated terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, including the people in the buildings that were targeted, the passengers and the 19 hijackers.

[8] The links between politics and crime in Jamaica have been extensively documented. See, for example, Payne (1988), Gray (2003), Sives (2003), Robotham (2003), Levy (2001), Munroe (2002), Figueroa and Sives (2003), Harriott (2004) and Kavanagh et al (2003).

Corruption, fraud, extortion and money laundering

There are different forms of corruption. **Organizational corruption** is where one or more people operate criminal activities inside legitimate organizations. This includes any public official who indicates that an extra cash payment will ensure that service is actually delivered, or a penalty overlooked. Corruption of this kind in, for example, the police or prison service creates vulnerabilities that can be exploited by criminals. **Judicial corruption** is often a more subtle process. A lawyer who advises his client to conceal the source of his funds may be facilitating crime, but the payment to the lawyer will be concealed in the fee. **Political corruption** may take the form of close links between a politician and a contractor which result in the flow of favours in both directions, not necessarily involving cash. Judicial and political corruption can often cause far more harm than organizational corruption, although the latter is both more obvious and more annoying to the public, because they are less visible, the sums involved are usually larger, and they undermine the basis for law and justice.

The direction of public works contracts into the hands of political affiliates has also been particularly damaging, as this has often resulted in unnecessarily expensive or poor quality infrastructure. For example, a contract to build a road might provide an opportunity to reward political affiliates, and shoddy construction would ensure that the road surface would crumble, which would then allow the issuing of another contract to resurface the road. This is one of the reasons why Jamaica has, simultaneously, one of the most dense road networks in the world, and one of the worst road networks in the world in terms of the percentage of road in good condition. The 1993 and 1994 World Development Reports on Infrastructure and Development show that Jamaica has a road density of 1,881km per million persons, the second highest road density network in the world; but that only 10% of the road network was in good condition, one of the lowest percentages in the world, which reflects chronic problems with bad construction and poor maintenance, in part due to the practice of preferentially assigning contracts to favoured contractors[v], with inadequate oversight. Another related area of concern is the placing of public works contracts, as a number of these have gone to organizations that are fronts for organized crime. This means that the main source of income for some of Jamaica's criminal organizations is probably tax dollars, rather than narco-trafficking or extortion.

In all such cases, the taxpayer is doubly cheated; corrupt officials and criminals collude in the theft of public funds, and the infrastructure that results is often more expensive, badly built, or not built at all.

Another, less obvious route involves placing contractors under pressure to take on unnecessary labour. About 80% of all major construction projects in Jamaica come via the government, so all major contractors understand the need to maintain good relations with the party in power, and some are particularly close to key decision-makers in one or both of the parties. If a contractor is awarded a large contract, he may then be expected to take on additional labour from other organizations that are affiliated to the party in power. This may take the form of providing site 'security', construction materials and casual labour, all of which will come with an additional overhead. This means that the construction is significantly more expensive than it should have been; the difference is the cost of corruption.

So the people of Jamaica pay a quadruple price for corruption, including:

- The loss of legitimate businesses, which cannot compete with those who are corruptly favoured.
- Lost economic development, investment and prosperity.
- A legacy of deficient infrastructure.
- The growth of the gangs that still dominate many areas.

Some gangs grew strong because they took advantage of and contributed to political violence. The level of political violence has fallen markedly over the past 20 years, but the gangs have remained and diversified into a broad spectrum of criminal activities, including fraud, extortion and trafficking weapons and narcotics. Technological progress has been an increasingly significant factor, as this has created new opportunities for crime, such as identity theft, various forms of internet fraud and the lottery scam; the latter has allowed criminals in Jamaica to defraud citizens of other countries, sometimes repeatedly. The size of the Lottery scam is difficult to assess, as about 90% of victims do not report their losses, but the U.S. Federal Trade Commission (FTC) has estimated that lottery scams defraud U.S. citizens of $1 billion each year, and the U.S. Senate has stated these are typically run from Jamaica[vi]. In 2012 the FTC received nearly 30,000 complaints about Jamaican lottery scamming, which suggests that there may have been around 300,000 attempts at fraud, many of which were successful[vii].

The impact of crime on the economy

Violence and corruption in Jamaica have deterred inward investment, destroyed capital formation and discouraged business development; some urban areas have been reduced to derelict lots as businesses have been intimidated and bankrupted by extortion. This reflects the impacts of both crime and the fear of crime. For example, the Transparency International 2010 Corruption Perception Index gave Jamaica a score of 3.3, indicating a perception of pervasive corruption, but most Jamaicans report that the level of petty corruption has fallen. This suggests that the perceived level of corruption may be higher than it actually is, indicating the extent to which Jamaica has become a low-trust society. However, another reason for the high CPI score is the perception that the level of grand corruption remains high.

The direct cost of crime and corruption to Jamaica includes lost life expectancy as well as the cost of injuries and health care, but the total economic loss also includes the indirect cost of crime, which includes the higher cost of doing business in a low-trust society, losses due to theft and extortion, business closures, capital flight, the emigration of skilled workers and the loss of foreign investment.

There are a wide range of these indirect costs. When high rates of crime make property rights less secure, people tend to work less hard and invest less capital, while businesses may reduce the level of their operations. The logic is simple; there is a risk that the profits will simply be stolen, extorted or confiscated by others. Investors are also deterred by doubts about law and order, and the capacity of legal systems to effectively enforce justice, as this removes their protection and reduces their chances of redress. Finally, any social system that

[10] Jamaica's largest legitimate sources of foreign exchange (data from 2010 and 2011) are remittances (US$1.8 billion), tourism (US$880 million), and mining and quarrying (US$135 million), indicating that fraud is now Jamaica's third largest source of foreign exchange. As the Lottery scam funds are usually imported via wire transfer, it is likely that the national income from remittances also includes a significant contribution from fraud, money-laundering and tax evasion.

allows powerful members of society to extort from the poor will condemn that country to continuing poverty and misery, because this prevents the poor from accumulating capital and improving their circumstances[viii].

Calculating the cost of crime

An estimate of the cost of crime to Jamaica by Francis et al. (2003)[ix] included health costs, the value of lost production due to death and injury related to crime, and public and private expenditure on security. They estimated that health costs were 0.4% of GDP, lost production was 0.2% of GDP, and expenditure on security was 3.1% of GDP, giving a total of 3.7% of GDP. The allowance for security included defence, justice, correctional services and the police. This is, of course, an over-estimate, as expenditure on security would not be zero even if Jamaica had a low crime rate. The justification for including all expenditure was, in part, that of all cases filed with the Resident Magistrate courts in 2001, just 10% were civil cases, while 90% were criminal cases, indicating that the greater part of government expenditure on the justice system and the police was spent on crime[9x].

However, this estimate did not include non-monetary costs, such as the pain, trauma and suffering of victims and their families, and the long-term psychological effects of living in fear, or the long-term social damage caused by the cycle of violence, where children that have lost family members or otherwise profoundly traumatized by violence are more likely to be violent as adults, thereby perpetuating the problems from one generation to the next. Also excluded were the various second-order and indirect impacts of crime on businesses, which include shorter working hours[10] and consequently reduced worker productivity, undeclared losses to various forms of extortion, higher spending on security, increased risk and consequently reduced access to borrowing, more expensive insurance[11] and more costly capital.

Probably the most significant omission, however, at least in terms of economic cost, was the impact of violent crime on people's ability to save and willingness to invest, which translates directly into reduced rates of capital accumulation, which then depresses future growth rates. As the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime and the Latin America and the Caribbean Region of the World Bank report 'Crime, Violence, and Development: Trends, Costs, and Policy Options in the Caribbean (March 2007)[xi] points out, this can result in a vicious circle, where regions badly affected by violence receive very little productive investment, which means that there are very few legitimate employment opportunities, which in turn means that crime becomes the main source of opportunity, thereby increasing the level of crime, which further deters investment.

The UNODC/World Bank report also estimated the impact of crime on overall economic growth rates, using a cross-country analysis. They compared the economic growth rate for Costa Rica with that of Jamaica. Costa Rica was chosen because it is one of the least violent countries near the Caribbean region; it had a homicide rate of 8.1/100,000 during the period 1996-2000. During the same period, the homicide rate in Jamaica was 33.8/100,000. A regression analysis suggested that Jamaica's economic

[9] This was further supported by the UNDP report The Social Costs of Crime in Jamaica and the Challenge of Good Governance (2010), which noted that almost 10% of total recurrent public expenditure now had to be devoted to public order and safety.

[10] Some businesses in high-crime areas have a shorter working day so that staff can leave during hours of daylight.

[11] Some insurance companies are reluctant to insure businesses in high-crime areas, so these businesses are then left to bear the entire cost of any damage and losses.

growth rate would increase by 5.4% per annum if the homicide rate could be brought down to that of Costa Rica. Unfortunately, Jamaica's homicide rate continued to rise, peaking at 63/100,000 in 2009.

Other estimates suggest that the cost of crime to Jamaica may be significantly higher. For example, Ward et al (2009)[xii] estimated that the direct medical cost of injuries due to interpersonal violence accounted for nearly 12% of Jamaica's total health expenditure in 2006, while productivity losses due to interpersonal violence-related injuries accounted for approximately 4% of Jamaica's GDP. If the latter is added to the estimate of security costs by Francis et al., then the combined total is 7.1% of Jamaica's GDP.

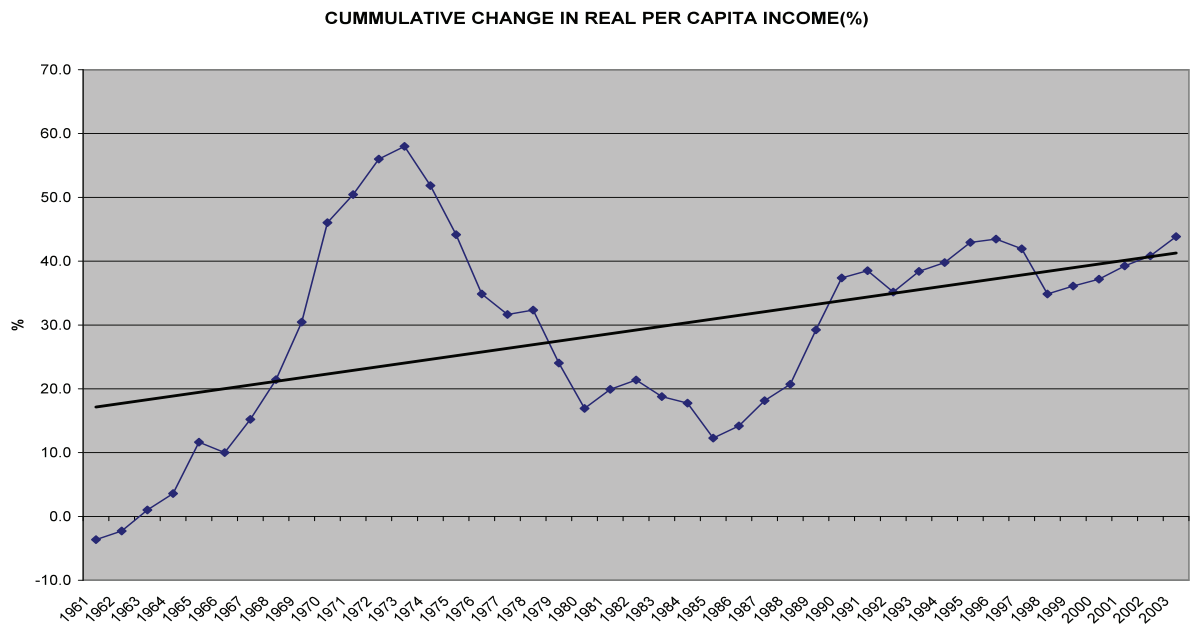
Jamaica's economy grew strongly for 23 years, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, including the decade after Independence. The growth rate averaged 4.8% per annum throughout the 1960s. In the early 1970s, however, a sharp increase in violence precipitated a surge of skill and capital flight, and established the inter-penetration of politics and organized crime. The pattern of economic growth changed dramatically from consistent strong growth to repeated recessions and weak growth. Since 1972/3, the economy has grown at an average of just over 1%, just one-fifth of the previous rate. As a result, Jamaica collapsed from being one of the strongest economies in the Caribbean to being one of the weakest. This can be seen in the table below (based on data from Boyd, 2006)[xiii].

Jamaica's comparative decline

Country rank 1974		GDP/capita 1974	Country rank 2003		GDP/capita 2003
1.	Jamaica	100	1.	Antigua and Barbuda	275
2.	Trinidad & Tobago	80	2.	Barbados	270
3.	Antigua & Barbuda	71	3.	Trinidad & Tobago	220
4.	Barbados	68	4.	St Kitts & Nevis	210
5.	St Kitts & Nevis	50	5.	St Lucia	123
6.	Belize	49	6.	Grenada	115
7.	Guyana	45	7.	Belize	106
8.	St Lucia	44	8.	Dominica	102
9.	St Vincent & Grenadines	33	9.	St Vincent & Grenadines	94
10.	Dominica	32	10.	Jamaica	89
11.	Grenada	30	11.	Guyana	28

The GDP per capita data is shown relative to income in Jamaica, which is set at 100, so that all other incomes are percentages of income in Jamaica in 1974. In 1974, for example, income in Antigua and Barbuda was 71% of income in Jamaica. By 2003, income in Antigua and Barbuda was 275% of income in Jamaica. Every other country in the region, apart from Guyana, became relatively prosperous compared to Jamaica. Jamaica and Guyana were the only two countries where per capita income actually declined, but Jamaica's case is exceptional, for two reasons. One is that it fell from being the regional leader to being one of the two weakest economies in the region. The other is that Jamaica was not gradually overtaken by the other countries; there was a remarkably sharp turning point in Jamaica's fortunes which clearly marked the beginning of the country's decline. The inflection point in Jamaica's development can be seen in the graph below (from Kn'Ife, 2005)[xiv].

Jamaica's inflection point



If 1972 is taken as the baseline year, the accumulated cost of crime from 1972 to 2010 at 3.7% of GDP would be US$8.7 billion, at 5.4% GDP it would be US$12.7 billion, and at 7.1% of GDP it would be US$16.7 billion. For comparison, Jamaica's public debt at December 2011 was US$18.7 billion, so the accumulated losses due to crime (at 7.1% of GDP) would equal 89% of that debt.

However, this estimate may still be too conservative, because, as the UNODC/World Bank report points out, some of the factors involved are deeply interconnected. This means that the risks are compounded, which can result in a vicious spiral of escalating social and economic damage. For example, a rise in the level of violent crime might increase the cost of doing business (with losses to theft, looting, arson and extortion, the added cost of additional security and pressure to take on unnecessary 'workers'), deter investors, reduce the rate of reinvestment and new business formation, increase the rate of capital flight overseas and spur the emigration of skilled personnel, all of which would tend to increase the rate of business closures, as well as forcing some of the remaining businesses to relocate. There is also likely to be a significant cost in terms of lost foreign direct investment, which will become increasingly likely to go to other jurisdictions as the conditions deteriorate. This would then result in rising unemployment and a reduced rate of economic growth, which would in turn result in increased poverty and rising public debt, which might force a reduction in the size and capacity of the police force, reduced levels of social expenditure and the withdrawal of government business incentive programs. This combination might then lead to a further rise in the rate of violent crime, and all the other risks and uncertainties associated with high levels of crime and violence, thus triggering another round of damaging consequences. High rates of corruption, compounded by the fear of violence, can also result in the misappropriation of

public funds and the channeling of public works contracts to organized crime, which can result in unnecessarily costly and poor-quality infrastructure, which can then undermine attempts to improve a country's fiscal management, and increase its indebtedness.

As this suggests, compounded risk factors that are also linked together in positive feedback loops often do the most damage, because the process becomes self-sustaining, and continues to drive a country in a particular direction. This analysis is supported by the World Bank's 2011 World Development Report , which reaches an even more profound conclusion; that violence is not just one cause of poverty among many other factors, it is the primary cause[xvi],[12].

So the estimates of the annual losses to crime do not complete the reckoning of the cost of crime and violence to Jamaica, because it is also necessary to estimate the cumulative impact of lost growth. If the above analysis is correct, Jamaica's development has been crippled by its high rates of crime and corruption. This is supported by the fact that the economy has stagnated for most of the last four decades, with low growth and declining productivity, while other countries have transformed their productive potential, economic growth rates and development prospects. The full cost of crime, therefore, has to include the cumulative cost of four decades of lost productivity growth.

One way to estimate this loss is to compare Jamaica with Barbados, a smaller country with few natural resources. If Jamaica's rate of productivity growth had kept pace with that of Barbados, then Jamaica today would be almost three times more productive and wealthier than it is now, and the quality of life would have been correspondingly transformed. Another way to estimate this loss is to project forward from the rate of growth before Jamaica's descent into violence, when Jamaica's economic growth rate collapsed from nearly 5% to just over 1%. If the growth rate of the 1960s had continued, then today Jamaica's economy would be almost ten times bigger than it is now[13].

So violence, crime and corruption have had a profound and terrible impact on Jamaica. The economy is now, at best, one-third of the size. It may be only one-tenth of the size it could have been. This supports the conclusion in Jamaica's Vision 2030 National Development Plan ; that effective action against crime and corruption would do more to increase productivity and improve the economy of Jamaica than any other measure[14].

The high levels of crime in Jamaica are both a symptom and a cause of the country's lost development. Crime adds a significant hidden cost to all business and government transactions, deters investment, encourages the migration of skill and capital, diverts resources, fosters an atmosphere of fear and tension and polarizes society; the

[12] The Report notes, for example, that until 1990, Burundi and Burkina Faso had similar rates of growth and levels of income. In 1993, however, Burundi suffered a civil war, while Burkina Faso continued to remain peaceful. As a result, Burkina Faso is now two-and-a-half times richer than Burundi. The Report concluded that people in developing countries that are badly affected by violence are over twice as likely to be malnourished, three times as likely to miss primary school and almost twice as likely to die in infancy as people in other developing countries, and that the countries that are most affected by violence are also the most vulnerable to economic shocks, mainly because their institutions of government are greatly weakened. The Report also points out that gang-related violence now kills more people than most wars (in Guatemala, for example, more people are now murdered each year by gangs than were killed in Guatemala's civil war in the 1980s) so that countries with high rates of crime and violence are likely to suffer similar consequences of lost economic growth and perpetuated poverty.

[13] It is important to note with a counterfactual analysis of this kind that other factors might have intervened to prevent Jamaica from achieving this better future, but this comparison does provide some measure of what has been lost.

[14] Vision 2030: National Development Plan (p106)

middle class retreat into gated communities while the poor must engage in a struggle to survive. This has fostered a low-trust culture characterized by high levels of incivility and aggression, in which many people have come to accept higher levels of criminality, are fatalistic about their ability to prevent it, and are therefore more likely to commit crimes themselves. Understandably, most surveys find, firstly, that crime and violence are the main deterrents to investment, and, secondly, that the majority of the population thinks that crime and violence are the most important problems facing Jamaica today[15].

With sufficient political will, however, it would be possible to restore Jamaica's peace and prosperity. It would not necessarily take long. In just six years (2002-2008), Colombia was able to reduce the number of kidnappings by 87%, the number of terrorist acts by 82%, and the number of homicides by 53%. This was the result of four policies:

- Changing the primary goal of national security from the defence of the state to the protection of all citizens.
- Deploying a 'clear, hold and build strategy' to reclaim the country from the narco-traffickers and extortionists.
- Isolating hard-core gang members, and giving the peripheral members a way out of the gangs.
- Reforming the legal system, so that the time needed for a criminal case was reduced by 80%, and the conviction rate rose from 3% to 60%.

As a result, Colombia's economic growth rate rose from 1.9% to 7.9%, and unemployment fell by 29%.

With similar resolve, Jamaica could solve its problems with crime, corruption and violence, and liberate itself from poverty and underdevelopment.

Conclusion: the role of national security in enabling development

Crime in Jamaica cannot be considered apart from other mainstream development concerns; it reflects organized activities that undermine and exploit weak civil institutions in order to be able to manipulate and exploit vulnerable individuals and entire communities for personal and organized gain. This destroys the process of capital formation and business development; some areas in major cities have been reduced to a wasteland of derelict buildings as businesses have been bankrupted by extortion, the entrepreneurs have emigrated and their capital has been reallocated elsewhere, a combination that can sabotage all hopes of development.

A fight against crime is therefore a fight for development; measures to reduce the social and economic damage caused by pervasive crime have to be integral to the developmental activities of the state. Security should be seen as both a core developmental goal and an essential precondition for the delivery of other developmental goals. Government spending on national security is therefore a primary investment; peace and stability are the preconditions for investment, business development and economic growth. Investments in improving law and order in Jamaica would do more to increase productivity and improve the economy than any other measure (including investments in infrastructure, education or health

[15] Jamaica's high levels of violence have consequences for other countries as well; a number of killings in the USA, UK and Canada have been attributed to Jamaican gangs. One Jamaica-based gang is estimated to have killed over 1,400 people in the USA during the 1980s, while the arrest of over 100 members of the same gang in Toronto in 2011 resulted in homicide rates in the city immediately falling to a 25-year low . Jamaican citizens have, for some years, been the largest foreign contingent in British jails; in 2005, there were 2,500 incarcerated at a cost to UK taxpayers of £91 million per annum. The harm is reciprocal; there have been murders in the US and UK that were immediately followed by retaliatory killings in Jamaica.

care). Investment in national security is an investment in Jamaica's future development and prosperity.

Jamaica's development has been profoundly damaged by violence, crime and corruption. There is no point in merely trying to contain these problems, and limit the damage that they cause. This approach has been tried for over forty years, and has failed. The goal now, therefore, is to transform Jamaica's prospects by decisively breaking the grip that crime and corruption have on this nation. This means dismantling the gangs, arresting their leaders and the people who have facilitated their operations, seizing their assets and putting them out of business.

The next section of this report outlines the measures designed to deliver these results. There are six key recommendations, all equally important. The only way that Jamaica can escape from the trap of crime, corruption, poverty and underdevelopment is to make progress on all six measures simultaneously.

The future of the nation depends on the outcome.

Addressing Tier 1 Threats

Six key steps are needed to address the Tier 1 threats in Jamaica

1. *Remove the profit from crime*
2. *Reform the justice system*
3. *Policing by consent*
4. *Adopt a coherent anti-gang strategy*
5. *Focus on at-risk individuals and communities*
6. *Strengthen systems of governance*

I. Remove The Profit From Crime

It is a common misconception that the way to make progress against organized crime is to disrupt specific forms of criminal activity. For example, a great deal of time, effort and money has been expended on intercepting shipments of drugs or weapons, and many lives have been lost in the attempt. This approach has been pursued by a number of countries for decades, and many criminals have been caught and jailed, but organized crime continues to thrive, illegal narcotics and weapons are still being traded, and criminal activity is still inflicting serious social and economic harm.

One of the main reasons why this approach has never succeeded in eliminating organized crime is that it does not allow for the flexibility and adaptability demonstrated by successful career criminals, many of whom have been adept at identifying and moving into new areas of criminal activity. Traffickers will also switch their suppliers, use different shipping routes, develop new products and expand into new markets; partly in response to market prices, and partly in response to pressure from law enforcement agencies. If one form of crime becomes more lucrative and less risky than another, the criminals will usually adapt and change their tactics accordingly. The Italian Mafia, for example, have defrauded the European Commission for subsidies for wind turbines, the Mexican drug cartels may now make as much money from illegal oil sales as from cocaine, while cybercrime now does more economic harm to the European Union than illegal narcotics. Similarly, some criminal organizations have relocated their criminal enterprises into weaker or more lenient jurisdictions when under pressure. For example, as a result of the strong measures taken by the Government of Colombia, cocaine production in Colombia fell markedly. However, the total production of cocaine in the region did not decline, because production simply relocated from Colombia into Bolivia and Peru [xviii], [xix].

The structure of criminal organizations will

also evolve in response to pressure from law enforcement. For example, drug trafficking in Mexico used to involve many small, mostly family-based criminal organizations. Under pressure from the security forces, these small gangs were replaced by a few large cartels, as the cartels had the financial resources and organizational ability to operate the more sophisticated supply and distribution operations required in the increasingly difficult environment. A related problem is that routine police interventions are more likely to catch the less skilled criminals, while the more intelligent or ruthless criminals are more likely to evade capture, which will have the effect of raising the average level of criminal competence over time.

So fighting crime by trying to disrupt specific criminal activities will certainly affect the pattern of crime, but this often means displacing the main impact of crime from one sector or from one area to another, rather than reducing the overall level of criminal activity. This is why this approach is sometimes referred to as 'squeezing the balloon'; pressure applied in one location or on one form of activity will merely push the problems into another area where there is less resistance [xx].

The business of crime

Career criminals are not in the business of extortion, trafficking narcotics or weapons; they are in the business of making money. Crimes of that type are motivated primarily by profit, so the only way to permanently reduce the level of crime is to take the profit out of crime[16]. This is now being done very successfully in a number of other countries with the aggressive use of Proceeds of Crime legislation. This allows law enforcement agencies to seize the assets of organized crime, and of those people who facilitate and assist organized crime.

