
CENTRE FOR LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE
DEPARTMENT OF GOVERNMENT
UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES, MONA

Probing Jamaica's Political Culture

*Main trends in the July-August 2006
Leadership and Governance Survey*

Lawrence Alfred Powell, Ph.D.
Polling Director, Centre for Leadership and Governance
Department of Government, UWI

in collaboration with
Paul Bourne, M.S., Department of Sociology, UWI
Lloyd Waller, Ph.D., Department of Government, UWI

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. TAKING THE DEMOCRATIC PULSE OF THE NATION | 3 |
| 1.1 The Centre for Leadership and Governance | 3 |
| 1.2 The biannual Leadership and Governance surveys | 4 |
| 2. CIVIC CULTURE AND ORIENTATIONS TO DEMOCRACY | 6 |
| 2.1 Trends in citizen support for basic democratic norms | 7 |
| 2.2 Orientations to democratic vs authoritarian governance | 14 |
| 3. TRUST AND CONFIDENCE AS ‘SOCIAL CAPITAL’ | 20 |
| 3.1 Interpersonal trust. | 21 |
| 3.2 Trust in government. | 23 |
| 3.3 Confidence in societal and political institutions. | 24 |
| 4. CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF WELL-BEING | 26 |
| 4.1 Economic well-being: personal. | 27 |
| 4.2 Economic well-being: national. | 34 |
| 4.3 Psychosocial well-being: need satisfaction | 37 |
| 5. PREFERENCES FOR PRIVATE VS. PUBLIC SECTOR SOLUTIONS | 40 |
| 5.1 Most important national problems/priorities. | 42 |
| 5.2 Individual vs government responsibility for problem solution | 43 |
| 5.3 Preferences for public/private, state/market solutions | 44 |
| 6. PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME, CORRUPTION, UNEQUAL TREATMENT | 48 |
| 6.1 Crime and police protection. | 49 |
| 6.2 Perceptions of corruption. | 53 |
| 6.3 Equal treatment before the law | 60 |
| 7. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT | 62 |
| 7.1 Political participation - conventional and unconventional forms. | 63 |
| 7.2 Civic engagement via mass media and information technologies | 65 |
| 8. LEADERSHIP, PARTY, AND ELECTORAL PREFERENCES | 66 |
| 8.1 Views of prominent national leaders. | 68 |
| 8.2 Party preferences. | 72 |
| 8.3 Electoral preferences. | 75 |
| 9. A PREVIEW OF THE ‘SECOND’ LEADERSHIP & GOVERNANCE SURVEY | 79 |
| REFERENCES | 80 |
| APPENDIX A: SAMPLING DESIGN & SURVEY ADMINISTRATION | 85 |
| APPENDIX B: THE JULY-AUGUST 2006 QUESTIONNAIRE | 87 |

TAKING THE DEMOCRATIC PULSE OF THE NATION

1.1 The Centre for Leadership and Governance

In December 2005, the UWI-Mona Academic Board approved the establishment of the Centre for Leadership and Governance, following amendment and endorsement of a proposal from Professor Trevor Munroe by the Strategic Transformation Team, the F&GPC, the Department of Government, and the Faculty of Social Sciences. The mandate of the new Centre is to contribute to the strategic transformation of the University of the West Indies by strengthening the Mona Campus' responsiveness to national needs, broadening graduate student training in policy-relevant research, enriching instructional material for Faculty of Social Sciences courses, and enhancing the University's interaction with the society on leadership and governance issues. More specifically, the objectives of the Centre are:

- i. To conduct policy-relevant and policy-specific research on annually agreed issues driven by national priorities, as determined by the Centre's directorate in consultation with the leadership of the Parliament, civil society and the private sector.
 - ii. To provide policy research services for parliamentarians, civil society and the private sector in tandem with the annual parliamentary legislative agenda.
 - iii. To encourage student participation in research activities through research papers or internships at both the undergraduate and graduate levels, and to have its publications incorporated into the book lists and teaching materials of relevant courses in the Faculty of Social Sciences.
 - iv. To develop a governance structure under the joint aegis of the Department of Government and the Mona School of Business and including an independent advisory committee with stakeholder participation.
 - v. To host forums / training sessions on transformational leadership by regional and international experts in governance for key leaders in the corporate and public sectors as well as in civil society.
 - vi. To conduct public opinion polls at specified intervals on national matters related to democratic leadership, policy and governance.
-

1.2 *The biannual Leadership and Governance surveys*

In our day to day analysis of social behaviour, political behaviour, and economic behaviour...we rarely examine explicitly the norms and values which determine, underpin and help to shape the character and essence of those economic and social structures. We treat values and norms as dependent variables caused by history, culture and institutions rather than as critical forces or independent variables that shape human behaviour and guide the predominant personality traits evident in a culture. Carl Stone, "Values, Norms and Personality Development in Jamaica", 1992.

In July-August 2006, a team headed by Dr. Lawrence Alfred Powell and coordinated by Dr. Lloyd Waller, under the general supervision of Professor Trevor Munroe and Professor Anthony Harriott, all of the Department of Government, conducted the first of a series of biannual national surveys designed to tap the Jamaican people's basic orientations to leadership, governance, and democracy. Following the academically-based polling tradition of the late Professor Carl Stone, the team mandated that these biannual surveys should attempt to go considerably "deeper" in their probing of such orientations than is ordinarily the case with the periodic national polls conducted by polling organizations geared towards mass media outlets--which tend to focus on temporal issues of the day rather than on systematically tracking longer-term social indicators and fundamental citizen orientations to democratic governance over time.

The L&G team further decided that the most productive way to achieve these appropriate levels of "depth" would be to bifurcate the annual survey. The first of the two surveys administered each year will be an "orientations to democratic leadership and governance" survey--tracking issues of ongoing citizen support for basic democratic norms, electoral/party orientations, and economic policy preferences, with the second each year being a "national values" survey that focuses a bit more deeply (in terms of sociological, historical, anthropological and psychological variables of ongoing interest to social scientists) on the "social roots" of Jamaican cultural and democratic trends (in the way that, e.g., Inglehart has attempted with the World Values studies).

What this bifurcated approach allows us to do is to ask roughly twice as many potent questions per year, on a repeated annual basis, and to test roughly twice as many theoretical constructs as would otherwise be possible in an annual survey--without encountering undue response fatigue on the part of respondents by making a single questionnaire 'too long'. Basic demographic questions (gender, class, occupation etc.) are, of course, constant across both surveys each year, and there are also a few substantive questions that are always asked in both surveys, but overall this strategy allows for more intensive data-gathering on a limited budget, covering a wider possible range of issues, yet allows the survey team to monitor all of those trends "over time" by repeatedly asking the same questions at least once per year.

Our thinking was that if we did not do it this way, we would have to make painful exclusions as social scientists in order to make what remained 'fit the mold' of what Jamaican respondents would reasonably tolerate short of response falloff, which then considerably reduces our capacity to track a variety of relevant social indicators over time. We would be forced to prematurely narrow the possible scope of inquiry at the outset, which would in turn be less useful/interesting to the social scientists and policymakers who would use the data we produce.

This biannual survey strategy also has distinct advantages in terms of facilitating *cross-cultural comparisons* of our results with various international socio-political ‘barometers’. With two specialized surveys per year, it becomes possible to include a substantial number of questions in the first “democratic leadership and governance” component each year that will overlap important indicators of the Latinobarometer (which is administered periodically in 18 Central- and South-American countries), and to also include a number of questions in the second “national values” component each year that will overlap indicators from the “World Values” survey (administered in 80+ countries) and the “Crosscultural Variations in Distributive Justice Perception” survey (administered in 20+ countries).

The first of the annual “democratic leadership and governance” surveys, results of which are summarized in this report, was conducted in July-August 2006. Style models and sources of relevant questions for inclusion were earlier national political polls conducted by Carl Stone, the Latinobarometer and Eurobarometer cross-cultural series, the American National Election Studies series, the Harvard / Washington Post Leadership surveys, and the Cross-cultural Variations in Distributive Justice Perception (CVDJP) survey. The finalized survey instrument, made up of 166 questions, and administered to a stratified random sample of 1338 respondents, retrieved Jamaicans’ responses to questions in a variety of sociopolitical domains, including:

- Standard 'demographic' questions (gender, age, income, occupation etc.)
- Citizen support for basic democratic norms
- Orientations to democratic vs authoritarian governance
- Most important national problems/priorities
- Trust and confidence in societal/political institutions
- Evaluations of national political leaders
- Party and electoral preferences
- Perceptions of the state of the economy, and economic policy preferences
- Political orientations to, and engagement with, the political system (political participation, civic engagement via media, political ideology)
- Citizen well-being (reported satisfaction of economic and psychosocial needs)
- Perceptions of corruption, crime, unequal treatment before the law

Further information on the sampling, data collection, and strategic management of the survey is attached as an Appendix, which also includes a copy of the finalized survey instrument that was used in the field. The remainder of this report will focus on summarizing some of the main findings of the July-August 2006 survey.

