



A Quantitative Probe into Violent Crimes Committed in Jamaica from 2010 to 2022

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Abstract

Introduction: For centuries, successive rulers and/or governments have sought to address the issue of violence in Jamaica, particularly major crimes (for example, murders, rapes, shootings, and robberies) to no avail. The current degree of violence in Jamaica.

Objective: This research evaluates violent crimes from a more comprehensive perspective to provide Jamaicans with insights into the crime pandemic.

Materials and methods: The current study employs time series data from 2010 to 2022. The research team obtained data on selected violent/major crimes (murders/intentional homicides, robberies, and shootings). The data were obtained from the statistical department of the JCF. Descriptive statistics and per cents were computed on data, and the results were displayed in tables. The research team also performed bivariate analyses in the form of chi-square and analysis of variance, which were also presented in tabular forms.

Findings: The majority of the selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica were in St. Andrew (23.3%, n=13,169), St. Catherine (18.8%, n=10,615), Kingston (12.2%, n=6,901), and St. James (10.8%, n=6,102). Of the 56,456 selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica, the majority of them have been robberies (41.1%, n=23,218) followed by murders (29.9%, n=16,906) and shootings (28.9%, n=16,332). Guns are the most frequently used weapon of choice (81.1%, n=44,971) followed by knives (9.7%, n=5,366). Eight-two and six-tenths per cent of the 54,639 selected violent crimes (i.e., 96.8% of the 56,456) were committed by people on foot followed by cars (9.8%, n=5,359). the murder rate was at its zenith in 2017 (60.37 per 100,000 population) as well as the shooting rate (54.39 per 100,000 population) and 2011 for robberies (114.53 per 100,000 population).

Conclusion: The study is postulating a new thesis, the disintegration of the primary agents of socialization is responsible for the crime monster, and policymakers and researchers should

commence the discourse from the perspective of social control theory to address the crime epidemic.

Keywords: Intentional homicide, murder, robbery, shooting,

Introduction

For centuries, successive rulers and/or governments have sought to address the issue of violence in Jamaica, particularly major crimes (for example, murders, rapes, shootings, and robberies) to no avail. The current degree of violence in Jamaica dates back to the 1800s, with the Sam Sharpe in 1831 and the Morant Bay rebellion in 1865 (Jamaica Information Service (JIS), 2020; Library of Jamaica, nd; Richards, 1866). In the years following Independence in Jamaica (i.e., August 1, 1962), for the first time, the society experienced turf wars and political confrontations between members of the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP). Edmonds (2016) articulated that there were gunfights in 1966, bombings, and physical confrontations between the police and gangsters, which accounted for some 500 injuries, 20 deaths, and 500 police arrests following various police raids.

The 1960s was a precursor to “gangsterism” in Jamaica, and during the 1970s the society began experiencing murder beyond 300 and then in 1980 for the first time since the 1960s there were 889 murders (Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), 2023). The 1990s had a new record in the number of murders as in 1997, there were 1038 intentional homicides (JCF, 2023). The crime situation in the Caribbean had become an epidemic and this was noticed by Caribbean scholars. This led to a conference on crime in Barbados in 1997 to address the new social reality (Harriott, *et al.*, 2004).

The new social reality in the Caribbean saw many scholars examining major/violent crimes (murder, robbery, rape, etc.) because they wanted to understand the phenomenon to solve the problem (Ellis, 1991, 2001; Harriott, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003; Harriott, *et al.*, 2004). According to Professor Harriott a Caribbean criminologist, “The problems of crime and the quality of justice have become central issues in public debate and important public policy concerns in several Caribbean countries. This problem is perhaps most acute in Jamaica which has acquired an unenviable reputation for having a high rate of violent crime” (Harriott, 2000, p. 1). Despite scholars' contribution to crime research, intentional homicide in Jamaica has gradually increased since the 1990s. Using data on murders and rape in Jamaica and New York from 1970 to 2013, Bourne et al. (2105) found that those crimes were greater in Jamaica than in New York, although the human population in the latter is more than 200 times more than that in Jamaica.

The crime pandemic in Jamaica has even come to the attention of the United States government, which has introduced travel advisory warnings against vacating Jamaica (Morgan, 2022). The current Prime of Jamaica, Mr Andrew Holness, has joined in the discussion and had this to say, “Criminals will begin to understand that we are changing the risk-reward dynamic of crime in Jamaica. The probability of being caught is great, the

penalty for crimes is high, and the opportunities and loopholes to escape justice are being closed,” the Prime Minister stated (quoted in Anderson, 2023).

The crime pandemic in Jamaica, particularly major crimes (i.e., murder, shooting, and robbery) continues to be a challenge for governments, and policies appear to be marginally effective in addressing the phenomena. The current researchers have extensively perused the literature, and have found a less holistic framework on selected major crimes in Jamaica. Hence, this research evaluates selected violent crimes from a more comprehensive perspective to provide Jamaicans with insights into the crime pandemic. The research employs Hirschi’s social control theory of crime as its theoretical framework as it allows for reviewing and understanding Jamaica’s crime problem.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework that is used by this study is Hirschi’s social control theory of crime. In 1969, Travis Hirschi developed the social control theory, which forwarded that strong social bonds increase the conformity of people with social groups and as a result decrease social deviance (Hirschi, 1969, 1986; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1994; Nickerson, 2022; 19). The theory forwards that “...people are motivated to and capable of committing crimes without special training” (Nickerson, 2022). She continued that “...people are prevented from committing crimes due to the costs of criminal behavior, monetarily, legally, and in terms of disapproval from people that the offender cares about” (Nickerson, 2022). This means that the bond between family and child/ren or conventional societal institutions is critical in determining social deviance or delinquency (John Jay College of Criminal Justice, nd; Sanders, 1951; Simpson, 1976; Wiatrowski, *et al.*, 1981).