This means that the focus has to shift from street-level criminals to the top bosses, who enjoy and control the profits, and the people who handle the money, i.e. the facilitators. The latter group was identified in the US Government's 'Strategy to Combat Transnational Organized Crime' as being the key to dismantling and degrading criminal networks; it includes the politicians, lawyers, accountants, bankers, businessmen, real estate brokers and others who operate in both the licit and illicit worlds. As the US Government strategy points out, organized crime depends on these facilitators; they channel contracts to businesses that are fronts for organized crime, create chains of sub-contracts that conceal the true beneficiaries of e.g. public works projects, create shell corporations that conceal the real owners of particular assets, establish offshore corporations and bank accounts to move funds out of the jurisdictional reach of law enforcement, establish front businesses to conceal illegal activity, create a facade of respectability for these businesses by serving as proxy directors, launder money into real estate and other assets and holdings, and allow or facilitate a range of other corrupt financial and business transactions. It is the facilitators that protect organized crime, and allow it to flourish. They are also among the primary beneficiaries of organized crime, as they take a significant percentage of the profits of extortion, narco-trafficking and murder, while continuing to pose as respectable citizens.

Targeting the top bosses and their facilitators is therefore the most effective way to degrade criminal networks, seize

[16] Two of the most important factors in determining the level of crime are the profit margin and the perceived risk of detection and punishment. The rate of crime will tend to increase when criminal activity is lucrative and when the risk of detection and punishment is perceived to be low, so it is important to simultaneously increase the risk of detection and punishment (i.e. with more effective systems of policing and justice) and remove the profits of crime (by seizing the assets of criminals and their facilitators).

their assets and undermine their power, which then allows these criminal networks to be permanently dismantled. The countries that have started to make aggressive use of Proceeds of Crime legislation are all now extracting large volumes of cash from criminals. For example:

- The London Metropolitan Police are now seizing US$100,000 per day, on average, from organized crime and money-launderers. The UK as a whole recovered or deprived criminals of over £1 billion in assets and profits from crime in 2011[xxi].
- In 2011, the FBI brought in over US$12 billion in seized assets and Court-ordered restitution payments, as well as securing 3,000 convictions.
- The Monti administration in Italy (November 2011 – December 2012) estimated that the nation was losing €275 billion (17.5% of GDP) each year in tax evasion and money-laundering, which suggested that Italy could pay off its entire national debt in less than six years if this money could be recovered.

At this stage, it is difficult to estimate the extent of the criminal assets that could be seized in Jamaica. However, if the extent of the problem in Jamaica is in proportion to that in the UK, USA and Italy, it would mean that a successful program of asset recovery could cripple organized crime while simultaneously helping to put the public accounts in order and paying down the national debt. The first priority, however, is to break the power of organized crime by sequestering criminal assets, as that will stem the haemorrhage of investment capital and skills from Jamaica.

Money laundering and tax evasion

Some of the same tactics used in money laundering (where people try to conceal the proceeds of crime and 'launder' them into legitimate assets) are also used in tax evasion (where people try to avoid paying the taxes to which they are liable), so the measures needed to prevent money laundering can also help to reduce the level of tax evasion. For example, Italy, where tax evasion was estimated to be 8% of GDP, was obliged by a financial crisis to introduce controls in 2011-2012 on some of the measures used to avoid taxes. These controls then disrupted a number of the Mafia's money-laundering operations, revealing the overlap between these two forms of crime[xxii].

Much tax evasion takes place in sectors of the economy where cash payments are common, including restaurants, garages and construction sites, and where professionals also accept payment in cash, as funds can be transferred without accompanying records. In Jamaica, entertainment is sometimes used in money-laundering operations, because the cash generated by crime can be disguised as gate receipts.

It is important to take all necessary steps to restrict both money laundering and tax evasion. However, it is also important to address the factors that increase the level of tax evasion. In particular, the level of tax evasion tends to be higher where taxes are onerous, the tax system is complicated and burdensome, and the probability of detection is low. Measures to prevent tax evasion, tax fraud and money laundering in Jamaica should therefore be accompanied by measures to reduce the tax burden on legitimate businesses and PAYE workers, to bring the informal sector into the tax net, and to simplify and streamline the process of tax collection. This will help to reduce the level of tax evasion, improve the public finances, and make it easier to identify serious criminals.

Action Points

The fight against the crime that has crippled Jamaica requires decisive leadership. It also depends on a 'whole-of-government' approach. National security is not the sole province of the portfolio Ministry; key Ministries and Government agencies, such as the Ministries of Finance and Justice, also have an essential role to play. It is important, therefore:

1. **Establish a permanent framework for inter-Ministerial cooperation** on national security issues, under the auspices of the National Security Council, which is chaired by the Prime Minister. Other specific recommendations include:
2. **Establish a task force.** The successful prosecution of fraud and money laundering cases depends on the ability to manage and integrate complex legal, financial and personal data from diverse sources and jurisdictions, so it is a high priority to establish a high-level task force that will integrate the necessary strands of information. This task force should not be disbanded after a few successes, as it will take a long time to trace and seize the proceeds of organized crime, break the power of the major criminals, eliminate the influence of the key facilitators, destroy their reign of fear and eradicate the pervasive corruption that allowed criminality to flourish.
3. **Upgrade the intelligence architecture, strengthen technical capacity.** It is vital to strengthen the technical capacity needed to detect and unravel complex fraud and money laundering operations.
4. **Establish a special court.** The next section of this document outlines proposed reforms for the justice system. However, this is likely to be a lengthy process. In the interim, therefore, it may be necessary to establish a special court with the necessary technical support and expertise to hear serious cases of organized crime, fraud and money-laundering[17].
5. **Denial of Assets**. There should be automatic denial of tainted assets during trial. Criminals should not be allowed to pay their legal fees with the proceeds of crime. Those accused of crimes such as fraud, extortion or money-laundering should be required to demonstrate that the funds used to pay their legal fees were obtained legitimately, and they should only be allowed to draw moderate living expenses from frozen assets while their case is being determined.
6. **Asset Forfeiture.** There should be automatic asset forfeiture on being found guilty of crimes such as major fraud, extortion, trafficking, embezzlement and money-laundering, including not just the funds associated with the actual trial, but all personal assets that cannot be proven to be clean, plus an estimate of the lifetime personal profits derived from criminal activity, and confiscation of those estimated profits[18].

[17] This was one of the recommendations of the Jamaica Justice Reform Task Force Report of 2007

[18] This is the model now used in other jurisdictions, such as the UK.

Financial investigation

1. Increase the capacity of the Financial Investigations Division (FID) by granting it stronger investigative powers, and more aggressive use of asset recovery. This should be modeled on the cross-referencing initiative introduced in Italy in 2011 which allows tax officials to examine bank accounts to check declared income against bank deposits, as well as real estate, investments and car ownership.
2. The FID should focus on profiling the most serious criminals instead of going after 'small dollar' cases.
3. The Revenue Protection Division should be given a mandate to cooperate with national security agencies in all cases involving suspected fraud, money-laundering and tax evasion.
4. Regularly review the legislation relating to cybercrime, including scams, fraud, extortion and the 'grooming' of victims by sex abusers to ensure that it remains adequate to address one of the most rapidly-evolving forms of crime.
5. Accelerate the introduction of a National Identification System, as this would help to prevent many forms of money-laundering and tax evasion (provided that all public and many private transactions then required entering the national ID number, including government offices, tax, banking, large money transfers and investments).

Public contracts and licenses

1. Establish higher levels of transparency and oversight of the award of public contracts. As far as possible, a 'fit and proper' criterion should be applied to bidders for all government contracts and licenses. Major contracts should be subject to vetting, so that any person or organization known to be involved in organized crime, a front for organized crime or a significant beneficiary of organized crime can be identified before the bid is awarded.
2. All government contracts should specify that if the contract is won by a person or organization that is subsequently established to be involved in organized crime or a front for organized crime, then part or all of the cost of the completed component of the contract has to be refunded by the contractor, plus interest, with an additional penalty to cover the increased cost of completing any unfinished components of the contract.
3. All government contracts should specify that if the contract is won on the basis of forged certification or certification obtained corruptly or by any other fraudulent and/or material misrepresentation, then part or all of the full cost of the completed component of the contract has to be refunded by the contractor, plus interest, with an additional penalty to cover the increased cost of completing any unfinished components of the contract.

4. Amend the definition of Government Contract to include all major sub contractors and other tributary contracts above a given threshold value (which should be pegged to the value range of contracts which require the endorsement of the National Contracts Commission)[19].
5. All contractors and major sub-contractors should be routinely required to disclose the principal and beneficial shareholders of their respective companies.
6. Contracts for infrastructure projects should carry fixed-term maintenance obligations and recoverable cost liabilities, so that any road (for example) that deteriorates badly while in normal use within the given period has to be properly repaired at the contractor's expense.

Legislation

1. Increase significantly the penalties for contravening the Public Sector Procurement Guidelines.
2. Merge the Corruption Prevention Commission, the Integrity Commission and the Office of the Contractor General into a single Anti-Corruption Agency[20].
3. Review the Proceeds of Crime Act (POCA) to ensure that the legislation can be extended to anyone who facilitates organized crime, and anyone involved in corrupting the government's contracting process.
4. Encourage the use of the Evidence (Special Measures) Act, 2012, which allows evidence to be given by live link from remote locations, in cases where there is a risk that witnesses might be intimidated, or where the victim (of e.g. a Lottery scam) is an elderly citizen of another country, or where the victim or witness is a child, and needs to be protected from the trauma of appearing in court[21]. The Evidence (Special Measures) Act can also be used to reduce the number of prisoners on remand that have to be transferred between the correctional centres and the courts, which will increase security and reduce cost.
5. Introduce Public Interest Immunity legislation, so that information from covert sources can be taken into consideration in Court without the need to disclose their identities.
6. Amend the Real Estate Dealers and Developers Act to close the loopholes that currently allow illegal funds to be blended with legitimate investment capital. Serious breaches should be made a first or second schedule offence, as appropriate, under the POCA. The Real Estate Board should also be given formal responsibilities under the POCA to monitor all transactions and report any suspicious activity.

[19] It will be necessary to incorporate precise definitions of major subcontractors, tributary contracts and threshold values into the relevant contracts and legislation.

[20] This proposal would supersede the Special Prosecutor Bill.

[21] This is not the only measure needed to protect children who have to appear in court; others were proposed by the Child Development Agency and were included in the Justice Sector Reform program. It is particularly important, for example, that cases involving children are dealt with rapidly, in a child-friendly environment.

7. Introduce reporting requirements for non-financial institutions under the POCA. This includes professionals such as lawyers and accountants, agencies such as the Real Estate Board, and possibly large-scale car dealers and entertainment-providers [22], [23].
8. Introduce cash payment limits to prevent money laundering, tax evasion and extortion. Any transaction above the set limit should be by credit card, cheque, manager's cheque, inter-account transfer or any other method that leaves a record and an audit trail. Payments by the Government for goods and services should be made by wire transfer, phasing out the use of cheques, as this will help to reduce both cost and the risk of fraud and corruption.

Seized assets

1. Part of the funds seized should be re-invested in the asset seizure program and the fight against organized crime. Part of the funds should also be returned to the community to fund developments that will benefit everyone (such as new schools, clinics, community centres, roads, water and drainage systems and street lighting), as this is an essential part of the 'hearts and minds' strategy needed to win the support of the community, and turn them against the criminals.
2. Some criminal assets can go to auction. In some cases, however, powerful criminals may attempt to intimidate potential buyers. In such cases, it may be necessary for Government agencies to retain control of the assets, converting houses into schools, for example, and giving vehicles to the JCF and JDF to use on patrol[24].

[22] These two business activities are regularly used for money-laundering in Jamaica.

[23] These entities can be given reporting requirements for threshold and suspicious transactions under POCA by Ministerial Order; legislation is not necessary.

[24] In Italy, cars seized from the Mafia are sometimes given to the police and used to patrol Mafia-dominated areas, which helps to demoralize the criminals

II. Reform The Justice System

"When the sentence for a crime is not quickly carried out, the hearts of the people are filled with schemes to do wrong."

Ecclesiastes 8:11

The justice system is made up of a number of separate agencies who are each responsible for operating, maintaining or enforcing part of the system of criminal and civil law. This includes the courts, judges, justices of the peace, prosecution and defence lawyers, the police, the prison service and correctional officers, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of National Security. It also includes providers of services such as mediation, child protection and victim support. Every one of these agencies has to play its part efficiently if the justice system is to work properly. A significant problem in any one of the key agencies can have serious repercussions for the functioning of the system as a whole.

The judicial system is a key part of the justice system. The judiciary includes the judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal, and the magistrates. In this context, however, it is also important to take into account the prosecution and defence lawyers, the staff in the court registries and court bailiffs.

One of the greatest strengths of the judicial system in Jamaica is that it adheres to the principle of judicial independence, remains immune to inappropriate political interference, and is largely uncorrupt, which ensures the necessary confidence of other countries in mutual legal assistance treaties, and underpins Jamaica's ability to seek the extradition of people in other countries wanted for crimes in Jamaica. However, the judicial system currently has several serious weaknesses, which undermine the national system of law enforcement and criminal justice.

- The system does not, in general, process cases quickly and efficiently, so the process of justice is often subject to inordinate delays. In 2010 there was a backlog of some 460,000 court cases, of which about half had been in court for more than eight months. Cases, particularly those involving murder, rape, carnal abuse, and wounding with intent, took more than two years, on average, to be settled . The situation has improved since then, as a result of a number of reforms, but the Justice Ministry estimated in 2013 that there was still a backlog of over 400,000 cases in the courts, of which some 205,000 were in the Resident Magistrate courts[25] There have been cases where people have remained on remand in police cells, awaiting trial, for over two years. This is a very serious problem; the right to a reasonably rapid and efficient trial has been established in law since 1225[26].

[25] Almost 80% (about 160,000) of these cases in the Resident Magistrate courts are for traffic violations, most of which are relatively minor offences, so reform here would greatly reduce the total backlog.

[26] By clause 40 of the Magna Carta, which states "to no one will we refuse or delay, right or justice".

- The conviction rate even for some serious crimes is low, for homicide it is just 5% . The most significant deterrent of crime is a high probability of detection and punishment, so this low rate of detection and conviction is likely to be a significant factor in Jamaica's high level of homicide.
- There have also been allegations of corruption, mostly focused on the Court Registries and the Court Bailiff system, but in some cases involving senior lawyers and members of the judiciary. There are probably relatively few corrupt lawyers, judges, court officials or clerks in Jamaica, but criminals may only need one well-placed corrupt facilitator in order to escape justice. There has only been one charge of judicial corruption in recent years (and that charge led to a successful conviction), but the allegations suggest that this might not be the only instance.

These problems undermine public confidence in the justice system, which can result in two damaging consequences. One is that many witnesses are willing to give information to the police, but are reluctant to appear in court. In some cases, this is simply because the process is so time-consuming[28]. In other cases, however, it is because the witnesses fear that their identification will lead to reprisals, and that lengthy delays and frequent acquittals will give ample opportunity for revenge attacks, which is one of the reasons why so many cases do not end in convictions. This in turn leads to the second consequence, which is vigilante justice; in some communities suspected thieves or child abusers are more likely to be beaten or killed than delivered to the police.

Restoring faith in justice

Public confidence in justice depends on a system that can deliver justice impartially, swiftly, effectively and economically. These goals are not just about efficient management, but rest on the deepest principles of the rule of law. It is important to note that judicial reform can be both rapid and effective. In Colombia, a process of judicial reform started in 2002. By 2008, the time needed to process a criminal case had been reduced by 80%, and the conviction rate had increased from 3% to 60%.

[27] Over the period 2004-2010, 61% of homicides were unsolved, while 39% were 'cleared', i.e. the murderer was identified. However, of the 39% that were cleared, 88% were cleared when the person thought to be the murderer was themselves killed, either in reprisal, or else in a fight with police officers, or else did get to court but was acquitted (approximately 1/3" were killed; 2/3"' were acquitted). Just 12% of the 39% survived long enough to get to court, and were duly sentenced. This means that the conviction rate for murder is less than 5% per year This also means that someone believed to be a murderer is about three times more likely to be killed and about five times more likely to be acquitted than they are to be sentenced. This, in turn, means that increasing the severity of punishment (by, for example, reintroducing capital punishment) is unlikely to have the desired deterrent effect, as criminals will realize that the punishment is still unlikely to be applied.

[28] This can also result in similar problems in recruiting juries.

Action Points

Decisive action is required to resolve the current weaknesses in the justice system. Some of the recommendations in this section were also made by the Jamaica Justice System Reform Taskforce in 2007, but not all of the recommendations made by the Taskforce have yet been implemented. The following steps are therefore recommended:

Improve court management

1. Modernize court procedures, systems, protocols and working practices, especially in the Registries.
2. Strengthen the management of courts, especially with regard to scheduling (to ensure that the accused, the relevant police officers, witnesses, the evidence, prosecutors and defence lawyers all come before the court at the appropriate time), and introduce penalties for delinquents (where there is no reasonable excuse for lateness or non-appearance).
3. Extend court working hours from the current average of five hours a day[29].
4. Mandate the use of electronic records for case files, including witness statements and precedents, and electronic tagging for physical evidence, as this will help to improve efficiency and transparency, and the security and integrity of the records. This process should start in the Court Registries.
5. Encourage judges not to tolerate the use of delaying tactics in order to defer the execution of sentence (in some instances, this may have allowed time for evidence to be contaminated or destroyed, witnesses to be intimidated or killed, or for the case to lose political salience).

Reduce delays

1. Establish clear guidelines for granting adjournments. Only one adjournment should be permitted per case unless there are exceptional circumstances. This is partly to reinstate the right to a speedy trial, and partly to reduce the risk that evidence could be lost or witnesses intimidated or suborned.
2. Require that Notice of Alibi should be given in advance (not necessarily the names of those giving the alibi), as this will prevent one particular delaying tactic[30].
3. Abolish Preliminary Enquiries[31] (Preliminary Inquiries before magistrates, who may then refer cases to the Supreme Court, are, on occasion, so extensive that the case is effectively tried twice, and they can also offer an opportunity for some defence lawyers to prolong the proceedings). The magistrate involved should make a preliminary assessment of the evidence and documented pleadings and then, in instances involving serious or organized crime, refer the case directly to the higher court.

[29] The principle of judicial independence is a vital safeguard against political interference; its purpose is to ensure that everyone receives a fair and unbiased trial. It does not mean that members of the judiciary are exempted from reasonable expectations as to their management ability, workload, performance, productivity and the length of the working day.

[30] This issue is also under review by the Ministry of Justice.

[31] This is being addressed, with the introduction of the Committal Proceedings Bill.

4. The burden on the Courts should be reduced with the use of plea bargaining and alternative dispute resolution methods, including restorative justice, for minor crimes[32].
5. Reform the management of traffic violations. The more effective use of traffic cameras, with automatic fines, would remove the need for many cases to come to court.
6. Accelerate the implementation of the other provisions in the Ministry of Justice's Backlog Reduction Strategy and the report of the 2007 Justice Reform Taskforce.

Increase consistency

1. Ensure greater consistency in the enforcement of laws and sentencing (a lack of consistency makes outcomes more idiosyncratic and therefore encourages 'judge-shopping', which is where some defence lawyers try to contrive that their client will come before a judge that they think will be more lenient). The Judiciary should use sentencing guidelines, with tariffs. If a judge chooses to hand down a sentence outside the guidelines, he or she should be required to give a formal explanation.
2. The prosecution should be permitted to make recommendations as to the appropriate sentence (as is currently the case in the UK and USA), although the decision should remain with the judge.

Increase effectiveness against organized crime

The most effective way to break the grip of major organized crime bosses is to seize their criminal assets, so it is important to strengthen and streamline the process of assert seizure.

1. Give members of the judiciary additional training in the role and use of Proceeds of Crime and Asset Forfeiture and anti-corruption legislation, and to encourage them to routinely require persons convicted of serious crimes to prove that they came by their assets legally[33].
2. There should be automatic asset forfeiture on being found guilty, including not just the funds associated with the actual trial, but all assets that the convicted person cannot prove to be clean, plus, where appropriate, an estimate of the lifetime personal profits derived from similar cases, and confiscation of those estimated profits[34].
3. Provide additional training for police officers in the management of evidence and the preparation of cases, especially with regard to POCA and anti-gang legislation.
4. Provide additional training for lawyers in the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions in the preparation of cases involving POCA and anti-gang legislation.

[32] These issues are being addressed by the Justice Undertakings for Social Transformation (JUST) Program in the Justice Ministry.

[33] For maximum impact, seized assets should be used to increase the size and capability of police POCA units, to upgrade police equipment, and converted into community assets in troubled areas (as part of a 'hearts and minds' strategy to strengthen the community and erode the power of the gangs).

[34] This is the model used in the UK and USA.

5. Review the Proceeds of Crimes Act 2007 to ensure that it contains similar provisions to the 1982 Rognoni-La Torre law (Article 416 bis of the Italian Penal Code), which makes conspiracy with organized crime a criminal offence, including laundering criminal assets, collusion, fronting for or helping to conceal criminal operations, and gives courts the power to seize the personal assets of persons involved in the conspiracy, as well as any assets transferred to their relatives or partners in the prior five years, which allows the seizure of the personal assets of anyone who assists a criminal to launder the proceeds of their crimes.
6. Require judges to act more rapidly in approving forfeiture orders. These currently take over 14 months on average, which gives criminals time to conceal or transfer assets.
7. Impose denial of tainted assets during trial (criminals should not be allowed to pay their legal fees with the proceeds of crime); those accused of crimes such as fraud, extortion or money-laundering should be required to demonstrate that the funds used to pay their legal fees were obtained legitimately[35], and they should only be allowed to draw moderate living expenses from frozen assets while their case is being determined.
8. Ensure that the lawyers in the DPP's office and judges are aware that the Proceeds of Crime Act 2007, the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering Prevention) Regulations, 2007 and the Proceeds of Crime Regulations, 2007 are all applicable to lawyers, bankers, accountants and other professionals. In particular, a lawyer that assists their clients to conceal their assets or otherwise launder their funds is effectively conspiring to weaken the system of justice in Jamaica and undermine the people's faith in law and justice, so any such case should be prosecuted to the full extent that the law allows.
9. Ensure that lawyers cannot conceal possible cases of money laundering, fraud and tax evasion behind the principle of client confidentiality by requiring that all sums (over a set minimum) transferred or invested on behalf of clients are reported, disclosing sources and amounts[36].
10. Review the Parole and Bail Acts to ensure that particular categories of criminals (homicide, violent crime and sex crimes) are normally ineligible for parole or bail where there is a clear risk that witnesses will be intimidated or murdered, or evidence destroyed[37].

[35] In cases where the accused cannot demonstrate any non-tainted assets, it may be necessary to grant them legal assistance, with the proviso that all costs should be recovered from the assets of the accused in the event of a guilty verdict

[36] At present, the Bank of Jamaica is responsible for ensuring that financial institutions operating in Jamaica comply with anti-money laundering provisions, but the Bank does not regulate lawyers, even though they may manage and invest significant sums of money on behalf of their clients. Lawyers are subject to the Legal Profession Act, which requires a certain standard of the practice of law to be maintained through the prescription of professional standards and etiquette. In addition, the General Legal Council has issued the Canons of Professional Conduct and Etiquette; non-compliance may lead to the suspension or the revocation of the Certificate to Practice Law in Jamaica. However, these standards may be insufficient to prevent corruption.

[37] Bail has sometimes been granted even in cases where the person had been accused of multiple homicides, and was believed to have already murdered a number of witnesses. This would be less likely to happen in the UK, where the Bail Act 1976 gives six separate grounds on which the prosecution can argue for denial of bail (including a significant risk of the defendant committing a crime while on bail), and where a person with a previous conviction accused of actual or attempted murder or rape would be granted bail only in 'exceptional circumstances' (Crime and Disorder Act 1998). However, in some of these cases the reason for granting bail is that the police officers or witnesses do not appear in court at the right time, which is another reason why it is essential to strengthen the management of courts with regard to scheduling and time-keeping.

11. Strengthen anti-gang legislation, where necessary, to ensure that gang membership or association is defined as a serious criminal offence.

Ensure the integrity of the judiciary

1. Amend judicial letters of appointment to indicate the expected standards of performance and incorporate the Judicial Code of Conduct and any further required ethical standards, with provisions for removal from the bench for anyone who falls significantly below the performance and standards required.
2. Members of the judiciary should be required to file annual declarations under the Corruption (Prevention) Act.
3. Review the Legal Profession Act to strengthen the ethical standards required of lawyers, and strengthen, if necessary, the power of the General Legal Council to enforce such standards.
4. Members of the judiciary, defence and prosecution lawyers should be required to submit to polygraph examinations if requested to do so by the Anti-Corruption Commission.
5. Strengthen the ability of the Court Management Service to monitor the performance, professional conduct and ethics of Registry staff and bailiffs.

Ancillary reforms

1. Strengthen the management of the chain of evidence. It is essential to have protocols for the preparation of witness statements, police reports, and the management of evidence from the crime scene to the police storage facility, the forensic laboratory and the court, so that all parties involved can be confident that the witness statements are authentic, that the facts in the police reports have been recorded accurately, and that the evidence presented in court is the same evidence that was taken from the scene of the crime (this is not currently the case; many charges are dismissed because of inconsistencies and technical errors in the evidence presented).
2. Ensure witness protection in cases where the witnesses might be at risk (witnesses sometimes have to sit in the same waiting room as the accused, and their identities are usually known, which makes it easier for violent criminals to intimidate witnesses or have them murdered).
3. Ensure that all prisoners undergo rehabilitation training before discharge, in order to reduce the rate of re-offending[38].