CIVIC CULTURE AND ORIENTATIONS TO DEMOCRACY

*The development of a stable and effective government depends upon more than the structures of government and politics: it depends upon the orientations that people have to the political process – upon the political culture. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, 1963.*

Ultimately the accumulative results of large sample surveys will only have scientific value if they can provide us with a deeper understanding of the general characteristics of political cultures. Lucian Pye, “The Elusive Concept of Culture and the Vivid Reality of Personality”, 2002.

The stability and success of any democratic society depends on its ability to nurture, and sustain over time, a “democratic political culture”, or to use the term coined by Almond and Verba in 1963, a “civic culture”. As the works of prominent political scientists like Carl Stone, Lucian Pye, Gabriel Almond, Sidney Verba, and Ronald Inglehart amply illustrate, the centrality of this “popular democratic values” dimension in maintaining a healthy democracy is often overlooked by policymakers and policy analysts—who understandably tend to become preoccupied with shorter-term organizational, financial, and legal aspects of governance. However in the longer term, a healthy democracy, if it is to thrive over time, must be rooted in a widespread consensus on democratic values, shared across all major segments of the society.

This ‘shared consensus’ is often referred to in political science literatures as the “political culture” of a nation. The ‘political culture’ is the particular set of orientations, beliefs, customs, and preconceptions which are shared by members of the society, which give meaning to their political process, and which provide the underlying assumptions that govern their political behaviour and public policies. A “democratic” or “civic” culture, then, is a political culture in which there is a widespread consensus on, and endorsement of, basic norms of democracy. Pro-democratic norms are nurtured within the society through a process of “political socialization”, by which individuals learn and acquire their political beliefs, behaviours, values, orientations, and preferences, and by which these are transmitted from one generation to the next through social agents such as the family, educational and religious organizations, peer groups, and the mass media. To what extent, then, do Jamaicans endorse some of the major democratic values that underpin a well-functioning ‘civic culture’, and which political scientists agree are necessary to sustain its health over time? In the July-August 2006 national survey, we asked a variety of questions designed to gauge the strength of democratic norms, as well as Jamaicans’ general preferences for democratic versus authoritarian rule. The national findings are summarized in Tables 2.1a-2.2f, and the accompanying charts.

The overall pattern that emerges from these findings shows a relatively strong popular commitment to cultural norms of democracy and related ideals of equality, freedom, and social justice. Paradoxically however, this coexists with some degree of ambivalence when it comes to choices between ‘democratic’ and ‘authoritarian’ government--though preferences for the former clearly prevail. Latent sentiments in favour of possible authoritarian intervention under extreme circumstances also appear to be stronger for public sector entities (“government”) than for private sector entities (“companies”), though the idea of “a military government” is strongly opposed.

2.1 Trends: Citizen support for basic democratic norms

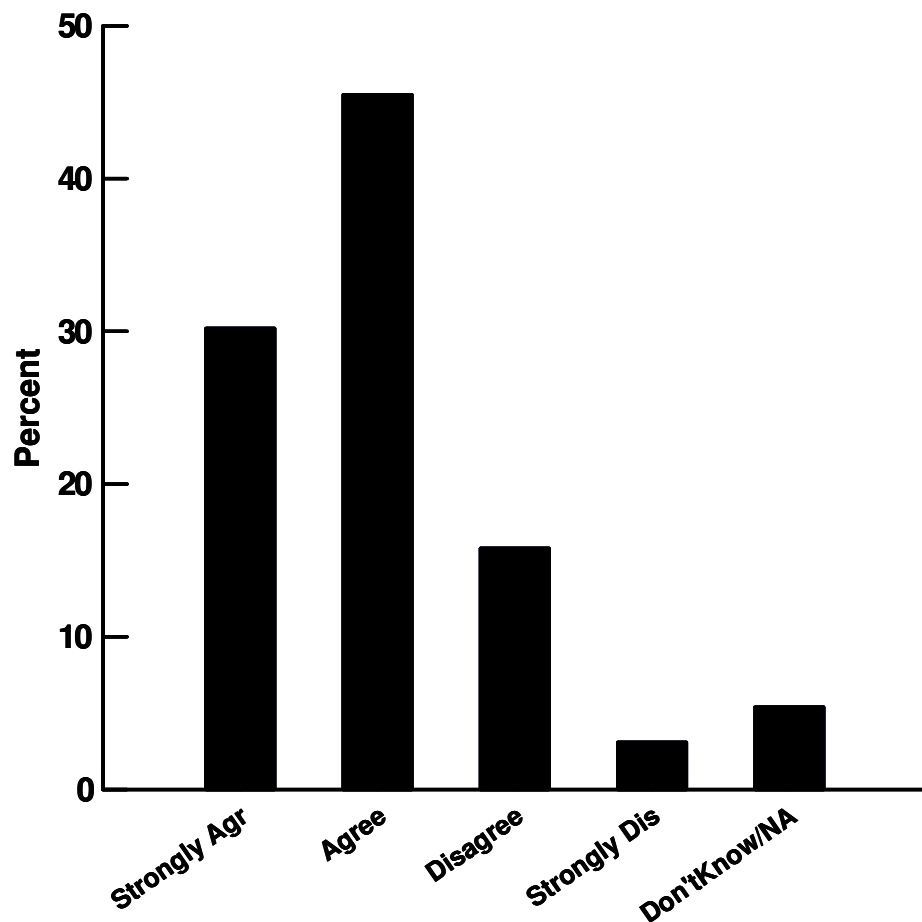


Figure 2.1a "Democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| strongly agree | 404 | 30.2 |
| Agree | 609 | 45.5 |
| Disagree | 211 | 15.8 |
| strongly disagree | 42 | 3.1 |
| Don't know/No answer | 72 | 5.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

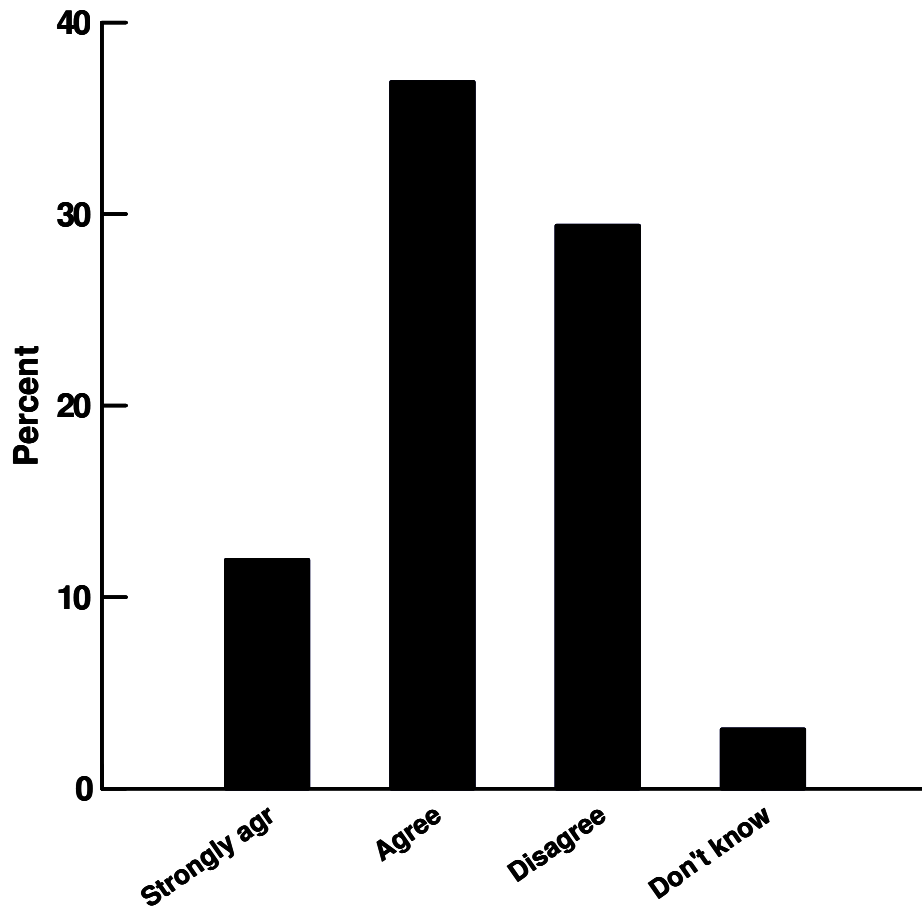


Figure 2.1b "Only with a democratic system can Jamaica become a developed country."