Social control theory, therefore, considers that ties control children’s behaviour and later adulthood with their families and the various institutions in their lives. John Jay College of Criminal Justice (nd) opined, “The need for belonging and attachment to others is fundamental, influencing many behavioral, emotional, and cognitive processes.” It can be deduced from this that socially deviant acts exhibited by people are an indication that they were not properly socialized or there is a need for social belonging and that the family and the other institutions in their lives shaped the behaviour they display. This goes back to the perspective of Durkheim (1947) that social deviance, including criminal behaviours, emerged when the connection between people and society is weak. People’s engagement in criminality, therefore, is a result of issues in social bonding in society, which is supported by research (Wiatrowski, *et al.*, 1981).

John Jay College of Criminal Justice (nd) postulated, “The strength of an individual’s social bonds decreases the propensity for criminal or deviant behavior. In other words, youth are less attracted to criminal behavior when they are involved with others, learning useful skills, being rewarded for using those skills, enjoying strong relationships and forming attachments, and earning the respect of their communities. As these social bonds become internal, they build social control, which deters individuals from committing unlawful acts.” Therefore, the crime epidemic in Jamaica is a result of the challenges in social bonding in the society, and

the failure of the primary agents of socialization to effectively frame a child in the acceptable behaviours of society, which Durkheim explain as mechanical and organic solidarity (Durkheim, 1947; see also, Mechtraud, 1955).

Materials and Methods

The current study employs time series data from 2010 to 2022. The research team obtained data on selected violent/major crimes (murders/intentional homicides, robberies, and shootings). The data were obtained from the statistical department of the JCF. The JCF is the only statutory agent that is responsible for collecting and reporting data on crimes committed and arrests made by police. Each year the statistical department of the JCF collects and distributes data on major crimes in Jamaica. The JCF has an interval mechanism that collects, processes verifies and publishes statistics on major crimes. The statistics for major crimes are in keeping with the established standards of data on major crimes. The purpose of collecting and publishing data on major crimes is to assist policy maker to understanding the status of crimes in society, and for them to employ social intervention programmes to address the crime phenomenon.

The research team obtained the data from the statistical department of the JCF and converted the file from Microsoft Excel to the Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS) for Windows, Version 29.0. The data was stored and prepared for statistical analyses. Descriptive statistics and per cents were computed on data, and the results were displayed in tables. The research team also performed bivariate analyses in the form of chi-square and analysis of variance, which were also presented in tabular forms.

Definition of Terms

Murder/Intentional Homicide - Murder or intentional homicide in Jamaican law is defined as the unlawful killing of a person with intent or malice aforethought. This means that the perpetrator had the specific intent to cause the victim's death or acted with reckless disregard for human life.

Robbery - Robbery in Jamaican law is the unlawful taking of property from another person by force or threat of force.

Shooting - Shooting in Jamaican law is the act of discharging a firearm with the intent to harm another person or property. Shooting may be charged as an offence under various Jamaican statutes such as the Firearms Act or the Offences Against the Person Act.

Violent/Major Crime - Violent/major crime in Jamaican law refers to criminal offences that involve physical harm or threat of harm to a person or property. This includes offences such as murder, robbery, rape, assault, and battery. These crimes are considered serious offences in Jamaica and carry significant penalties.

Findings

Table 1 presents per cent of the numbers of selected violent crimes (murders, robberies, and shootings) that have been committed based on parishes in Jamaica for 13 years (i.e., 2010-2022). The findings revealed that there have been 56,456 selected crimes committed in Jamaica in the last 13 years. The majority of the selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica were in St. Andrew (23.3%, n=13,169), St. Catherine (18.8%, n=10,615), Kingston (12.2%, n=6,901), and St. James (10.8%, n=6,102).

Table 1: Parishes in which selected violent crimes are committed in Jamaica for 2010-2022, n=56,456

Details	% (n)
Kingston: Kingston Central - 3.3 (1883) Kingston East - 4.3 (2430) Kingston West - 4.6 (2588)	12.2 (6,901)
St. Andrew: St Andrew Central - 8.5 (4817) St Andrew North - 5.1 (2857) St Andrew South - 9.7 (5495)	23.3 (13,169)
St Thomas	1.8 (1,043)
Portland	0.9 (503)
St Mary	1.9 (1,091)
St Ann	4.4 (2,492)
Trelawny	1.7 (932)
St James	10.8 (6,102)
Hanover	2.2 (1,243)
Westmoreland	6.5 (3,688)
St Elizabeth	2.9 (1,614)
Manchester	5.2 (2,962)
Clarendon	7.3 (4,101)
St. Catherine: St Catherine North -10.1 (5703) St Catherine South - 8.7 (4912)	18.8 (10,615)

Table 2 presents per cent of selected violent crimes (murder, robbery, and shooting) in Jamaica based on the policing divisions. Of the 56, 456 selected violent crimes (i.e., murder, robbery, and shooting) committed in Jamaica in 23 years, 3 in every 10 of the selected violent crimes were committed in Area 4.