[38] It is important to remember that prison serves as a deterrent and as a form of punishment, but also that almost every prisoner will eventually be discharged back into society – most of them in a relatively short time. So it is important to ensure that prison also serves as a means of rehabilitation.

III. Policing by Consent

The goal of the JCF should be to become a fully modern police service, and one of the most respected, trusted institutions in Jamaica. Citizens must feel that they can trust and confide in the police before they will be willing to give evidence against dangerous criminals. In order to win the trust of the people, the JCF should focus on protecting the safety and security of the people.

The JCF is already committed to a series of reforms that have started to overcome the legacy of an adversarial relationship between the police and the general public. In time, it will be replaced by one of trust, confidence and mutual respect. This is not only a valid goal in its own right, it is also necessary in order to respond to the threats from organized crime, which will require a far higher level of cooperation and information-sharing between the citizens and the police.

As a general rule, the only way to win against a constantly-evolving threat is to be significantly smarter, more flexible, adaptive and resourceful than the enemy. It is very difficult for a traditional, hierarchical, bureaucratic organization with a slow decision-making process to win against a rapidly-moving foe. In a complex, fluid, asymmetric conflict, law enforcement has to think strategically, and take the offensive rather than let the criminals dictate the terms of the struggle. Police forces also have to adapt to be able to operate effectively in complex environments. This means adopting a much flatter structure with a more devolved decision-making process, so that officers on the front line can make immediate tactical decisions. This, in turn, can only work if every officer understands the goals, the priorities, the legal and moral context, and can make intelligent decisions accordingly.

The use of lethal force

Every police force in the world is authorized to use deadly force in certain circumstances, usually when it is the only way to save innocent lives. Society grants police officers the power, in such extreme circumstances, to act as judge, jury and executioner, because it is understood that police officers may have to make decisions in a fraction of a second, often in extremely stressful circumstances, when a delay could easily result in the death of the police officer, or of a hostage, or of an innocent bystander.

This extraordinary power is not given lightly, and every police officer has to be prepared to account fully for his actions whenever he uses force that results in death or injury. This is just as true when the person killed was a criminal, and had been trying to kill police officers, as when the person killed was an innocent bystander. Every use of lethal force has to be investigated, explained and justified. This is to ensure that the power granted to police officers is not abused. For the police to retain the full confidence of the society they must be ready to account for their actions. It is very important that any police officer who seriously abuses his power is removed from the police force, and made to face criminal charges.

It is important to note that a mistake is not the same as an abuse of power. If an officer is threatened by someone holding a gun, shoots him in self-defense, and then discovers that the person's gun was not loaded, that officer would normally be exonerated, because he could not have known that the gun was not loaded at the time. The general legal principle is that if the officer tried to avoid killing the person, but made a reasonable decision to use lethal force on the basis of the information available to him at that moment, then his use of force was lawful.

Comparative rates of use of lethal force

When making comparisons between the rates of use of lethal force in different countries, it is important to note that there are also some critical differences between countries in this regard. For example, most officers in the UK are not routinely armed (except in Northern Ireland, where all officers are authorized to routinely carry a handgun). The London Metropolitan Police Service has 33,000 officers, of whom some 2,700 are authorized to carry guns, but very few of these are armed on a regular basis. In addition, armed officers in the UK may only use their weapons to stop an imminent threat to life, and current policy is that the 'use' of a firearm includes pointing it at someone, as well as firing it. For the whole of England and Wales, there are less than 7,000 officers authorized to use firearms; firearms were authorized for almost 20,000 operations between April 2008 and March 2009, but weapons were only fired in four instances.

Police officers in the USA are routinely armed. In the period 1991-2008 there were, on average, 358 justifiable homicides by police each year (this does not include cases of unjustifiable use of deadly force). However, this has to be put in the context of the greater use of weapons against the police in the USA. Over the same period, on average, 60 police officers were killed each year, while about another 100 officers were saved because they were wearing body armour. This means that for every two persons killed by a police officer in the USA, there was one equally deadly (or potentially deadly) assault on a police officer.

So the use of deadly force by a police officer has to be put in the context of the level of violence in the society. In Jamaica, a country with one of the highest rates of murder and violent crime in the world, it is, sadly, probably inevitable that there will be a higher rate of use of deadly force by police officers[39]. However, every effort must be made to reduce the use of lethal force to the lowest possible level, both to save lives and to increase trust in the police.

There are still two serious problems with the use of lethal force in Jamaica today, both of which stem from the legacy of mutual distrust between the police and particular communities.

- Some police officers feel beleaguered, misunderstood and unappreciated by society. Some of them have to risk their lives; most of them work in very difficult conditions for modest pay and pension. The people who support and understand them are other police officers; so there is often a strong feeling of loyalty to each other. This can, unfortunately, mean that some officers will collude in covering-up abuses by other officers, sometimes out of misguided loyalty, sometimes out of fear.
- Some communities identify more with the criminals, and fear the police. This can mean that even the legitimate and necessary use of force against criminals is condemned by the community; again, sometimes out of misguided loyalty, sometimes out of fear.

With regard to the first failing; it is important that every police officer should understand that the relationship between society and the police is far too important to jeopardize in order to protect one or two bad officers,

[39] From 2006-2008 the average number of people killed in Jamaica each year by police officers was 262, while the average number of police officers killed each year was 14. However, the average number of gun attacks on police officers is about 500 each year, so the ratio of people killed to the number of potentially deadly assaults on police officers is similar to that in the USA.

and that their behaviour increases the risk to other officers.

With regard to the second problem; this will require a long-term sustained effort to win the hearts and minds of the community. An important part of this strategy is that the JCF should demonstrate that they are always accountable, and that they will not tolerate any abuse of police powers.

Action Points

Reassuring the public

1. There should be increased transparency with regard to failures of proper procedure, with independent investigation of every use of deadly force by the police.
2. Ensure that any police officer who is found to have seriously abused his powers is removed from the police force and made to face criminal charges.
3. Give JCF officers increased training in the use of non-lethal options, equip more officers with non-lethal technologies and develop appropriate protocols to ensure that every officer can respond appropriately to each threat increase.

Supporting the police

1. Give increased counseling and other psycho-social support for police and security forces, especially first-responders and others who are exposed to serious risk and trauma.

Information management

Good information management is required throughout the entire process of detection, arrest, trial and conviction. Criminals cannot be convicted of crimes unless there is sufficient evidence or testimony to establish their guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

1. There should be a transition to intelligent policing – intelligence-led policing, better information management and access, and a total policing strategy that encourages the sharing of relevant information between different police divisions. This will require the further strengthening of performance tracking, with a national crime map updated continuously to allow the management of crime hotspots and civil unrest, modeled on the New York crime map information management system.
2. The JCF should institutionalize the use of predictive analytics software such as CRUSH (Criminal Reduction Utilizing Statistical History), which looks for patterns in crime records, intelligence briefings, offender profiles and other data to identify where particular types of crimes are most likely to occur. The JCF should also strengthen their capacity to undertake criminal profiling.
3. The JCF should accelerate the full integration of JCF information management systems, phase out all paper-based recording, and mandate a transition to electronic records, with templates developed for PCs and hand-held devices (such as smart phones) to guide officers to input the data correctly. The first priority would be to introduce these systems for crime recording, crime scene management and management of the chain of evidence.
4. Automatic number-plate recognition software should be installed as part of CCTV traffic management systems.
5. Take Integrated Ballistics Identification System (IBIS) records of all guns in Jamaica – all police, military and legally-owned guns should be recorded, as should all criminal firearms when seized.

6. It is important to strengthen crime scene management, including the rapid debriefing of first responders, with good systems for the management of physical, electronic and all other forms of evidence. Many police forces manage the chain of custody with the paperwork that accompanies the evidence. However, as it is possible for paperwork to be lost, along with the physical evidence to which it is attached, the recommended solution is to manage the entire chain of custody through a single database, with secure information management systems that allow controlled access for legitimate inputs and inquiries.
7. This system for the management of the chain of evidence has to be integrated with the system for managing the documentation needed in Court. All paper records used in the justice system should therefore be replaced with electronic records; this will prevent case files from being lost.
8. The police should train more Scene of Crime Officers, and must have access to at least one full-spectrum forensic laboratory which can process all types of physical, ballistic, blood-spatter and biological evidence; including DNA analysis and body reconstruction.

Supportive legislative reforms

1. Introduce legislation for the mandatory registration of all cell phone numbers (this is now routinely done in countries such as Mexico, which introduced this requirement in order to assist in tracking kidnappers and extortionists).
2. Introduce legislation to require Cellular Service Providers to store call data for a given period, and make these records available to police, with a valid warrant, when this is needed to assist investigations.
3. Review the legislation that covers wiretaps and electronic intercepts in order to allow the police electronic access, with a valid warrant, to a wider set of databases in the pursuit of crime, including bank accounts, tax records and shipping manifests.

Management of staff and resources

It is important to deliver police services efficiently and cost-effectively. The following measures are recommended:

1. Merge the ISCF into the JCF in order to improve efficiency and reduce cost.
2. The District Constable Act needs to be reviewed and upgraded in order to improve the service provided and to address welfare issues.
3. The program of 'civilianization' (for positions in the JCF that do not require powers of arrest) should continue.
4. The JCF should aim to have ownership of its buildings. Currently, it is a major drain on public funds and the money currently spent on rent could be used to replace or repair JCF buildings.
5. The JCF should have a proper fleet management plan for purchasing, servicing, decommissioning and selling vehicles. Currently, most vehicles are purchased off the lot and are not built to police specifications and as a result many of the vehicles are not operational.

IV. Adopt A Coherent Anti Gang Strategy

No single strategy will solve Jamaica's complex problems with crime and violence. A number of coordinated, inter-locking strategies will be necessary, for the following reasons:

- Most of the crime and violence in Jamaica is the result of the activities of organized crime and gangs, but part of the violence reflects personal and community-based problems, rather than organized forms of criminality. Each of these requires a different approach.
- There is a cycle of violence that is passed down through generations. Children who are raised in poverty and exposed to violence are far more likely to become violent in their turn. It is essential to break the cycle of repeated trauma and violence by protecting and counseling the children involved.

Transnational and organized crime and gangs

There are important differences in the structure and operations of criminal enterprises, from sophisticated international operators to local extortionists, and different approaches are required:

1. Local street gangs can be addressed with a combination of focused deterrence strategy, violence reduction initiatives and community-based policing.
2. Major gangs that operate in more than one area or sector can be addressed with a combination of focused deterrence strategy and clear, hold and build tactics[40].
3. Sophisticated international criminal structures require intelligence-led operations, financial profiling, strong proceeds of crime legislation and international cooperation between law enforcement agencies. It is important to note that these organizations include facilitators who may appear to be respectable citizens.

In order to make these important differences clear, major international criminal enterprises will be referred to in this section as trans-national and organized criminal structures (TNOCs), while the term 'gangs' will be used to refer to local street gangs and larger gangs with more extensive operations.

There are about 250 criminal organizations operating in Jamaica[41]. Both the TNOCS and the gangs do significant damage to Jamaica's economy and social fabric, but the pattern varies. TNOCs may be involved in international trafficking of weapons and narcotics, fraud, scams, tax evasion and money-laundering. Gangs are responsible for most of the public disorder and violence in Jamaica; they dominate a number of public areas and crowd out legitimate businesses through violence, threats and extortion. Some of the areas targeted for extortion include buses, taxis, bars and entertainment, driving out competition so that people are obliged to use their services.

There are connections between TNOC structures and local gangs. Money may be channeled by major criminals into local gangs in order to extend their influence and power, while the local gangs provide a source of recruits; the most intelligent and ruthless can aspire to rise up the hierarchy in the future.

The problems with violent crime, corruption and the misappropriation of public funds in Jamaica will never be entirely resolved until the TNOCs and their support networks are

[40] These approaches draw on game theory, psychology and population-centric counter-insurgency tactics, and are usually effective.

[41] Data from 2010.

largely dismantled. They are the instigators and beneficiaries of the corruption that has directed public funds into the hands of organized crime, and often resulted in unnecessarily expensive or poor quality infrastructure, the beneficiaries of the proceeds of extortion, narco-trafficking, frauds and other crimes, which have distorted the economy, fuelled inflation and undermined legitimate businesses, and the primary conduit for illegal firearms.

It is particularly important to disrupt and prevent the imports of illegal firearms and ammunition, partly because they are responsible for about 80% of homicides in Jamaica, and partly because they allow the local gangs to create an environment of fear, which then enables them to extort money, coerce and control entire communities, and intimidate people into remaining silent. It is important to intercept the shipments, but as noted earlier, it is even more important to dismantle the criminal networks that organize and manage the business, which will require seizing the assets of those involved in managing, organizing or in any way facilitating the trade.

These problems can only be solved in cooperation with law enforcement agencies in other countries. It is important to improve international cooperation and the flow of intelligence between law enforcement agencies in order to complete the financial profiles, trace assets, and track the shipments of weapons and narcotics. This will require protocols to allow the transfer of intelligence, including transcripts of telephone intercepts. This is the only way that it will be possible to unravel the international connections for the shipments of guns and narcotics, and dismantle the criminal organizations that operate these trades.

A number of criminal organizations have learned to operate very effectively as multinational businesses. Some of them cooperate in shipping and distributing narcotics and firearms. Others will generate cash through criminal activities in one country, and launder it in another. It is therefore essential that law enforcement agencies cooperate equally effectively across national borders.

Trace the money, seize the assets

With regard to TNOCs, the focus has to be on tracing the money and seizing criminal assets. It is a common misconception that the way to make progress is to intercept the drugs, or the weapons. These organizations are not, however, in the business of trafficking narcotics or weapons, they are in the business of making money. If one form of criminal activity becomes less profitable, or one trans-shipment route becomes too risky, they will adapt and diversify. They are also relatively adept at laundering the proceeds of crime into a diverse array of legitimate businesses.

It is therefore essential to build up personal and financial profiles of the TNOCs, of the leader, top lieutenants, and key facilitators - lawyers, bankers, real estate brokers, business managers and other legitimate service providers - who are involved in laundering the funds, serving as proxy directors, managing the legitimate businesses and providing a facade of respectability.

The key to taking down TNOCs is to understand that they have to operate in a web of connections. They need sources of supply, access to markets and financial services for money-laundering. They need transport and communication links. Their leaders usually operate through lieutenants, so it may take time to trace the connections back to the boss. Eventually, however, with international and inter-agency cooperation, all these links and connections can be traced.

Many crimes can only be solved when the relevant information is pieced together. It is particularly important to develop a full financial profile of someone suspected of playing a major role in a TNOC, as only then does the disparity between their declared income and real wealth become apparent. It is important to note that some of their assets may be in other countries, so international cooperation between law enforcement agencies is essential. It might be necessary, for example, to examine bank records in order to see patterns of payments, match these with telephone records that show contacts with weapons suppliers, cross-match these with information from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) on arms sales, compare these records with shipping manifests that show when particular shipments came in, trace cash payments to contractors as profits from arms sales which were laundered, and finally to link all these together by mapping the connections and transactions between everyone involved.

Particular sectors of the economy are more likely to be the focus of criminal activity. Construction allows access to corruptly-awarded contracts, entertainment and casinos provide a ready way to launder cash, and shipping companies allow the transport of weapons and narcotics. With regard to the construction industry, it is important to have higher levels of transparency and oversight of the award of public contracts, to insist on 'positive vetting' of contractors, to eliminate all bids from those with connections to organized crime, and to ensure that security at building sites is provided by legitimate firms. With regard to entertainment and casinos, it is important to insist on positive vetting of all applicants for licenses, with automatic disbarment of those with connections to organized crime.

With regard to shipping, it is vital to note that illegal consignments will often be concealed inside legal freight, so measures are needed to eliminate corruption and prevent the intimidation of customs officials[42]. There should be strong protocols and procedures for scanning and checking containers and other shipments. With regard to the latter point; this should be done without imposing inordinate delays on trade, so this will require investing in chemical sniffers and multi-dimensional scanners.

Individuals involved in money laundering, and trafficking people, weapons, ammunition or narcotics are typically resourceful and resilient. They will respond to interventions and, try to anticipate moves. For every measure taken against them, they will try to find a counter-measure. If one trafficking route becomes too risky, they will find another. They will adapt and develop new tactics. Some of them have influence, weapons, money, political allies and other assets, and they may have penetrated law enforcement, customs and other arms of government in order to get advance intelligence. The people who run major criminal cartels tend to be particularly ruthless, smart and adaptable, mainly because those who do not possess these qualities tend not to get to the top or to survive for long.

With regard to local gangs, here too, the focus has to be on seizing the assets. There are young men in Jamaica, in their early twenties, who have never held a job, have no declared income, yet have accumulated assets over J$1 billion in value, all of which are the proceeds of crime (typically the Lottery scam). With the effective use of POCA, these assets can be seized. It is not necessary to prove that some particular asset was linked to a specific crime; under POCA the court can seize all assets that cannot be proven to be clean.

[42] The proposed development of a Logistics Hub in Jamaica makes it particularly important to protect the shipping industry from criminal involvement

Non-organized crime

A significant part of the crime and violence in Jamaica reflects personal and community-based problems, rather than organized crime. Organized crime has:

- Objectives (e.g. money and power).
- A hierarchy of command.
- Rules, with penalties for disloyalty.
- Some level of specialization; the members will have particular roles (money-launderer, enforcer, look-out, driver and so on).

The ability of the organization to function effectively can be significantly disrupted by arresting key individuals (which breaks links in the network), seizing assets (which reduces the organization's power), and reducing the influence and control that the senior members have over the more peripheral members, (which undermines the organization's cohesion)[43].

This does not apply to non-organized crime; as the people involved are not organized into groups, and do not have specialized functions. Non-organized crime is less systematic, more anarchic and random, and therefore cannot be dismantled in the way that an organized criminal structure can. As non-organized crime is not motivated by profit to the same extent as organized crime, it cannot be as readily disrupted by seizing assets.

The level of violence associated with non-organized crime can be higher than with organized crime, because the organized gangs usually try to maintain a monopoly on the use of violence in their area, so the level of violence will tend to be lower when one gang dominates an area[44]. No such limitation applies with non-organized crime. This is one of the main reasons why the level of violence often rises when a dominant organized crime gang starts to lose control, as the remaining members are now reduced to a disorganized state and may also be fighting for dominance.

There are connections, however, between organized criminal structures, local gangs and the level of non-organized crime in a community. For example:

- The organized criminal structures and the local gangs may form a hierarchy. The major Mexican drug cartels, for example, sub-contract some tasks to local gangs. A significant level of organization is required for trans-national shipments of illegal weapons and narcotics, and the people who operate these trades may then gain influence over one or more local gangs because they control the distribution of cash and weapons. They can then use local gangs as enforcers and contract killers.
- Individuals may progress through the hierarchy; starting as an at-risk street child, then becoming associated with a local gang, then becoming a full member, progressing to a more senior position, possibly becoming the dominant figure in an area, forming contacts with major criminal organizations, moving into more lucrative forms of crime and so on.
- The higher level of violence, stress and fear, the readier availability of weapons

[43] This typically involves giving the junior and peripheral members a way out of the gang, often in the form of a partial amnesty for surrender and assistance with a return to normal life, combined with a relentless campaign against the senior, hard-core members, aimed at denying them freedom of movement and communication, depriving them of their assets and making every part of their life as difficult as possible.

[44] This does not mean that the level of violence will be low elsewhere, in areas that are not part of the gang's core territory. Violence tends to be highest at the public spaces that mark the boundaries between gang territories.

and the general break-down of law, order and normal social structures in an area will tend to spill over into other areas of life. In particular, young people who have been raped, abused, beaten or who have lost their parents often show aggressive, disturbed behavior.

- The higher level of stress, violence and fear will induce many more young people to join a gang because they believe that the gang will give them some measure of protection, usually from another gang.

Effective anti-gang strategy almost always involves a combination of approaches and tactics. Six of the most important are:

1. **Focused enforcement**
2. **Community-based policing**
3. **Support for witnesses and victims**
4. **Clear, hold and build**
5. **Prevent recruitment**
6. **Denial of liberty**

Action Points

1. **Focused enforcement**

Increase probability of detection and punishment

One of the most powerful deterrents of crime is the probability of detection and punishment. If the probability of detection is low, or the punishment is mild, there is little effective deterrent. To be effective, punishment must have three qualities – it must be certain, swift and severe. Many people assume that severity is the most important factor, but it is actually the first two factors that have the biggest influence on rates of crime. This is because the severity of the possible punishment has little deterrent effect if the criminals perceive that there is a very low probability of being detected and caught, as they don't think that the punishment will be applied. The effect of the severity of the possible punishment can also be weakened if there are lengthy delays in judicial processing, as repeated appeals may reduce the probability that the sentence will ever be carried out, and they also give time for the intimidation or killing of witnesses. So the goal of focused enforcement is to increase the probability of both detection and punishment. This typically requires that resources are focused on just one gang (or on one area) at a time, usually the most violent and dangerous, rather than spread them too thinly across all gangs. The goal is to significantly increase the probability of detection of crimes by that gang, which acts as a serious deterrent, as well as disrupting their operations, degrading their capabilities, reducing their assets, eroding their power and eventually resulting in the complete dismantling of that gang.

Increase the speed of punishment

The most effective way to disrupt a criminal structure is to build evidence against an entire gang, especially the leadership, then to arrest them all at the same time. This has a greater impact than arresting low-ranking members, who can be easily replaced. It is also important to increase the speed of punishment. This requires reform and streamlining of police and judicial procedures.

2. Community-based policing

This is sometimes seen as 'soft' policing, but is partly based on population-centric counter-insurgency tactics.

a. This should be organized on a 'Same Cop, Same Neighbourhood' basis, with officers being assigned to particular communities so that they become familiar with the local residents, and get involved in helping to solve problems and resolve conflicts. The role of community-based policing is to complement focused enforcement strategies. The focused enforcement strategy will require tactical operations against the gangs, while the role of community-based policing is to eliminate their social support and influence.

b. Community policing should be supported by improved planning, regulation and building control; this is in order to prevent illegal settlements, and to remove abandoned buildings and any zinc fences used to create defensible spaces in which gangs can operate.

3. Support for victims and witnesses

a. Strengthen Witness Protection Programme

Some victims and witnesses have reported that they got little support or sympathetic treatment in court. Some of them are exposed to threats of retribution or further violence. This undermines faith in law, order and justice. It is very important, therefore, that victims and witnesses should be protected and supported. This means that victims and witnesses should be kept separate from the accused in court, and that the witness protection program should be strengthened.

4. Clear, hold and build

a. Adopt a Clear, hold and build strategy

Strong anti-gang measures are needed to normalize and integrate the worst-affected communities. In areas where gangs are deeply entrenched, this will require a Clear, Hold and Build strategy. These are operations that can clear gangs out of entire communities; hold those areas by maintaining a strong, continuous police presence to provide lasting security, and then build a robust civil society by engaging other government agencies and NGOs to provide education, training, economic opportunities, health care and prompt justice. The goal of this clear, hold, and build strategy is to reassure the community, remove their fear of gangs, build sustained popular support, increase the flow of intelligence about gang operations, and ensure that gangs have no safe haven anywhere.

5. Prevent recruitment

a. Disrupt the process of gang member recruitment

There are effective tactics, developed in the cities of Boston and Glasgow, for interrupting the process of recruitment to local street gangs. These involve call-ins for the gang members and confrontations with victims, followed by the presentation of a clear choice – reform, and qualify for assistance and job-training, or remain in

the gang; anyone that chooses to remain an active gang member should then be subjected to every possible form of legal harassment by every arm of government (tax compliance, vehicle licensing, business permits and so on should all be made as difficult as possible for known gang members who refuse to give up their criminal connections).

6. Denial of Liberty

a. Violent criminals should not normally be granted bail, especially when there is a clear risk that witnesses will be intimidated or murdered, or evidence destroyed.

V. Focus On At-Risk Individuals And Communities

It is important to deal with both crime and the causes of crime. Taking the profit out of crime helps to demoralize the criminals; anti-corruption measures can be used to shut off the supply of public funds, the supply chain for weapons and ammunition can be broken by disrupting organized criminal structures, and strong anti-gang legislation and tactics can make the gangs far less powerful. However, it is equally essential to address the social problems, such as the cycle of violence and poverty, as otherwise the problems of crime and violence will reappear.

Breaking the cycle of violence

Children are particularly vulnerable to violence. Some of the children that do not do well at school are from broken or dysfunctional families, and have limited social skills; others are seriously traumatized, having been abused, raped, beaten, or having seen family members murdered. Children that have lost one or both parents or a close relative to violence often show aggressive, disturbed behaviour, which can result in their being punished or excluded at school, thereby damaging them further, and making it more likely that they will become gang members[45].

Many of these children have never had any support or counseling. Given that severely disturbed children often come from dangerous and dysfunctional homes, the most effective place to intervene is usually in school, but many teachers have not been trained to recognize or deal with these problems. Every school should therefore have a program to deal with maladaptive behavior, post-traumatic stress, depression and other long-term consequences of physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse.