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 251 | 18.8 |
| Agree | 494 | 36.9 |
| Disagree | 393 | 29.4 |
| Strongly disagree | 68 | 5.1 |
| Don't know/No answer | 132 | 9.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

Table 2.1c

“From the following list, please choose what is for you the most important characteristic of democracy...”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Open and fair elections | 314 | 23.5 |
| An economic system that guarantees a dignified salary | 177 | 13.2 |
| Freedom of speech | 321 | 24.0 |
| Equal treatment for everybody by courts of law | 295 | 22.0 |
| Respect for minorities | 35 | 2.6 |
| Majority rule | 54 | 4.0 |
| Members of Parliament who represent their electors | 52 | 3.9 |
| A competitive party system | 47 | 3.5 |
| Don't know/No answer | 43 | 3.2 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

Table 2.1d
**“How satisfied are you with the way
democracy works in Jamaica?”**

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very satisfied | 43 | 3.2 |
| Fairly satisfied | 403 | 30.1 |
| Not very satisfied | 612 | 45.7 |
| Not at all satisfied | 248 | 18.5 |
| Don't know/No answer | 32 | 2.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

Table 2.1e
**“On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is ‘not democratic’ and 10 is
‘totally democratic’, where would you place Jamaica?”**

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|-------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1-“Not democratic” | 77 | 5.8 |
| 2 | 30 | 2.2 |
| 3 | 79 | 5.9 |
| 4 | 127 | 9.5 |
| 5 | 314 | 23.5 |
| 6 | 186 | 13.9 |
| 7 | 212 | 15.8 |
| 8 | 154 | 11.5 |
| 9 | 42 | 3.1 |
| 10-“Totally democratic” | 72 | 5.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 45 | 3.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

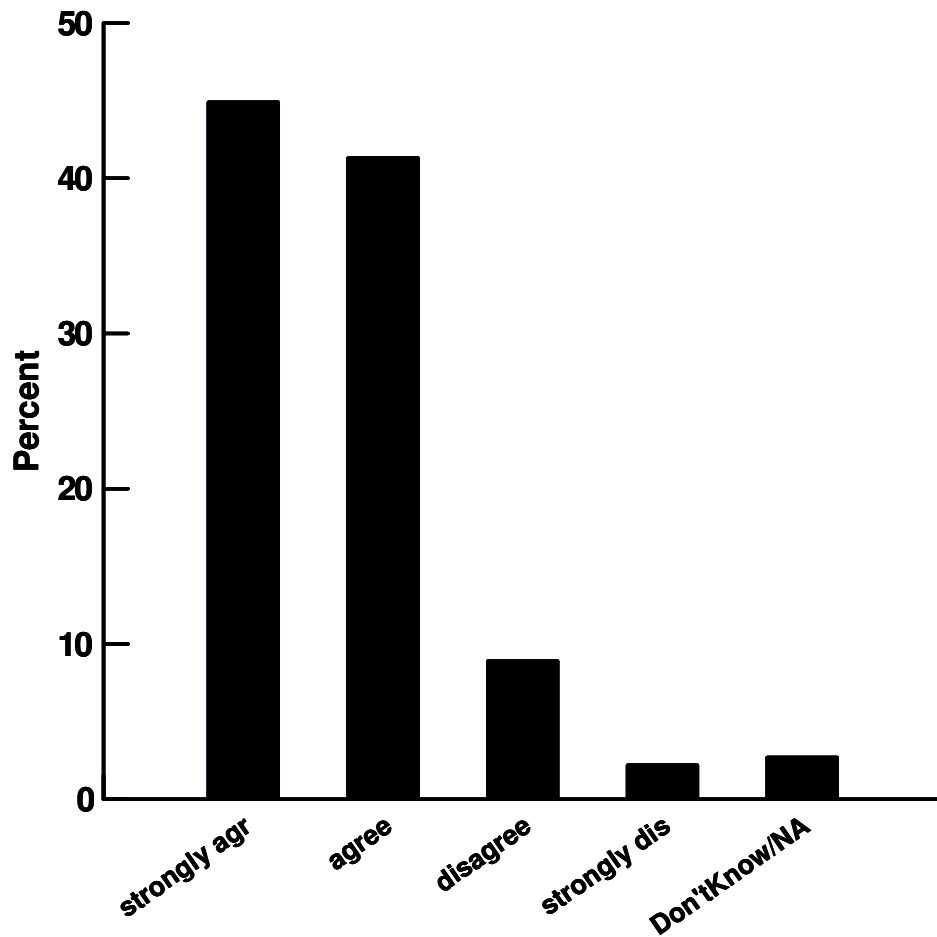


Figure 2.1f “Every citizen should have an equal chance to influence government policy”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 601 | 44.9 |
| Agree | 552 | 41.3 |
| Disagree | 119 | 8.9 |
| Strongly disagree | 30 | 2.2 |
| Don't know/No answer | 36 | 2.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

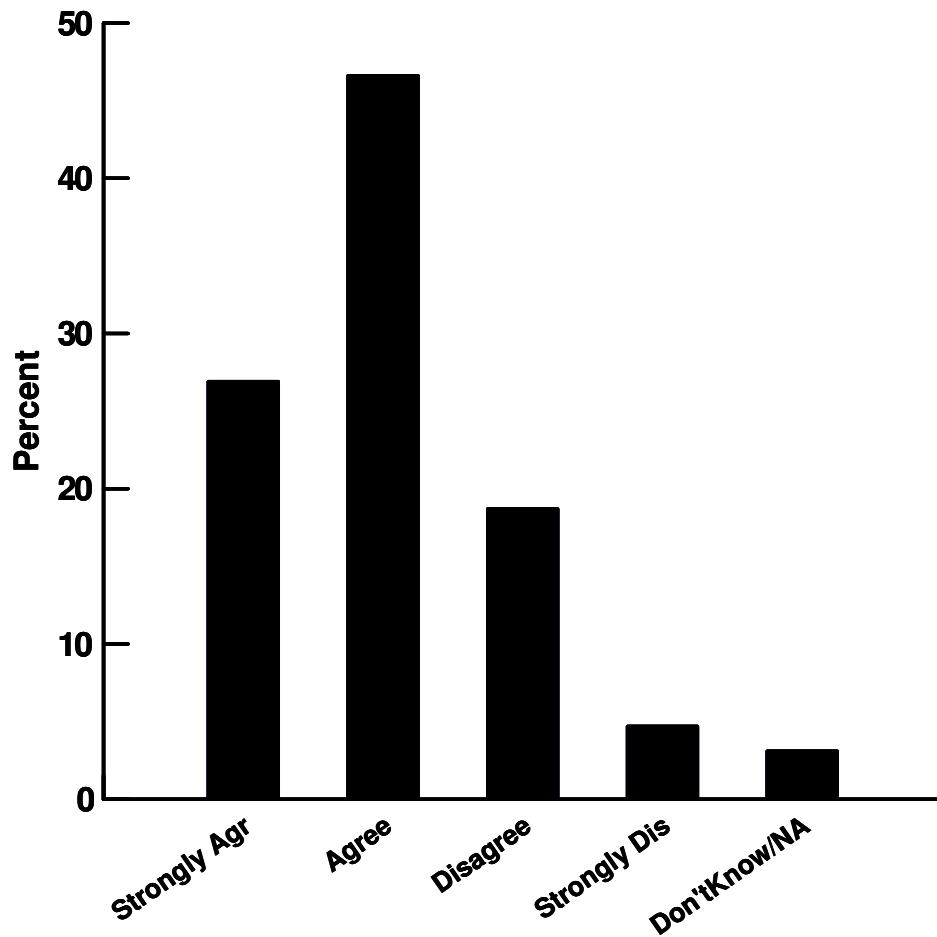


Figure 2.1g "In politics, the minority should always be free to criticize majority decisions"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 360 | 26.9 |
| Agree | 623 | 46.6 |
| Disagree | 250 | 18.7 |
| Strongly disagree | 63 | 4.7 |
| Don't know/No answer | 42 | 3.1 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