Table 2: Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) Policing Divisions in Jamaica

Details	% (n)
Area 1: (Trelawny, St James, Hanover, Westmoreland)	21.2 (11965)
Area 2: (St Ann, St Mary, Portland)	7.2 (4086)
Area 3: (St Elizabeth, Manchester, Clarendon)	15.4 (8677)
Area 4: (Kingston East, Kingston Central, Kingston West, St Andrew South, St Andrew Central)	30.5 (17213)
Area 5: (St Andrew North, St Catherine South, St Catherine North, St Thomas)	25.7 (14515)
Total	56,456

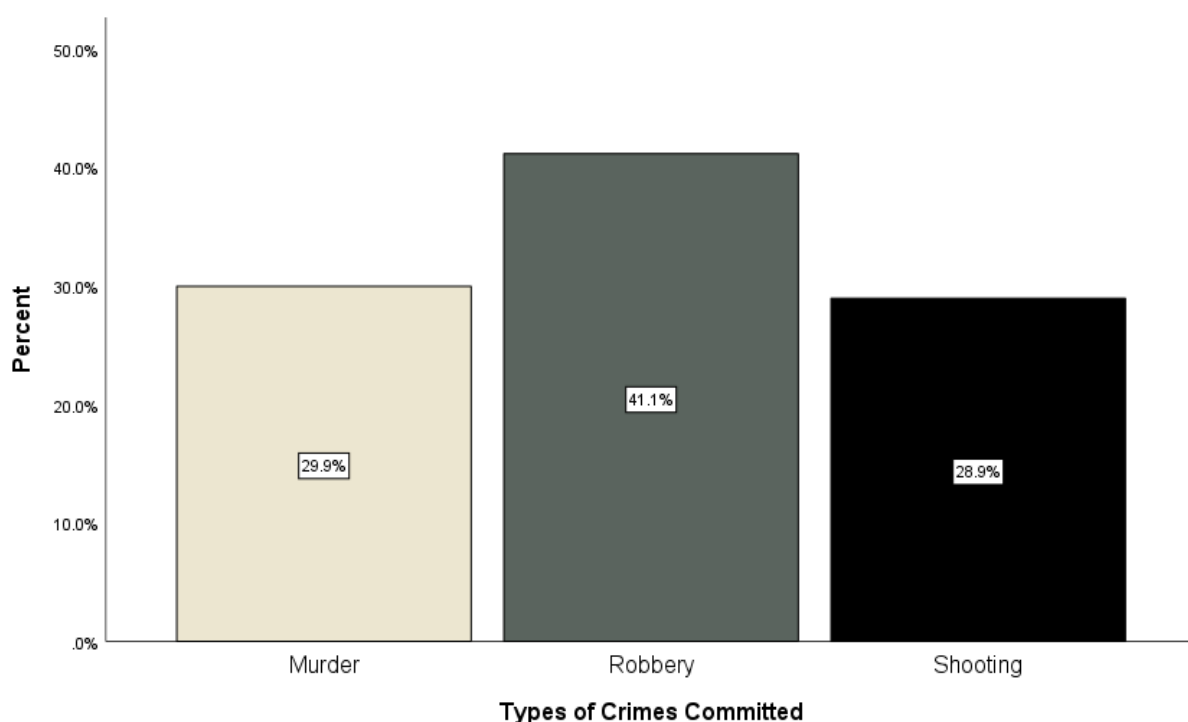


Figure 1: Types of Selected Violent Crimes Committed in Jamaica

Figure 1 depicts a bar graph with the per cent of selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica in the last 13 years (2000 – 2022). Of the 56,456 selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica, the majority of them have been robberies (41.1%, n=23218) followed by murders (29.9%, n=16,906) and shootings (28.9%, n=16,332).

Table 3 presents per cent of particular weapons used and mode of travel in committing selected violent crimes (murder, robbery, and shooting) in Jamaica from 2010 to 2022. Of the 56,456 selected violent crimes committed in Jamaica from 2000 to 2023, guns are the most frequently used weapon of choice (81.1%, n=44,971) followed by knives (9.7%, n=5,366).

Eight-two and six-tenths per cent of the 54,639 selected violent crimes (i.e., 96.8% of the 56,456) were committed by people on foot followed by cars (9.8%, n=5,359).