Social interventions

There are a number of social intervention agencies and programs, including the Social Development Commission, the Citizen Security and Justice Program, the Jamaica Social Investment Fund, the Community Renewal Program, the Safe Schools Program, the Neighbourhood Watch Program and so on, and employment-creation programs, such as the Jamaica Emergency Employment Program and the former Jamaica Development Infrastructure Program. Significant resources have been committed to these programs, but none of them have brought about a sustained reduction in the level of crime and violence, reduction in the level of unemployment, or increase in economic growth. This is because these programs have never been integrated into a coherent strategy, inter-Ministry and inter-agency coordination is usually poor, and there has been a lack of clarity as to the primary goal of social intervention.

Similarly, there have been various strategies to reduce crime, but most have not been sustained for long enough, resources have been insufficient, and, in some cases, there has been inappropriate political interference to direct the resources to particular groups. There have been several attempts to apply a clear, hold and build policing strategy; the JCF and JDF can clear and hold, but the crucial third element does not usually follow. Eventually, the level of police and military

[45] Neglected or traumatized children are more likely to join gangs, partly for protection, and partly as a substitute for a family. A related problem is that some areas then have serious problems with gang-related violence in the schools, as these become battlegrounds between gangs.

commitment has to be drawn down, the gang may then return and the community will typically revert to its former behaviour.

It is critically important, therefore, that any future intervention by the JCF and JDF is properly supported by the other arms of government, and that the government remains engaged in that community until the people again have confidence in the police, and faith in law and order and justice, so that they will then resist the return or re-formation of the gangs. It will need a long-term commitment to confidence and peace-building measures to irreversibly change the anti-police culture and garrison mentality in some communities. It is also important to engage schools, youth clubs, church groups and other relevant agencies in these social interventions, as many of them have deep roots in the communities and can play a powerful role in engaging youth and providing an alternative to gang membership.

Action Points

Breaking the cycle of violence

1. Every school has a programme to deal with maladaptive behavior, trauma, post-traumatic stress, depression, and other long-term consequences of the physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse of children.

Social Intervention

1. **The first goal of all intervention programs should be a sustained reduction in the level of crime and violence.** All other social goals (such as increased investment, job-creation and long-term, skilled employment) depend on the primary goal of ensuring safety and security; they cannot be achieved without a marked reduction in crime, violence, corruption and extortion. All social intervention and employment-creation programs should therefore be part of the anti-gang and community regeneration initiative.
2. Much stronger coordination and co-operation is needed among the social intervention agencies and programs. These agencies have different parent Ministries, so cooperation will have to be mandated by the Prime Minister.
3. **Self-sustaining process of economic regeneration.** It is important that communities do not become dependent on scarce public resources, so all interventions should come with an exit strategy. Once economic confidence has returned, money is being invested and viable businesses are being established, the public funding should start to taper off and be reallocated to the next community in need.

[46] In Brazil, the police and army will typically give up to a week's advance notice of their intention to move into a crime-dominated favela.

[47] This should be incorporated as a provision in the Anti-Gang legislation.

[48] This will require that these officers are properly trained in community policing, with a particular emphasis on human rights.

A Clear, Hold And Build Strategy For Jamaica

The Sequence of intervention:

PHASE 1: CLEAR.

After intelligence-gathering, the JDF and JCF would go into a troubled area with overwhelming strength and dominate the streets. They would signal their intention to do so[46]; as the goal is to ensure that the gang members flee or are arrested, not to have a gun battle in the middle of a densely-populated urban area. Gang members who are arrested should be denied bail, so that they cannot return to the area to organize armed resistance[47].

PHASE 2: HOLD.

The JDF would withdraw, the JCF would remain in significant strength, but officers trained in community policing would take the lead once the level of violence has subsided[48]. The locally-based community officers should then remain committed to the area for extended periods, using the 'Same Cop, Same Neighbourhood' approach. This is to ensure that the officers become familiar with the local residents and issues, and can help to solve problems and resolve conflicts. This will also help to ensure a flow of intelligence from the community to local officers about any gang members that try to return or resume their former behaviour[49].

PHASE 3: BUILD.

The full spectrum of social intervention and employment creation programs would then prioritize the same area. The Community Safety and Security Branch, the National Interschool Brigade, the Safe Schools Program and Neighbourhood Watch Program should all be engaged in the process of community reconstruction at this stage. In addition, the Social Development Commission would prioritize the area; the Ministry of Education would prioritize the schools in the vicinity for improvements, including assigning specially trained teachers and child counselors. The Ministry of Health would prioritize the health facilities for upgrading, with particular support for physical and mental health education, inoculation programs for children and sexual health programs for adults, the Ministry of Transport and Works would prioritize the roads in the area for repair, the utilities would ensure adequate (metered) supplies of water, electricity and so on[50], the National Training Agency would prioritize the area for job-related training and the private sector could be offered tax relief if they set up business in these areas.

[46] In Brazil, the police and army will typically give up to a week's advance notice of their intention to move into a crime-dominated favela.

[47] This should be incorporated as a provision in the Anti-Gang legislation.

[48] This will require that these officers are properly trained in community policing, with a particular emphasis on human rights.

[49] There have been complaints in the past that operational policing – especially where paramilitary units are involved – can undermine the work of the community police and the social intervention agencies. This is why the timing and sequencing of these phases is very important.

[50] In areas that have been used to not paying for their water and electricity, it would be sensible to offer a transitional period of 1-3 years at a lower tariff before returning to a standard tariff.

A tough love approach

It is very important to ensure that public funds and training programs can be accessed by reformed gang members who want a chance to lead normal lives, but are not captured by the gangs themselves; some of them are adept at masquerading as legitimate community groups. One option is to operate a weapons exchange program, where weapons are surrendered in exchange for employment training and access to low-interest loans for business start-ups. However, this is unlikely to work until the former gang members feel safe enough to surrender their weapons; most peace programs do not attempt to decommission weapons until the community feels confident that there will not be a return to violence.

This strategy requires a 'tough love' approach, which involves offering attractive inducements for giving up a life of crime (including, for example, secure neighbourhoods, better schools, community centres and training aimed at making young people employable), coupled with harsh penalties for those who do not change. With regard to the penalties, a multi-agency approach is essential, so that gang members who do not agree to change their behaviour can be subject to intrusive inspections of all areas of their lives.

As far as possible, all the improvements in a troubled area should be financed with assets seized from the criminals and gangs. The source of the funds should be publicized in order to emphasize to the community that their poverty and misery had been inflicted on them by the gangs, and that the wealth that had been stolen from the people was being returned.

It is important to depoliticize the conflict with the gangs, so that all the above initiatives are entirely apolitical, and focused solely on dismantling criminal structures and reducing the level of violence. The initiatives should all be designed primarily to give at-risk youth and the less committed gang members a way out. This will make it possible to identify and isolate the remaining hard core gang supporters, than to put them under pressure on multiple fronts simultaneously.

Over the longer term, the planning system must be strengthened and enforced in order to prevent the formation of any potentially isolated and defensible spaces within Jamaica's cities, or the construction of more squatter or garrison communities, and to ensure that political factors are not taken into account when deciding on the allocation of houses or land. This issue is addressed in more detail in the discussion of informal settlements in Tier 3 (below).

VI. Strengthen Systems Of Governance

National development depends on a number of factors, but one of the most important factors is the quality of national institutions; countries with good institutions can survive most crises, whereas countries with bad or weak institutions cannot develop a coherent response to their challenges and are therefore more likely to fail under pressure. This conclusion is supported by the World Bank 2011 World Development Report, which found that the most significant predictors of violence are unemployment (violence is also the main deterrent to saving and investment, so perpetuating the problem) and the legitimacy of government; countries with good governance are much less likely to have high murder rates.

The key to solving the problems of crime and corruption, therefore, is to build strong, competent, politically-neutral, trusted institutions, which will strengthen the integrity and the moral authority of the state. This will require severing the remaining connections between politics and crime, taking strong measures to prevent corruption, reforming the justice system, and restoring the people's faith in law and justice by demonstrating that no-one, no matter how wealthy and powerful, is above the law.

Action Points

Some of the measures needed to strengthen governance are addressed in more detail elsewhere in this document. The key measures include the following:

1. Move the focus away from reactive and containment strategies to concentrate on dismantling criminal organizations, including their facilitators
2. Seize the proceeds of crime
3. Strengthen anti-corruption measures
4. Increase transparency in the public accounts, especially with regard to procurement
5. Reform the justice system
6. Improve intelligence-sharing with key strategic partners
7. Encourage the DPP and the Judiciary to vigorously pursue the most serious cases of high-level corruption and illegal enrichment.

Addressing Tier 2 Threats
Major Potential Threats

I. Traditional threats

The Tier 2 **traditional security** threats to Jamaica are:

- The Mexican, Central or South American drug cartels and *maras* gangs, which could seek to extend their influence and diversify their operations across the Caribbean.
- Terrorism, possibly aimed at tourists. The tourism industry would be a soft target, and offer the opportunity to create mass casualties and cause extensive economic damage to countries seen as sympathetic to the USA.

II. Non-traditional threats

- Potential shortages of energy and other resources, natural hazards, climate change and environmental degradation.

Tier 2 threats are **high impact, low probability** events. These are **major potential threats**, in contrast to Tier 1 threats, which are a clear and present danger. There are five particularly important characteristics of Tier 2 threats.

1. Some Tier 2 threats have the potential to cause catastrophic harm to Jamaica. It is therefore very important to actively monitor all Tier 2 items, and be prepared to rapidly upgrade them to Tier 1 if necessary.
2. Tier 2 includes both traditional security threats that should be addressed by military, police and intelligence services, and non-traditional security threats that have to be addressed by other Government agencies. Inter-Ministry cooperation is essential.
3. The concept of 'low probability' refers to a particular period of time, i.e. the probability that an event will occur within a given time horizon. For example, it is inevitable that Jamaica will experience a major earthquake one day, as it sits above several active faults. If this risk is evenly distributed over 100 years, that gives a 1% chance of a magnitude 7 earthquake in any one year, and a 5% chance of occurring within the next five years. This is a serious risk, but a lesser risk than the Tier 1 threats such as organized crime, which - because they are already happening - have a probability of 100%.
4. Tier 2 includes a wide range of diverse threats, with different combinations of assessed probability and likely impact. For example, it includes threats such as climate change which currently appear to be likely to happen, but where the main impacts are probably not going to be experienced immediately, threats such as an attack by fundamentalist terrorists, which currently appear to be relatively unlikely to happen, but where the risks may be higher now than they will be in future decades, and threats such as infiltration by Mexican drug cartels, where the impact could be exceptionally high, but the probability is indeterminate, mainly because it depends on a large number of interacting,

intervening variables[51]. So Tier 2 contains a set of **high-impact, low-probability** and unpredictable events.

5. Many Tier 2 threats originate outside Jamaica, or have natural causes, so there is little or no possibility of controlling them at source. These threats therefore require constant vigilance and monitoring.

In general, the most effective response to a Tier 2 threat is to identify cost-effective ways to improve early-warning systems, reduce exposure and strengthen resilience, so that there is more advance warning of an imminent attack or disaster, the impact is significantly less than it would have been otherwise, and core systems (such as government, national security, communications and trade) are sufficiently robust and can withstand the impact.

Planning for Tier 2 threats

The process of planning and preparing for Tier 2 threats is significantly different from the process of addressing Tier 1 threats. There is little ambiguity about a Tier 1 threat, although there may be differences of opinion as to how best to address it. However, some Tier 2 threats have not yet happened, and some of them may never happen. This means that the planning process has to be based on horizon scan assessments to identify possible 'unknown unknowns' in the threat environment, critical, independent reviews to probe potential weaknesses in existing defence systems, and counter-factual reasoning, which includes asking questions such as 'what would have happened if our security systems had failed', in order to identify vulnerabilities and test resilience.

[51] Organized crime is a highly complex and adaptive form of human behaviour, which evolves in response to both opportunities and pressure from law enforcement. One reason why its future development cannot be predicted with any certainty is that criminals are often quick to take advantage of new technologies. Another is that any intervention (such as a change in police tactics) disrupts the current pattern of risks, benefits and motives, and the pattern of crime then changes, sometimes in some quite unexpected ways. For example, cybercrime is now emerging as a greater threat than narcotics trafficking, because it offers greater profits and lower risks to the criminals, which illustrates both of the above points.

I. Traditional threats

Organized crime and terrorism

Organized crime is motivated by profit, power and prestige, while terrorism is motivated by a political or religious cause. However, some terrorist organizations have developed substantial criminal operations in order to finance their activities, while the tactics used by some gangs are increasingly similar to those of terrorist groups with political agendas. In Mexico, most of the Central American states and Jamaica, for example, there have been many instances of violence intended to intimidate people from cooperating with law enforcement, including the killing of witnesses, neighbours, friends, relatives and children, as well as members of the security services and the church, and the destruction of both private and public property. The intention is to create terror, which will allow gang members to operate with impunity. They can then operate a range of criminal enterprises, including extortion, in communities too cowed to resist them. Terrorists use fear to give themselves publicity and political leverage; the goal being to break the will of a more powerful state to resist. Narco-terrorists use essentially the same tactic, but the goal is different; narco-terrorists are not interested in running a state, their goal is to hollow it out and leave it so weak that they can operate with impunity.

The line between crime and terrorism has been further blurred by the cooperation between criminal and terrorist organizations. For example, insurgents controlled much of Afghanistan's opium exports, while the Italian Mafia has supplied illegal weapons to Iraq. Terrorists will organize criminal activities to raise funds, or buy weapons from criminal organizations. The connections between those willing to use violence for political ends and those willing to use violence for profit are usually pragmatic; people willing to slaughter innocents are unlikely to have scruples about dealing with criminals, while criminals who supply illegal weapons are unlikely to discriminate on the basis of the motives of their customers. So organized crime serves as a 'force multiplier' for terrorists, giving them access to cash and weapons.

Another reason why the boundaries have become blurred is that some organizations started as politically-motivated terrorists, but then evolved into largely criminal organizations, while some criminal organizations have developed a quasi-political platform. An example of the former is the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), which was founded as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party in 1964, but is now largely focused on trafficking cocaine; an example of the latter is the Caballeros Templarios (Knights Templar) drug cartel in Mexico; the members take an oath to 'fight and die for social justice', and they claim to be the protectors of the people, even though their main activities are narco-trafficking, murder and extortion.

Successful terrorist organizations and drug cartels have other attributes in common. They tend to be resourceful, adaptable organizations. They study the strengths and weaknesses of their enemies, and seek new weapons, tactics and opportunities.

The Mexican cartels

The Mexican drug cartels are currently the dominant criminal networks in the Americas. They supplanted the Colombian cartels in the 1990s, and now control about 90% of all the illegal narcotics exported to the USA. They are full-spectrum criminal organizations, involved in drug and weapons trafficking, extortion, kidnapping, contract killing, human trafficking, money-laundering, corrupting public officials and theft, amongst other forms of crime. Estimates of their combined income from narcotics trafficking alone range from $13.6 billion to $49.4 billion annually[xxiv]. If these estimates are accurate, their annual income might be two or three times larger than Jamaica's GDP.

Conservative estimates of the number of cartel members and affiliates suggest that they have at least 100,000 'soldiers', although other estimates that suggest that just one cartel, the Sinaloa cartel (one of the two largest) employs about 150,000 people. The Mexican cartels also sub-contract some tasks to the maras (gangs) in Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador, such as Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13) and Calle 18 (18th Street Gang, or M18), who also have an extensive presence in the USA. MS-13 is estimated to have some 30-50,000 members, while M18 is estimated to have some 65,000 members. The cartels and maras have a combined strength of at least 250,000–500,000 'soldiers' and affiliates, and have a presence throughout the Americas[52].

The Mexican cartels are exceptionally violent. Between 2006 and 2012, some 55,000 people died in Mexico's 'war on drugs', including many cartel members, but also including some 1,500 police and army officers, over 1,000 children and many civilians. There are a number of factors that led to the emergence of the Mexican cartels, and to the use of extreme violence:

- The USA is the world's largest market for illegal narcotics, and the destination for many of the world's illegal immigrants.
- Mexico, by virtue of its geographical location, is the main transshipment route for narcotics, illegal immigrants and contraband from Mexico, Central and South America into the USA.
- Everywhere there is a trade in illegal narcotics; there is a parallel trade in illegal firearms. This is because the narcotics are illegal, so investments in the trade cannot be protected by patents and contracts. All transactions therefore depend on violence (or the credible threat of violence) in order to ensure control over territory and payment for supplies.
- The USA is the world's largest exporter of weapons. As a result of the second Amendment to the Constitution[53], the USA has liberal policies with regard to firearms. There are nearly 7,000 retail outlets that sell firearms within 20 miles of the border with Mexico, so the Mexican cartels have no difficulty in obtaining weapons, up to and including military-grade matériel. Some of the cartels have armoured vehicles, helicopters, machine

[52] The cartels are not unitary organizations, but flexible, adaptable networks. Some of them have a 'wheel' structure, where specialist sub-groups are organized around a core group; others use a 'chain' structure, where networks of specialists operate without a single core group. The larger cartels have cores, which typically consist of people who are related or who have known each other for a long time. The rest of the cartel consists of specialist sub-groups, who serve as processors, shippers, distributors, enforcers, assassins, managers, brokers, accountants, intelligence operatives, money-launderers etc.

[53] The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States that 'A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed'.

guns and rocket-propelled grenades (RPGs) in their arsenals[54].

- The cartels have corrupted many police and army officers. In some regions of Mexico, the Government has dismissed municipal police forces, because the entire police force was believed to be working for one of the cartels. These police and army officers have supplied expertise and combat training to the cartels.
- One of the most technologically capable, sophisticated, and dangerous cartels, Los Zetas, was founded by former elite Special Forces troops. They were originally hired as enforcers by the Gulf Cartel, but became their competitors in 2010.
- The cartels are engaged in a complex and fluid war with the State and with each other. This has led to a dramatic escalation in the use of extreme violence by cartel members to retaliate against their rivals, intimidate the security forces and cow the population. Torture, disemboweling, dismembering, decapitation and dissolving in acid are now routine.

The successful cartels see knowledge and skill as crucial resources; they hire chemists to process drugs, lawyers to control criminal proceedings, police officers to help them evade law enforcement and build intelligence networks, soldiers to kill their rivals, pilots to fly their aircraft, mechanics to build armoured cars, naval engineers to build submarines, mining engineers to construct underground railways and ICT experts to track police communications and cell-phone networks. The cartels also recruit networks of teenagers, taxi drivers, police officers and others to act as lookouts on the streets.

The cartels constantly innovate, changing their routes and techniques, rotating their couriers and moving their operations in order to evade detection. They frequently buy legitimate businesses in order to access new methods of shipping narcotics or cash. Cartels have bought, for example, factories that supplied timber, concrete blocks, frozen vegetables, coffee and roofing tar in order to hide narcotics in these products. They use cash collected in the US to buy luxury goods, then ship these back to Mexico for resale in order to move the money across the border. When a shipment is intercepted, or a major cartel member arrested, the cartels will research and analyze the event. They send people to listen to court proceedings and collect newspaper clippings, comparing different accounts in order to determine the truth. The Cali Cartel, for example, hired lawyers in the USA to obtain copies of criminal complaints, indictments, wiretap affidavits, intelligence reports and other documents that described in detail how law enforcement agencies had investigated and penetrated the Cartel. The lawyers in the USA were able to obtain all these records by Right to Discovery (this is the right to compel the opposing party in Court to disclose the material facts and documents that are the basis of the charges brought against the accused, including written statements from witnesses) and then sent copies directly to the Cali Cartel. This information is, of course, invaluable to organized crime, as it allows them to identify and then kill the witnesses[xxv].

[54] Mexico, Central America and the Caribbean nations sit at the intersection between these two trades; the flow of narcotics going north, and the flow of weapons going south. These two factors, in conjunction with a number of weak governments with high levels of corruption, are the main reasons why seven of the world's ten most violent countries are in this region.

Threat to Jamaica

The cartels are currently expanding aggressively, acquiring production facilities and money-laundering opportunities in Central America, undermining and hollowing-out government structures in order to be able to operate with impunity, taking over downstream distribution in the US and Canadian markets, and forming connections with other organized crime cartels, such as the N'drangheta, in Italy, for narcotics distribution in Europe. They also have contacts and business dealings with criminal organizations in Spain, Albania, Serbia and Eastern Europe, the coastal states in West Africa, Japan and many other regions.

With regard to the potential threat to Jamaica, the critical issue is whether the Mexican cartels might expand their interests across the Caribbean. Their sophistication, contacts, capabilities, wealth, numbers, and access to military-grade weapons and explosives would make them a formidable opponent.

The Caribbean nations offer an attractive combination of hotels, casinos and low-tax regimes, which can be used for money-laundering, and marinas and trans-shipment operations, which can be used for the distribution of narcotics and weapons.

It is likely that the first signs of Mexican drug cartel interest in the Caribbean would be in the form of foreign investment in trans-shipment facilities, hotels and casinos, entertainment complexes, shipping and fisheries, which would allow them to establish a presence and acquire the strategic assets needed to support their core business activities. Without prior warning as to the true identity of the investors, these investments would be welcomed as a sign of confidence in the Jamaican economy. The cartels would probably use local business people, lawyers and public officials, especially those already linked to organized crime, to facilitate these transactions and establish front companies.

Action Points

1. It is important to track signs of cartel interest in the Caribbean. Relevant indicators include:
   a) Evidence that the cartels are acquiring shipping companies and port operations, as they might then seek to expand their trans-shipment operations across the Caribbean.
   b) The rate of interceptions of narco-submarine and surface vessel shipments in the Caribbean, which will indicate the extent to which shipments are being re-routed from the cross-border and Pacific routes (the number of intercepts has increased significantly in the last couple of years).
   c) Reports of increasing cartel involvement in other Caribbean jurisdictions (they already have a presence in several other Caribbean countries).
2. It is important to establish intelligence-sharing links with the relevant US agencies, including the FBI, DEA, ATF, and Southern Command, and with security, police and intelligence agencies in Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala, and El Salvador, as well as other Caribbean jurisdictions. This will then allow for 'due diligence' background checks on investors, especially from Mexico and Central America, to see whether any of them have known connections to organized crime.

Terrorism

Terrorism is a form of political violence, typically utilized when one faction does not have the strength to overcome its enemy militarily. The goal is to force the other side to concede by inflicting more casualties and damage than they can bear. A related goal may be to weaken a nation's resolve by turning citizens against their own government, usually with a combination of violence (to convince people that their government is failing to protect them) and propaganda (sometimes from sympathizers rather than the terrorists themselves) to encourage doubts about the government's stance. However, the nature of terrorism has changed in some important respects over the last two decades, and will continue to evolve in future. For example:

- The use of suicide bombers greatly increases the difficulty of maintaining security.
- The speed of development of bomb-making technology has also accelerated markedly, largely as a result of the dissemination of both propaganda and technical information over the Internet.
- Most cyber-weapons to date have been developed by hackers, organized crime or government cyber-war agencies. However, it is highly likely that terrorists will develop or contract hacking and cyber-war skills in future, so that they can extract intelligence, use credit card fraud to raise funds, mount distributed denial of service attacks and so on.
- Systematic terrorism is becoming less common, but has been replaced by random terrorism. Systematic terrorism (as practiced by ETA or the IRA) is usually focused on specific demands, and the victims have to be seen as 'legitimate', i.e. members of the security forces or 'collaborators', although the definition of 'legitimate' is often stretched to include anyone that is not an active supporter of the terrorist organization. Systematic terrorism is usually aimed at territorial autonomy, often with an additional political ideology (such as a socialist or one-party state), although the killing of political opponents in order to repress dissent is also a form of systematic terrorism. This therefore includes the routine intimidation and murder of protesters by repressive governments.
- By contrast, random terrorism (as practiced by al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab) is usually aimed at the destabilization or destruction of the existing political, religious or ideological order, and seeks maximum destruction in terms of killing and property damage.
- Media management has always been important to terrorist organizations, who must try to demoralize their numerically-superior opponents and convince them that they cannot win. However, organizations like al-Qaeda also want 'spectaculars', highly-visible mass killings, partly to achieve the desired impact against the West, but also partly to ensure the continuing flow of funds and recruits.
- Random terrorism may be specifically targeted at the innocent and vulnerable, for two reasons. The first is that killing the innocent graphically demonstrates the state's failure to protect its citizens. Second, it helps to create revulsion, fear and panic. The combination of anger, revulsion, fear and despair eventually obliges the state to concede some or all of the demands of the terrorists.

The implications for tourism

Tourists are both innocent and vulnerable. In some countries, they also represent mobility, secularity, affluence and consumption, which may be perceived as corrupt and immoral. The tourism industry is economically vital to a number of countries, but it is also a very soft target, so it offers the opportunity to cause mass casualties and inflict extensive economic damage to countries that may be seen as sympathetic to the West. As a result, tourists have been specifically targeted in a number of instances. For example:

- In 1997 members of al-Gama'a al-Islamiya killed 58 tourists at Luxor. Egypt's tourism earnings fell that year by $1.17 billion, about 25% of Egypt's revenue from the industry.
- In 2002, members of Jemaah Islamiyah bombed a nightclub in Bali, killing 201 tourists and a local. The event was planned to maximize civilian casualties . The nightclub was known to cater largely to tourists, and was targeted as a result; members of Jemaah Islamiyah stated in court that their goal was to cripple the tourism industry. Bali's visitor arrivals fell that year by 22%; some 300,000 jobs were lost.
- In June 2012, the Spozhmai Hotel at Qargha Lake in Afghanistan was attacked, and over a dozen guests were killed, along with two of the hotel's security guards. The Taliban had earlier complained that the hotel served alcohol to guests and encouraged 'immoral behaviour'.