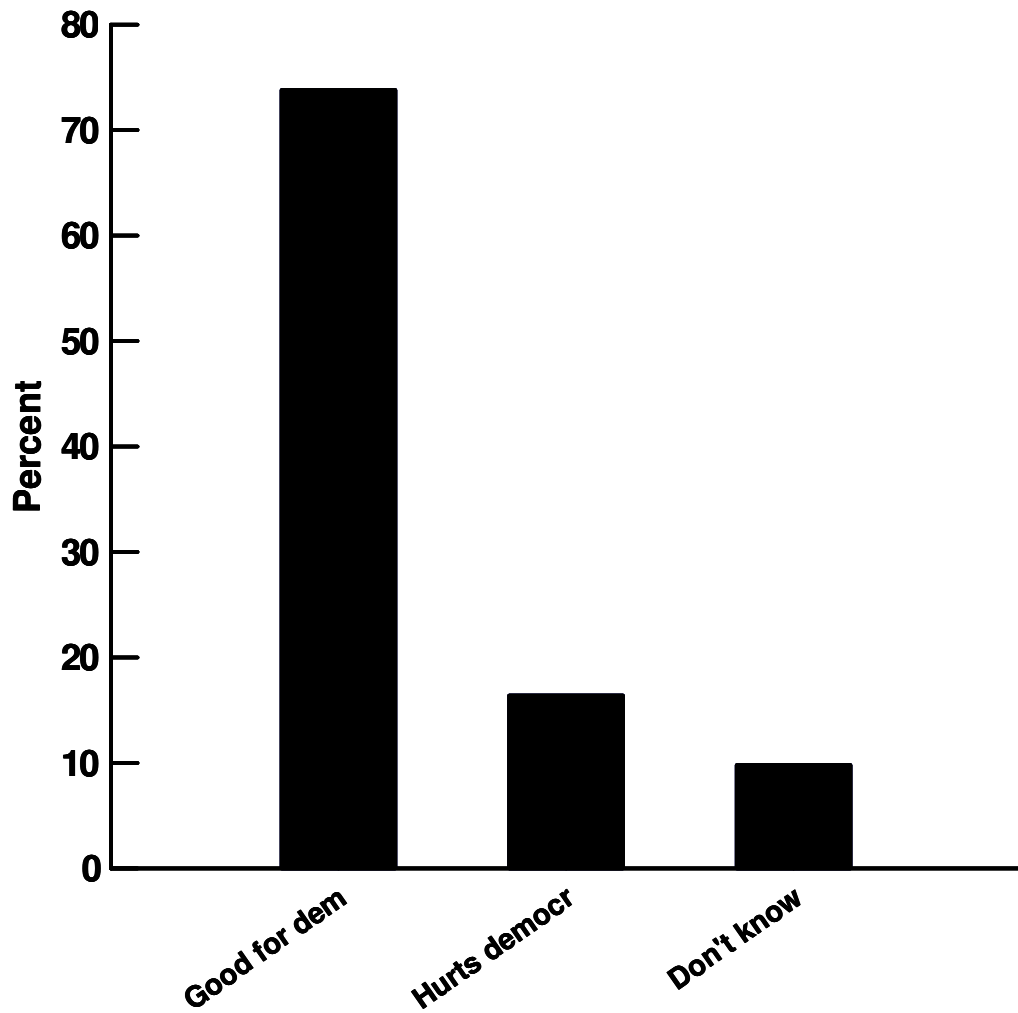


Figure 2.1h Is discussing political issues publicly “good for democracy” or does it “hurt democracy”?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Good for democracy | 987 | 73.8 |
| Hurts democracy | 220 | 16.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 131 | 9.8 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

2.2 Orientations to democratic vs authoritarian governance

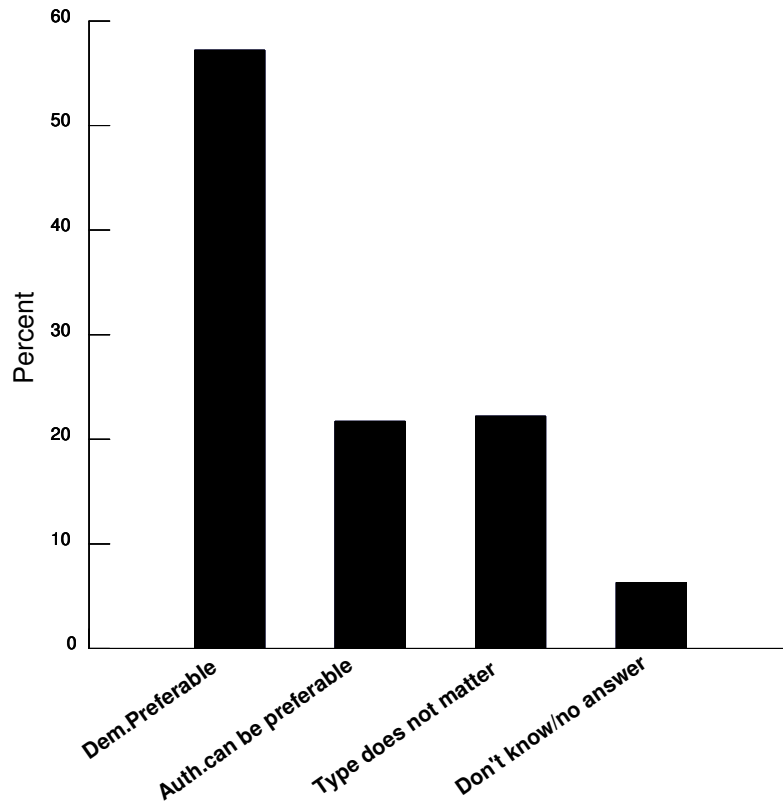


Figure 2.2a: “Which of the following statements do you agree with most?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| Democracy is preferable to any other kind of govt. | 685 | 51.2 |
| Under some circumstances, an authoritarian govt. can be preferable to a democratic one | 291 | 21.7 |
| For people like me, it does not matter whether we have a democratic or a non-democratic regime | 278 | 22.2 |
| Don't know/no answer | 84 | 6.3 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

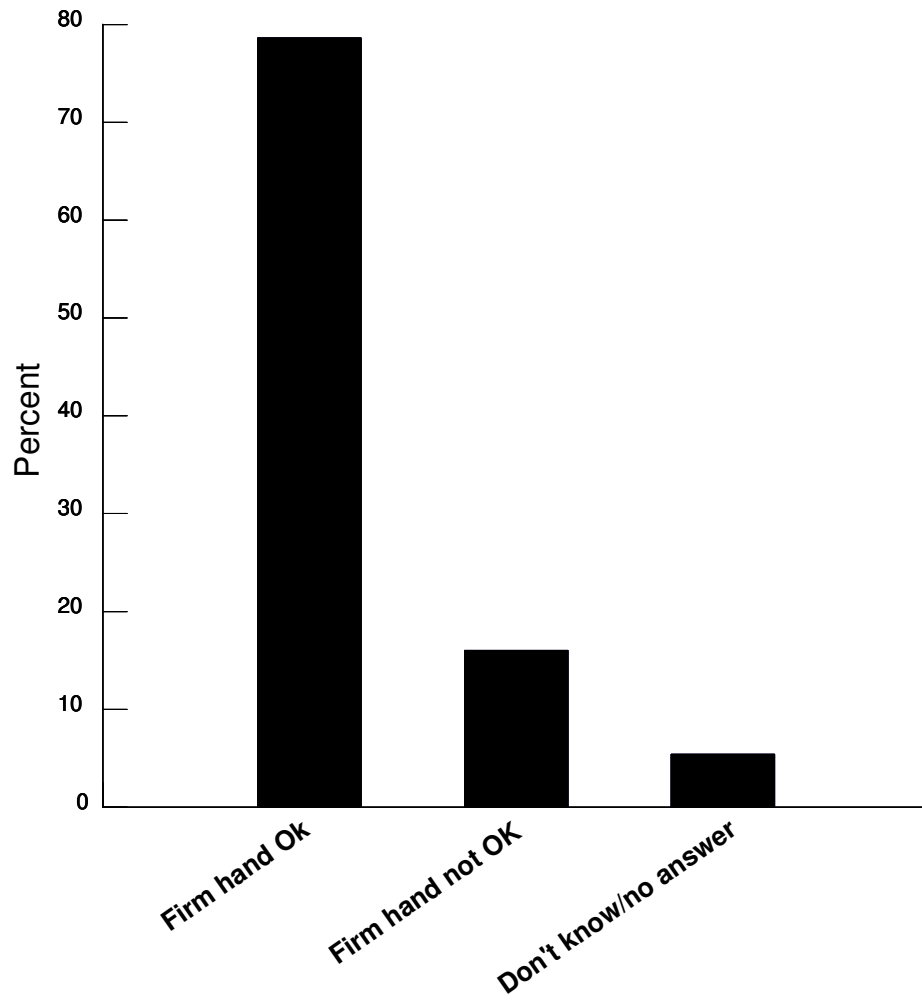


Figure 2.2b Is “a bit of a firm hand from the government” okay, or not okay?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Firm hand okay | 1052 | 78.6 |
| Firm hand not okay | 214 | 16.0 |
| Don't know/no answer | 72 | 5.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