Table 3: Weapons used and mode of travel to commit selected violent crimes in Jamaica

Details	% (n)	Details	% (n)
Weapons used:		Mode of Travel:	
Bottle	0.001803 (1)	Foot	82.6 (45,146)
Concrete	0.001803 (1)		
Gun	81.07558 (44,971)	Car	9.8 (5,359)
Ice Pick	0.057691 (32)		
Knife	9.674046 (5,366)	Van/Truck	0 .1 (47)
Machete	1.355737 (752)		
Others	7.168097 (3,976)	Bus	0.2 (112)
Personal	0.007211 (4)		
Scissors	0.043268 (24)	Motorcycle	2.6 (1,411)
Stone	0.046874 (26)		
Unarmed	0.200115 (111)	Bicycle	0.6 (341)
Unknown	0.36778 (204)	Unknown	4.1 (2,223)
Total	55468	Total	54,639

Table 4 presents per cent of day, month and year-selected violent crimes that were committed in Jamaica from 2010 to 2022. The findings revealed that most murders, robberies, and shootings occur on Fridays (9.1%, n=9,102), Saturdays (16.1%, n=9,100), October (8.9%, n=5,011), January (8.8%, n=4,973), and in 2020 (10.3%). In 2010, there were 5,830 murders, robberies, and shootings that occurred in Jamaica and this has declined by 43.7% (n=2,545). Furthermore, in 2010, 16 people were victims of murder, shooting, and robbery daily which declined to 9 daily in 2022.

Table 4: Day, Month, and Year selected violent crimes were committed in Jamaica

Details	% (n)	Details	% (n)	Details	% (n)	Daily
Day:		Month:		Year		
Sunday	12.1 (6,820)	January	8.8 (4,973)	2010	10.3 (5,830)	16
Monday	13.8 (7,802)	February	8.0 (4,542)	2011	9.9 (5,584)	15
Tuesday	13.8 (7,798)	March	8.7 (4,915)	2012	9.1 (5,122)	14
Wednesday	14.0 (7,894)	April	8.0 (4,512)	2013	9.1 (5,120)	14
Thursday	14.1(7,940)	May	8.6 (4,858)	2014	7.8 (4,378)	12
Friday	16.1 (9,102)	June	8.2 (4,617)	2015	7.4 (4,203)	12
Saturday	16.1 (9,100)	July	8.0 (4,515)	2016	7.1 (4,012)	11
		August	8.3 (4,688)	2017	7.8 (4,407)	12
		September	8.2 (4,657)	2018	6.3 (3,549)	10
		October	8.9 (5,011)	2019	6.7 (3,780)	10
		November	8.7 (4,918)	2020	6.5 (3,676)	10

		December	7.5 (4,250)	2021	6.2 (3,510)	10
				2022	5.8 (3,285)	9
Total	56456		56456		56456	

Table 5 presents a cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the police classification of the country. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a significant statistical relationship emerged between the two aforementioned variables ($\chi^2(8) = 1,638.988, P < 0.001$). The majority of selected violent crimes were committed in Area 4 (murders, 27.8%, $n=4693$), robberies (31.0%, $n=7202$), and shootings (32.6%, $n=5318$). For a further disaggregation of the police classification and the types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica for the last 13 years, this is presented in the Appendix.

Table 5: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and police classification of the country

Details	selected major crimes committed			Total
	Murder	Robbery	Shooting	
Police classification:	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
Area 1 (Trelawny, St. James, Hanover, & Westmoreland)	26.8 (4528)	13.8 (3202)	25.9 (4235)	21.2 (11,965)
Area 2 (St. Ann, St. Mary, & Portland)	6.9 (1162)	9.0 (2099)	5.1 (825)	7.2 (4,086)
Area 3 (St. Elizabeth, Manchester, & Clarendon)	14.0 (2360)	18.6 (4316)	12.3 (2001)	15.4 (8,677)
Area 4 (Kingston & St. Andrew (Except St. Andrew North)	27.8 (4693)	31.0 (7202)	32.6 (5318)	30.5 (17,213)
Area 5 (St. Catherine, St. Thomas, & St. Andrew North)	24.6 (4163)	27.6 (6399)	24.2 (3953)	25.7 (14,515)
Total	16906	23218	16332	56456

Table 6 presents a cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the day the crimes were committed. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a statistical relationship emerged between the two previously stated variables ($\chi^2(12) = 233.205, P < 0.001$). The findings revealed that 16.0% of the murders occurred on a Saturday compared to 16.4% of the robberies, and 15.7% of the shootings. The majority of murders and shootings in Jamaica were committed on a Saturday (16.0%, $n=2713$; 15.7%, respectively) and the robberies were on a Friday (17.6%).

Table 6: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the Day of week committed

Day-committed	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Sunday	2331	13.8	2295	9.9	2194	13.4	6820	12.1
Monday	2323	13.7	3236	13.9	2243	13.7	7802	13.8
Tuesday	2262	13.4	3263	14.1	2273	13.9	7798	13.8

Wednesday	2469	14.6	3202	13.8	2223	13.6	7894	14.0
Thursday	2308	13.7	3308	14.2	2324	14.2	7940	14.1
Friday	2500	14.8	4097	17.6	2505	15.3	9102	16.1
Saturday	2713	16.0	3817	16.4	2570	15.7	9100	16.1
Total	16906	100.0	23218	100.0	16332	100.0	56456	100.0

Table 7 presents a cross-tabulation between the types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the months the crimes were committed. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a statistical relationship emerged between the two previously stated variables ($\chi^2(22) = 61.057, P < 0.001$). The findings revealed that 9.7% of the murders occurred in May compared to 8.1% of the robberies, and 8.8% of the shootings. The majority of murders in Jamaica were committed in May (9.1%, n=1537), the robberies were in January, March, and October (9.0%), and the shootings were in October (8.9%, n=1454).

