

Monitoring Empowerment in Policy and Programme Interventions: Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

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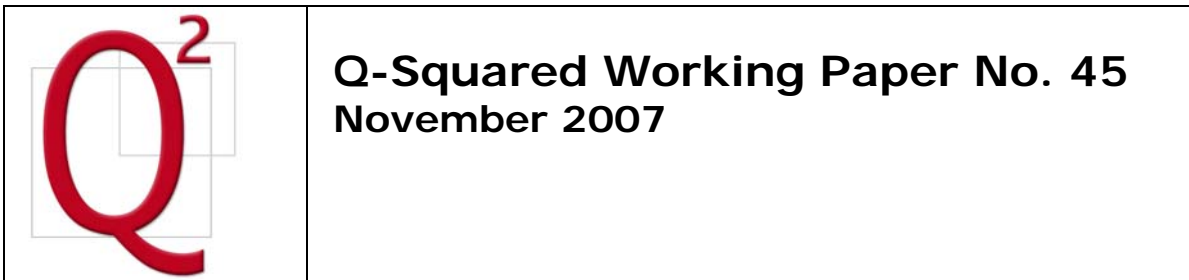
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Introduction

This paper describes methodological innovations emerging from a World Bank Trust Fund project that was initiated in 2006 to design and implement diagnostic tools to monitor empowerment in different policy or programme contexts in four countries. The paper focuses on experiences in Jamaica, where empowerment monitoring has been integrated with a community-based social policy monitoring process.

Within the context of development debates about non-monetary dimensions of poverty, there is a growing body of work within the World Bank that seeks greater clarity with respect to the concept of *empowerment* in order to operationalise the concept more effectively in the design and monitoring and evaluation of development interventions. One recent World Bank publication draws on sociological literature to conceptualise and operationalise empowerment as a function of the relationship between asset-based *agency* and institution-based *opportunity structure*.¹

Numerous instruments now exist for measuring aspects of country performance. Building empowerment can be thought of as complementing top-down reforms because it addresses the capacity of citizens to reinforce change by demanding better governance and holding officials to account. “Empowerment” as a concept moves away from treating people primarily as “beneficiaries,” by treating them as agents capable of effecting institutional change. Empowerment as a means (if not an end in itself) is thus implicit in successful accountability initiatives.

The four-country initiative is developing and piloting mixed-method diagnostic tools that measure and analyse how specific country policies and programmes have impacted empowerment. In all four cases, “empowerment” refers primarily to the kind of engagement citizens have with government officials and service providers.

The diagnostic tools go beyond looking at clients’ access to services or their level of satisfaction (the “beneficiary” model). Rather, they also measure changes in the *capacity of citizens effectively to demand service improvements*, and the capacity of service providers to actually provide these services. Identifying these changes requires measurement and analysis of empowerment *outcomes* (changes in power relations attributable to policy or programme intervention) and empowerment *processes* (changes in perceptions and behaviours indicative of empowerment and attributable to policy or programme intervention).

The working hypothesis underpinning the design of mixed-method diagnostic tools is that dysfunctional everyday relations between service providers and users or between government officials and citizens may be symptomatic of deeper, embedded institutional norms that are characterised by inequalities in power. These social structures perpetuate and are in turn reinforced by everyday interactions and negotiations around service delivery and policy implementation. The result is that improvements in policy or programme outcomes will be hard to achieve and sustain without interventions that attempt to tackle institutional norms.²

¹ Alsop R, M Bertelsen and J Holland (2006). *Empowerment in Practice: From Analysis to Implementation*, Washington D.C.: The World Bank

² Alsop et al, op cit. See also World Bank, 2005. *World Development Report 2006: Equity and Development*, New York: Oxford University Press

Empowerment and social change require a level of transformation in critical consciousness that challenges habitual³ or everyday interaction and decision making.

Policies and programmes must take into account and respond effectively to this challenge by building individual and group capabilities and by finding ways to influence and change the formal and informal institutional structures that govern people's behaviour and that influence the success or failure of the choices that they make.

To this end, this paper discusses the added value of combining quantitative and qualitative research methods in the measurement and diagnosis of empowerment. The paper will describe the project's development and testing of quantifiable indicators in Jamaica that measure changes in empowerment outcomes and processes, with an emphasis on the relationship between citizens/ clients and government officials/ service providers. These indicators are being administered primarily using local/community survey and score card instruments, with a view to longer-term integration with more universal (non-contextual) survey instruments.

These quantitative survey methods have been sequenced with qualitative research methods (including interviews, observation, group discussions and peer ethnography) to provide in-depth analysis of *why* behavioural changes and power relations have or have not occurred.

While in each country the diagnostic tools have both quantitative and qualitative components, the policy and programme contexts are quite different, ranging from national policy evaluation to programme areas of decentralisation and social safety nets:

- In **Bangladesh**, the diagnostic tool will investigate the economic and social impacts of the major social safety net programme.
- In **Ethiopia**, the diagnostic tool will help the government assess gaps and successes of recent and ongoing decentralisation with respect to service provision.
- In **Ghana**, the diagnostic tool will inform the direction of the Community-Based Rural Development Programme and contribute to the World Bank programme, "Decentralisation and Improved Service Delivery," by focusing on the effect of citizen engagement on service quality.
- In **Jamaica** the diagnostic tool will support the improvement of social policy execution and outcomes by measuring and analysing the relationship between youth and service providers.

The paper will emphasise that the objective of this initiative is not to provide a single "one size fits all" diagnostic tool or set of indicators. Rather, based on the experience and process of developing and piloting these tools, the aim is to synthesise the experience to help in the design and evaluation of programmes and policies.

³ See Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1. Analytical Framework⁴

1.1 Analysing empowerment

The analytical framework for the initiative in Jamaica, as in Bangladesh, Ghana and Ethiopia, is a simple empowerment framework developed by the Empowerment Team in the PRMPR department of the World Bank.

The framework draws on established sociological literature to focus on the relationship between structure and agency.⁵ Empowerment is defined as “the process of enhancing an individual’s or group’s capacity to make purposive choices and to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes.” These transformative choices can be made in the state, market or social domains. In the state domain, citizens may experience very different degrees of empowerment in terms of accessing justice, participating in politics, or obtaining social services. In the market domain, regulations and systems of property rights, along with the operation of informal institutions, determine access to markets, land, labour opportunities and credit. In the social domain, individual and group agency can be constrained by power-based institutions of social hierarchies, patriarchy or exploitative patron-client relations.

As indicated in the introduction above, this initiative is focussing on empowerment of citizens in the state domain, specifically on their relationship with service providers. The analytical framework demands, however, that we look across domains to explain empowerment processes and outcomes. Disempowerment in the social domain for example, may limit individual or group agency in the political or economic domains.

Agency is defined as an actor’s or group’s ability to make meaningful choices – that is, the actor is able to envisage and purposively choose options. For the purposes of measurement a person or group’s agency can be largely predicted by their *asset endowment*.⁶ Assets are the resources that actors call upon to be productive, to protect themselves from shocks, and to call upon when opportunity arises.