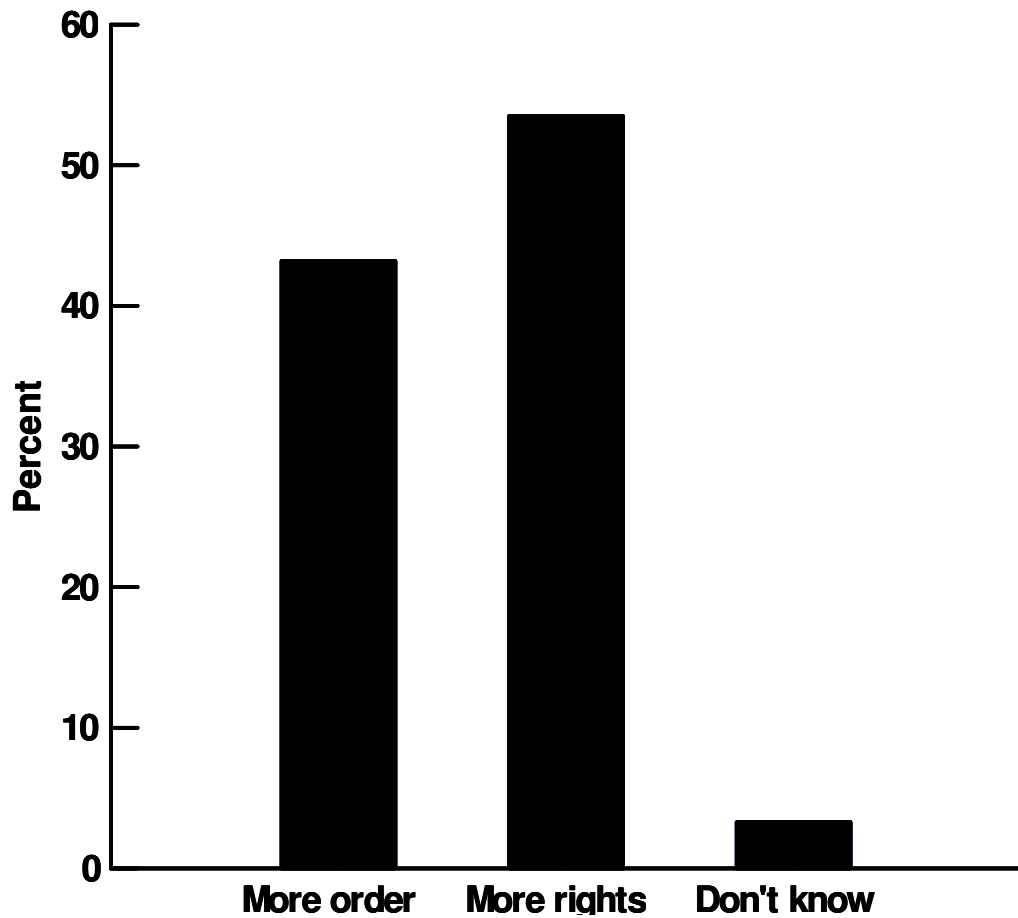


Figure 2.2c “Do you believe it is better to live in an orderly society where certain freedoms are limited, or in a society where all rights and freedoms are respected, although there may be less order as a result?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|-------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| More order | 578 | 43.2 |
| More rights and freedom | 716 | 53.5 |
| Don't know/No answer | 44 | 3.3 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

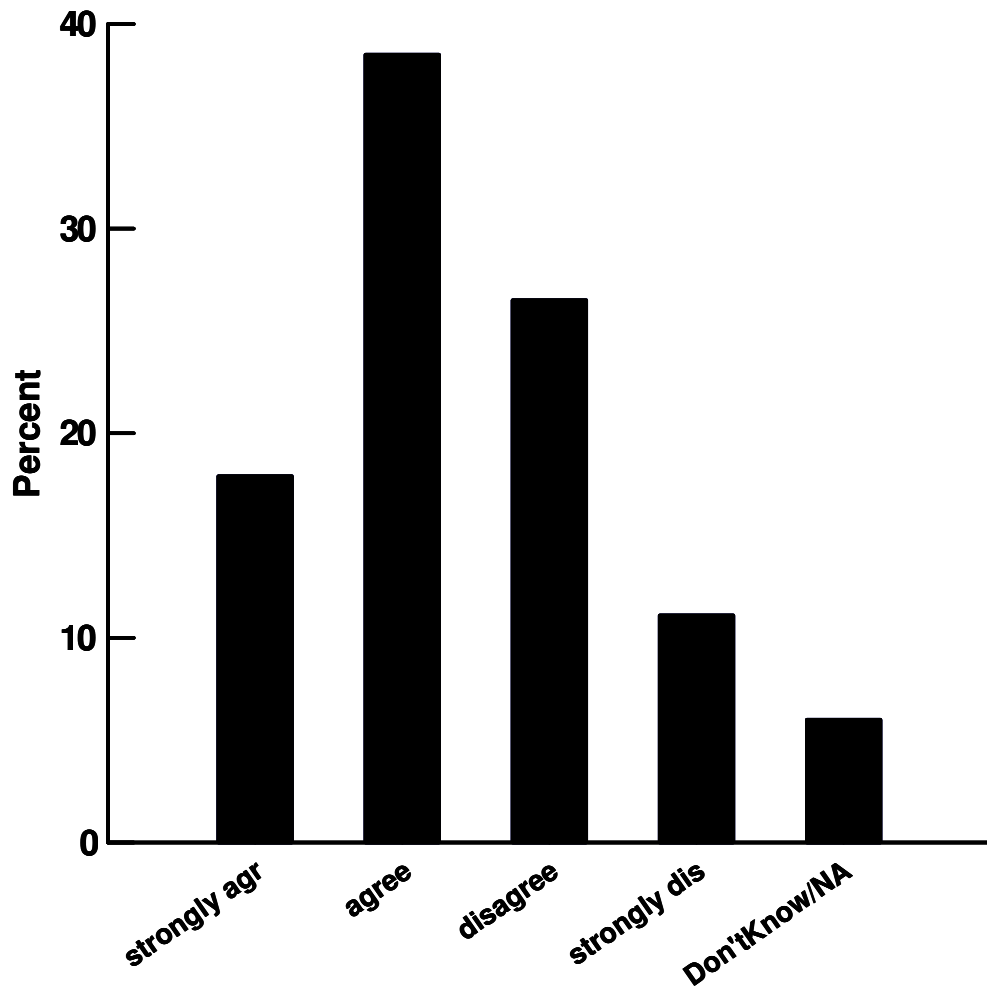


Fig. 2.2d "I would not mind a non-democratic government in power if it could solve the economic problems"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 240 | 17.9 |
| Agree | 515 | 38.5 |
| Disagree | 355 | 26.5 |
| Strongly disagree | 148 | 11.1 |
| Don't know/No answer | 80 | 6.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

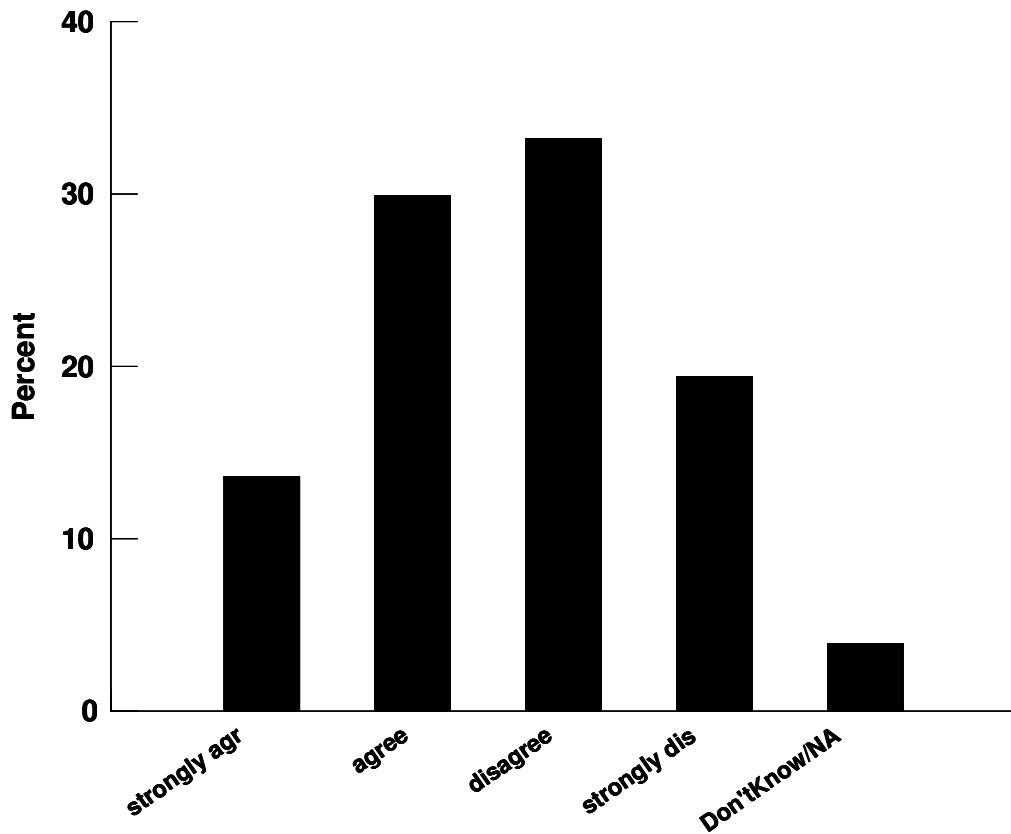


Fig. 2.2e "It does not matter to me if private companies take control of the country, if they can solve the problems"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 182 | 13.6 |
| Agree | 400 | 29.9 |
| Disagree | 444 | 33.2 |
| Strongly disagree | 260 | 19.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 52 | 3.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