Table 7: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and Month-committed

Month-committed	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
January	1467	8.7	2085	9.0	1421	8.7	4973	8.8
February	1253	7.4	2017	8.7	1272	7.8	4542	8.0
March	1447	8.6	2085	9.0	1383	8.5	4915	8.7
April	1305	7.7	1906	8.2	1301	8.0	4512	8.0
May	1537	9.1	1883	8.1	1438	8.8	4858	8.6
June	1407	8.3	1847	8.0	1363	8.3	4617	8.2
July	1396	8.3	1819	7.8	1300	8.0	4515	8.0
August	1478	8.7	1852	8.0	1358	8.3	4688	8.3
September	1408	8.3	1836	7.9	1413	8.7	4657	8.2
October	1473	8.7	2084	9.0	1454	8.9	5011	8.9
November	1473	8.7	2033	8.8	1412	8.6	4918	8.7
December	1262	7.5	1771	7.6	1217	7.5	4250	7.5
Total	16906	100.0	23218	100.0	16332	100.0%	56456	100.0

Table 8 presents a cross-tabulation between the types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the year the crimes were committed. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a statistical relationship emerged between the two previously stated variables ($\chi^2(24) = 3344.689, P < 0.001$). The findings revealed that 9.7% of the murders occurred in 2017 compared to 5.5% of the robberies, and 9.1% of the shootings. The majority of murders in Jamaica were committed in 2017 (9.7%, n=1647), the robberies were in 2012 (13.3%), and the shootings were in 2014 (9.4%, n=1528).

Table 8: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and Year-committed

Year-committed	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
2010	1446	8.6	2856	12.3	1528	9.4	5830	10.3%
2011	1133	6.7	3097	13.3	1354	8.3	5584	9.9%
2012	1102	6.5	2773	11.9	1247	7.6	5122	9.1%
2013	1201	7.1	2674	11.	1245	7.6	5120	9.1%
2014	1005	5.9	2269	9.8	1104	6.8	4378	7.8%
2015	1208	7.1	1918	8.3	1077	6.6	4203	7.4%
2016	1354	8.0	1432	6.2	1226	7.5	4012	7.1%
2017	1647	9.7	1276	5.5	1484	9.1	4407	7.8%
2018	1287	7.6	1097	4.7	1165	7.1	3549	6.3%
2019	1332	7.9	1200	5.2	1248	7.6	3780	6.7%
2020	1333	7.9	1026	4.4	1317	8.1	3676	6.5%
2021	1474	8.7	773	3.3	1263	7.7	3510	6.2%
2022	1384	8.2	827	3.6	1074	6.6	3285	5.8%
Total	16906	100.0	23218	100.0	16332	100.0	56456	100.0

Table 9 presents the populations of Jamaica, numbers of the types of crimes, and murder, robbery and shooting rates by year. For the studied period (2010-2022), the murder rate was at its zenith in 2017 (60.37 per 100,000 population) as well as the shooting rate (54.39 per 100,000 population) and 2011 for robberies (114.53 per 100,000 population).

Table 9: Population for Jamaica, number of the types of crimes, and murder, robbery and shooting rates by year

Year	Population ^{1,2}	Types of Crimes			Total	Rates		
		Murder	Robbery	Shooting		Murder/100,000	Robbery/100,000	Shooting/100,000
		N	N	N				
2010	2,695,543	1446	2856	1528	5830	53.64	105.95	56.69
2011	2,704,133	1133	3097	1354	5584	41.90	114.53	50.07
2012	2,711,476	1102	2773	1247	5122	40.64	102.27	45.99
2013	2,717,862	1201	2674	1245	5120	44.19	98.39	45.81
2014	2,723,246	1005	2269	1104	4378	36.90	83.32	40.54
2015	2,727,328	1208	1918	1077	4203	44.29	70.33	39.49
2016	2,728,969	1354	1432	1226	4012	49.62	52.47	44.93
2017	2,728,339	1647	1276	1484	4407	60.37	46.77	54.39
2018	2,726,667	1287	1097	1165	3549	47.20	40.23	42.73
2019	2,726,667	1332	1200	1248	3780	48.85	44.01	45.77
2020	2,820,436	1333	1026	1317	3676	47.26	36.38	46.69
2021	2,827,695	1474	773	1263	3510	52.13	27.34	44.67
2022	2,827,377	1384	827	1074	3285	48.95	29.25	37.99
		16906	23218	16332	56456			

^{1,2}Population figures for 2010 to 2019 were taken from the Statistical Institute of Jamaica

^{1,2}Population figures for 2020 to 2022 were taken from <https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/JAM/jamaica/population-growth-rate>

Table 10 presents a cross-tabulation between the types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the weapon used to commit the crimes. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a statistical relationship emerged between the two previously stated variables ($\chi^2(22) = 6979.702, P < 0.001$). The findings revealed that 79.1% (n=13341) of the murders were committed by guns compared to 68.7% of the robberies, and all of the shootings. The majority of murders in Jamaica were committed by guns (79.1%, n=13341) as well as robberies (68.7%, n=16310), and shootings (100.0%, n=16310). Nevertheless, different weapons were used to carry out some murders and robberies (see Table 10).