The assets requiring consideration in operational work include psychological, informational, organizational, material, social, financial, or human. Psychological assets are particularly crucial to measurements of asset based agency. Nussbaum argues that rational choices are “deformed” by underlying differences in capabilities, which include the capacity to aspire and to imagine alternative options.⁷ Empowerment may well require a raised level of consciousness if actors are to translate their assets into choices – that is, to become “agents”. Without this change in consciousness, people make choices that are characterized by “adaptive preferences”, or narrow practical aspirations that shape how they conceive of their life

⁴ This section draws heavily from Alsop R, M Bertelsen and J Holland, 2006. *Empowerment in Practice: From Analysis to Implementation* (Washington D.C.: The World Bank)

⁵ Giddens, A (1984) *The Constitution of Society Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Polity Press, Cambridge.

⁶ See for example, Moser C, 1998. “The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies”, in *World Development* 26(1)

⁷ Nussbaum M, 2000. *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 114

possibilities. Furthermore, with low levels of psychological assets, actors are also less likely to make choices that can build or improve the other assets that form the basis of their agency.

Assets and agency are necessary, but not sufficient, to ensure that actors can actually transform their actions into desired outcomes – this depends on the opportunity structure. The *opportunity structure* comprises the institutions that govern people's behaviour and which influence the success or failure of the choices that they make. Institutions are the humanly-devised "rules of the game" in society that shape and constrain human interaction and individual choices.⁸ Institutions can be formal or informal. Informal institutions include "unofficial" rules that structure incentives and govern relationships within organizations including bureaucracies, firms or industries and the informal cultural practices, value systems and norms of behaviour that operate in households, or amongst social groups or communities. Formal institutions include the sets of rules, laws or regulatory frameworks that govern the operation of political processes, public services, private organizations and markets. In practice, changes such as shifting power relations, involve an interaction between formal and informal institutions and can result in tension as changes play out.

Using these concepts of asset-based agency and institution-based opportunity structure, the framework presented suggests that investments and interventions can empower people by focusing on the dynamic and iterative relationship between agency and structure. In short, it is hypothesized that interventions to improve agency and enhance opportunity structures can increase people's capacity to make effective choices, and that this in turn can bring about other development outcomes.

The framework emphasises that choice is constrained by social circumstance or social rules, with implications for individual and group expression of agency. Kabeer, in discussing women's empowerment, cites Bourdieu's notion of *doxa*, meaning those aspects of tradition and culture that have become so habitual as to be "naturalized". These traditions are rooted in deeply entrenched cultural institutions:

"The passage from 'doxa' to discourse, a more critical consciousness, only becomes possible when *competing* ways of 'being and doing' become available as material and cultural possibilities, so that 'common sense' propositions of culture begin to lose their 'naturalised' character, revealing the underlying arbitrariness of the given social order"⁹

When discussing agency the distinction between habitual choice and reasoned choice therefore becomes important. Choices made within routines and customs may be comfortable but rarely confer new or higher levels of agency. A prerequisite to empowerment is an opportunity structure that allows people to translate their asset base into effective agency -- through raised consciousness, better information and through more equitable rules and expanded entitlements.

The analytical framework introduced here goes beyond income-based and utilitarian approaches to poverty "in which real incomes are presumed to translate unproblematically into

⁸ North D C, 1990. *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*, Cambridge, Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge

⁹ Kabeer N, 1999. "Resources, Agency, Achievements: Reflections on the Measurement of Women's Empowerment", in *Development and Change* 30, 441

well being via utilitarian consumption choices”.¹⁰ Empowerment is based on tackling the differences or “deformities” in capabilities that deny actors the capacity to make transforming choices. It is a dynamic process through which the interaction of agency and opportunity structure has the potential to result in improving individuals’ or groups’ capacity to make effective choice. This concept has similarities with Sen’s notion of expanding human capabilities, or freedoms, by focusing on an individual’s ability to “enhance the substantive choices they have”.¹¹

1.2 Monitoring Empowerment

Poverty reduction traditionally focuses on stimulating growth (with the assumption that growth will increase employment), and providing resources and services to address needs and enhance material well-being. A focus on empowerment brings an additional emphasis on people’s choices and opportunities. The analytical framework also provides an entry point into identifying tools and indicators for measuring changes in empowerment.

Measuring empowerment allows for changes in the availability and exercise of choice to be tracked over time and compared across populations. This allows us firstly to analyse the relationship between empowerment and other developmental goals. Although empowerment is now seen as a legitimate developmental goal in its own right, there is a growing body of anecdotal and case study evidence,¹² to suggest that empowerment also brings improved poverty reduction outcomes. Secondly, beyond testing these associations, monitoring and evaluation of the impact of development interventions on empowerment provides the necessary information “feedback loop” that allows for reflection on and improvement of the operational entry points for empowering change.

To date, there have been relatively few attempts to provide the means of assessing whether policy interventions are having an empowering effect. This is not surprising given the challenges involved. While poverty is usually measured by using an income- or consumption-based approach that measures material outcomes, an approach to measuring empowerment has to capture processes and relational changes that are less predictable, less tangible, more contextual and more difficult to quantify in data collection and analysis.

This raises challenges relating to issues of *meaning, causality* and *comparability*. The challenge of identifying meaningful measurements of any dimension of wellbeing requires in the first instance that we can neatly capture the essence of that aspect of well being, and that we can observe changes that are meaningful both in its *direction and magnitude*. We need to identify that a person or group is “more empowered” and to identify “how much more empowered” that person is.

The second challenge of attributing cause and effect can be relatively straightforward when the causal chain is relatively short and when other variables can be held constant. Changes in power relations, however, are not single-event outcomes but are dynamic and process-based,

¹⁰ Evans P, 2002. “Collective Capabilities, Culture, and Amartya Sen’s Development as Freedom, in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 37(2) 54-60, p.57

¹¹ Sen A, 1997. “Editorial: Human Capital and Human Capability”, in *World Development* 25(12) 1959-1961; Sen A, 1999. *Development as Freedom*, New York: Alfred A Knopf

¹² See Alsop et al, op cit.

tied up with bargaining, cooperation, conflict and cooption, rent seeking and other forms of contracting. The picture is further complicated by the cross-sectoral nature of empowerment, which can happen (or not happen) in different ways in different domains of life. Additionally, choice can often be implicit and therefore difficult to observe and measure. Indeed, empowerment often allows people to choose *not* to take action. Even when people do choose to take action, how can we be sure, for example, that this is not a strategic or dependent form of action. How can we be sure, in other words, when people are *really* empowered?

The third challenge is to infer *comparability* across populations. “Aggregation” describes whether the data generated can be aggregated across populations so that conclusions about impact and change can be inferred for larger population groups. Here the major challenge is that empowerment often involves relative rather than absolute changes in states of being. Hence an observable move towards a higher state of empowerment for one person or group cannot be assumed to apply to other individuals or groups. This holds both within countries and across countries. An improvement in economic empowerment for a Jamaican ghetto youth is likely to be qualitatively and quantitatively very different from the economic empowerment of a middle class Jamaican professional.

The methodological approach adopted by the World Bank Empowerment team is based on the premise that we cannot measure empowerment in a way that does justice to its inherent complexity *and* that satisfactorily meets these three criteria of attribution, aggregation and alignment in full. What we can do, however, is to identify measurements that capture, albeit imperfectly, important dimensions of changes in power, and that can be complemented by more interpretive and explanatory forms of qualitative research.