It is important to note that the intended targets in these first two examples were foreign nationals, not locals. A survey of the tourism industry in Jamaica carried out in 2011 found that senior operatives in the industry did not think that Jamaica was at serious risk of terrorism because "we're not quarrelling with anyone". If, however, the targets are US or European citizens, Jamaica might be chosen as the scene of the attack, rather than the primary target. It is also important to note that Jamaica's tourism industry has already suffered as a result of terrorism. After the 9/11 event, global tourism volumes fell by 10%. Visitor arrivals to some countries fell by 30%, Caribbean arrivals fell by 15%, and Jamaica's arrivals fell by 20%. The industry in Jamaica had to offer discounts to try to restore room occupancy.

The tourism industry has remarkable resilience, and eventually recovers. After a major incident, however, tourism volumes are typically depressed for one to three years, while the countries affected may also have to invest in additional security, spend heavily on advertising and offer steep discounts in order to rebuild their customer base.

Jamaica's tourism industry now attracts over 3 million arrivals. The industry generates some 13% of Jamaica's GDP; and 30-40% of all employment in the country is directly or indirectly related to tourism. Any terrorist incident that damages confidence in Jamaica's tourism industry would therefore have immediate and widespread consequences to the nation; even if Jamaica was merely the scene of the attack.

Possible vulnerabilities

In October 2000, a boat packed with explosives blew a hole in the USS Cole in Aden harbor, killing 17 sailors and injuring 39. This demonstrated that even a heavily-built and well-armed warship can be seriously damaged with a small boat and some explosives, a combination that can be readily assembled by most terrorist groups.

In January 2012, a cruise ship, Costa Concordia hit a reef off the Italian coast and partially sank, which demonstrated that cruise ships sink relatively easily. The largest cruise ships can carry over 5,000 passengers and 2,000 crew members, so the loss of a ship as a result of a terrorist incident could result in more loss of life than the 9/11 incident, when 3,000 people died. Any such incident would have a long-term impact on the cruise industry, as passengers would feel very vulnerable on a ship that could be readily targeted in deep water.

Action Points

1. Identify threats

Terrorists often attack where an attack is least expected. It is therefore important to use horizon scan assessments to identify 'unknown unknowns' in the threat environment, undertake critical, independent reviews to probe potential weaknesses in existing defence systems, and use counter-factual reasoning in order to identify vulnerabilities and their potential implications. The value of this work is largely negated, of course, if it becomes public knowledge, as the terrorists can then easily bypass these attempts to curtail their options.

2. Advance intelligence

The first line of defence is better intelligence as to the nature and intentions of potentially hostile organizations. Jamaica does not have a global network of intelligence sources, but has several allies – in particular the USA and UK – that do. It is important to ensure that allied intelligence services relay any information about possible threats to Jamaica in a timely manner, which also means ensuring that the JCF and JDF have the capacity to maintain the high level of security needed to protect this information while taking necessary action.

3. Training and technology

It is important to encourage the tourism industry to strengthen security and prepare for possible attacks. This will involve training staff members to evacuate ships or hotels, and training ship captains in evasive manoeuvres. Many tourism firms are reluctant to introduce obtrusive measures, as these may deter guests, but less overt security systems can still provide effective protection. One option to protect ships, for example, is a Long Range Acoustic Device (LRAD), which prevents small boats from approaching ships by directing a piercing tone in a focused beam[56]. The tourism industry should be encouraged to implement affordable, unobtrusive measures that make a terrorism incident less likely to happen, and reduce the impact if one does happen.

4. Strengthen response capacity

It is important to strengthen public health infrastructure, with adequate stockpiles of medical supplies, to deal with the consequences of a major terrorist incident or natural disaster.

[56] In November 2005 a cruise ship was attacked by pirates 100 miles off the coast of Somalia. The trained crew members used LRADs to deter the pirates while the captain changed course and headed out to sea at full speed, thereby escaping the attack.

II. Non-traditional threats

Energy, non-energy resources, climate change, natural hazards and biodiversity loss

Energy

Humanity depends on stable, affordable supplies of large quantities of energy, most of which is currently derived from hydrocarbons. There are now a number of pressing energy-related challenges, including sharply rising demand for oil and gas in countries such as China and India, price volatility, resource nationalism, increasing competition (and potential conflict) for resources, concerns about supply constraints and the possible approach of peak supplies of conventional oil, and concerns about carbon levels in the atmosphere and climate change.

Price volatility is a particular problem for a nation like Jamaica, which currently depends on imported oil for about 93% of its total energy demand. Between 1999 and July 2008, the price of oil rose 15-fold, from under $10/barrel to over $147/barrel. Then the price collapsed; oil lost nearly 80% of its value. It was trading at less than $34/barrel in December 2008. Such dramatic shifts are highly destabilizing; high prices increase costs and slow growth in importing nations, while low prices reduce investment in both oil and new energy technologies.

Jamaica has been protected from price volatility in recent years by the Petrocaribe arrangement with Venezuela, but Venezuela's current economic difficulties may mean that this arrangement is not indefinitely sustainable. Termination would greatly increase the difficulty of managing Jamaica's economy, as the price of the primary energy source can vary so much.

World energy demand will continue to increase, partly because the world's population is still growing, and partly because about one-third of the current population still do not have adequate energy supplies. Energy demand is projected to increase by over 50% by 2030, with about 75% of that increased demand coming from China, India and the other new industrial powers.

Historically, it is true that new oil has been discovered fast enough to keep abreast of demand, but this may not be true indefinitely. This is probably not an imminent crisis, as the development of unconventional sources (such as shale gas) will postpone depletion for many years, but it is important to take steps to mitigate the risk that energy sources might become increasingly scarce and expensive, as that would cripple the Jamaican economy.

Non Energy Resources

There are similar issues with non-energy resources. World commodity prices approximately halved over the last century, even though the world's population increased four-fold and global GDP increased over 40-fol[57]. This was because technological advances and the development of new sources increased supply more rapidly than the increase in demand.

However, this trend reversed in 2000. Global commodity prices rose sharply over the last decade, erasing the gains made over the previous century. This was the result of several factors:

- The world's population is projected to increase to over 9 billion by 2050, greatly increasing demand.
- The development of a new generation of industrial nations, with resource-intensive

[57] GWP was $1.1 trillion in 1900, $41 trillion in 2000, and $70.1 trillion in 2011 (in 1990 USD).

industries, rapidly increasing affluence and rising consumer expectations. At current rates of growth, over 50% of the world's population will be middle-class by 2050, with energy and resource-intensive lifestyles. Most of them will live in China and India. This group will be the largest consumers of energy, food, water and other goods and services, as well as the world's main emitters of carbon and other forms of pollution.

- The rate of discovery of new sources of some key commodities, such as oil, coal, metals and minerals, has been falling over the last ten years. This has pushed exploration into difficult terrain, which means that the cost of extraction has been rising. For example, the average cost of drilling an oil well has approximately doubled over the last ten years (although this trend may be reversed, as high prices have stimulated more investment in new energy technologies, the development of new fields and unconventional sources, especially shale oil and gas).

In conclusion, it is likely that demand for energy and commodities will continue to rise, but arable land, water, hydrocarbons and various metals and minerals are finite and will become increasingly scarce. This means that commodity prices will tend to increase over time, which could very seriously affect Jamaica's import-dependent economy.

There is also an increasing risk of conflict. There are currently about 25 wars in the world that originated in struggles to control resources; there may be more such conflicts in the future[xxvi]. This would have a rapid and significant impact on the availability and cost of Jamaica's imports.

The implications for Jamaica

Jamaica, as a small, open economy, dependent on imports of energy and other commodities, is very exposed to these trends. Although the rest of the world has become increasingly energy-efficient over the last three decades, Jamaica has actually become less energy-efficient. Jamaica's energy intensity index (EII) has increased steadily over the last two decades, as Jamaica's energy consumption has consistently grown faster than the economy. As a result, Jamaica now requires 21,152 British Thermal Units (BTU) to produce US$1 of domestic output, compared to a global average of 4,600 BTU.

It is important to note the extent to which Jamaica has diverged from the rest of the world with regard to energy efficiency. In 1980, the global energy system was 34% efficient, which meant that only 1/3rd of total energy input was converted into useful energy. The world responded to high-energy prices by increasing efficiency, and today the global energy system is 39% efficient. Recent estimates suggest that the current drive to greater energy efficiency in buildings, transport, appliances, power plants, transmission systems and so on could make the global energy system 50-60% efficient by 2040. Jamaica is one of the few countries that have been moving in the wrong direction.

The low levels of energy productivity in Jamaica impose multiple costs:

- They contribute to climate change, which may cause significant damage to Jamaica in the future.
- The country's energy imports are the main cause of Jamaica's balance of payments deficit.
- High energy costs reduce the ability of Jamaican firms to compete on international markets.

There have been many initiatives in the past to develop better energy policies in Jamaica, including the promotion of diversification,

the development of renewable energy sources and increased energy efficiency, but these have failed to deliver any substantial improvements. There are a number of factors that have impeded progress, including problems with governance and policy conflicts, market failures and unhelpful institutional structures. Specific problems include an inefficient public electricity system, with old generating plant; inefficient use of energy in manufacturing and other productive sectors; inefficient energy use in the public sector, including the extensive use of pumps (rather than gravity feed) to deliver the nation's water supply; low public awareness of the importance of energy conservation; and inadequate policy support for energy conservation and efficiency.

Climate change: sea-level rise and hurricanes

The 2012 World Bank 'Turn Down the Heat' report concluded that the world's average surface temperature is now 0.8° higher than the pre-industrial levels, primarily as a result of the emission of greenhouse gases, and that it could be 4°C higher by 2060, even if current United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change emission pledges and commitments are met in full[xxvii]. Without a major change in policy, the temperature will continue to rise; it could be 6°C higher by 2100. This level is likely to trigger ecological catastrophe, as many parts of the world could become effectively uninhabitable. Southern Europe, for example, may come to resemble the Libyan Desert.

The main driver of climate change is the world's high level of dependence on fossil hydrocarbons as fuel. This results in emissions of carbon dioxide, which the 2012 World Bank report currently estimates at 35 billion metric tons per year, and which it projects to rise to 41 billion metric tons per year in 2020. Recent World Bank and International Energy Agency reports have warned that the continued commissioning of coal, oil and gas power infrastructure will 'lock in' a path of increasing greenhouse gas emissions for decades to come.

In order to ensure that the temperature rise remains below 2 degrees, Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) estimates suggest that it would be necessary for the OECD nations to peak their emissions by 2015/16 at the latest, and fully decarbonize their economies by 2030, and the non-OECD nations to peak by 2025, and fully decarbonize by 2050. This is unlikely to happen; China is now the world's largest carbon emitter, and its emissions are still rising. Recent assessments indicate that China's carbon emissions will not peak until 2030-2040, or perhaps 2050. The particular significance of this is that on business-as-usual growth projections, China will by then be emitting almost as much carbon (equivalent) as the USA, India and the EU combined. This is why the world temperature rise is now likely to be at least 4°C.

As the oceans gradually warm as a result of climate change, hurricanes may get stronger. Emanuel (1987) suggests that wind speeds increase by about 5% for every 1°C rise in tropical ocean temperatures[xxviii]. However, another important factor in formation of hurricanes in the Atlantic is the easterly trade winds in the northern and southern hemisphere, which meet near the equator. The meeting of these strong winds generates powerful thunderstorms, some of which may then organize into larger, unified storm systems. However, if the winds are too strong, they can then shear these systems apart again. This is one reason why it is difficult to predict whether global warming will lead to more hurricanes in the Caribbean; warmer seas would tend to encourage the early stages of development, but it is also possible that there will be stronger winds that would disrupt systems

before they could gather strength. It is possible that a number of such factors will change at the same time, so one plausible scenario is that there will be fewer but more powerful storms in the Caribbean.

These threats are perhaps not yet sufficiently apparent, because Jamaica is still allowing housing, hotels, roads and other infrastructure to be built in areas that may be vulnerable, thus increasing the eventual cost should these areas be lost to the sea.

The challenge for Jamaica

The Government of Jamaica must ascertain which areas of human settlement and essential infrastructure are located in areas likely to become increasingly vulnerable to sea level rise, increased incidence of severe weather, flooding and storm surge in future, and to ensure that these vital assets are either protected or relocated in order to reduce the risk of future disaster. This will involve measures to enforce set-backs, directing new developments out of such areas, and amending zoning ordinances and building regulations to ensure that any permanent construction can withstand hurricane conditions and flooding. It is also important to ensure that reefs, sea-grass and mangroves are protected, as these can all help to protect vulnerable coastline from storm surge.

This will not be a trivial exercise. A significant part of the housing stock and economic and transport infrastructure is in areas that are likely to become increasingly vulnerable. Over time, zoning and planning can gradually move people and the infrastructure into safer areas, but this will take decades. It will also be necessary, therefore, to implement a number of short-term measures. Many of the necessary steps are known, as Jamaica has already suffered a number of serious natural disasters. Hurricane Gilbert struck the southern coast of Jamaica in 1988 and badly damaged the electricity infrastructure, the agricultural sector and a significant portion of the housing stock. Hurricane Ivan in 2004 did significant damage, especially on the south coast. These events highlighted several key weaknesses. Relief efforts were seriously handicapped by the lack of electricity in the worst-affected areas and consequent inability to operate lighting, refrigeration (e.g. for medicines), water pumps and communication networks and so on. Electricity is never normally available in the critical disaster and post-disaster periods when these facilities are most needed. These problems arise directly from the centralized generation of electricity and the network of distribution systems. These systems, especially the distribution poles and lines, are usually physically damaged during a hurricane or similar disaster, and it takes time to bridge the broken sections. Some individual sites have standby generators, but most communities do not. The development of decentralized sources of energy is therefore a vital part of disaster preparedness.

The treatment of waste is also of crucial importance. Hurricanes cause floods, which make sewers and septic tanks overflow. This, in conjunction with the bodies of drowned people and animals, can make the surrounding water a vector for virulent disease, especially in tropical countries. One partial solution to both problems would be to ensure that all new developments have secure solar-powered bio-digester tanks, partly in order to contain the sewage produced, but also to contribute to the energy supply. All such measures will have to be incorporated in zoning ordinances, and building regulations.

Conclusion

Jamaica has to address a number of environmental challenges. Energy security and climate change are particularly important. They represent profound economic, social, environmental, health and governance challenges; there are few other issues that have the same potential to impact the viability of entire nations. Yet the situation also represents a remarkable opportunity. Human development and progress has largely depended, to date, on the consumption of natural resources. Today, technological progress is opening up a new array of options and possible avenues of development. The current dilemmas with energy and the environment offer an opportunity to find a new basis for energy security and thereby create the conditions for long-term, sustained economic growth and social progress. This requires, however, a long-term commitment to increase energy efficiency and build new energy infrastructure, based primarily on renewable and low-carbon energy sources. Any progress in this regard is likely to generate multiple benefits. For example:

- Increased economic efficiency means generating more economic output for less resource input, thereby increasing wealth while reducing pollution.
- Increased energy security means reduced dependence on potentially unstable or manipulative regimes.
- Greater energy efficiency and diversification means reduced dependence on finite resources, such as oil.
- Greater efficiency and the development of low-carbon sources will reduce the rate of climate change, and will also mitigate a range of other environmental impacts.

There are many ways to reduce the carbon-intensity of economies. For example, it could involve promoting the more efficient use of conventional sources of energy, including hydrocarbons, encouraging the expansion of renewable sources, such as hydroelectricity, on and off-shore wind turbines, sub-sea turbines, photovoltaic cells and geothermal power, supporting the development of biofuels such as sugar and cellulosic ethanol and algal biodiesel, or accelerating the development of hydrogen fuel cells and pebble-bed reactors.

With regard to non-energy resources, the solution is to encourage waste minimization, recycling and material recovery, cleaner technology and industrial symbiosis to return materials back into productive use. Research in this area suggests that it is possible to get a four-fold increase in the efficiency with which resources are used[xxix]. This would make Jamaica much more competitive, reduce costs markedly, make the country less dependent on imported resources, and shield the nation from high resource costs in future.

The ideal solution for Jamaica may be one of the technologies that is currently in development, rather than one of the currently-available mature technologies. However, no government can take the risk of a gap with insufficient energy supply.

The most rational solution for dealing with such significant uncertainties is to adopt a 'no-regrets' strategy to reduce the risk of investing in the wrong technology, for example, then having to write-off investments and incur significant opportunity costs. This means that it is more important to focus on increasing energy efficiency and productivity than it is to develop new renewable energy sources, as current energy efficiency standards in

Jamaica are so low that there is ample scope to improve efficiency and reduce waste at relatively low cost. This option is likely to remain economically attractive even if energy costs become cheaper in future, whether as a result of cheap shale gas or as a result of the development of a disruptive new energy technology.

Action Points

It is important to improve the efficiency with which energy and resources are used in Jamaica, and to develop new energy supplies. The priorities are to:

1. Promote greater energy efficiency, especially in buildings and the transport sector.
2. Promote the development, dissemination and uptake of renewable and low-carbon energy technologies, especially those that would also reduce Jamaica's dependence on imports.
3. Promote the uptake of advanced resource management concepts, such as cleaner technology, waste exchanges and industrial symbiosis.

Earthquakes

The islands of the Caribbean sit on top of a complex set of geological faults. The Caribbean plate sits at the junction of four larger plates (the North American, South American, Nazca and Cocos). In addition, the area between the Caribbean and North American plates is broken up into a patchwork of small platelets, such as the Gonave platelet. The fault lines between all these plates and platelets are seismically active, resulting in earthquakes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions.

Jamaica and Haiti sit on top of the Enriquillo - Plantain Garden Fault (EPGF), which is the boundary between the Caribbean plate to the south and the Gonave platelet to the north. The Caribbean plate is sliding east, while the Gonave platelet is sliding west, so the EPGF is a lateral (or 'strike-slip') fault. It accumulates a lot of strain, which is periodically released when sections of rock rupture.

The 7.0 magnitude earthquake that killed some 46-92,000 people in Haiti on the 12th January 2010 happened because the underlying section of the EPGF had been locked since the last major slip in 1770, so it had built up about two lateral metres of unrelieved pressure. However, the section of the EPGF that ruptured was only 50km long, which is just 10% of the length of the EPGF, so it is likely that the sections of the fault line to the east and to the west are now carrying even more load. The British Geological Survey issued a preliminary assessment on the 13th January 2010 that the main pressure on the fault line had probably now shifted to the west, and predicted another earthquake or series of earthquakes moving westward towards Jamaica and the Cayman Islands, probably over the next 20 to 40 years.

A comparison between Haiti and Jamaica

The death toll in Haiti was very high because a number of critical factors coincided:

- The size of the earthquake and the fact that it was relatively near the surface, in proximity to a densely populated area. In addition, Port–au-Prince sits on an alluvial plain, and soft, alluvial soils vibrate, amplify seismic waves and thereby subject buildings to much more shaking than they would experience on firmer ground. This is also true of parts of Jamaica. In addition, parts of Kingston have been built on unstable slopes.
- Haiti is a country with weak governance and high levels of crime and corruption, so building codes were not enforced. It also has many poor people. This combination meant that most people lived in badly constructed buildings, which collapsed on top of them. As at least 20% of the population of Jamaica live in illegal settlements, there are likely to be some similar problems.
- Haiti's Presidential Palace, the Parliament, the UN Headquarters, the Tax Office and other key government buildings collapsed, effectively decapitating the government. With regard to Jamaica, a number of government buildings may not withstand a major earthquake.
- In Haiti the airport, port and main roads were all partially blocked, so these had to be cleared before aid could be shipped in. This too is likely to be true of Jamaica.
- Some 4-7,000 prisoners (some extremely dangerous) escaped when the National Penitentiary collapsed. The Haitian police force had just 8,000 officers, of whom about 12% were killed or injured, which left an approximately equal number of escaped prisoners and surviving police officers. At one point, police officers were reduced to asking citizens to take matters into their own hands and kill the most dangerous criminals before they could reassert control of the city. With regard to Jamaica, the Tower Street Penitentiary might undergo structural failure in a major earthquake, releasing the inmates.
- In Haiti, the combined loss of governance, control, communications and transport made it impossible to coordinate the response. Management and coordination is absolutely critical when responding to disasters, so the lack of any coherent structure made all the individual efforts far less effective. Eventually, police, marines and rescue teams arrived from outside, and were able to start bringing the situation under control; but this was then too late to save many more lives. With regard to Jamaica, however, any loss of control is likely to be shorter and less severe.

Action Points

1. Ensure that Jamaica is prepared for a major earthquake or tsunami. This will involve reviewing national planning guidelines and building codes, identifying the most vulnerable areas, and upgrading emergency planning and disaster management.
2. Protect the core functions of government by ensuring that key Government offices, JDF and JCF buildings, hospitals, supplies of emergency stores and communications links are in secure buildings, designed to withstand the most severe conditions.
3. Ensure that all vital records are regularly backed up to hardened sites.
4. Ensure that all government departments are aware of the need for disaster preparedness and emergency management.
5. Ensure that new buildings are built to withstand earthquakes, especially public buildings such as schools, and encourage people to strengthen their own homes.
6. Establish basic earthquake education in all schools.
7. The great majority of people that are saved after an earthquake are not saved by the specialist disaster teams, but by their neighbours. In Haiti, for example, less than 200 people were rescued by the specialists, compared to over 7,000 that were dug out by their neighbours. People rarely survive more than 72 hours when trapped under rubble, so the only help likely to reach most people is the help that is already at hand. This means that Jamaica should not rely on the aid that will come from outside after a disaster; all parishes should have disaster specialists who can prepare, organize regular training exercises, and ensure that essential supplies are stockpiled. Another lesson from Haiti is that these supplies must include shovels, tents, plastic sheeting and shelter material, mosquito nets, kitchen sets, portable toilets, hygiene and sanitation equipment, stores of food and water, and medical supplies for dealing with crush and other trauma injuries, respiratory disease, obstetrics, and vaccinations against infectious disease.
8. It is important to make an inventory of essential equipment and locations in advance. This should include firms that own bulldozers and other earth-moving equipment, so that these can be requisitioned to clear arterial routes, and firms that own buses, which might be needed to evacuate devastated areas. It is also important to identify areas of clear ground, such as sports fields, as these may be needed for emergency evacuation centres, temporary hospitals and heliports.
9. Strengthen public health infrastructure, with adequate stockpiles of medical supplies to deal with a major natural disaster or terrorist incident (including treatments for chronic diseases, in case other supplies are temporarily disrupted).

If government agencies and local planning authorities make these preparations, and ensure that everyone knows what to do, the death toll when the earthquake strikes will be far smaller.

Biodiversity, environmental planning and management

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CDB) defines biodiversity as the combination of diverse life forms and their various interactions with each other and with the physical environment that has made the planet habitable for humans . Jamaica is a signatory to the CBD.

Much of Jamaica has been settled and developed, but it is still biologically diverse, with many endemic species. However, this biodiversity is now threatened . Biodiversity loss makes ecosystems more vulnerable to shocks and disturbances, less resilient, and less able to supply humanity with services. The damage from floods and storms, for example, can increase dramatically where protective wetland habitats have been lost or degraded. Jamaica needs to encourage enterprise and stimulate economic development and growth in order to raise the average standard of living, but must now find ways to do so that also protect and maintain its biodiversity.

Early stages of economic development often coincide with a decline in environmental quality. This can be seen clearly in countries such as China today, where their rapid economic development has resulted in an equally rapid deterioration in air and water quality. As a result, many people assume that there is an inherent trade-off, and that some environmental quality must be sacrificed for the sake of economic development. Public debate can then become confrontational, with environmentalists being accused of being anti-development and, by extension, against poverty alleviation, and developers being accused of plundering the inheritance of future generations.

However, the assumption that there is an inevitable trade-off between economic and environmental goals is no longer correct; it has become clear in recent years that economic restructuring, good planning and regulation, better management and more advanced technology can deliver a combination of economic development and growth with rising environmental quality[xxxii]. Failure in this regard is now more likely to be the result of policy incoherence, poor planning, regulation or enforcement, and a lack of awareness of available technological solutions. Many of these problems can be seen in Jamaica today. For example:

- There is inadequate protection for important ecological sensitive sites, which, in some cases, do not have clearly defined boundaries, insufficient resources to safeguard protected areas, and a lack of clarity about the procedures for permitting or prohibiting some developments.
- There are concerns about encroachment into wetland areas, damage to reefs, deforestation, land degradation and water pollution, with the associated loss of biodiversity, air quality in some urban areas, and serious abuses (such as large-scale illegal sand-mining).
- Developers have complained about confusing and overlapping regulations, procedures and agency remits, which can oblige them to deal with a number of separate government agencies (this is usually with larger developments). This lack of clarity can give rise to policy conflicts, where one government agency is inadvertently undoing the work of another, and result in costly delays, which discourages investment.
- There are a significant number of illegal developments, where people have proceeded with construction without submitting any application, breaching planning and building laws and, in some cases, environmental laws as well. The extent of the problem is hard to gauge, but it is clear that a significant portion of society do not believe in the planning system, have no commitment to its

purpose or appreciation of its benefits. Some illegal developments oblige respectable businesses to compete against less scrupulous rivals (who may be reducing their costs by evading taxes and regulation) and fosters a culture of non-compliance, where illegal behaviour is seen as normal and advantageous.