Table 10: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and Weapon used to commit the crime

Weapon used	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bottle	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
Concrete	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	0.0
Gun	13341	79.1	15320	68.7	16310	100.0	44971	81.1
Ice Pick	7	0.0	25	0.1	0	0.0	32	0.1
Knife	1594	9.5	3770	16.9	2	0.0	5366	9.7
Machete	571	3.4	181	0.8	0	0.0	752	1.4
Others	1249	7.4	2725	12.2	2	0.0	3976	7.2
Personal	0	0.0	4	0.0	0	0.0	4	0.0
Scissors	9	0.1	15	0.1	0	0.0	24	0.0
Stone	19	0.1	7	0.0	0	0.0	26	0.0
Unarmed	3	0.0	108	0.5	0	0.0	111	0.2
Unknown	72	0.4	131	0.6	1	0.0	204	0.4
Total	16867	100.0	22286	100.0	16315	100.0	55468	100.0

Table 11 presents a cross-tabulation between the types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the mode of travel used to commit the crimes. Using the chi-square analytic technique, a statistical relationship emerged between the two previously stated variables ($\chi^2(12) = 2621.729, P < 0.001$). The findings revealed that 80.4% (n=13068) of the murders were committed on foot compared to 84.1% (n=19069) of the robberies, and 82.7% (n=13009) of the shootings. The majority of murders in Jamaica were committed on foot (80.4%, n=13068), 84.1% (84.1%, n=19069) of the robberies and 82.7% of the shootings (n=13009). Nevertheless, other modes of travel were used to carry out some of the murders and robberies (see Table 11).

Table 11: Cross-tabulation between types of selected major crimes committed in Jamaica and the mode of travel used to commit the crime

Mode of travel used to commit the crime	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Foot	13068	80.4	19069	84.1	13009	82.7	45146	82.6
Car	1162	7.2	2485	11.0	1712	10.9	5359	9.8
Van/Truck	12	0.1	22	0.1	13	0.1	47	0.1
Bus	21	0.1	64	0.3	27	0.2	112	0.2
Motorcycle	290	1.8	618	2.7	503	3.2	1411	2.6
Bicycle	29	0.2	237	1.0	75	0.5	341	0.6
Unknown	1666	10.3	171	0.8	386	2.5	2223	4.1
Total	16248	100.0	22666	100.0	15725	100.0	54639	100.0

Of the sampled respondents (n=56456), 99.85% of them were used to provide data on locations in which the crimes (murder, robbery, shooting) occurred in Jamaica between 1999 and 2021 (Table 12). The majority of the selected crimes were committed on the roadways (street, tract, alley, avenue, highway, and other roadways, 49.9%). Furthermore, 14.6% of murders, robberies, and shootings occurred in and around the dwellings followed by premises (6.4%).

Table 12: Location of Selected Crimes in Jamaica, 2000-2022

Details	N	%
Roadways (street, tract, alley, avenue, highway, other roads)	28129	49.89977
Premises (i.e., building, construction site, gate, unfinished houses)	3614	6.411098
Dwellings (i.e., in-house, outside-house, yard)	8238	14.6139
Shop (corner shop, mini-mart)	1987	3.524862
Bar and Lounge	1620	2.873818
Gas Station	170	0.301574
Bus stop	85	0.150787
Bus/taxi terminus/stand	77	0.136595
Bushes	335	0.594277
Open lot	279	0.494935
Police station (lock up, compound, etc.)	28	0.049671
Market	171	0.303347
Park	150	0.266094
Parking lot	62	0.109986
Supermarket	110	0.195136
Vehicle (bus, car, truck)	165	0.292704
Public space	3216	5.705061
Church (inside and compound)	68	0.120629

Other places	585	1.037768
Plaza	448	0.794735
School	226	0.400915
Beauty Salon (barbershop, etc)	93	0.164978
Entertainment sites (parties, clubs, etc.)	217	0.38495
Sea/beach	203	0.360114
Farm	200	0.354792
Business places (including cash wash sites)	691	1.225808
Hotel (resort, guesthouse, etc.)	104	0.184492
Football field/playground	92	0.163204
Restaurant	145	0.257224
Gambling store	28	0.049671
Rivers sinkholes, swamps	104	0.184492
Cemetery	29	0.051445
Gully (inside and bank)	78	0.138369
Canefield	39	0.069185
Garage	65	0.115308
Transport Centre	26	0.046123
ATM	18	0.031931
Train line	21	0.037253
Not specified	4455	7.903
Total	56371	100.0

Table 13 presents a cross-tabulation between types of selected crimes (murder, robbery, and shooting) and location crimes committed from 2000 to 2022. The findings revealed that 44% of the intentional homicide in Jamaica that occurred from 2000 to 2022 were committed on various roadways compared to 53.6% of the robberies, and 50.7% of the shootings (χ^2 (DF = 76) = 2218.174, $P < 0.0001$), with more results presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Cross-tabulation between types of selected crimes (murder, robbery, and shooting) and location crime committed

Location	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting		N	%
	N	%	N	%	N	%		
Roadways (street, tract, alley, avenue, highway, other roads)	7426	44.0	12433	53.6	8270	50.7	28129	49.89977
Premises (i.e., building, construction site, gate, unfinished houses)	1056	6.3	1595	6.9	963	5.9	3614	6.411098