Table 1.1 applies some examples of concepts relating to empowerment – transformative choice - onto the institutional domains discussed briefly above and then suggests the instruments and indicators that will generate data to measure these concepts. The two types of relevant data that can be elicited using a household survey or score card instrument are (i) *recall questions* which allow respondents to recall the frequency and types of interaction that they have had with different institutions, and (ii) *perception questions* which allow respondents to apply a score to their evaluation of qualitative dimensions of those interactions. So, for example in order to generate indicators of accessible services, respondents can be asked to count (using recall) the type and frequency of use of different justice system institutions, and then to score the quality of those institutions in terms of their effectiveness, inclusiveness and efficiency.

Table 1.1 Indicators of empowerment

Domain	Concept/ theme	Instrument and Indicator (disaggregated by social and economic group in analysis)
State (justice)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accessible justice • Frequency of use of justice system • Fairness of justice system • Ability to complain about justice system • Safety and security of citizens 	Survey module generating data on: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recall data on types of justice system used, frequency of use • Perception scoring of fairness of treatment and outcomes, social difference in treatment, accountability, ease of use
State (political)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participatory democracy • Critical and independent voting choice • Use of accountability mechanisms 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recall data on frequency of elections at different levels, voting entitlements, voting behaviour (including

		independence of decision making) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception scoring of interest in elections, knowledge of parties, involvement in political processes (including aspirations), fairness of electoral process, accountability of elected officials
State (service delivery)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizen voice/ social accountability • Accessible/ quality/ relevant services 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception/Recall data on service availability, accessibility, and making complaints • Recall data on services used • Perception scoring of quality, accessibility and effectiveness of complaints (distinguishing by social group)
Market (credit)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to formal credit (eligibility/distance) • Control over the use of credit 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recall data on credit accessing behaviour • Perception data on credit accessibility
Market (labour)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom to enter labour market (skill-based) • Freedom to withdraw/ withhold labour • Ability to command market price for labour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception scoring of ease of entry and movement within labour market • Perception data on constraints to above • Recall data on union membership • Perception data on labour rights
Market (goods)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to access productive inputs • Ability to access consumption goods 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception data on access to land (inheritance, purchase, renting)
Society (family)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Influence/ control over strategic choices • Control over body and reproductive choices 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception data on decision making and scoring of influence over strategic household choices • Perception scoring of control over body
Society (community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Freedom of association • Freedom of mobility • Participation in community decision making 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception data on decision making in community • Perception data on mobility • Perception scoring of influence over community decisions and aspirations to be more involved

Source: Alsop et al, 2006

It is important to avoid reducing the measurement and analysis of empowerment simply to a set of indicators. The empowerment framework focuses on a dynamic and iterative relationship between agency and opportunity structure. It recognises further that there is an internal dynamic between assets as there is between institutions. Also identified is the highly contextual nature of power relations.

Through careful sequencing of quantitative and qualitative approaches, however, emerging trends and patterns in empowerment can be probed and explained. The added value of mixed method approaches to evaluating development interventions is now well-established. Given the conceptual complexity of empowerment, the added value of a mixed-method approach to measuring and tracking empowerment becomes even more evident.

2. Community Based Policy Monitoring in Jamaica¹³

2.1 CBPM Context: The Jamaica Social Policy Evaluation (JASPEV) process

Post-independence social policy in Jamaica produced strong social outcomes, particularly in the health and education sectors. Recently, however, there has been increasing concern as to whether social policy delivery has been effective in a present-day context of scarce public resources. There is also a perception within and beyond government that, with high levels of unemployment, violence and social exclusion, there is an urgent need for “joined-up” social policy. The JASPEV process¹⁴ was designed to address a range of specific concerns about the management and implementation of social policy. These included: a perceived lack of ways to achieve policy coherence; a lack of mechanisms for establishing and updating strategic priorities; a continued reduction in public resources for social policy; and a perceived lack of a culture of evaluation and responsiveness to users in the delivery of public services.

In its first phase, the two key outputs of the JASPEV process were a Social Policy Framework entitled Jamaica 2015 (Government of Jamaica, 2002) and a five-year Action Plan (2002–2007). Together these documents seek to provide:

- A vision for the kind of society Jamaica aspires to be.
- A set of seven key policy outcome goals which sum up a range of concrete outcomes or results representing progress toward realization of the vision.
- A set of goals and objectives for changes in institutional systems and relationships supporting achievement of the policy goals.
- A framework for assessing progress over time toward the goals.
- An Action Plan outlining a five-year program of measures to strengthen the design and implementation of social policy, to drive progress toward the outcome and process goals outlined.

The key goals identified in the document, Jamaica 2015, are grouped into outcome and process goals, each with accompanying frameworks of benchmark indicators.

2.2 CBPM Objectives

The methodological challenge for those seeking to improve social policy outcomes in Jamaica is three-fold (Holland et al, 2005):

¹³ This section draws heavily on Bonner A M, J Holland, A Norton and K Sigrist, 2007. “Monitoring Social Policy Outcomes in Jamaica: Democratic Evaluation and Institutional Change”, in Dani A and A de Haan (eds) *Inclusive States: Social Policy and Structural Inequalities (New Frontiers of Social Policy)*, Washington DC, The World Bank, ch 13.

¹⁴ For more information go to <http://www.JASPEV.org/>

- To establish more effective institutional links between the providers and users of policy-relevant information so that the information generated is timely and relevant, resulting in powerful, evidence-based policy analysis.
- To combine more effectively data sources and methods for social policy analysis allied to an increased appreciation of the comparative advantages of different methods.
- To embed policy research into a continuing process of institutional transformation and empowerment at different levels of governance, in a way that makes the policy process demand-led by local society as well as supply-driven by technocratic expertise.

Recognizing these challenges, the Jamaican Cabinet Office is, through JASPEV, promoting a system of locally-generated but nationally-comparable benchmark indicators designed to encourage mutual learning and institutional change. This system of benchmarking indicators of change at the local level has been labelled community based policy monitoring (CBPM). Community members across different localities identify their own benchmarks and teams of volunteers measure and monitor progress against these benchmarks and in comparison with other localities. The first policy area that JASPEV selected for collecting such information was that of youth inclusion, and specifically police-youth relations.

The data generated by participants serve different purposes. A core of indicators need to be quantifiable and (for benchmarking purposes) comparable across time and locations. A further set of indicators can be more contextual and qualitative, allowing research participants and the consultative network to generate their own “local” narratives, analysis and action for change. This mix is necessary because of the intent to bring together in one discussion a combination of tacit local knowledge and centrally available expert knowledge.

3. Jamaica Community Based Policy Monitoring Methodology

With the reflections in section 2 on monitoring empowerment in mind, the methodology for the CBPM in Jamaica combines a score card and ethnographic methods, generating data and analysis on empowerment around police-youth relations, including quantitative indicators of empowerment, qualitative diagnosis of those indicators, and more in-depth ethnographic analysis of power relations across all political, economic and social domains.

To this end, an ethnographic study was introduced in addition to the score card activity to allow researchers to “drill down” beneath the habitual interactions to examine the following research questions:

- How do young people understand and interpret the power relations that underpin their everyday lives?
- How do social norms affect young people’s everyday interactions within their communities and with people from outside their communities?
- In what ways do power relations impact on their perceived choices and actions and on their poverty?
- What are the obstacles to challenging and transforming these deep rooted social institutions?
- What are the policy implications if the goal is to empower young people in these communities?