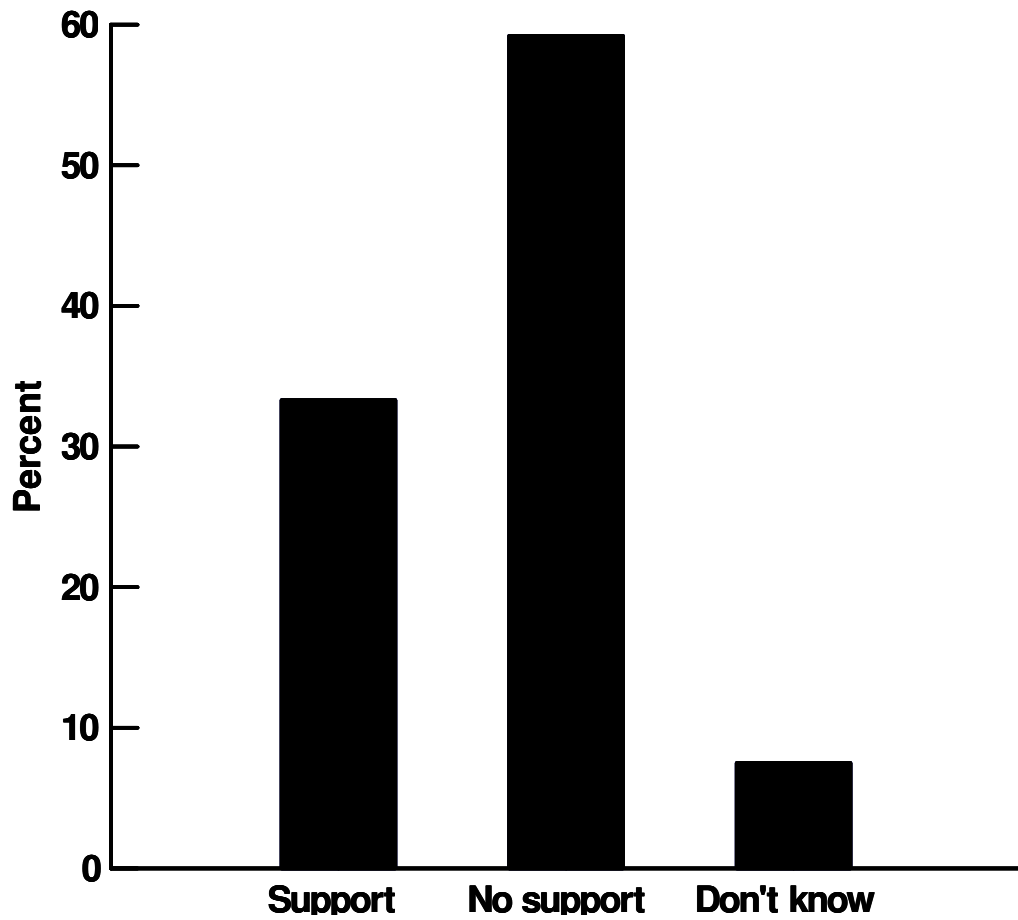


Fig. 2.2f Would you support a military government to replace a democratic one, if the situation got bad?"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| would support | 446 | 33.3 |
| would never support | 792 | 59.2 |
| Don't know/No answer | 100 | 7.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

TRUST AND CONFIDENCE AS ‘SOCIAL CAPITAL’

Another important cohesive factor within any democratic society is the willingness of individuals to trust other persons, and to have trust and confidence in the political leaders, the government, and the major institutions of the society. Trust is the glue that holds a society together. The efficiency, adjustment, and survival of individuals and groups within a society depends heavily on the presence of such trust. (Erikson, 1968; Rotter, 1967, 1971; Brewer and Campbell, 1976; Deutsch, 1958, 1960, 1962; Axelrod, 1984; Wrightsman, 1991; Schindler and Thomas, 1993; Putnam, 1993; Yamagishi, 1994; Fukayama, 1995; Omodei and McLennan, 2000; deCremer et al. 2001; Hudson 2004).

In their classic study of “civic culture” in Italy, Mexico, Germany, Britain, and the United States, for example, Gabriel Almond & Sidney Verba (1963) found that “one’s generalized belief in the cooperativeness and unselfishness of human nature” was a pivotal factor in predicting civic engagement and political attitudes, observing that “the more one has such faith in people, the more likely he is to believe he can work with his fellow citizens.”(pp. 227-228). Similarly, Lucian Pye’s (1962, p.55) classic study of personality and political identity in Burmese culture found that where interpersonal trust was lacking, “the basic feeling of distrust leaves people unsure of their control over the world and hence fearful that the world is either against them or indifferent to them.” The more recent work of Axelrod (1984), Dasgupta (1988), Putnam (1993), and Fukuyama (1995) has generally corroborated these earlier findings on the relationship between trust and ‘civic culture’, stressing the centrifical role of trust as “social capital” in maintaining an ongoing sense of cooperation and perceived fairness within democratic political cultures.

Studied across a variety of social science disciplines, a sense of interpersonal trust has been shown in a number of studies to be associated with socially-efficient outcomes (Porta et al., 1997; Fukayama, 1995), moderation of fear, greed, and opportunism among parties in social transactions (Poppe and Utens, 1986; Hwang and Burgers, 1997, 1999); and support for democracy, equality, and civic norms (McClosky 1958, Pye 1962; Almond & Verba, 1964; Lane 1962, 1969; Putnam, 1993; Beersma, 1999; Sullivan & Transue, 1999; Scheufele & Shah, 2000).

To what extent are Jamaicans prone to trust other persons, and to have trust and confidence in the political leaders, the government, and the major institutions of their society? In the July-August 2006 national survey, we asked two questions on ‘interpersonal trust’, and one on ‘trust in leaders’, as well as asking respondents to rate their degree of “confidence in” a wide spectrum of groups and institutions in the society. The national findings are summarized in Tables 3.1a-3.3b, and the accompanying charts.

3.1 Trends: Interpersonal trust . . .

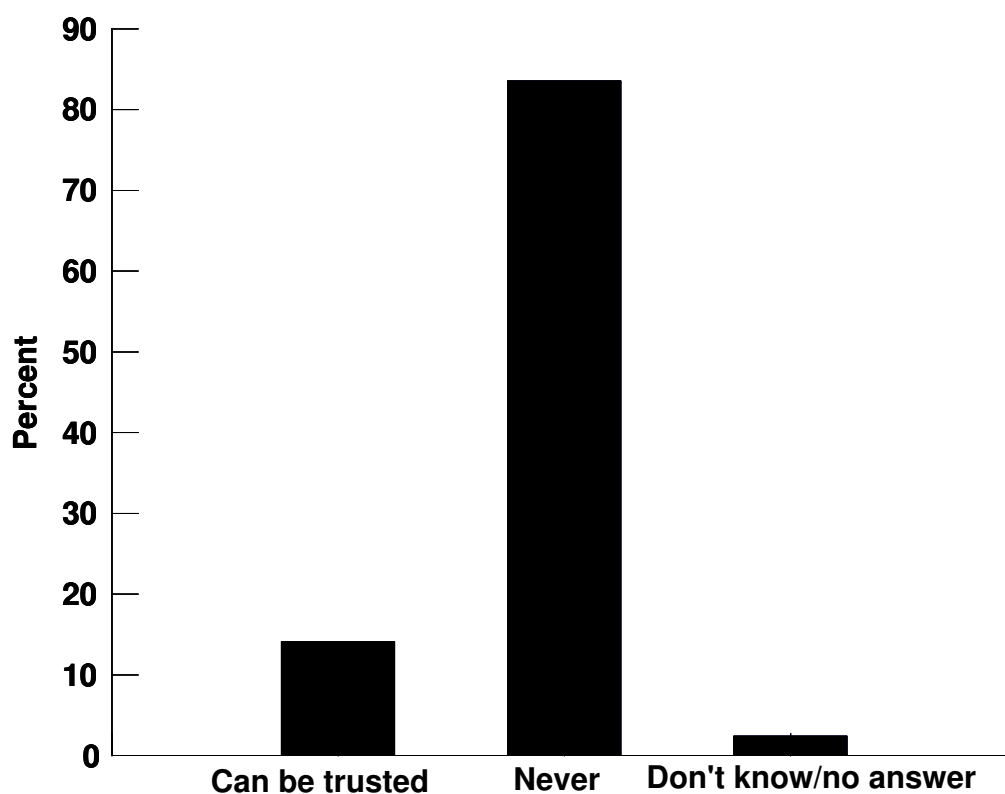


Figure 3.1a “Would you say that most people can be trusted to keep their promises, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with other people?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Can be trusted | 189 | 14.1 |
| Never be too careful | 1117 | 83.5 |
| Don't know/No answer | 32 | 2.4 |

| | | |
|-------|------|-------|
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |
|-------|------|-------|