Dwellings (i.e., in-house, outside-house, yard)	2885	17.1	2836	12.2	2517	15.4	8238	14.61390
Shop (corner shop, mini-mart)	709	4.2	676	2.9	602	3.7	1987	3.524862
Bar and Lounge	447	2.6	779	3.4	394	2.4	1620	2.873818
Gas Station	26	0.2	113	0.5	31	0.2	170	0.301574
Bus stop	3	0.0	78	0.3	4	0.0	85	0.150787
Bus/taxi terminus/stand	21	0.1	42	0.2	14	0.1	77	0.136595
Bushes	228	1.4	62	0.3	45	0.3	335	0.594277
Open lot	151	0.9	75	0.3	53	0.3	279	0.494935
Police station (lock up, compound, etc.)	14	0.1	5	0.0	9	0.1	28	0.049671
Market	87	0.5	51	0.2	33	0.2	171	0.303347
Park	32	0.2	89	0.4	29	0.2	150	0.266094
Parking lot	20	0.1	32	0.1	10	0.1	62	0.109986
Supermarket	8	0.0	86	0.4	16	0.1	110	0.195136
Vehicle (bus, car, truck)	28	0.2	116	0.5	21	0.1	165	0.292704
Public space	1229	7.3	765	3.3	1222	7.5	3216	5.705061
Church (inside and compound)	18	0.1	40	0.2	10	0.1	68	0.120629
Other places	167	1.0	260	1.1	158	1.0	585	1.037768
Plaza	93	0.6	277	1.2	78	0.5	448	0.794735
School	36	0.2	162	0.7	28	0.2	226	0.400915
Beauty Salon (barbershop, etc.)	41	0.2	29	0.1	23	0.1	93	0.164978
Entertainment sites (parties, clubs, etc.)	82	0.5	60	0.3	75	0.5	217	0.384950
Sea/beach	68	0.4	103	0.4	32	0.2	203	0.360114
Farm	89	0.5	54	0.2	57	0.3	200	0.354792
Business places (including cash wash sites)	121	0.7	445	1.9	125	0.8	691	1.225808
Hotel (resort, guesthouse, etc.)	21	0.1	72	0.3	11	0.1	104	0.184492
Football field/playground	45	0.3	15	0.1	32	0.2	92	0.163204
Restaurant	46	0.3	70	0.3	29	0.2	145	0.257224

Gambling store	9	0.1	13	0.1	6	0.0	28	0.049671
River, sinkhole, swamp	72	0.4	19	0.1	13	0.1	104	0.184492
Cemetery	17	0.1	5	0.0	7	0.0	29	0.051445
Gully (inside and bank)	52	0.3	8	0.0	18	0.1	78	0.138369
Canefield	32	0.2	5	0.0	2	0.0	39	0.069185
Garage	24	0.1	19	0.1	22	0.1	65	0.115308
Transport Centre	7	0.0	17	0.1	2	0.0	26	0.046123
ATM	1	0.0	15	0.1	2	0.0	18	0.031931
Train line	11	0.1	4	0.0	6	0.0	21	0.037253
Not specified	1463	8.7	1656	7.1	1336	8.2	4455	7.903
Total	16885	100.0	23181	100.0	16305	100.0	56371	100.0

Table 14 presents the number of murders, robberies, and shootings committed in Jamaica daily by year. The findings revealed that since 2018, there have been four murders committed daily in Jamaica, which is one every 6 hours. However, between 2010 and 2016, 3 murders were recorded daily, which is one every 8 hours. As it relates to robberies, from 2010 to 2012, 8 robberies were committed daily which means one every 3 hours. This has declined to one robbery every 12 hours since 2021. Generally, shootings have been somewhat stable with three days or one every 8 hours.

Table 14: Number of murders, robberies, and shootings committed in Jamaica daily by Year

	Types of Crimes		
	Murder	Robbery	Shooting
	N	N	N
2010	4	8	4
2011	3	8	4
2012	3	8	3
2013	3	7	3
2014	3	6	3
2015	3	5	3
2016	4	4	3
2017	5	3	4
2018	4	3	3
2019	4	3	3
2020	4	3	4
2021	4	2	3
2022	4	2	3

Discussion

Major/violent crimes, particularly murders/intentional homicide, have become an epidemic in Jamaica. Jamaica has a human population of fewer than 3 million people, yet it is among the top ten most murderous societies in the world and 2020 as well as 2022, it was the second most murderous nation (Statista, 2022; WorldAtlas, 2020; World Population Review, 2023). In 2019, the World Health Organization (2021) reported that the homicide rate in Jamaica was 50.34 per 100,000, which is marginally greater than the 48.85 per 100,000 of the current study. Using the current study, in 2019, one person is murdered every 8 hours in Jamaica (i.e., 4 daily), and this has been the case for some time. Unlike previous studies on major crimes, especially murders, robberies, and shootings, this research provides a comprehensive analysis of those phenomena including place and mode of acts.