3.1 Sampling

The mixed method CBPM under the monitoring empowerment project was conducted in a small sub-sample of three communities selected from an earlier round of community-based policy monitoring using the citizen score card tool. In total, some 46 rural and urban communities are participating in JASPEV’s youth inclusion monitoring initiative across the entire country. The score cards were adapted to include additional indicators of empowerment (see below under findings).

The three participating research communities were selected to capture diversity, each having specific social contexts, but also sharing some common characteristics. As the PEER approach (see below) emphasises the importance of anonymity, these have been given fictitious names in the PEER research report and in this paper:

- **Harasson Gardens** is a poor urban community in downtown Kingston with a reputation for violence and poor police-youth relations.
- **Poyuton Terrace** is an area in Kingston which, while having many of the social problems characteristic of poor urban communities in downtown Kingston, has a reputation for relatively good relationships between the community (particularly youth) and the police.
- **Coolblue Gap** is a poor rural community in St. Thomas around 40 miles from Kingston.

3.2 The research instruments

JASPEV CBPM to date has employed a score card technique. In this round of CBPM, two research instruments were used, sequencing open interactive group-based scoring and discussion with confidential, in-depth ethnographic research.

3.2.1 Community score cards

A Community Score Card is an interactive monitoring tool used to increase accountability of service providers by soliciting male and female user perceptions on the quality, accessibility and relevance of various public services. Here we distinguish the CSC from the Citizen Report Card (CRC) household survey instrument. Unlike the CRC, the CSC is conducted in a focus group setting with a stratified sample of 6-12 service users. CSC data are usually less reliable than survey-generated data because they are elicited from a relatively small sample of respondents. CSC trustworthiness can be increased if necessary by triangulating the CSC data with equivalent data generated by bigger sample-size survey instrument.

The CSC is described as a “mixed method” tool because it generates both quantitative and qualitative data and analysis. The quantitative data comprise perception scores of specific qualities of service provision, usually scored on a 4 or 5 point scale. These scores can be then be aggregated from all the focus group discussions held and can be compared across groups and over time.

The key to a successful CSC session, in contrast with a household survey instrument, is that the scores are not simply elicited as an end in themselves but feed qualitative discussion. For this reason, the facilitators of the CSC session are actively involved in an interactive group discussion, prompting and guiding the discussion, in contrast to survey enumerators who minimise their influence on the respondent in order to reduce bias. The interactive focus group setting of a CSC exercise allows the facilitators to use the scores generated to encourage an in-depth diagnostic discussion by the group. The scoring is used to prompt a discussion of three questions: (a) Defining the problem/issue; (b) Diagnosing the problem; (c) Identifying solutions.

The CSC instrument can be used within a participatory approach to research, with the data generated used to encourage reflection and action by the participants. In the context of the Jamaica initiative, this involves service users taking action or engaging with service providers to resolve some of the problems identified during the CSC session. If appropriate, the CSC facilitators can extend their role to facilitating “interface” sessions between groups of users and service providers in which the results of the CSC sessions are discussed and action agreed.

In the context of the present round of community-based policy monitoring in Jamaica the CSC provides the following information: (a) numerical scores of user perception of the quality, accessibility and relevance of police-youth relations; (b) qualitative analysis of the scores generated that diagnoses the problems and explains successes; and (c) priorities and action plans for improvements to services and relations, including new forms of partnership between police and youth.

The CSCs were generated in Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) in community centres or other public spaces in each community. The FGDs were made up of 6-12 young people aged between 14 and 29 years. The discussions were facilitated by Community development Officers from the Social Development Commission (SDC), a government agency specialising in community outreach. Sessions began with the group being split into two smaller groups and

each performing a short role-play, one depicting good police-youth relations from the perspective of youths and the other from the perspective of Police Officers. The whole group was then asked to describe what constitutes “good” police-youth relations. In Poyuton Terrace, for example, the following descriptions were generated:

Ideal Police Youth Relations	Characteristics related to score card indicators
Respect from Both Parties	Courtesy & Respect
Good Communication between police & Youth	Interaction with Youth
Interaction between Police & Youth	Interaction with Youth
Police overlooking minor offenses (smoking marijuana)	Trust
Police treating citizens fairly	Fairness
Police not abusing power	Fairness
Youths upholding the law	Courtesy & respect
Police desist from making physical and verbal abuse	Hope that police-youth relations can improve

Following the description and characteristic linkage, the groups were asked to discuss further their general understanding of each characteristic, i.e. defining and coming to a common understanding of each characteristic to be scored and analysed. The participants were then asked to score the current situation using the community score card. They were asked to justify to justify these scores and to discuss causes, effects and possible solutions. The results are summarised in Table 4.1 below and detailed in Annex A:

3.2.2 Peer Ethnographic Evaluation Research (PEER)

The objective of the peer ethnographic research was to complement the quantitative and qualitative data and analysis generated by the score card instrument by providing more in-depth social and policy analysis of the structural causes of poorly functioning local institutions and the impact on poverty.

The Participatory Ethnographic Evaluation Research (PEER)¹⁵ Methodology is a relatively new technique that combines ethnography with participatory learning and action (PLA). PEER was developed in the field of health ethnography and is well suited to exploring sensitive issues with a view to improving policy and programme interventions. It has been used successfully for impact assessment in a range of project and programme contexts. It was used, for example, in Cambodia and Myanmar to help inform programme design by gaining an in-depth understanding of the sexual partners and clients of informal sex-workers.

PEER benefits from the advantages of ethnography, including in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon through one-on-one interviews, instead of group sessions; as well as the key advantages of PLA such as speedy, inexpensive data collection and giving voice to poor and socially excluded people. It is quicker and less expensive than traditional anthropological methods without losing too much of the “thick” description associated with ethnography; equally

¹⁵ For more information on PEER visit the website at <http://www.options.co.uk/te-peer-unit.htm>.

participatory and quick as PLA but without the challenge to produce more than “surface” data associated with some participatory research.

The PEER ethnographic method uses researchers who are peers of the people providing information for the research. They are assumed to be recognised and trusted within their peer group¹⁶ and this is particularly important for sensitive subjects, including police-youth relations in Jamaica. The PEER researchers must have a basic level of literacy in order to be able to record key words and phrases in data collection

The PEER researchers identify between three and six people from within their social networks to interview. A series of in-depth conversational interviews are carried out with each interviewee over a three-month period. Three males and three females aged between 14 and 29 (inclusive) were selected from each community by the Social Development Commission for training as PEER researchers.¹⁷ Data were collected over a period of five weeks. Each researcher conducted conversational interviews with three or four peers in three separate interviews to produce --- interviews in total from 60 female and male respondents. .

Experienced social scientists, acting as supervisors, met each researcher for a 1-2 hour debriefing session on a weekly basis, collecting detailed notes of the PEER researcher narratives using the words of the researcher, and probing the researchers on key issues emerging. In this way the researchers also became key informants, enabling the social researchers to conduct a rapid in-depth ethnographic analysis.

¹⁶ Hawkins K and N Price, 2000, 7. “A Peer Ethnographic Tool: For Social Appraisal and Monitoring of Sexual and Reproductive Health Programmes.”, Swansea: Centre for Development Studies, University of Wales.