- There is relatively little public awareness of the real cost of inadequate enforcement. For example, failure to control over-fishing has been one of the main factors contributing to the death of the coral reefs , which has in turn both contributed to beach erosion and seriously reduced the potential economic contribution of the fishing industry, while failure to adequately enforce air quality standards has contributed to the rise in asthma and other respiratory disease. Thus inadequate environmental enforcement incurs substantial health, social and economic costs.
- Other important environmental problems include the entry or illegal importation of invasive alien species, and the illegal removal of forest cover in order to produce charcoal.

There have been a number of attempts to resolve these issues, but these have had limited success, and many of the problems still remain. The environment is not being properly valued or adequately protected, potential risks to human health are not sufficiently taken into account, development is delayed, investment is lost and officials are left unsupported. Some of these problems stem from defects in the regulatory system, others stem from gaps in the planning system. It is clearly in the national interest that these problems are properly resolved, as that will eliminate a number of costs and risks.

More effective regulation would also allow the development of other business opportunities in Jamaica. For example, attempts to establish metal recycling businesses in Jamaica had to be curtailed, because the lack of proper regulation encouraged a rapid increase in the theft of metal items. Effective regulation, with proper monitoring and sanctions, would allow a legitimate business sector to develop.

Action Points

1. **Reform Jamaica's Planning and Regulatory Systems**
   Establish regulations that will promote sustainable development with a combination of economic development and growth, rising incomes, high environmental standards, strong protection for important ecosystems, good management of natural resources and an improved quality of life.
2. **Develop a goal-oriented planning model**
   Set policy goals for energy-efficient cities including water and resource management, waste minimization and materials recovery, buildings; and transport systems. Have a reducing rate for environmental damage with remediation and enhancement. Set standards for greater resilience and reduced vulnerability to storm surge, flood, earthquake. Establish policies for urban systems that contribute to social well-being and that help to reduce conflict and crime.
3. **Develop a national spatial plan**
   Goal-oriented planning supported with a national spatial plan and effective enforcement.

Addressing Tier 3 Threats Persistent Problems

1. Public debt.
2. The possible loss of credibility with key international partners.
3. Poverty and unemployment
4. Education and Training
5. Deported Persons
6. Informal settlements

Tier 3 Threats

Tier 3 threats are **high probability, low impact events.** Some of them are problems that Jamaica has had for some time, so they are not always perceived as high risk. Note, however, that threats of this kind can impose a high hidden cost. For example, Jamaica might fail to implement agreements with international development partners or strategic allies. This would gradually erode Jamaica's credibility. However, the cost of this lost credibility might not become visible unless there was a crisis that obliged Jamaica to appeal for assistance. At that stage, it might then become apparent that the support for Jamaica had been weakened, and that less favourable terms would be offered or more stringent conditions imposed as a result.

Poverty is another example of a problem that can have high hidden costs. Jamaica has had a relatively high level of poverty for a long time, so it might not appear that poverty itself presents a direct threat to society. However, poverty overlaps with clusters of negative social and economic factors which can then interlock and become mutually-reinforcing. For example, many of the inhabitants in poor areas can be trapped in unemployment or marginal, low-waged jobs by a lack of marketable qualifications and skills. Bad housing, limited access to amenities, poorly-performing schools and low levels of educational achievement can leave communities marginalized, vulnerable to extortion and dependent on political patronage, which fosters fatalism and low self-esteem. This can result in high levels of aggression and physical and sexual abuse. Weak family structures mean that many children do not receive an adequate education, and are not socialized into patterns of work. Some communities are in unplanned, informal settlements, and do not have proper services, so refuse is burnt and sewage contaminates ground water, which is hazardous to health, safety and the environment. Borrowed capital is expensive, and many residents do not have land titles or collateral, small local businesses have little turnover and are sometimes weakened by extortion, internal levels of economic activity remain low and little wealth is created. Most employers and investors avoid these areas. These compounded problems therefore become increasingly intractable, and this perpetuates poverty, in a vicious spiral of decline. It may not appear, therefore, that poverty itself is a major risk, but entrenched poverty makes it much easier for gangs to recruit, dominate areas, intimidate communities and extort vulnerable people.

It is also important to note that social systems can behave in a non-linear manner. As the Arab Spring uprisings demonstrated

in 2011, a situation may appear stable for many years, but then a single incident can spur an uprising that overturns the established order. Tier 3 problems should not be neglected.

Public debt

Jamaica is one of the most indebted countries in the world, and government expenditure commitments regularly exceed annual revenues. Jamaica's public debt at December 2011 was US$18.7 billion, while GDP was US$14.7 billion, so Jamaica's debt was 127% of GDP. This high level of indebtedness also presents a significant threat to national security. The quotes below illustrate this point[xxxiiixxxivxxxv].

Both the JDF and the JCF have received significant financial and technical assistance from allies, mainly the USA, UK, Canada and the EU and Jamaica is now receiving assistance from China. However, the support of traditional allies cannot be taken for granted, partly because they too have economic problems, and partly because the strategic focus of the USA is now shifting from the Atlantic to the Pacific theatre.

"The most significant threat to our national security is our debt."

US Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Admiral Michael Mullen, 27th August 2010

"The single biggest strategic risk facing the UK today is economic rather than military. The country's main effort must be the economy. No country can defend itself if bankrupt"

General Sir David Richard, Chief of the Defence Staff, 14th December 2011

"Without strong economies and stable public finances it is impossible to build and sustain, in the long-term, the military capability required to project power and maintain defence. That is why today the debt crisis should be considered the greatest strategic threat to the future security of our nations."

UK Defence Secretary Philip Hammond, 5th January 2012

Action Points

1. **Improve efficiency of public sector systems**
   Accelerate the modernisation of government commercial activities towards e-government systems.

   This transformation will lower the cost and also time delays when doing business with public sector agencies.

2. **Harness HR in public sector for knowledge management**
   Adopt strategies that will transform public sector workers away from mechanical tasks and into more knowledge-based activities.

Jamaica's credibility

There are a number of areas where the support of international partners is likely to be increasingly important in the future, including government borrowing, trade facilitation and cooperation on policing and intelligence. In order to ensure this support, it is important that Jamaica builds a reputation as a trusted, reliable partner. This does not mean pretending that Jamaica does not have problems; it means discussing these problems with honesty and clarity, accepting responsibility where appropriate, and then addressing these problems in a resolute manner.

Action Points

1. The emphasis should now be on cooperation on policing and intelligence, trade facilitation, especially with regard to e-commerce, on-line services, tourism and high-value niche products, the development of e-government, and increasing human capital and skills in the workforce.
2. There should also be planning and regulatory reform to prevent environmental degradation, control depletion of natural resources and reduce exposure to natural hazards, in conjunction with regional risk-pooling to manage the cost of earthquakes and hurricanes.

These steps would strengthen Jamaica's credibility with key international partners. They will also help Jamaica to achieve investment-grade status, attract foreign investment and retain human capital, which will strengthen and diversify Jamaica's economy, and thereby help to buffer the country against any future global economic recession.

Poverty and unemployment

As noted earlier, crime and corruption have undermined Jamaica's development and perpetuated poverty. As a result, there are now many untrained, poorly educated and unqualified people in Jamaica who are effectively unemployable in the formal economy. About half of the total population aged 15-29 is not in the workforce, and many of those that are employed have jobs that are unskilled or semi-skilled, pay low wages, often require working irregular hours, with no career structure, no job security, and no housing, medical, pension or other benefits[xxxvii].

This means that there is a large reserve of disaffected, poorly-educated, unskilled and unqualified youth in Jamaica. They are the main recruits for gangs, and account for much of the anti-social behaviour, including violent crime[xxxviii]. In the event of a prolonged recession, disaffected youth are more likely to participate in civil unrest. This is, therefore, a serious potential threat to national security.

However, a more positive way to see this is that the size of the workforce in Jamaica could be expanded by almost one-third if the unemployed could be brought in to the productive workforce. This would have a dramatic impact in terms of increasing productivity and strengthening the economy, as well as reducing recruitment into gangs. So many of the actions that are needed to reduce the risks to Jamaica's national security

are the same actions needed to address Jamaica's social and economic problems.

There are only two ways that an economy can grow. One way is to increase the size of the workforce. The other is to make each worker more productive. Jamaica can do both:

1. Increasing the workforce does not require increasing the population. It can be done by moving the people from the informal economy into the formal sector, via robust training programs aimed mainly at the unskilled. There are many young people that could become economically active, which would increase the size of Jamaica's workforce by about one-third.
2. Making the workforce more productive usually involves making better use of technology, removing the impediments to progress, such as slow and bureaucratic government processes[58], [xxxix], [xl], [xli] and training programs aimed at enhancing skills.
3. The long-term solution is to provide the kind of training opportunities that will lead to genuine economic development and growth. Every training program should have a clear strategic focus. There is little point in training people to work in dying industries. So the focus has to be on increasing the supply of trained, skilled labour in the 'sunrise' business areas that could transform Jamaica's productivity and prospects. It is therefore necessary to develop a clear strategic vision of where the growth opportunities will be in future.

This is challenging, because the world labour market is undergoing several structural shifts:

- The process of continuous innovation and modernization is replacing manual labour with automated processes. In the UK, for example, the automobile manufacturing sector now produces a greater volume of cars with about one-fifth of the workforce that was required 30 years ago. This means that many semi-skilled jobs have been automated out of existence.
- Innovative ideas and technologies create new opportunities, demands and markets, but simultaneously render old technologies obsolete and the associated skills redundant. So the status quo is constantly disrupted by innovations that restructure the competitive environment. The accelerating pace of innovation is forcing a similar acceleration in the rate of change in the market for employment and skills.
- From the mid-1980s onwards, predominantly low-skilled jobs were transferred to Asia, but now countries like China, India, Brazil, Malaysia and Taiwan are highly competitive in services and high-skill manufacturing sectors. This is now putting the last-generation manufacturing economies under pressure to reduce costs and to move into higher-value, higher-skilled operations.

This means that it will be difficult to find employment opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled workforce in Jamaica, and even more so for those that are not even in the workforce, unless there are significant reforms in Jamaica's systems of education and training.

[58] These vary significantly between countries, and are one of the main determinants of national competitiveness. For example, opening a business in New Zealand requires one procedure, which costs 0.4% of average income, and takes one day, so New Zealand is ranked 3rd in the world for ease of doing business. In Suriname it requires 13 separate procedures, which costs 115% of average income, and takes 694 days, so Suriname is ranked 164th in the world. Jamaica was ranked 85th in the world in 2012, but fell to 90th in the world in 2013 as more countries introduced reforms and improved their competitiveness, again illustrating the point that any country that is slow to improve will be left behind.

Action Points

1. Increase the size of the workforce.
2. Make the workforce more productive.
3. Develop a clear strategic vision of where the growth opportunities will be in the future.

The role of education and training

These profound transformations in the nature of work and employment make it important to reconsider the role of educational and training institutions in national development; traditional 'supply-push' models of the role of educational systems in developing countries have largely ignored both this larger economic context and the need to foster innovative capacity.

Educational and training systems have a crucially important role to play in supporting and enabling a transition to a skills-based economy. They cannot, however, drive this process. The distinction becomes clear when considering the failure of traditional strategies for education and training, which have tended to focus on increasing the supply of skilled and educated people into the workforce. There is little evidence, however, that the process of economic development can be directly supply-pushed by education and training. For example, an oversupply of over-qualified graduates in an economic recession can lead, instead, to a situation where many university graduates are unemployed or underemployed, and consequently disaffected, or emigrate in search of better opportunities overseas.

The evidence suggests, rather, that education is demand-pulled by economic development. As economies strengthen and diversify, they assume the inverted pyramid shape of a mature economy (in which the service sector grows faster than manufacturing, or mining and agriculture). This increases the demand for more specialized skills, which expands the range of opportunities and the demand for education. The development of India's ICT industry, for example, was made possible by the availability of a large number of underemployed mathematics graduates, but these graduates would probably have remained underemployed had it not been for the Indian Diaspora in California, who provided the link to markets, ideas and business opportunities that demand-pulled subsequent developments, as well as the investment capital and technology-transfer that triggered and accelerated the rapid growth of the last 25 years.

Action Points

1. The resources for education (above primary level), adult education and training in Jamaica should be focused on areas where there is potential demand-pull, i.e. areas where there are more likely to be growth opportunities in future.
2. It is also essential to improve teaching standards in schools. A truancy service should be introduced, so that school officials are mandated to find out what has happened to absentees, and a universal system of home-school contracts should be established[59].
3. Over the longer term, it is difficult to predict the exact jobs that will be most in demand, but it is possible to identify the kind of skills that are likely to be required . These include social networking skills (team-builders, managers and leaders), creative skills (designers, visionaries and conceptualizers), technical skills (scientists, engineers and technicians), logistical skills (organizers, project aggregators and coordinators, open-source project managers, logistics and supply-chain strategists and managers), thinking skills (critical thinkers, problem-solvers, policy analysts and business strategists), entrepreneurial skills (people who can network between different networks, e.g. scientists, financiers, and the businesses that control the manufacturing, supply and distribution networks) and generic skills (e.g. people who are ICT-fluent, can multi-task, network, and have high emotional intelligence). Educational and training programs in Jamaica should emphasize these skills, as that would allow them to make a stronger contribution to national development.
4. It is important to draw on the talents, resources and contacts of the Jamaican Diaspora. They can provide the links to markets, ideas and business opportunities that will demand-pull business development in Jamaica.
5. The proposed development of a Logistics Hub in Jamaica will create many direct and indirect employment opportunities for those with the relevant skills, so it is important to utilize the opportunity by establishing the necessary training programs before the Logistics Hub becomes fully operational. This could be supplemented with targeted support for entrepreneurs, especially in low-income areas, to encourage community regeneration.
6. Agriculture remains a key source of employment in rural areas, but subsistence farmers must be given targeted training and support to enable them to increase their productivity and move into higher-value forms of production.

[59] This is a contract explaining the school discipline and rules. Parents must sign this document and agree that they accept the school's rules, that they are responsible for their child's attendance and behavior, and must respect the discipline methods used in the school. This system is now widely used in the US and UK. It gives parents a formal, binding obligation to ensure that their child reaches the school and remains there until the end of the school day.

Deported persons

There have been several high profile deportations to Jamaica, including senior gang members. This created a public perception that many of Jamaica's problems with crime and violence could be attributed to deported persons.

Some of the people deported to Jamaica are indeed dangerous criminals, and the JCF are usually given prior notification of their arrival. Common reasons for deportation include convictions for possession of drugs, illegal possession of firearms, homicide and violent crime. Statistical analysis by Headley (2006) suggested, however, that the largest single group of deportees consisted of people returned to Jamaica for infractions of the U.S. Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. This included those who had overstayed their visa limit, non-reporting green card holders and out-of-status students, and those convicted of minor crimes, most commonly possession of marijuana or cocaine, but also including shoplifting, petty theft, drunk driving, obstruction of justice, and unpaid traffic fines. More than half of them were deported after their first offence.

This indicates that some deported persons are dangerous, but that most of them are relatively minor criminals or classed as illegal aliens. However, many of them have difficulty in finding employment in Jamaica after it becomes known that they are deportees, which means that some of them subsequently do get involved in criminal activity. This indicates that programs to rehabilitate and assimilate deportees would significantly reduce any impact on Jamaica.

Action Points

1. It is important to distinguish between serious criminals and persons deported for visa violations or petty crimes. With regard to serious criminals, it is critical to maintain and improve communications between law enforcement agencies in the deporting countries and the authorities in Jamaica, so that serious criminals can be put under surveillance, if necessary, in case they try to re-establish their criminal connections or regain control over their former community in Jamaica. It may be necessary to require them to report on a daily basis to a designated police station. It may also be necessary to consider the introduction of electronic tagging.
2. With regard to those deported for visa violations or petty crimes, it is important to encourage their assimilation back into society, as that will reduce the risk that they will get involved in criminal activity in Jamaica. This should include establishing a short-stay hostel for those who arrive without friends or financial resources, and giving them access to HEART/ NTA training courses.

Informal settlements

The problems with gangs are exacerbated by the existence of informal ('squatter') communities, as some of them have become gang-dominated enclaves. At least 20% of the population of Jamaica lives in unplanned settlements. A 2008 assessment undertaken by the Ministry of Water and Housing identified a total of 754 settlements[xliv, xlv]; some small (less than ten households), others large (over 2,000 households). Some were built on 'captured' land (land belonging to a private individual or the state), while some were encouraged in order to make parliamentary constituencies into political strongholds.

All of these communities are unplanned, most are illegal, some of them were built in areas that present a threat to the health and safety of the residents or their neighbours (such as unstable slopes, gully banks or watersheds), and a few have become centres of gang activity. The problems with gangs in Jamaica cannot be resolved without finding a solution to the problem of informal settlements.

However, people have built lives in these areas; children have been born in these communities, and it is important not to penalize the innocent. Some of these settlements are unsafe, while others impede development, and must now be cleared, but this can be done over time.

The first step is to prevent any further illegal land settlements. This will require the creation of a strong planning authority and environmental protection agency, both of which must have significant autonomy and adequate protection from inappropriate political pressure[60]. In the long term, the solution must also include identifying suitable sites and building more houses, which will require a multi-agency approach and collaboration with the private sector. However, there is also a clear need to deal with the current problems. There are a wide variety of informal settlements, and some present more problems than others, so a three-tier approach is required.

Action Points

1. If a settlement is unsafe (e.g. on an unstable slope or land prone to flooding), the occupants must be moved as soon as possible.
2. If a settlement is safe, but on land that is needed for legitimate purposes, the occupants must still be moved to other locations, but this can be done over a longer period of time (depending on when the land is needed).
3. If a settlement is in a safe location, in relatively good condition, and on land that is not needed for other purposes, it should be considered for upgrading and regularizing.

[60] These reforms were proposed in the Government Green Paper on the Establishment of an Environmental Regulatory Authority (2010).

Addressing Tier 4 Threats
Possible risks that require monitoring

Tier 4 threats are low probability, low impact threats. They are still potential threats, but they are less likely to have a serious impact within the immediate future, and these impacts can probably be contained. With regard to food security, Jamaica is heavily dependent on imported food supplies, but has substantial reserves of under-utilized land with agricultural potential, so it would be possible to increase local food production in the event of global shortages or disruptions in the supply chain. With regard to water security, the problem is not shortage of supply, but the contamination of the existing resources, so better management could resolve this problem. It is important to note, however, that Tier 4 threats require monitoring, in case circumstances change, and there is a need to reclassify them as higher priority threats.

The Tier 4 threats to Jamaica are:

- Food security
- Water security

Food security

World food prices rose rapidly from 2005 to 2008. The price of wheat and corn more than doubled while the price of rice nearly tripled. In mid-2008 food prices started to fall again as a result of the global recession. The number of malnourished people continued to rise, however, as average incomes fell faster than food prices, making food less affordable even as it became cheaper. High food prices caused riots in 34 countries in 2007-8.

Jamaica is a net importer of food. There is an important question, therefore, as to the extent to which high food prices or high volatility might impact Jamaica in future.

The main reason why food prices rose so rapidly from 2005 to 2008 is that a number of significant factors coincided. Some of the important structural factors were as follows:

- Changing dietary preferences. People now eat more meat and dairy products.
- Increasing consumption. China and India already consume over half of the global supply of coal, iron ore, steel and other commodities. So the development of these countries has profound, long-term implications for all commodity prices, including food.
- The increase in global population; by 2050 there will be over 2 billion more consumers of food, energy and other resources.
- The development of first-generation biofuels, as the USA started converting corn into ethanol.

The first three factors are all long-term, which means that they will continue to affect world food prices. In particular, the projected increase in human population to over 9 billion by 2050, coupled with changes in dietary preferences, means that it will be necessary to approximately double agricultural production[xlvi]; and the move to replace fossil hydrocarbons with bio-fuels will create more pressure on available land.

Climate change may also affect food prices in future, but the pattern is less clear. Climate change may increase output in the northern hemisphere, and reduce it in tropical and sub-tropical regions[xlvii]. If so, food-exporting countries will benefit from higher prices, while countries where the poor subsist largely on local crops will be relatively unaffected, but middle-income, food-importing nations like Jamaica will be vulnerable. It is therefore possible that periods of high food prices will be more frequent in future.

It is important to note that agricultural production is strongly affected by many factors, including changing demand, technological innovation and modernization, and policies on trade, whether liberal or restrictive. The 2008 food crisis was not caused by a shortage of food; it was a crisis of access and affordability. The solution, therefore, does not lie in a retreat behind protectionist barriers, but in technological progress, trade liberalization to reduce the barriers to trade, transport and commerce in order to allow markets to operate efficiently and match food demand with supply, phasing out of subsidies and other trade-distorting measures, and major reforms of agricultural, trade and land-use policies to allow farmers to respond to market demand. This is the best way to ensure that there is an adequate supply of affordable food available at all times in Jamaica.

Action Points

1. Develop technology

It is important to accelerate the development and adoption of particular technologies so that greater volumes of output of food, fibre and fuel can be generated in smaller areas. This includes:

a) Genetically modified plants and animals. For example, taking the gene that gives legumes the ability to fix atmospheric nitrogen and transplanting it to other crops would greatly reduce the need for fertilizer, and would also reduce water pollution from fertilizer run-off.

b) Production in environments where evaporation and pests can be more easily controlled (such as polytunnels and hydroponics).

c) Aquaculture; using fish modified to thrive in intensive conditions.

2. Develop new market opportunities

a) The global trends listed above will also create new market opportunities. For example, non-communicable diseases (NCDs) are already the primary causes of premature death, and the incidence will rise in future as the many countries now have aging populations .

b) This has already created a new market for plant-derived micro-nutrients to reduce the impact of age-related degenerative disease; some of these could be supplied from Jamaica. There is also a growing market for biological feedstock for manufacturing eco-composites and other new industrial crops.

Action Points continued

3. Biofuels

a) First and second-generation biofuels have limited potential in Jamaica, due to lack of scale. Third and fourth-generation biofuels (e.g. algae and synthetic genomics) are still in development, but may eventually provide the basis for energy independence.

4. Improve food security

Agriculture in Jamaica is not currently focused on ensuring food security. Until relatively recently, sugar cane accounted for about 30% of all agricultural land in Jamaica, and about 40% of all permanent crop land. Forestry Department estimates suggest that there are 90,000 hectares of idle private lands and over 200,000 hectares of land not currently intensively utilized for agriculture. This gives a total of 359,244 hectares of land that could be better utilized, for food, forestry, biomass, or for some other higher-value form of production . This would help to improve Jamaica's food security, reduce imports and increase exports, retain more capital in Jamaica and strengthen the economy.

Water security

Current projections indicate that over half of the world's population will suffer from acute water shortages by 2050. This is likely to result in mass migrations of people away from increasingly arid areas, which is likely to lead to conflict over the remaining water resources.

Jamaica is currently using 35% of its available water supply, so still has adequate reserves. About 62% of the water supplied by the National Water Commission is ground water. The main problems are not the lack of water, but contamination and inefficient usage:

- The most common problems with ground water are excess nitrate, sodium and chloride. With surface water there are high levels of coliform, from faecal pollution, and organic pollution from agro-processing and sewage. These contaminants also impact Jamaica's coral reefs, which play an important role in protecting the beaches. The beaches are, in turn, essential to Jamaica's tourist industry.
- Agriculture accounts for 80% of water use in Jamaica, but less than 5% of its GDP. When there is water shortage, it is usually the domestic consumer that is temporarily disconnected. It would be more rational and efficient to encourage better water management practices in agriculture.
- The current distribution policy is exceptionally energy-intensive, as water is pumped uphill to many consumers.

There is little risk of Jamaica experiencing absolute shortages of water, but there are serious issues with water pollution, especially surface water (which have negative implications for public health, the environment and the economy), and with the energy cost of the current distribution policy.

Action Points

The main problem with regard to Jamaica's water security is not insufficient supply, but contamination of existing resources, and a distribution policy that is exceptionally energy-intensive. The most important steps to improve Jamaica's water security are as follows:

1. Improving sewage disposal systems, so that surface and ground water are not contaminated.
2. Agricultural extension programs to encourage the safe use and disposal of agrochemicals. Burial (preferably in designated sites) is usually a much better option than surface disposal.
3. An agricultural extension program to encourage more efficient irrigation.
4. The development of more local water supplies to reduce the need to pump water uphill.

Coordinating and Monitoring Mechanisms

- Conceptual Framework
- National Security Policy Coordination Unit (NSPCU)
- Specific Mechanisms
- Coordination of Intelligence
- Enhancing Programmes to Promote Community Safety and Security
- National Strategic Communications Programme
- The Public's Involvement in Implementing the National Security Policy (NSP)
- Funding Priorities

Conceptual Framework

The policy direction and actions articulated in this policy paper are intended to protect the people of Jamaica, and significantly reduce the level of crime and violence and the associated fear and insecurity. Jamaica has become one of the most violent societies in the world; bold, transformative action is required in order to resolve the underlying causes.