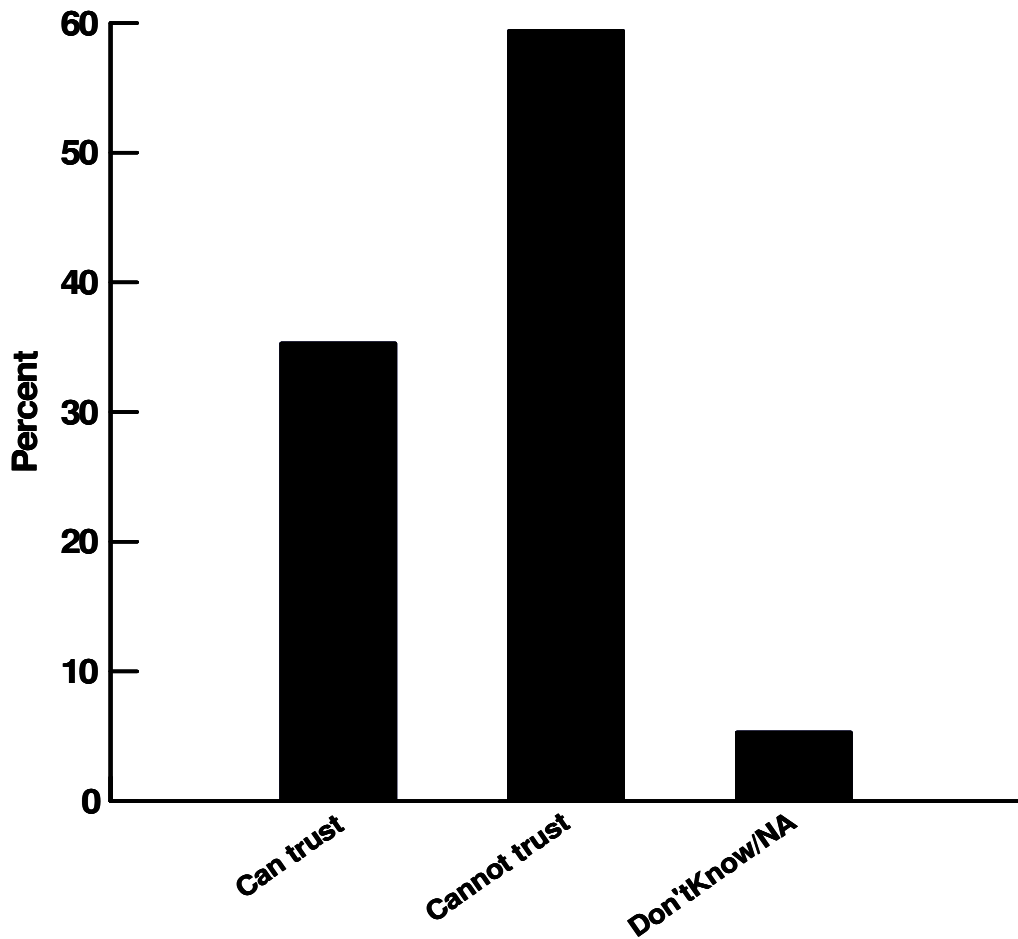


Figure 3.1b “Would you say that most people are essentially good and can be trusted, or not essentially good and cannot be trusted?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| Most people are essentially good, can be trusted | 472 | 35.3 |
| Most people not are essentially good, can't be trusted | 795 | 59.4 |
| Don't know/no answer | 71 | 5.3 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

3.2

Trends: Trust in government . . .

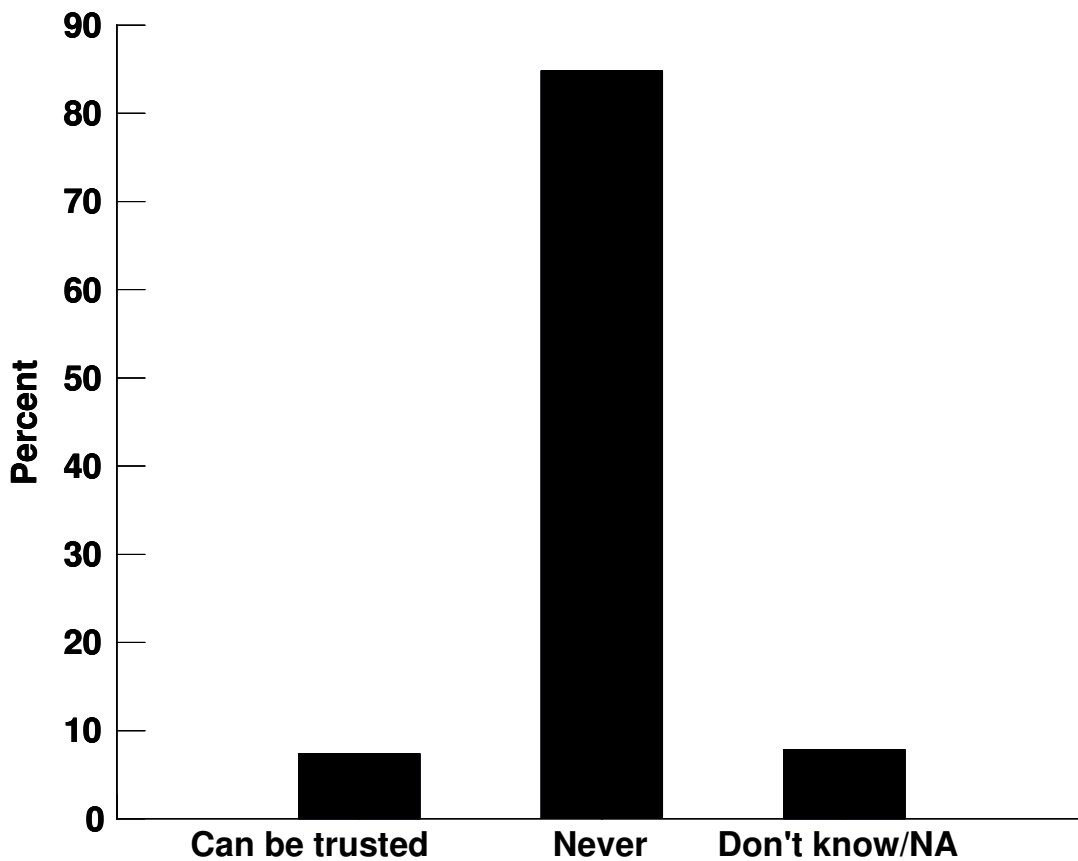


Figure 3.2a “Would you say most people in government can be trusted to keep their promises, or that you can never be too careful in dealing with people in government?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Can be trusted | 99 | 7.4 |
| Never be too careful | 1233 | 84.8 |
| Don't know/no answer | 105 | 7.8 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