¹⁷ For more information on the adaptation of PEER to the Jamaican context see Hawkins K, 2007. PEER Training Report: A Report on the Training of PEER researchers and adaptation of the PEER tool by JASPEV project”, London, Options, January

4. Findings

The mixed method CBPM produced detailed quantitative and qualitative data and analysis of police-youth relations in each community. The accompanying PEER ethnographic research drilled deeper beneath the scores and produced insights on the interaction institutions and agency in explaining processes and outcomes in these communities.

4.1 Police-Youth relations

The CBPM score card activity conducted in April and May 2007 produced the following scores on police-youth relations in the three research communities (Table 4.1). The first five indicators had been used in previous scorecards and so longitudinal data on these is available which allows for comparison over time. The second five were introduced specifically as part of the monitoring empowerment initiative and had not been measured before. Whilst the first five focus mainly on the behaviour and quality of the police (the service provider), the second five focus more on the agency of young people and opportunity structure in line with the empowerment framework.

It is clear that there are very real differences between all three communities, although the scores in Poyuton Terrace and Coolblue Gap appear closer for many of the indicators despite one being urban and one rural. The longitudinal scores for the first set of indicators suggest a maintained low level of perceived performance amongst young people in Harasson Gardens, a maintained high level of perceived performance amongst young people in Poyuton Terrace, and a marked improvement in perceived performance amongst young people in Coolblue Gap.

Trust in the police

The scorecards indicated very poor levels of trust in Harasson Gardens and good levels of trust in Poyuton Terrace and Coolblue Gap. The narrative explanations given for these scores show that in Harasson Gardens' youths did not trust the police because of the things they heard about them. The police were also said not to be trusted because there were said to kill people and then plant "evidence," such as a gun. Although the score in Poyuton Terrace was much higher, the discussion showed that while police from the community might be trusted to some degree, there was still mistrust for the "outside police" not assigned to the community. This appeared to be the case in Coolblue Gap too, where the scorecards indicated that while there is general mistrust of the police, there is a trusting relationship between the youth and the local police. Higher levels of trust in this community may be due to lower levels of crime which scorecard participants indicated facilitated good relationships with the police. The issue of local/our police and "outside police" is pervasive, and related to the "place stigma" that the researchers speak of – that assumptions are made about community residents by outsiders – this also relates to the discussion below of disrespect displayed by the police toward youth because of the way they dress – with young people caught between their desire to identify with their peers and what is probably a desire to get along with adults and authorities by dressing in ways they know would be more acceptable and less likely to draw negative attention.

However, the PEER research analysis report emphasised strongly that in no community did the youth trust the police to any great extent. While the PEER research confirmed that Harasson Gardens had the lowest levels of trust, the levels of trust in Poyuton Terrace and Coolblue Gap were not as high as the scorecard might indicate and the reasons for levels of trust and mistrust were more complex than the scorecard explanations.

Table 4.1 Scorecard results in the three research communities

	Community Score (Scale: 1= Very poor; 2= Poor; 3= Fair; 4= Good; 5= Excellent).		
Indicator	Harasson Gardens	Poyuton Terrace	Coolblue Gap
	Violent, poor urban	Stable, poor urban	Poor rural
Original indicators (first round scores from February in brackets)			
Level of trust youth have in the police	1 (2)	4 (5)	4 (1)
Level of respect and courtesy displayed by the police	2 (1)	5 (5)	5 (2)
Level of fairness displayed by police	1 (1)	4 (5)	4 (1)
Level of responsiveness of police	3 (--)	3 (4)	2 (1)
Level of effort made by police to interact with the youth	2 (3)	5 (5)	3 (2)
Additional empowerment indicators			
Level of youth access to information about police activities and services	3	5	1
Level of youth willingness to use police services (e.g. reporting incidents)	4	5	4
Ability of youth to officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour / action	5	5	2
Level of youth willingness to officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour / action	1	4	4
Level of youth hope that police-youth relations can improve	2	5	5

The PEER research shows that gender also played a role in determining levels of trust in the police, although the scorecard activity in Coolblue Gap indicated that both genders thought there was a trusting relationship with the police. The PEER research indicated that females could afford to trust the police because the police were “just looking at her”. However, while females acknowledged that they are more likely to be protected, they also wished the police would stop sexually harassing them. In Coolblue Gap the male participants did not trust the police because even if the police were friendly, their suspicion was that they were only friendly because they were looking for informers.

In Poyuton Terrace, an inner city area with an active police youth club, the PEER research found that police youth relations were the best. However, despite the relatively high score in the scorecards, this appears to be mainly due to the relationship with local police and not all youths

could trust the police. The PEER research showed that here also there was a sense that the police used the youth for their own ends and “only fools trust them”.

The PEER research findings supported the evidence from the scorecards in that for Harasson Gardens, levels of trust in the police were the lowest. The PEER research also supported the indications from the narratives in the scorecards that the police were not to be trusted, with explanations that the police were corrupt, thieves and were “criminals, just like gunman.”

Respect and courtesy displayed by the police

The scores for respect and courtesy displayed by the police followed the same pattern as for trust, with Harasson Gardens having the lowest and Poyuton Terrace and Coolblue Gap having much higher scores. In all three communities, the scores were slightly higher than those given for trust in the police.

During the discussions in the scorecard activities it was explained that showing respect and courtesy means dealing with youths “in the right manner” and approaching people in a friendly manner even if you are about to search them. It also means treating inner city youths in the same way as up town youths are treated. Despite the high scores for this indicator, two male participants in Poyuton Terrace explained that they did not agree that the police in the area were courteous and respectful, explaining that the police had sometimes intentionally disrupted their makeshift football post in the road without showing any regard for them. In Coolblue Gap young men also explained that younger officers tended to be more disrespectful and use expletives when speaking with youths.

The PEER research showed that young people feel under scrutiny by adults through their dress and attire, with generally negative assessments leading to disrespectful views, stigmatisation and abuse. Youths are expected to serve rather than be served. This applies not only to the police but also to other authority figures such as parents, dons and politicians, church members and pastors.

Fairness displayed by police

To young people, fairness by the police means carrying out their duties according to the law, being impartial, non-judgemental, unprejudiced and unbiased. Again, there was a stark difference between the score for Harasson Gardens (very poor) and the other two communities (both good).

In Harasson Gardens, the scorecards indicated a difference in perspectives based on gender, with some female participants suggesting that the police acted fairly but the majority, and particularly the males, thought that the police treated inner city youths differently from others (e.g. up-town youths). The differences in treatment for males and females, and for inner city youth and up-town youths, was also shown clearly in the PEER research. Young people in Harasson Gardens explained, for instance, that if a male inner city youth wanted to be treated better he would have to dress differently and seem as if he was a visitor to the area (i.e. from another area).

“Inner city youth get box and kick up and abused in every way imaginable. This cannot happen up town.”

Young people in Harasson Gardens recounted the treatment they or their peers experienced at the hands of the police, including being kicked and beaten, being forced to eat their lit spliffs, even being killed and having a gun planted on them. They felt that the police forgot the law as soon as they left training school.

A reason for the gender difference was explained in the PEER research as being that males were seen by the police as the people most likely to be carrying guns. Young male youths also explained, however, that there “is a war between the police and the youth” and that the police needed protection from the youth, which could be used by the police as a justification for the different treatment of males and females.