The murder epidemic in Jamaica has its roots in slavery, and many prime ministers have sought to address the matter and have even called for international assistance (CARICOM, 2015; Jamaica Information Service, 2010); O'Shaughnessy, 1976; The Gleaner, 2022). The current Prime of Jamaica, Mr Andrew Holness, has joined in the discussion and had this to say, "Criminals will begin to understand that we are changing the risk-reward dynamic of crime in Jamaica. The probability of being caught is great, the penalty for crimes is high, and the opportunities and loopholes to escape justice are being closed," the Prime Minister stated (quoted in Anderson, 2023). Despite the approaches to address the crime epidemic in Jamaica, many Prime Ministers, dating back to the 1970s, have not been able to effectively reduce this phenomenon.

Harriott (2000) postulated, "While the problems are becoming progressively more complicated, the institutions of the criminal justice system are largely working with the traditional tools and on the inertia of tradition" (p. 1). Historically, many scholars have established that poverty is a correlate of major crimes (Ellis, 1992; Levy, 2012; The University of the West Indies, nd; Robotham, 2003; United Nations and World Bank, 2007; World Bank, 1997), and this accounts for how social interventions were designed and implemented by policymakers. Bourne (2011) objectively established that poverty was not a correlate of major crimes in Jamaica, which explains why the poverty-social intervention programmes have not been effective in addressing the crime epidemic.

This study is forwarding the primary agents of socialization (i.e., parents, church, school, and media) and not the traditional perspective of poverty should be used to address the crime problem. The employment of social control theory to explain the crime epidemic in Jamaica offers the ideal rationale for the state of society, and why poverty-social intervention programmes have not worked. To support the current thesis that major crimes are influenced by social institutions (family, school, church, and media), this study found that 14.61% of all murders, robberies and shootings occurred in homes (i.e., 17.1% of all murders, 12.2% of robberies, and 15.4% of the shootings). Furthermore, 82.6% of all murders, robberies and shootings were carried out on foot (i.e., 80.4% of the murders, 84.1% of all the robberies, and 82.7% of the shootings), and this would indicate that people are known by each other.

The various primary agents of socialization have not adequately and properly socialized Jamaicans, particularly the males. The rationale for the previously mentioned perspective is the fact that the acts are committed in a personalized manner, on foot. Travis Hirschi developed the social control theory, which forwarded that strong social bonds increase the conformity of people with social groups and as a result decrease social deviance (Hirschi, 1969, 1986; Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1983; Nickerson, 2022; 19), which means that high major crimes committed in Jamaica are as a result the lack of socialization of the primary agents of socialization.

Conclusion

The crime epidemic in Jamaica holds its genesis in the plantation society. The plantation society is responsible for the disintegration of the family structure, and after Independence on August 6, 1962, no emphasis was placed on restoring and upholding the family units. With a limited emphasis on the family units, other primary agents of socialization such as the church and school took on much of the responsibility of grooming and socializing Jamaicans. With time, the disintegration of the family unit blossomed in those institutions, and the by-product of this reality is the crime epidemic.

Although policymakers recognized the need to address the crime phenomenon, they sought to address this from the vantage point of poverty. Bourne (2011) opined that poverty was not correlated/associated with major crime, which explains why all the poverty-social intervention programmes were ineffective in combating the high crime rates. The crime epidemic has escalated to the point where Jamaica is among the top two most murderous nations in the world.

The study is postulating a new thesis, the disintegration of the primary agents of socialization is responsible for the crime monster, and policymakers and researchers should commence the discourse from the perspective of social control theory to address the crime epidemic.

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Appendix

Police Classification and Types of Crimes Committed in Jamaica								
Division	Types of Crimes						Total	
	Murder		Robbery		Shooting			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Clarendon	1485	8.8%	1463	6.3%	1153	7.1%	4101	7.3%
Hanover	537	3.2%	262	1.1%	444	2.7%	1243	2.2%
Kingston Central	516	3.1%	805	3.5%	562	3.4%	1883	3.3%
Kingston East	729	4.3%	909	3.9%	792	4.8%	2430	4.3%
Kingston West	924	5.5%	523	2.3%	1141	7.0%	2588	4.6%
Manchester	528	3.1%	1919	8.3%	515	3.2%	2962	5.2%
Portland	141	0.8%	277	1.2%	85	0.5%	503	0.9%
St Andrew Central	930	5.5%	3028	13.0%	859	5.3%	4817	8.5%
St Andrew North	688	4.1%	1486	6.4%	683	4.2%	2857	5.1%
St Andrew South	1594	9.4%	1937	8.3%	1964	12.0%	5495	9.7%
St Ann	642	3.8%	1347	5.8%	503	3.1%	2492	4.4%
St Catherine North	1696	10.0%	2475	10.7%	1532	9.4%	5703	10.1%
St Catherine South	1415	8.4%	2062	8.9%	1435	8.8%	4912	8.7%
St Elizabeth	347	2.1%	934	4.0%	333	2.0%	1614	2.9%
St James	2378	14.1%	1576	6.8%	2148	13.2%	6102	10.8%
St Mary	379	2.2%	475	2.0%	237	1.5%	1091	1.9%
St Thomas	364	2.2%	376	1.6%	303	1.9%	1043	1.8%
Trelawny	314	1.9%	350	1.5%	268	1.6%	932	1.7%
Westmoreland	1299	7.7%	1014	4.4%	1375	8.4%	3688	6.5%
Total	16906	100.0%	23218	100.0%	16332	100.0%	56456	100.0%