The analysis identified many existing capabilities and initiatives that are already at various stages of implementation; these provide an excellent base on which to construct a better future for Jamaica. However, the transformation that we need cannot result from a 'business as usual' approach. Many laudable actions are being undertaken by Ministries of Government, private sector groups, churches, NGOs, academia and the rest of civil society, but none can be effective in isolation. There has to be unity of purpose, mutual support, continuous reinforcing, an injection of fresh energy and, where necessary, an injection of capital to close any capabilities gap.

The unity of effort, in particular, has to be sustained if there is to be a real and lasting transformation. The fight against the crime that has crippled Jamaica requires a 'whole-of-government' approach. National security is not the sole province of the portfolio Ministry; other key Ministries and Government agencies, such as the Ministries of Finance and Justice, also have an essential role to play.

The existing mechanisms for coordinating government priorities have been examined, and it was determined that the National Security Council (NSC), chaired by the Prime Minister, was the best suited and will continue to own the responsibility for the implementation of the NSP. The NSC will undertake formal biennial review of the National Security Policy and update as necessary to reflect changes in the threat environment.

This role requires that the NSC include the Ministers holding responsibility for finance, foreign affairs and legal affairs. The mandate will necessitate a schedule of regular meetings, with specific agenda items relating directly to the implementation and monitoring of the NSP. The NSC will report to the Cabinet, and the Cabinet to the Parliament.

National Security Policy Coordination

The National Security Policy Coordination Unit (NSPCU) was established in the Cabinet Office in 2007. It is mandated to co-ordinate the implementation of the National Security Policy. The unit will continue to undertake the day-to-day coordination and monitoring of implementation, in addition to driving the transformation process on behalf of the NSC. The coordinator of the NSPCU will be given equivalent ranking to a Permanent Secretary, and be accountable to the NSC. The unit currently consists of five approved positions, including the executive director, two research and evaluation analysts, a communication specialist, and an administrator.

The functions to be performed by the NSPCU include:

- Convening of joint meetings to confirm responsibilities, actions and timelines as required by the NSP.
- Developing a full process-monitoring mechanism to allow for the ready identification of actions required responsibilities and the meeting of deadlines by relevant organizations.
- Monitoring the progress of implementation actions. This will include confirming, where necessary, that the required structures, policies, infrastructure, personnel and equipment are in place.
- Evaluating the implementation of the NSP. The NSPCU will verify that the actions being carried out remain on track to meet the Strategic Security Goals and Objectives. Indicators of Progress will be developed, as necessary. This will include sector performance targets.
- Regularly reporting on the progress of the implementation process to the NSC. The NSPCU will also do some measure of trouble shooting and keep the NSC regularly informed on progress and any challenges encountered.
- Resolving conflicts that arise during the course of implementation as Departments and agencies seek to coordinate their actions.
- The coordination of actions as directed by the NSC.
- Continuous review of the National Security Policy, and annual report to the NSC.

Specific Mechanisms

Specific mechanisms to facilitate the effective functioning of the NSPCU will include:

- Establishment of Joint Committees at the levels of Relevant Permanent Secretaries; Heads of Departments and Agencies; Relevant Local Government authorities; Civil Society Groups; and Regional and International Partners.
- Establishment of agreed standards, procedures and indicators of progress.
- Formalization of written reporting systems, visits and consultations.
- Special meetings with key stakeholders, as necessary.

The head of the NSPCU (Coordinator), who will also function as Secretary to the NSC, will report ultimately to the Prime Minister, but routinely to the Cabinet Secretary. His/her main functions would include:

- Providing direction and control of the NSPCU.

- Scheduling and preparing for NSC meetings, and follow-up actions.
- Preparing regular updates and reports.
- Coordinating NSS implementation meetings.
- Ensuring that the NSS is implemented across Government on behalf of the NSC.

Coordination of Intelligence

The National Security Advisor (NSA) will oversee the establishment of the new National Intelligence Agency (NIA) for strategic purposes and will also coordinate the existing operational intelligence bodies through the use of agreed protocols. In the medium to long term, the position of the NSA will be established at the Cabinet Office as the head of the NSC permanent staff, and he/she will provide progress reports on strategic security initiatives, advice on current major national security developments, and the impact of regional and international security concerns on Jamaica.

Enhancing Programmes to Promote Community Safety and Security

A policy framework for action on revitalising community security, social inclusion and the social contract is to be approved by government. The Development Division (Cabinet Office) has the mandate to coordinate the initiatives and programmes, which will fall within the ambit of the social intervention, given the existence of an adequately stable environment. In communities which pose high risk for the social agencies of the state, the Ministry of National Security will use appropriate means to provide a secure environment for the regular delivery/provision of essential public services such as policing, solid waste management, public lighting and sewerage disposal. When conditions for stability have been set, the Development Division will exercise its mandate on the ground. The profile of the Development Division is to be enhanced and additional resources provided.

Parish level and Community Safety and Security Groups, which have begun to be established, are to be linked in a network extending across the island, community by community through a steady process of expansion. These volunteer groups will harness the inputs of community representatives, businesses, youth, emergency services, service clubs, and the local authorities. The Ministry of National Security will coordinate this social movement and will embrace legitimate community based organizations. MNS will, within available resources, provide critical support to assist groups to achieve safety and security goals agreed by the community that are in harmony with the priorities of national security policy.

Strategic Communications Programme to support the NSP

The NSP benefits from the views and experiences of a wide cross section of public sector, private sector and international collaborators who are involved with the survival, security and protection of the citizens of Jamaica. In order to successfully enact the policy, the NSPCU will develop annual plans of communication activities that will include face-to-face engagements; seminars and other information-driven events; and

convey messages across appropriate media platforms.

In informing, explaining and discussing the NSP, the NSPCU will be open, transparent and responsive governance in its activities.

The core of the strategic communications will be to ensure that the objectives of the NSP are supported by persons who will implement the programmes across all the subject areas that are relevant to national security.

The Public's Involvement in Implementing the NSP

In keeping with the initiative to develop a stronger partnership between citizens, civil society and all Government organizations involved in delivering security services, it is important for all members of the public to understand the critical role that they are required to play in helping to make Jamaica a more and safe secure place to live and visit. Generally, public interpretation of policing tends to be narrowly confined to the role In keeping with the initiative to develop a stronger partnership between citizens, civil society and all Government organizations involved in delivering security services, it is important for all members of the public to understand the critical role that they are required to play in helping to make Jamaica a more and safe secure place to live and visit. Generally, public interpretation of policing tends to be narrowly confined to the role of the JCF. It is not universally recognized that there are other government bodies with functions and powers that when not effectively discharged lead to disorder and thereby foster criminal activity. It is essential to encourage greater public involvement and commitment in supporting all aspects of law enforcement and the activities needed to build a decent and law-abiding society.

Public participation and partnership with the police needs a structured medium if it is to work effectively. This requires that relevant bodies/councils be established, with set criteria for their composition, function and performance. In every parish of the island there are significant stakeholders such as the Fire Brigade, the NWA, and Health Services who, along with the Police and the JDF, play a critical role in public safety and security. An integrated approach, with proper codes of practice, is needed to structure these partnerships. These bodies/councils should have mandatory meetings, open to members of the public, where citizens can voice their concerns, question the police and the other agencies, and give feedback on the performance of the police and other protective agencies.

The bodies/councils to be established should, therefore, serve as a forum where local policing issues can be identified, which will help the local police to establish agreed policing priorities. The bodies/councils should also have an advisory, monitoring and evaluating role on security and safety matters. This will provide a strong platform for community policing, and further strengthen the partnership between the JCF and the communities. These partnerships will also strengthen democratic police accountability, and give the police a way to become more directly responsive to the concerns of the citizens. This will, in turn, make it easier to get public cooperation in dealing with crime and disorder.

Funding Priorities

Jamaica's current high rates of crime and corruption are the single most effective impediment to the development of the nation. A fight against crime is a fight for development; measures to reduce the social and economic damage caused by pervasive crime have to be integral to the developmental activities of the state. Security should therefore be seen as both a core developmental goal and an essential precondition for the delivery of other developmental goals. National security is therefore the highest priority. Resources are limited, but the Government will assign the resources needed to effect a significant and permanent improvement in the safety of all Jamaicans.

Once the environment has become safer and more stable, there can be a strategic reallocation of financial resources, consistent with the improving security environment. A more careful and efficient management of resources on the part of the security forces will also generate major cash savings. Development of detailed security related budgets is beyond the scope of this policy document, but the MDAs will be required to complete that exercise are part of their security mandates.

Areas to receive immediate priority for resource allocation include the six key steps needed to address the Tier 1 threats outlined in the NSP, along with the provision of resources to continue the on-going modernization of key security organizations and all elements of the Criminal Justice System. This will now include the establishment of a National Intelligence Agency, the provision of modern forensic equipment and the maintenance of a viable capability to provide for sustained, effective surveillance and monitoring of Jamaica's maritime borders.

TIER 1: CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGERS
Objectives

1. Remove Profit from Crime
2. Reform the Justice System
3. Policing by Consent
4. Adopt a Coherent Anti-Gang Strategy
5. Focus on at-risk individuals and Communities
6. Strengthen Systems of Governance

Lead Implementing Agency
Support Implementing Agency

Ministries, Departments and Agencies

CPC	Corruption Prevention Commission
DPP	Director of Public Prosecution
FID	Financial Investigations Division
FLA	Firearm Licensing Authority
IC	Integrity Commission
Inter-Ministerial	Inter-Ministerial Committee on Community Safety and Renewal
JCF	Jamaica Constabulay Force
JDF	Jamaica Defence Force
MIIC	Ministry of Industry, Investment and Commerce
MNS	Ministry of National Security

MoE	Ministry of Education
MOFP	Ministry of Finance and Planning
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MSTEM	Ministry of Science, Technology, Energy and Mining
MTW&H	Ministry of Transport, Works and Housing
NCC	National Contracts Commission
OCG	Office of the Contractor General
OPM/NSC	Office of the Prime Minister/National Security Council
Real Estate	Real Estate Board
RPD	Revenue Protection Department

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Objective 1: Remove the Profit from Crime																				
Institutional Reforms - Page 31																				
1. Establish a permanent framework for Inter-Ministerial Cooperation on National Security	■		■																	
2. Establish a high-level task force to focus on facilitators of crime and major criminal offenders			■	■						■	■									
3. Upgrade the intelligence architecture and strengthen technical capacity and capabilities needed to detect and unravel complex fraud and money-laundering operations	■		■	■	■				■	■	■									
4. Establish a Special interim Court to hear the most serious offences of organized crime, fraud and money-laundering							■													
5. Automatic denial of tainted assets during trial							■													
6. Automatic Asset Forfeiture on being found guilty of crimes (For eg. major fraud, extortion, embezzlement and money-laundering, including not just funds associated with the actual trial but all personal assets that cannot be proven to be clean).							■													
Financial Investigation - Page 31																				
1. Increase capacity of the Financial Investigations Division (FID) by granting it stronger investigative powers and more aggressive use of asset recovery									■	■										
2. FID to focus on profiling the most serious criminals instead of pursuing the 'small dollar' cases			■	■						■										

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
3. The Revenue Protection Division should be given a mandate to cooperate with national security agencies in all cases involving suspected money-laundering and tax evasion.				■	■				■		■	■	■							
4. Regularly review the legislation relating to cybercrime, including scams, fraud, extortion and the 'grooming' of victims by sex abusers to ensure that it remains adequate to address one of the most rapidly-evolving forms of crime			■	■														■		
5. Accelerate the introduction of a national identity system, as this would help to prevent many forms of money-laundering and tax evasion (provided that all public and many private transactions require the use of the national ID number, including government offices, tax, banking, large money transfers and investments).	■		■	■			■				■									
Public Contracts and Licenses - Page 32																				
1. Apply a 'fit and proper' criterion to all bidders for government contracts and licensing												■	■							
2. Specify in all government contracts that if the contract is won by a person or organization that is subsequently established to be involved in organized crime or a front for organized crime, then part or all of the cost of the completed component of the contract has to be refunded by the contractor, plus interest, with an additional penalty to cover the increased cost of completing any unfinished components of the contract.												■	■							
3. Specify in all government contracts that if the contract is won on the basis of forged certification or certification obtained corruptly or by any other fraudulent and/or material misrepresentation, then part or all of the full cost of the completed component of the contract has to be refunded by the contractor, plus interest, with an additional penalty to cover the increased cost of completing any unfinished components of the contract.												■	■							
4. Amend the definition of Government Contract to include all major sub contractors and other tributary contracts above a given threshold value (which should be pegged to the value range of contracts which require the endorsement of the National Contracts Commission)												■	■							

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
5. Routinely require all contractors and major sub-contractors to disclose the principal and beneficial shareholders of their respective companies																				
6. Contracts for infrastructure projects should carry fixed-term maintenance obligations and recoverable cost liabilities, so that any road (for example) that deteriorates badly while in normal use within the given period has to be properly repaired at the contractor's expense																				
Legislation - Page 33																				
1. Increase significantly the penalties for contravening the Public Sector Procurement Guidelines.																				
2. Merge the Corruption Prevention Commission (CPC), the Integrity Commission (IC) and the Office of the Contractor General (OCG) into a single Anti-Corruption Agency.																				
3. Review the Proceeds of Crime Act (POCA) to ensure that the legislation can be extended to anyone who facilitates organized crime and anyone that is involved in corrupting the government's contracting process.																				
4. Encourage the use of the Evidence (Special Measures) Act, 2012, which allows evidence to be given by live link from remote locations, in cases where there is a risk that witnesses might be intimidated, or where the victim (of e.g. a Lottery scam) is an elderly citizen of another country, or where the victim or witness is a child, and needs to be protected from the trauma of appearing in court. The Evidence (Special Measures) Act can also be used to reduce the number of prisoners on remand that have to be transferred between the correctional centers and the courts, which will increase security and reduce cost																				

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
5. Introduce Public Interest Immunity legislation, so that information from covert sources can be taken into consideration in Court without the need to disclose their identities							■													
6. Amend the Real Estate Dealers and Developers Act to close the loopholes that currently allow illegal funds to be blended with legitimate investment capital. Serious breaches should be made a first or second schedule offence, as appropriate, under the POCA. The Real Estate Board should also be given formal responsibilities under the POCA to monitor all transactions and report any suspicious activity.	■	■	■																	
7. Introduce reporting requirements for non-financial institutions under the POCA. This includes professionals such as lawyers and accountants, agencies such as the Real Estate Board, and possibly large-scale car dealers and entertainment-providers (note that these can be given reporting requirements for threshold and suspicious transactions under POCA by Ministerial Order; legislation is not necessary).		■	■				■													■
8. Introduce cash payment limits to prevent money laundering, tax evasion and extortion. Any transaction above the limit should be by credit card, cheque, manager's cheque, inter-account transfer or any other method that leaves a record and an audit trail. Payments by the Government for goods and services should normally be made by wire transfer, phasing out the use of cheques, as this will help to reduce both cost and the risk of fraud and corruption.			■																	

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Seized Assets - Page 34																				
1. Part of the funds seized (from illegal activities) should be re-invested in the asset seizure program and the fight against organized crime; some should also be returned to the community to fund developments that will benefit everyone (such as new schools, clinics, community centers, roads, water and drainage systems and street lighting. This is an essential part of the 'hearts and minds' strategy needed to win the support of the community, and turn them against the criminals).			■	■					■											
2. Some criminal assets can go to auction. In some cases, however, powerful criminals may attempt to intimidate potential buyers. In such cases, it may be necessary for Government agencies to retain control of the assets, converting houses into schools, for example, and giving vehicles to the JCF and JDF to use on patrol									■											
Objective 2: Reform the Justice System																				
Improve Court Management - Page 37																				
1. Modernize Court procedures, systems, protocols and working practices, especially in the Registries.							■													
2. Strengthen the management of courts, especially with regard to scheduling and time-keeping (to ensure that the accused, the relevant police officers, witnesses, the evidence, prosecutors and defence lawyers all come before the court at the appropriate time), and introduce the routine use of penalties for delinquents (where there is no reasonable excuse for lateness or non-appearance).			■				■							■						
3. Extend court working hours from the current average of five hours a day							■													
4. Mandate the use of modern electronic (rather than paper) records for case files, including witness statements and precedents, and electronic tagging for physical evidence, as this will help to improve efficiency and transparency, and the security and integrity of the records. This process should start in the Court Registries			■				■													

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
5. Encourage judges not to tolerate the use of delaying tactics in order to defer the execution of sentence (in some instances, involving particularly dangerous or well-connected criminals, this may have allowed time for evidence to be contaminated or destroyed, witnesses to be intimidated or killed, or for the case to lose political salience).							■													
Reduce Delays - Page 37																				
1. Establish clear guidelines for granting adjournments. Only one adjournment should normally be permitted per case unless there are truly exceptional circumstances. This is partly to reinstate the right to a speedy trial, and to minimize the opportunity for evidence to be contaminated, files 'lost', and witnesses killed or intimidated.							■													
2. Require that Notice of Alibi should be given in advance (not necessarily the names of those giving the alibi), as this will prevent one particular delaying tactic							■													
3. Abolish Preliminary Enquiries, especially in cases involving serious and/or organized crime							■							■						
4. Introduce plea bargaining and alternative dispute resolution methods, including restorative justice, for minor crimes							■													
5. Reform the management of traffic violations. The more effective use of traffic cameras, with automatic fines, would remove the need for many of these cases to come to court.			■	■			■													
6. Accelerate the implementation of the other provisions in the Ministry of Justice's Backlog Reduction Strategy and the report of the 2007 Justice Reform Taskforce							■													

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Increase consistency - Page 38																				
1. Ensure greater consistency in the enforcement of laws and sentencing (a lack of consistency makes outcomes more idiosyncratic and therefore encourages 'judge-shopping', which is where some defence lawyers try to contrive that their client will come before a judge that they think will be more lenient). The Judiciary should use sentencing guidelines, with tariffs. If a judge chooses to hand down a sentence outside the guidelines, he or she should be required to give a formal explanation			■				■													
2. The prosecution should be permitted to make recommendations as to the appropriate sentence (as is currently the case in the UK and USA), although the decision should remain with the judge.			■				■													
Increase effectiveness against organized crime - Page 38																				
1. Give members of the judiciary additional training in the role and use of Proceeds of Crime (POCA), Asset Forfeiture and anti-corruption legislation, and to encourage them to routinely require persons convicted of serious crimes to prove that they came by their assets legally			■				■													
2. There should be automatic asset forfeiture on being found guilty, including not just the funds associated with the actual trial, but all assets that the convicted person cannot prove to be clean, plus, where appropriate, an estimate of the lifetime personal profits derived from similar cases, and confiscation of those estimated profits (this is the approach in the UK and USA).							■													
3. Provide additional training for police officers in the proper management of evidence and the preparation of cases, especially with regard to POCA and anti-gang legislation			■	■			■													

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
4. Provide additional training for lawyers in the Office of the Director of Public Prosecutions in the preparation of cases involving POCA and anti-gang legislation.																				
5. Review the Proceeds of Crimes Act 2007 to ensure that it contains similar provisions to the 1982 Rognoni-La Torre law (Article 416 bis of the Italian Penal Code), which makes conspiracy with organized crime a criminal offence, including laundering criminal assets, collusion, fronting for or helping to conceal criminal operations, and gives courts the power to seize the personal assets of persons involved in the conspiracy, as well as any assets transferred to their relatives, partners or cohabitants in the prior five years, which allows the seizure of the personal assets of anyone who assists a criminal to launder the proceeds of their crimes.																				
6. Require judges to act more rapidly in approving forfeiture orders. These currently take over 14 months on average, which gives ample time to conceal or transfer assets																				
7. Impose denial of tainted assets during trial (criminals should not be allowed to pay their legal fees with the proceeds of crime); those accused of crimes such as fraud, extortion or money-laundering should be required to demonstrate that the funds used to pay their legal fees were obtained legitimately, and they should only be allowed to draw moderate living expenses from frozen assets while their case is being determined																				

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
8. Ensure that the lawyers in the DPP's office and judges are aware that the Proceeds of Crime Act 2007 and the Proceeds of Crime (Money Laundering Prevention) Regulations, 2007 are all applicable to lawyers, bankers, accountants and other professionals. In particular, a lawyer that assists their clients to conceal their assets or otherwise launder their funds is effectively conspiring to weaken the system of justice in Jamaica and undermine the people's faith in law and justice, so any such case should be prosecuted to the full extent that the law allows							■			■	■										
9. Lawyers should not be allowed to conceal money laundering, fraud and tax evasion behind the principle of client confidentiality. All sums (over an agreed minimum) transferred or invested on behalf of Clients must be reported, disclosing sources and amounts.							■			■	■										
10. Review the Parole and Bail Acts to ensure that particular categories of criminals (homicide, violent crime and sex crimes) are normally ineligible for bail where there is a clear risk that witnesses will be intimidated or murdered, or evidence destroyed.			■				■														
11. Strengthen anti-gang legislation, where necessary, to ensure that gang membership or association is defined as a serious criminal offence.			■																		
Ensure The Integrity Of The Judiciary - Page 40																					
1. Amend judicial letters of appointment to indicate the expected standards of performance and incorporate the Judicial Code of Conduct and any further required ethical standards, with provisions for removal from the bench for anyone who falls significantly below the performance and standards required.							■														

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
2. Members of the judiciary should be required to file annual declarations under the Corruption (Prevention) Act.							■													
3. Review the Legal Profession Act to strengthen the ethical standards required of lawyers, and strengthen, if necessary, the power of the General Legal Council to enforce such standards.							■													
4. Members of the judiciary, defence and prosecution lawyers should be required to submit to polygraph examinations if requested to do so by the Anti-Corruption Commission.							■													
5. Strengthen the ability of the Court Management Service to monitor the performance, professional conduct and ethics of Registry staff and bailiffs.							■													
Ancillary Reforms - Page 40																				
1. Strengthen the management of the chain of evidence. It is very important to have strong protocols in place for the preparation of witness statements, police reports, and the management of evidence from the crime scene to the police storage facility, the forensic laboratory and the court, so that there can be no doubt as to the integrity of the system. It is essential that all parties involved can be confident that the witness statements are authentic, that the facts in the police reports have been recorded accurately, and that the evidence presented in court is the same evidence that was taken from at the scene of the crime (this is not currently the case; many charges are dismissed because of inconsistencies and technical errors in the evidence presented).				■																
2. Ensure witness protection in cases where the witnesses might be at risk (witnesses sometimes have to sit in the same waiting room as the accused, and their identities are usually known, which makes it easier for violent criminals to intimidate witnesses or have them murdered)				■			■													
3. Ensure that all prisoners undergo rehabilitation training before discharge, in order to reduce the rate of re-offending			■																	

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Objective 3: Policing by Consent																				
Reassuring the Public - Page 44																				
1. There should be increased transparency with regard to failures of proper procedure, with independent investigation of every use of deadly force by the police.			■	■			■													
2. Ensure that any police officer who is found to have seriously abused his powers is removed from the police force and made to face criminal charges				■			■													
3. Give JCF officers increased training in the use of non-lethal options, equip more officers with non-lethal technologies and develop appropriate protocols to ensure that every officer can respond appropriately to each threat increase				■			■													
Supporting the Police - Page 44																				
1. Give increased counseling and other psycho-social support for police and security forces, especially first-responders and others who are exposed to serious risk and trauma			■	■																
Information Management - Page 44																				
1. There should be a transition to intelligent policing – intelligence-led policing, better information management and access, and a total policing strategy that encourages the sharing of relevant information between different police divisions. This will require the further strengthening of performance tracking, with a national crime map updated continuously to allow the management of crime hotspots and civil unrest, modeled on the New York crime map information management system				■																

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
2. The JCF should institutionalize the use of predictive analytics software such as CRUSH (Criminal Reduction Utilizing Statistical History), which looks for patterns in crime records, intelligence briefings, offender profiles and other data to identify where particular types of crimes are most likely to occur. The JCF should also strengthen their capacity to undertake criminal profiling																				
3. The JCF should accelerate the full integration of JCF information management systems, phase out all paper-based recording, and mandate a transition to electronic records, with templates developed for PCs and hand-held devices (such as smart phones) to guide officers to input the data correctly. The first priority would be to introduce these systems for crime recording, crime scene management and management of the chain of evidence																				
4. Install automatic number-plate recognition software as part of CCTV traffic management systems																				
5. Take Integrated Ballistics Identification System (IBIS) records of all guns in Jamaica – all police, military and legally-owned guns should be recorded, as should all criminal firearms when seized																				
6. Strengthen crime scene management, including the rapid debriefing of first responders, with good systems for the management of physical, electronic and all other forms of evidence. Many police forces manage the chain of custody with the paperwork that accompanies the evidence. However, as it is possible for paperwork to be lost, along with the physical evidence to which it is attached, the recommended solution is to manage the entire chain of custody through a single database, with secure information management systems that allow controlled access for legitimate inputs and inquiries																				
7. Integrate the system for the management of the chain of evidence with the system for managing the documentation needed in Court. All paper records used in the justice system should therefore be replaced with electronic records; this will prevent case files from being lost																				