The PEER research also showed that young people perceived themselves to be treated less fairly by the police than adults. A common complaint was that the police never allowed the youth a fair chance if there was a conflict with an adult. Young people’ voices were not heard even to defend themselves in the face of accusations.

Responsiveness of police

The scores given for the level of responsiveness of the police were much more equal across the three communities, with the two inner city communities giving a score of 3 (or fair) and the rural community (Coolblue Gap) giving a score of 2 (poor).

During discussions around the scorecards, the expectations in terms of police responsiveness were that the police should take the law seriously, be alert, practice what they had been trained to do, be more assertive when complaints were made and respond in a timely manner.

In all three communities there were complaints that the police did not respond properly to either minor situations or emergencies. In Poyuton Terrace, where the police were described as “laid back”, a male respondent explained that he had been caught in a shootout while coming home from work, he ran to the Police Station but no one would open the grill to let him in. He concluded that all the officers were afraid. In Harasson Gardens, some respondents explained that the police station door closed from 11.00 p.m. onwards (although some participants said that if you went to the door, they would open it) and that someone had to die before the police would come. In Coolblue Gap community members explained they had to call another station which is far away before getting a response.

Several reasons were given for this poor level of responsiveness, including that there were too many young and inexperienced police officers (the police in Harasson Gardens were described as being mostly young boys) and that there was a lack of resources (e.g. vehicles).

The lack of responsiveness shown by the poor scores results in a situation, described powerfully in the PEER research, where young people feel very little protection from a service which should be protecting them when they need it. Young people in Coolblue Gap explained that the police were often sitting and playing dominoes and being irritated by young people disturbing them when they go there with complaints.

“It is God who protects the youth. All the police do is idle. They always have an excuse to avoid any problem that they are called to address.”

While in the two urban communities females were more likely to feel protected, the PEER research showed that very few males felt protected by the police and instead spoke of a war

between the police and the youth with both hunting and killing each other. In Coolblue Gap too, it was explained that the police did not feel safe around youths either as they think of the youth here as just youth – i.e. all youths are perceived to be the same by the police.

The police were also perceived as not being concerned about putting young people at risk by pressurising them for information, even though they could be injured by adults and other youths if they informed.

Effort made by police to interact with the youth

Scores for this indicator varied between 2 (poor) in Harasson Gardens and 3 (fair) in Coolblue Gap to 5 (very good) in Poyuton Terrace. In both the communities with lower scores it was explained that police interaction and socialisation with young people needed to be higher and would result in higher levels of trust. Low levels of efforts to interact in Harasson Gardens were ascribed to a lack of communication and to the police being afraid.

Poyuton Terrace is a community with vibrant police youth club. However, despite the high score given in terms of efforts by the police to interact and the relatively higher scores for other indicators which this might have contributed to, there were still underlying levels of distrust (and other elements of poor police-youth relations) expressed during the PEER research that were not reflected in the scores given. For example, young people in Poyuton Terrace explained that the police “used” young people there because they were closer than most inner city youth. They explained cases which led them to conclude that the police both investigated crimes and informed on them at the same time, so they could not be trusted.

While it was also explained by some that most of those who distrusted the police were not innocent, others pointed out that although a police youth club is great, “those people are my enemies and it is not because I am any criminal. They have not changed their spots, they are police.”

Youth access to information about police activities and services

The scores given by young people regarding their access to information about police services varied widely across the three communities, with the worst score (1 or very poor) given in Coolblue Gap, the rural community. There was general agreement here that there was not enough access to information about the role of the police.

In Harasson Gardens the score was slightly better (3 or fair). There is a police youth club in this community at which a police representative is always present to provide information on the services and activities of the police. However, most young people in the community did not attend the youth club because they did not trust the police and so their access to information through this channel was limited.

Poyuton Terrace had the highest score for this indicator (5 or very good). The police youth club in this community is very active and this could be a contributory factor. However, young people described access to information as being about more than information provided through the youth club – it was also about being able to go into to the police station and enquire and obtain information and data.

Youth willingness to use police services (e.g. reporting incidents)

The levels of youth willingness to use police services is, perhaps surprisingly given the scores and information for most of the previous indicators, scored very positively. Scores in all three communities were either 4 (good) or 5 (very good). Given the level of trust and police responsiveness indicated above, for instance, it is surprising that young people are willing to report incidents.

However, the narratives provided with the scores indicate a rather different situation. In Harasson Gardens, despite giving a score of 4, young people say they were not willing to report incidents as they fear the police will tell people they have informed. They explained that the police must know the law and act accordingly for willingness to report incidents to increase. There was also a suggestion that the police leadership needed to be better if residents were to more willingly express themselves without fear. They explained that if an Inspector was at the police station then their reports were handled seriously, but that the young police officers took the reports lightly.

In Coolblue Gap, some participants felt that their willingness to use police services would depend on the seriousness of an incident. In some cases community members act as mediators.

Ability of youth to officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour / action

The perceived ability of young people to officially complain about the police appears from the scorecards to be very good in the two urban communities (both scores of 5) but poor (score of 2) in Coolblue Gap.

However, the discussions around these scores indicated a more nuanced reality, with explanations that sometimes appeared to contradict the scores. In Harasson Gardens, for instance, despite a score of 5 and most accepting that this was possible, young people also suggested that there was no one in the community with whom a complaint could be lodged and that most were not aware of the police complaints division, which appears to contradict the score given.

Participants explained that complaints could be made at a nearby police station outside the community and some also said they could contact Mark Shields (Jamaica's Deputy Police Commissioner). However, they also said that it did not make any sense to do so because, while in a few cases they might have a success, generally it was felt that the "police back the police" and do not follow up on complaints.

In Poyuton Terrace, being able to officially complain meant being able to inform on the police and bring them to justice. It also meant being able to speak out about police injustice. Although the score in this community was high, it was explained that it only applied to police in the area.

In rural Coolblue Gap, where the score was lowest, there was general agreement that more information was needed regarding complaining about the police. This links with the very low score given in this community regarding access to information about police services and activities.

Youth willingness to officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour / action

The scores regarding willingness to complain provide interesting results in light of the scores for ability to complain. In Poyuton Terrace, willingness and ability are both scored highly. However, in the other two communities, ability and willingness are ranked very differently.

In Harasson Gardens, whilst respondents gave a score indicating a very good ability to complain, their willingness was scored as very poor. This is an inner city urban community with low levels of trust, poor police youth relations and high levels of violence. Participants explained that although they felt able to complain, they are not willing to risk their life and do so. They elaborated that police work was about a power struggle and that the police used their might to deny rights. Given the evidence from the PEER research regarding the poor (and often violent) treatment of youths by the police in this area, it does not seem surprising that complaining about the police is a high-risk choice they are not willing to take. In Coolblue Gap, the picture is very different. There was a much higher willingness to complain but a very low ability to complain due to poor information and a lack of awareness regarding how.

Hope that police-youth relations can improve

Young people expect the police to perform better and more professionally. However, their personal experiences generally cause them to expect little to change. Some of the youth do not expect anything but brutality. These findings from the PEER research do not, however, prevent some from hoping for improved police youth relations, with females more hopeful than males that relations can change males. In both Poyuton Terrace and Coolblue Gap young people scored their hope that police youth relations could improve as very good (score of 5).

In Harasson Terrace, however, the level of hope that police-youth relations can improve was poor (score of 2). Participants felt there were no reassurance, no protection and no service from the police. However, the poor score did not mean that there was no hope. Some structures were in place through which their voice could be heard but some individuals were not willing to change. Recently a new set of police had arrived and most were young. They played football sometimes and smoked ganja with certain youths. There was hope that this represented a new quality of relationship between the next generation of police and young people.

There was also a finding emerging from the PEER research that youths felt that the police themselves were without hope. They expected the youth to continue hating them.

Young people in all communities felt that only dialogue could create change. The police and youth needed opportunities to meet and develop plans to get youth involved and active in their communities. Whilst this could be done through police youth clubs, the negative perceptions of many young people regarding the police involvement in these, and the risks or problems that occurred as a result, might suggest that other options less formally connected to the police are needed.

4.2 Poverty and power

The PEER research was able to go deeper than the habitual-level diagnostic work done on police-youth relations in the score card sessions to reveal social insights on poverty and power in these communities.¹⁸ The relationship between agency and opportunity structure is played out within communities and underpins the types of everyday relationships between service providers and youth -- that policy makers address. We summarise some of these relations below

Amongst poor urban and rural communities, youth have very little power in the presence of adults

Young people in Jamaica lack agency in their relationships with adults. Youth are described as “forced ripe”, a Jamaican metaphor for fruits or children that seem to mature too quickly but lack quality or substance. There is a contradiction here that while adults may have high expectations of their youth, they fail to invest sufficiently (emotionally, psychologically, materially etc) to allow them to realise those expectations. Young people lack participation in vertically hierarchical forms of decision making. Guns and gangs enable young people to command respect denied them in adult-youth relations.

Within inner city communities, in particular, young people have lost faith in traditional institutions, turning to self-reliance and alternative street/ gang institutions

There are a range of institutions that are common to all the communities but the importance and influence of these institutions varies in its impact on behaviour and outcomes. In the rural community traditional institutions – families, school and church – operate effectively at some levels, providing a supportive, albeit hierarchical, frame of existence and support for youth. This contrasts with the inner city communities where young people have lost faith in traditional institutions and turned to self reliance or alternative social institutions – notably street life and gangs, which bring alternative social and economic structures of opportunity, and have had a major impact on the life choices of youth, with gender playing an extremely important role in mediating these choices.

While schooling is still perceived as fundamentally important institution in framing the life choices of young people, gender is becoming an increasingly significant factor in influencing choices and outcomes

There is a widespread perception amongst young men that there is an institutional bias in favour of girls that influences choices and outcomes. A mix of explanations include the attitude/expectations of educators and other people in power; a less active form of institutional bias that comes through a lack of male role models in school; and a biased investment by parents in their daughters education. As a result, boys are using their agency in choosing not to invest time and effort in education, perceiving that there is no value/return for them. These choices in turn influence decisions about alternative social institutions and support structures that are represented by the street corner and gangs. It seems that some boys recognise that

¹⁸ For more detail please see the PEER report: Gayle H and H Levy, 2007. “Forced Ripe: How Youth of Three Selected Working Class Communities Assess their Identity, Support, and Authority Systems, including their Relationship with the Jamaican Police”, Draft report, unpublished, Kingston, University of the West Indies

education offers a route of social mobility for girls and are even prepared to make a strategic choice to sacrifice their own education in order to give sisters or partners the best chance

Power relations between young men and young women and the use of agency is complex

The PEER research generated an important gendered message about self-esteem and agency. Young men have low self-esteem, partly as a result of school failure and lack of opportunity/stigmatisation; but also by evaluating themselves in relation to better performing girls. Peers interviewed in Coolblue Gap commented for example that some girls even go back to school after the “mistake” of a first pregnancy while men idle at school and many emerge illiterate.

Girls are also imbued with agency in the way that they are able to use their sexuality to negotiate support, a revelation that nuances the conventional narrative in Jamaica as elsewhere that sexuality disempowers young women as they get into high dependency relationships with men, locked in through pregnancy as part of an intergenerational cycle of poverty.

Police-youth relations are at the centre of outsider-insider contact, and are problematic but not intractable

The case of Poyuton Terrace suggests that police-youth interaction and improved communication has an impact on mutual perceptions as evidenced by the community based policy monitoring (score card) activity. Even in Harasson Gardens a new generation of younger police officers are changing their behaviour towards young people. These positive changes are reflected in the finding that young people’s *expectations* of improved police performance are rising, and young people see a way forward through dialogue.

Yet underlying these scores and qualitative discussion of the quality of relationships, the PEER research reveals that beneath these habitual changes, there are deeper seated, structural power relations that are more resistant to change, characterised by lack of trust and suspicion of motives (the idea that police “use youth”), while the power of the police is perceived as corrupted power. Young people do not feel that they are served and protected by police. On the police side the level of power exerted is connected to their own fear and hatred of youth in violent communities.

These power imbalances have gender dimensions. Young women are more likely to feel protected, although with the trade off that male police officers use their power to compete with local male youth for sexual relations with women.

Structural change in this type of insider-outsider contact will be difficult without addressing the institutional distortions. These rules may change slowly through increased interaction and dialogue, but need to go hand in hand with efforts to tackle broader institutional constraints and lack of agency.

5. Conclusions

A mixed method approach to monitoring empowerment was integrated with an ongoing outcome-based monitoring system in poor communities in Jamaica.

The analytical lens for the study brought together two strands of thinking. The first is that everyday interactions are framed by “adaptive preferences” in which consciousness is restricted to habitual interactions. The second is that in order to understand power and create an “enabling environment” for empowerment through policy interventions, we must move from a narrow look at behavioural issues in one locus of interaction (in this case police-youth relations) and instead take a “horizontal slice” across the political, economic and social domains of empowerment.

The methodological vehicle for going “broader and deeper” was to use deep, short-cut ethnographic research, anchored in an accommodating analytical framework to drill below the habitual to reveal the discursive.

Firstly, did the combination of open, group discussion and confidential, trust-based third person ethnography make a significant difference in content and analysis? Certainly it was interesting that the PEER research threw up analysis about deep seated fears and mistrust that either didn’t immediately support the habitual scoring (Coolblue Gap, Poyuton Terrace) or which shed deep diagnostic light on dysfunctional relations (Harassson Gardens).

Secondly, what did this mixed method approach tell us about the reliability of score card data that we didn’t know before? It seems to introduce a new dimension to the significance of context. “Contextuality” here extends from geographical, social and temporal context to include some kind of “consciousness” context, i.e. the distinction between procedural, habitual discussions and discursive consciousness.

Thirdly and finally, did it help with policy recommendations? It is too early to say but it seems that the framework and deep research will enable a policy narrative about “empowering social policy” that will perhaps move the policy framework away from programmatic bundling to a more genuinely strategic perspective on reducing poverty.

The ethnographic study (and the dissemination to date) has a special kind of impact because it adds depth and a “human face” to the numbers and even the fairly brief comments in the CSCs, and thus appeals powerfully to people’s imaginations and emotions.