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
8. The police should train more Scene of Crime Officers, and must have access to at least one full-spectrum forensic laboratory which can process all types of physical, ballistic, blood-spatter and biological evidence; including DNA analysis and body reconstruction.			■	■																
Supportive Legislative Reform - Page 45																				
1. Introduce legislation for the mandatory registration of all cell phone numbers (this is now routinely done in countries such as Mexico, which introduced this requirement in order to assist in tracking kidnappers and extortionists)			■															■		
2. Introduce legislation to require Cellular Service Providers to store call data for a given period, and make these records available to police, with a valid warrant, when this is needed to assist investigations			■															■		
3. Review the legislation that covers wiretaps and electronic intercepts in order to allow the police electronic access, with a valid warrant (in order to protect the right to privacy), to a wider set of databases in the pursuit of crime, including bank accounts, tax records and shipping manifests							■													
Management of staff and resources - Page 45																				
1. Merge the ISCF into the JCF in order to improve efficiency and reduce cost. There is no longer a good reason to maintain two separate forces.			■																	
2. The District Constable Act needs to be reviewed and upgraded in order to improve the service provided and to address welfare issues.			■	■																
3. The program of 'civilianization' (for positions in the JCF that do not require powers of arrest) should continue			■	■																
4. The JCF should aim to have ownership of its buildings. Currently, it is a major drain on public funds and the money currently spent on rent could be used to replace or repair JCF buildings.			■	■																
5. The JCF should have a proper fleet management plan for purchasing, servicing, decommissioning and selling vehicles.			■	■																

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Objective 4: Adopt a Coherent Anti-Gang Strategy																				
Focused Enforcement - Page 50																				
1. Increase the probability of detection and punishment of crimes committed by criminal gang members				■	■															
2. Increase the speed of punishment. This requires reform and streamlining of both police and judicial procedures.				■			■													
Community-Based Policing - Page 51																				
1. Organize community policing on a 'Same Cop, Same Neighbourhood' basis, with officers being assigned to particular neighbourhoods so that they become familiar with the local residents and issues, and can get involved in helping to solve problems and resolve conflicts				■																
2. Community policing should be supported by improved planning, regulation and building control; this is in order to prevent illegal settlements, and to remove abandoned buildings and any zinc fences used to create defensible spaces in which gangs can operate.				■																
Support For Victims And Witnesses - Page 51																				
1. Significantly strengthen the Witness Protection Programme			■	■																
Clear, Hold And Build - Page 51																				
1. Adopt a clear, hold and build strategy. These are operations that can clear gangs out of entire communities; hold those areas by maintaining a strong, continuous police presence to provide lasting security, and then build a robust civil society by engaging other government agencies and NGOs to provide education, training, economic opportunities, health care and prompt justice.			■	■				■												

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Prevent Recruitment - Page 51																				
1. Disrupt the process of gang member recruitment. These involve call-ins for the gang members and confrontations with victims, followed by the presentation of a clear choice – reform, and qualify for assistance and job-training, or remain in the gang; anyone that chooses to remain an active gang member should then be subjected to every possible form of legal harassment by every arm of government (tax compliance, vehicle licensing, business permits and so on should all be made as difficult as possible for known gang members who refuse to give up their criminal connections).				■																
Denial Of Liberty - Page 52																				
1. Violent criminals should not normally be granted bail, especially when there is a clear risk that witnesses will be intimidated or murdered, or evidence destroyed.							■													
Objective 5: Focus On At-Risk Individuals And Communities																				
Breaking The Cycle Of Violence - Page 54																				
1. Ensure that every school has a program to deal with maladaptive behavior, trauma, post-traumatic stress, depression and other long-term consequences of the physical, sexual, emotional and psychological abuse of children.																			■	
Social Intervention - Page 54																				
1. The first goal of all social intervention programmes should be a significant, sustained reduction in the level of crime and violence			■	■																
2. Integrate all social intervention programmes into a coherent strategy with inter-Ministry and inter- agency coordination.	■																			
3. Programmes should be a self-sustaining process of economic regeneration			■																	

Action Points	OPM/ NSC	Real Estate	MNS	JCF	JDF	FLA	MoJ	Inter- Ministerial	MOF&P	FID	RPD	NCC	OCG	DPP	CPC	IC	MHWT&W	MSTEM	MoE	MIIC
Objective 6: Strengthen Systems of Governance - Page 57																				
1. Move the focus away from reactive and containment strategies to concentrate on dismantling criminal organizations, including their facilitators				■																
2. Seize the proceeds of crime				■			■													
3. Strengthen anti-corruption measures	■			■			■													
4. Increase transparency in the public accounts, especially with regard to procurement	■																			
5. Reform the justice system.							■													
6. Improve intelligence-sharing with key strategic partners			■	■	■															
7. Encourage the DPP and the Judiciary to vigorously pursue the most serious cases of high-level corruption and illegal enrichment							■													

Tier 2: MAJOR POTENTIAL THREATS

Lead Implementing Agency
Support Implementing Agency

Ministries, Departments and Agencies	
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
JDF	Jamaica Defence Force
MFAFT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs & Foreign Trade
MLGCD	Ministry of Local Government & Community Development
MNS	Ministry of National Security
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoT	Ministry of Tourism
MSTEM	Ministry of Science Technology Energy & Mining
MT&W	Ministry of Transport and Works
NEPA	National Environment and Planning Agency
ODPEM	Office of Disaster Preperedness and Emergency Management

Action Points	MFAFT	MNS	JDF	JCF	MOT	MT&W	MSTEM	ODPEM	NEPA	MoH	MLGCD
Traditional Threats											
The Mexican, Central and South American Cartels and Maras Page 63											
1. Track signs of cartel interest in the Caribbean. Relevant indicators include: a) Evidence that the cartels are acquiring shipping companies and port operations, as they might then seek to expand their trans-shipment operations across the Caribbean. b) The rate of interceptions of narco-submarine and surface vessel shipments in the Caribbean, which will indicate the extent to which shipments are being re- routed from the cross-borderand Pacific routes (the number of intercepts has increased significantly in the last couple of years). c) Reports of increasing cartel involvement in other Caribbean jurisdictions (they already have a presence in several other Caribbean countries).			■	■							
2. Establish intelligence-sharing links with the relevant US agencies, including the FBI, DEA, ATF and Southcom and with security, police and intelligence agencies in Mexico, Colombia, Honduras, Guatemala and Salvador as well as other Caribbean jurisdictions. (This will then allow for 'due diligence' background checks on investors, especially from Mexico and Central America, to see whether any of them have known connections to organized crime).	■	■	■	■							
Terrorism - Page 67											
1. Identify Threats: Use horizon scan assessments to identify 'unknown unknowns' undertake critical, independent			■								
2. Advance intelligence: Ensure that allied intelligence services relay any information about a possible threat to Jamaica in a timely manner, which in turn means ensuring that the JCF and JDF have the technical capacity to maintain the high level of security needed to protect this information while taking necessary action		■	■	■							
3. Training and Technology: a) Encourage private sector operators to strengthen their security and prepare for possible attacks. For example ensure that staff members are properly trained to evacuate ships or hotels in an orderly and safe manner while cruise ship captains are trained in evasive manouveres.					■						

Action Points	MFAFT	MNS	JDF	ICF	MOT	MT&W	MSTEM	ODPEM	NEPA	MoH	MLGCD
b) The Government of Jamaica should work with the travel and tourism industry, and with other governments, to encourage (and, where necessary, mandate) the industry to implement a range of affordable, unobtrusive measures that will make a terrorism incident less likely to happen, and reduce the impact if one does happen.											
4. Strengthen Response Capacity: Strengthen public health infrastructure, with adequate stockpiles of medical supplies to deal with a major terrorist incident or natural disaster											
Non-Traditional Threats											
Energy and Resources - Page 73											
1. Improve the efficiency with which energy and resources are used in Jamaica, and to develop new energy supplies. The priorities are to: a) Promote greater energy efficiency, especially in buildings and the transport sector. b) Promote the development, dissemination and uptake of renewable and low-carbon energy technologies, especially those that would also reduce Jamaica's dependence on imports. c) Promote the uptake of advanced resource management concepts, such as cleaner technology, waste exchanges and industrial symbiosis.											
Earthquakes-Page 75											
1. Ensure that Jamaica is prepared for a major earthquake and/or tsunami. (This will involve reviewing national planning guidelines and building codes, identifying the most vulnerable areas, and upgrading emergency planning and disaster management).											
2. Protect the core functions of government, by ensuring that key Government offices, army barracks, police headquarters, hospitals, supplies of emergency stores, communications links and so on are in secure buildings, designed to withstand the most severe conditions.											
3. Ensure that all vital records are regularly backed up to hardened sites.											
4. Ensure that all government departments are aware of the need for disaster preparedness and emergency management											
5. All new buildings should be built to the requisite standards, especially public buildings (such as schools), and those who can afford it should also strengthen their own homes											

Action Points	MFAFT	MNS	JDF	JCF	MOT	MT&W	MSTEM	ODPEM	NEPA	MoH	MLGCD
6. Establish basic earthquake education and have practice drills and simulation exercises											
7. All parishes should have disaster specialists who can prepare, organize regular training exercises, and ensure that essential supplies are stockpiled (shovels, tents, plastic sheeting and shelter material, mosquito nets, kitchen sets, portable toilets, hygiene and sanitation equipment, stores of food and water, and medical supplies for dealing with crush and other trauma injuries, respiratory disease, obstetrics, and vaccinations											
8. Make an inventory of essential equipment (like bulldozers and other earth-moving equipment) and their locations in advance so that these can be requisitioned after the earthquake to clear arterial routes. It is also important to identify large areas of clear ground, such as sports fields, as these may be needed for emergency evacuation centres, temporary hospitals and heliports.											
9. Strengthen public health infrastructure, with adequate stockpiles of medical supplies to deal with a major natural disaster or terrorist incident (including treatments for chronic diseases, in case other supplies are temporarily disrupted)											
Biodiversity, Environmental Planning and Management - Page 77											
1. Reform and improve Jamaica's planning and regulatory systems											
2. Develop a national spatial plan, which would allow the most efficient use of land and resources.											
3. Develop a goal-oriented planning model											

Tier 3 PERSISTENT PROBLEMS

Lead Implementing Agency
Support Implementing Agency

Ministries, Departments and Agencies	
Cab Off.	Office of the Cabinet
MLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoT	Ministry of Tourism
MSTEM	Ministry of Science Technology Energy & Mining
NEPA	National Environment and Planning Agency
ODPEM	Office of Disaster Preparedness and Emergency Management
MOTW&H	Ministry of Transport, Works and Housing
MNS	Ministry of National Security
MFAFT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade
MIIC	Ministry of Industry, Investment and Commerce
MoA&F	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
PIOJ	Planing Institute of Jamaica

Action Points	MSTEM	MoT	Cab Off.	ODPEM	NEPA	MLSS	MoE	PIOJ	MOTW&H	MNS	MFAFT	MIIC	MoAF
Public Debt - Page 79													
1. Improve efficiency of public sector systems	■		■										
2. Harness HR in public sector for knowledge management	■		■										
Credibility With International Partners - Page 80													
1. Shift emphasis to cooperation on policing and intelligence, trade facilitation, especially with regard to e-commerce, on-line services, tourism and high-value niche products such as nutraceuticals, the development of e-government (with the associated improvements in efficiency, a smaller payroll and reduced costs and delays in public administration), and increasing human capital and the skills base in the workforce	■	■	■										
2. There should be planning and regulatory reform to prevent environmental degradation, and control the depletion of natural resources and reduce exposure to natural hazards, in conjunction with regional risk-pooling to manage the cost of earthquakes and hurricanes, and cooperate on policing and intelligence				■	■								
Poverty and Unemployment - Page 82													
Stimulate growth in the economy:													
1. Increase the size of the workforce.						■						■	
2. Make the workforce more productive by utilizing technologies and reducing bureaucracy	■		■			■						■	
3. Develop a clear strategic vision of where the growth opportunities will be in the future.	■					■						■	

Action Points	MSTEM	MoT	Cab Off.	ODPEM	NEPA	MLSS	MoE	PIOJ	MOTW&H	MNS	MFAFT	MIIC	MoAF
The Role Of Education And Training - Page 83													
1. The resources for education (above primary level) including adult education and training in Jamaica should be focused on areas where there is potential demand-pull, i.e. areas where there are more likely to be growth opportunities in future							■	■					
2. Improve teaching standards in the primary and secondary schools. A truancy service should be introduced in schools, so that school officials are mandated to find out what has happened to absentees, and a universal system of home-school contracts should be established.							■						
3. Education and training programmes should incorporate and emphasize the importance of the following skills that will be required in the long term: social networking skills (team -builders, managers and leaders) ; creative skills (designers, visionaries and conceptualizers), technical skills (scientists, engineers and technicians), logistical skills (organizers, project aggregators and coordinators, open-source project managers, logistics and supply-chain strategists and managers), thinking skills (critical thinkers, problem-solvers, policy analysts and business strategists), entrepreneurial skills (people who can network between different networks, e.g. scientists, financiers, and the businesses that control the manufacturing, supply and distribution networks) and generic skills (e.g. people who are ICT-fluent, can multi-task, network, and have high emotional intelligence).							■						
4. It is important to draw on the talents, resources and contacts of the Jamaican Diaspora. They can provide the links to markets, ideas and business opportunities that will demand-pull business development in Jamaica.											■		
5. Utilize the opportunity of the proposed development of a Logistics Hub by establishing the necessary training programs before the Hub becomes fully operational. This could be supplemented with targeted support for entrepreneurs, especially in low-income areas, to encourage community regeneration.									■			■	
6. Accelerate the transition to e-government in order to reduce the cost of government services, the size of the public payroll, and the delays imposed on individuals and businesses.	■		■									■	

Action Points	MSTEM	MoT	Cab Off.	ODPEM	NEPA	MLSS	MoE	PIOJ	MOTW&H	MNS	MFAFT	MIIC	MoAF
Deported Persons - Page 84													
1. With regard to serious criminal deportations, it is critical to maintain and improve communications between law enforcement agencies in the deporting countries and the authorities in Jamaica, so that serious criminals can be put under surveillance, if necessary, in case they try to re-establish their criminal connections or regain control over their former community in Jamaica.										■			
2. With regard to deportations for visa violations or petty crimes, it is important to encourage their assimilation back into society, as that will reduce the risk that they will get involved in criminal activity in Jamaica. This should include establishing a short-stay hostel for those who arrive without friends or financial resources, and giving them access to HEART/NTA training courses.							■			■			
Informal Communities- Page 85													
Implement the 3-tier model:													
1. If a settlement is unsafe (e.g. on an unstable slope or land prone to flooding), the occupants must be moved as soon as possible.									■				
2. If a settlement is safe, but on land that is needed for legitimate purposes, the occupants must still be moved to other locations, but this can be done over a longer period of time (depending on when the land is needed).									■				
3. If a settlement is in a safe location, in relatively good condition, and on land that is not needed for other purposes, it should be considered for upgrading and regularizing.									■				

Tier 4 POSSIBLE RISKS THAT REQUIRE MONITORING

Lead Implementing Agency
Support Implementing Agency

Ministries, Departments and Agencies	
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
MWLE&C	Ministry of Water Land Environment and Climate Change
MoA&F	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MNS	Ministry of National Security
MSTEM	Ministry of Science Technology Energy & Mining
SRC	Scientific Research Council

Action Points	MoA&F	MWLE&C	MNS	JCF	SRC	MSTEM
Food Security						
1) Develop technology - Page 87						
Accelerate the development and adoption of particular technologies so that far greater volumes of output of food, fibre and fuel can be generated in smaller areas. This includes: a) Genetically modified plants and animals. If, for example, a gene that conferred the ability to survive in a more arid or a more saline environment can be transplanted into a food or industrial crop, this would increase the area of cultivable land b) Production in environments where evaporation and pests can be more easily controlled (such as polytunnels and hydroponics) c) Aquaculture; using fish modified to thrive in intensive conditions.	■					
2) Develop new market opportunities - Page 87						
Micro-nutrients						
Explore a possible new high-value export market (for example a number of actives and micro-nutrients could be grown, processed and supplied from Jamaica).Changing world demographic trends have already created a new market for actives and micro- nutrients, mostly plant extracts, which are used to reduce the impact of age-related degenerative disease.	■				■	
3) Biofuels - Page 88 (still an emerging industry, but there are already four distinct generations of biofuel technology:						
Jamaica should focus on third and fourth-generation biofuels, as these have the potential to give the country the basis for energy independence. While First and second-generation biofuels have limited potential in Jamaica, if Jamaica's entire annual biomass harvest were converted into fuel using a cellulosic process, it would only displace at most one-third of its oil imports. a) First generation: This includes cane or corn-derived ethanol. b) Second generation: This includes cellulosic ethanol, which allows more of the plant to be converted. c) Third generation: It is projected that an efficient algae-based process could eventually produce 10-20,000 gallons of fuel per acre per year. d) Fourth generation: This involves synthetic genomics; where organisms are engineered to serve as bioreactors, and make fuel.	■					■

Action Points	MoA&F	MWLE&C	MNS	JCF	SRC	MSTEM
4) Improve Food Security - Page 88						
A study on the Sugar Industry of Jamaica in 2009 proposed a managed, partial diversification of the cane lands into a combination of more intensive, higher-value uses in order to improve both food and economic security. This included food (such as yam, potatoes, cassava, dasheen, breadfruit and other complex carbohydrates), and high-value plant extracts (such as oleoresins and flavonoids) for export. Measures like these would help to improve Jamaica's food security, reduce imports and increase exports, retain more capital in Jamaica and thereby strengthen the economy	■					
Water Security - Page 89						
To prevent contamination of water supplies the following steps should be taken : - Page 89						
1. Improve sewage disposal systems, so that surface and ground water are not contaminated.		■				
2. Encourage the safe use and disposal of agrochemicals through Agricultural extension programs. Burial (preferably in designated sites) is usually a much better option than surface disposal	■	■				
3. Encourage more efficient irrigation through agricultural extension programs	■					
4. Develop more local water supplies to reduce the need to pump water uphill	■					

Glossary

Civil Defence
A range of emergency measures to be taken by an organised body of civilian volunteers for the protection of life and property in the event of natural disasters or other crisis

Civil Society
Persons or organisations that comprise but are not limited to non-governmental non-political or non-commercial enterprises

Community Policing
An approach to policing in which police officers, citizens and community groups work together in an agreed partnership to solve policing problems; this may also include some social problems in the community

Corruption
Corruption is when either power or position is misused for personal profit, and can take place in both the private and public sector. Examples of corruption include bribery, coercion, nepotism, bid-rigging and electoral fraud

Diversion Program
A diversion program in the criminal justice system is a form of sentencing that allows offenders to avoid a custodial sentence. This may include education aimed at preventing future offenses, making restitution to victims, undertaking community service or an injunction to avoid particular places or people

Extortion
The practice of obtaining something, usually money, by force or threat

First Responders
Persons from authorised ministries, departments and agencies who are tasked with providing the requisite medical assistance and/or technical expertise in a disaster, accident, or other life-threatening situation

Gang Violence
Criminal acts committed by a group of three or more individuals who regularly engage in criminal activity and identify themselves with a common name or sign

Garrison
Community political enclave that largely supports a major political party and where state authority has been generally undermined

Governance
Exercise of power in the economic, political and administrative management of a nation

Human Security
The protection of individuals and communities from the threats of violence, poverty, diseases and natural disasters

Homicide
The unlawful killing of one person by another

Human Trafficking
This includes sex trafficking in which a sex act is induced by force, fraud or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; or the recruitment, harbouring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labour or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage or slavery

Identify theft
A crime in which an imposter obtains key pieces of personal information, such as social security or driver's license numbers to impersonate someone else, usually for the purposes of theft

Illegal Paramilitaries
Groups of civilians who are organised in military fashion but lack legitimate authority

Industrial Property
Inventions, trademarks industrial designs, stock and interest-bearing securities of industrial and commercial companies

Intellectual Property
Original creative work manifested in a tangible form (inventions, literary and artistic works, symbols, names, images and designs used in commerce) that can be legally protected by a patent, trademark or copyright

Lottery Scam
An advance-fee fraud which usually begins with an unexpected email notification that the person has won a prize, but has to pay fees before the prize can be released

Murder
The unlawful, premeditated killing of one person by another

Narco-trafficking
Illegal trade in narcotics and psychotropic substances

National Security Policy
A master plan providing strategic guidelines for accomplishing national security goals in support of the national interest

Ponzi Schemes
A form of fraud in which belief in the success of a non-existent enterprise is fostered by the payment of quick returns to the first investors from money invested by later investors

Recidivism
A tendency of criminal offenders to relapse into their previous undesirable and illegal behavior

Restorative Justice
An approach to justice that emphasises restitution, forgiveness and healing of relationships where a wrong has been committed

Retributive Justice
An approach to justice that punishes offenders for a crime

Security Forces
Term normally used to refer to the police and military when working together on joint operations

Terrorism
The use of violence or intimidation to coerce a government or civilian population to further political or social objectives

Transnational Threats
Threats that transcend national borders, usually from organized crime or terrorist organizations

White-collar crime
Non-violent crime for financial gain committed by means of deception by persons with special technical and professional knowledge of business or government

Vulnerable Groups
Groups of persons who are susceptive to abuse as a result of their age, disability, or the stigma associated with their lifestyle

Zero Tolerance
Absence of any leniency or exception in the enforcement of a law, rule or regulation; and commitment to addressing rather than neglecting problems relating to justice and the rule of law

List of Acronyms

ATF	Action Task Force
BTU	British Thermal Unit
CabOff	Office of the Cabinet
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CDB	Convention on Biological Diversity
CPC	Corruption Prevention Commission
CPI	Corruption Perception Index
DEA	Drug Enforcement Administration
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
EBR	Energy Balance Ratio
EC	European Commission
EFPI	Economist Food Price Index
EI	Energy Intensity Index
EPGF	Enriquillo – Plantain Garden Fault
ETA	Euskadi ta Askatasuna
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FID	Financial Investigations Division
FLA	Firearm Licensing Authority
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HEART Trust/NTA	Heart Trust/ National Training Agency
IBIS	Integrated Ballistics Identification System
IC	Integrity Commission
ID	Identification
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IMCCSR	Inter-Ministerial Committee on Community Safety and Renewal
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
JDF	Jamaica Defence Force
LRAD	Long Range Acoustic Device
MAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
MFAFT	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade
MFP	Ministry of Finance and Planning
MIIC	Ministry of Industry Investment and Commerce
MLGCD	Ministry of Local Government and Community Development
MLSS	Ministry of Labour and Social Security
MNS	Ministry of National Security
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoH	Ministry of Health
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoTE	Ministry of Tourism and Entertainment
MOYC	Ministry of Youth and Culture
MSTEM	Ministry of Science, Technology, Energy and Mining
MWLECC	Ministry of Water, Land Environment and Climate Change
NCC	National Contracts Commission
NCD	Non Communicable Diseases
NEPA	National Environment and Planning Agency
NSC	National Security Council
NSP	National Security Policy
NSPCU	National Security Policy Coordination Unit
OCG	Office of the Contractor General
ODPEM	Office of Disaster Preparedness and Emergency Management
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PAYE	Pay As You Earn
PCs	Personal Computers
POCA	Proceeds of Crime Act
RPD	Revenue Protection Division
RPGs	Rocket Propelled Grenades
Southcom	US Southern Command
TEI	Total Expected Impact
TNOC	Transnational Organised Criminal Structures
UK	United Kingdom
UNODC	United Nation Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States
USA	United States of America
WF	World Economic Forum

Steering Committee

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Chief Technical Director, MNS	Mr Vivian Brown
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Consultation Workshop Representatives

- Agency for Inner City Renewal
- Airport Authority of Jamaica
- Attorney General's Department
- Bankers Association of Jamaica
- Child Development Agency
- Citizen Security and Justice Programme
- Department of Correctional Services
- Department of Public Prosecutions
- Diaspora and Consular Affairs – Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade
- European Union
- Financial Investigation Division
- Flankers Peace and Justice Centre
- Forestry Department
- Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM)
- Jamaica Association of Principals for Secondary Schools
- Jamaica Bar Association
- Jamaica Civil Aviation Authority
- Jamaica Constabulary Force
- Jamaica Council of Churches
- Jamaica Customs
- Jamaica Defence Force
- Jamaica Social Investment Fund
- Jamaicans for Justice
- Kingston and St Andrew Council
- Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries
- Ministry of Education
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Foreign Trade
- Ministry of Health
- Ministry of Industry Investment & Commerce
- Ministry of Labour and Social Security
- Ministry of Local Government and Community Development
- Ministry of National Security
- Ministry of Transport Works and Housing
- Ministry of Water, Land, Environment and Climate Change
- National Association of Parish Development Committees
- National Environment and Planning Agency
- National Registration Unit, Office of the Prime Minister
- National Water Commission
- Office of the Cabinet
- Office of the Children's Advocate
- Office of the Contractor General
- Pan American Health Organisation
- Passport Immigration and Citizenship Agency
- Peace Management Initiative
- Planning Institute of Jamaica
- Port Security Corps
- Private Sector Organisation of Jamaica
- Real Estate Board
- Rise Life Management Services
- Social Development Commission
- Spanish Town Peace and Justice Centre
- Tax Administration Jamaica
- United Nations Development Programe
- United States Agency for International Development
- University of the West Indies
- World Bank

International Consultations

- Belize Defence Force
- British High Commission, Jamaica (Military and Political sections)
- Centre for Hemispheric Defence Studies, National Defence University
- Royal College of Defence Studies
- The Royal College of Defence Studies
- UK Aid
- UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office
- US Bureau of Arms, Tobacco and Firearms
- US Embassy, Jamaica (Military and Political sections)
- US Marine Corps
- US Naval War College
- US Naval War College
- US Southern COmand
- World Bank

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