More than the content of policy recommendations, the *process* of the community-based policy monitoring has energised and engaged many stakeholders in discussions on policy formulation and implementation. Returning from a recent trip to Jamaica to observe the process, Nora Dudwick from the World Bank’s empowerment team wrote

“The response of the relevant agencies to date reveals that the (continuing) score card exercise has impacted policy makers. The Ministry of National Security and the Jamaica Constabulary Force have bought into the process, particularly as it relates to the current rollout of community policing. The Ministry of Education has agreed to address police-youth relations as part of the national youth strategy.

Police-youth relations will be part of the National Security Strategy, and the suggestion was also made that the score cards could be used in the schools as part of the Safe School Project.

The workshop presentation of the qualitative study, "Forced Ripe," was enthusiastically received, in great part because the findings resonated so strongly with the audience members, most of whom are actively working on youth or police related issues. The media, although invited, did not attend, but the session was taped and the draft report is being distributed to interested agencies. Encouragingly, a senior policy analyst at the Ministry of National Security has asked for the electronic copy to be sent to their Multi-Functional Team now working on a new strategy, to start linking the findings to the formulation of policy. At present, the JASPEV team is working with the different ministries to advocate that the model of community based policy monitoring (score cards, facilitated discussions, and peer ethnography) become institutionalized as part of a regular monitoring process.

Annex A: Youth and Police Relations Community Score Cards

A.1 Community score card, Harasson Gardens, April 25th, 2007

Standard Characteristics	Score	Justification	Dialogue Box (Please note any distinction, comments, issues etc.)
Trust	1	The things you hear about the Police allows you not to trust them.	The Police must not fabricate stories: for example do not kill the residents and put a gun on them.
Courtesy and respect	2	It depends on the situation, if you show respect to the Police they will respect you.	Treat the youths in the inner city as how you treat the up town youths.
Fairness	1	Some of the female thinks the Police act fairly, while the majority thinks especially the male that the Police treat inner city youths differently.	Do what you were taught at training school (the Police in Harasson Gardens are mostly young boys)
Responsiveness	3	Too much young and inexperience Police at the station. If you make a complaint someone have to die before they come. Too much complaints, no vehicle, the station door closed from 11:00 p.m. However, some participants said that if you go to the door, they will open it. If a young girl goes to the station and reports an incident about a problem with their male companion, they do not act immediately.	The consensus is that the Police need to be more assertive when complaints are made. Police must take the law seriously. Practice what they were trained to do.
Interaction with youth	2	Lack of communication, Police is afraid, lack of interaction.	If the Police interact with the youths then the level of trust would be improved.
Access to information about police activities and Services	3	"The Police Station opens at 7:00 a.m. and close at 11:00 p.m. "	There is a Police Youth Club in the Community. The meeting is held at the Police Station. Most of the youths do not attend the meeting because they do not trust the Police. At the meeting there is always a Police representative who passes on information on services and activities of the Police.
Willingness to use police services	4	Some participants had good experience. However, some persons felt that there is a level of inequality. The community should create Police leadership that residents are more willing to express themselves without fear. There is a chance to interact with the Police through the Police Youth Club, but not	Police must know the law and act accordingly, due to a lack of trust information leaks.

		<p>many persons attend the meetings. The youths do not have any other leaders, for example a Justice of the Peace that can talk for the youths about injustice. ("the Justice of the Peace run away")</p> <p>Residents are not willing to report incidents in the community; the Police will call the persons and tell them.</p>	
Ability to Officially Complain about inappropriate police behaviour/action	5	<p>The citizens do not trust the Police, they are really not interested.</p> <p>Police do not follow up on complaints. There is no one in the community to lodge a complaint when you are not satisfied with the way the Police treat you. Most youths were not aware of the complaints division of the Police. Those who were said it does not make any sense.</p>	<p>The residents can make complaints at a nearby community. Some of them said that they can also contact Mark Shields. However, some felt that it does not work because Police back Police, but overall most residents accepted that this was possible and in some instances it work.</p>
Willingness to Officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour/Action	1	<p>Although they have the ability to complain the links at the Head Office is very poor, therefore they will not risk their life.</p> <p>Police work is power struggle, they uses might and fight rights</p>	
Hope that Police Youth relations can improve	2	<p>No reassurance, no protection, no service.</p> <p>The structures are in place but participants said that individuals are not willing to change. This goes back to the level of trust the citizens have in the Police. (Hope things will get better before I die; participants said they don't believe in the system).</p>	<p>If the Inspectors are at the Station the reports are handled seriously, but the young police take reports lightly. Some persons however, feel that there is some hope. (using the consultation with JASPEV, Police Youth Club, The CDC and the organized groups as a forum through which their voice would be heard).</p>

A.2 Community score card, Poyuton Terrace, April 27th, 2007

Standard Characteristics	Score	Justification
Trust	4	There was a general agreement that the Officers in the area are very people friendly. One young man argued that some are "too friendly."
Courtesy and respect	5	Two males did not agree that the police in the area were courteous a respectful. They explained that on more than one occasion the police would intentionally disrupt their makeshift football post in the road, without showing any regard for them.
Fairness	4	There was a general agreement that the Police Officers treated youths fairly.
Responsiveness	2	There was a general consensus that the police are very "laid back" and did not respond promptly to emergency calls. One attached male explained that he was once caught in a shootout while coming home from work, he ran to the Poyuton Terrace Police Station but no one would open the grill to let him in. He concluded that all the Officers were afraid.
Interaction with youth	5	
Access to information about police activities and Services	5	
Willingness to use police services	5	
Ability to Officially Complain about inappropriate police behaviour/action	5	Scores only applicable to police assigned to the area
Willingness to Officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour/Action	4	Scores only applicable to police assigned to the area
Hope that Police Youth relations can improve	5	Scores only applicable to police assigned to the area

A.3 Community score card, Coolblue Gap, April 29, 2007

Standard Characteristics	Score	Community Characteristics	Dialogue Box (Please note any distinction, comments, issues etc.)
Trust	4	Youth are willing to make a report to the police. Trust is built based on past experience Low levels of crime facilitate good relationship with the police	Citizens assist with the mediation of disputes Both genders agreed that there is a trusting relationship between the youth and the police (specifically the Coolblue Gap Police since there is general mistrust of the police)
Courtesy and respect	5	Generally exists in the relationship between the police and community members	Young officers tend to be disrespectful and use expletives to youth. Reports made by young men only.
Fairness	4	General agreement that there is some measure of fairness	Both genders agreed that there was not enough experience to judge in this category
Responsiveness	2	Slow response of the police to minor offences	Inadequate resources were pointed out as the cause for the slow response. Community members have to call another station which is far away before getting a response.
Interaction with youth	3	Low levels of police youth interaction	Both genders agreed that there was need for greater interaction between the police and youth and felt that this would further enhance their relationship.
Access to information about police activities and Services	1	Not enough access to information about the role of the police	General agreement
Willingness to use police services	4	General willingness to use police services as it is felt that it is the only way to protect the community.	Some persons felt that their use of police services would depend on the seriousness of the incident. Community members act as mediators.
Ability to Officially Complain about inappropriate police behaviour/action	2	Most persons are aware of proper reporting procedures	General agreement among participants that there is the need for more information in this regard.
Willingness to Officially complain about inappropriate police behaviour/Action	4	There is a willingness to report police misconduct	General agreement among participants
Hope that Police Youth relations can improve	5	General desire for improvement in police youth relations	Though there is a very low level of crime, the youth believe there should be better rapport with the police to strengthen their relationship and build trust.