3.3 *Confidence in societal and political institutions*

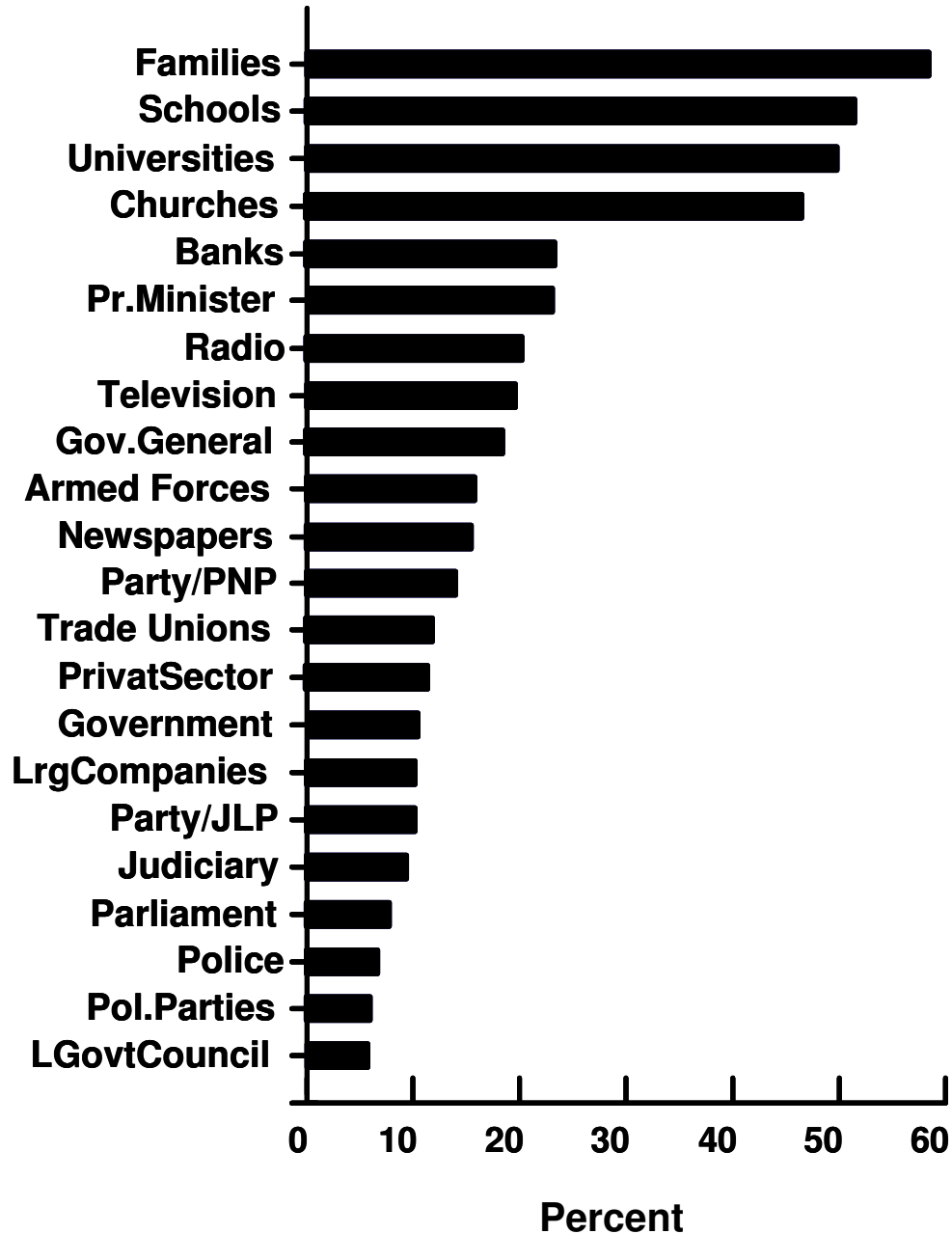


Figure 3.3a Confidence in 22 Societal Institutions
(% of sample who say they have “a lot of confidence”)

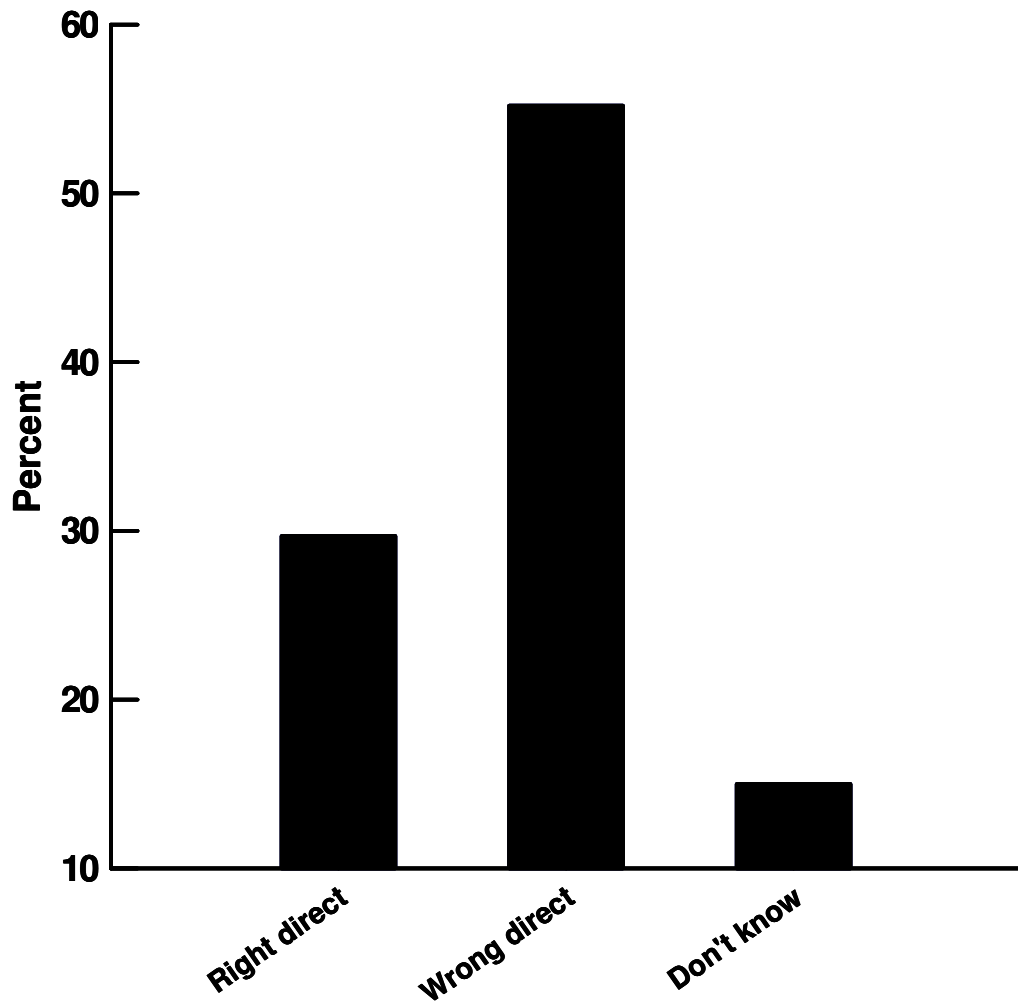


Figure 3.3b: “Are things in this country going in the right direction, or they moving in the wrong direction?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Right direction | 398 | 29.7 |
| wrong direction | 739 | 55.2 |
| Don't know/No answer | 201 | 15.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

CITIZEN PERCEPTIONS OF 'WELL-BEING'

Charting perceptions of well-being, and of how well citizens feel their needs are being met, is an essential barometer of the success or failure of the sociopolitical system. We therefore devoted considerable space in the July-August 2006 Leadership and Governance survey to determining Jamaicans' perceptions of their own, their family's, and the nation's "well being". Questions were posed to respondents which attempted to gauge, from a number of different angles, (1) Jamaicans' sense of their own personal and familial economic well-being, (2) their sense of the nation's economic well-being as a whole, and (3) their sense of their own 'psychosocial' well-being and need satisfaction levels. The survey findings on these three dimensions of 'well-being' are summarized in sections 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, respectively.

With respect to personal and familial economic well-being, the survey results are generally encouraging in terms of how well the system is perceived to be meeting, or at least attempting to meet, constituent needs. Whereas most Jamaicans in the sample describe their economic situation as "about average" (49.3%), beyond that, roughly twice as many say their situation is "fairly good" or "very good" (31.3%) as say it is "fairly bad" or "very bad" (19.0%). Moreover, most Jamaicans apparently consider themselves better off financially than their parents had been, and they also anticipate that their children will in turn be better off than themselves. (Figures 4.1d, 4.1e). There is a generalized optimism concerning their personal economic future. More respondents report that they are doing "better" now (as opposed to "worse"), than they were doing a year ago. Similarly, more believe they will be better off a year hence, than think they will be worse off. (See Figures 4.1f, 4.1g).

This surface optimism is apparently a stiff upper lip, however, that masks deeper underlying economic struggles among many Jamaicans. When asked, "Does your salary and the total of your family's salary allow you to satisfactorily cover your needs?", 38.1% say that it "covers them", but another 57.4% admit that it "does not cover them" and that "there are difficulties". (Figure 4.1b) Moreover, when asked how concerned they are that they "will be left without work or unemployed during the next 12 months?", 42.5% report being "very concerned", and another 29.2% report being either "concerned" or "a little concerned". Only 23.4% say they are "not concerned at all".

When asked about the nation's economic well-being as a whole, survey respondents were much less optimistic, generally seeing the country as headed in the wrong direction. As can be seen in Figure 4.2a, more than four times as many Jamaicans feel the country's present economic situation is "bad" or "very bad" (52.6%), as feel it is "good" or "very" good (11.6%). And more consider the economic situation to be "worse" than it was a year ago (31.2%), than consider it "better" (25.1%). (See Figure 4.2b.) Concerning economic prospects for the country "a year from now", respondents are slightly more optimistic, but still about evenly split as to whether things will be better or worse. As Figure 4.2c indicates, 30.1% feel that a year from now economic conditions will be "about the same", and another 32% expect that they will be "better", compared with 31.9% who feel they will be "worse".

4.1 *Economic well-being: personal . . .*

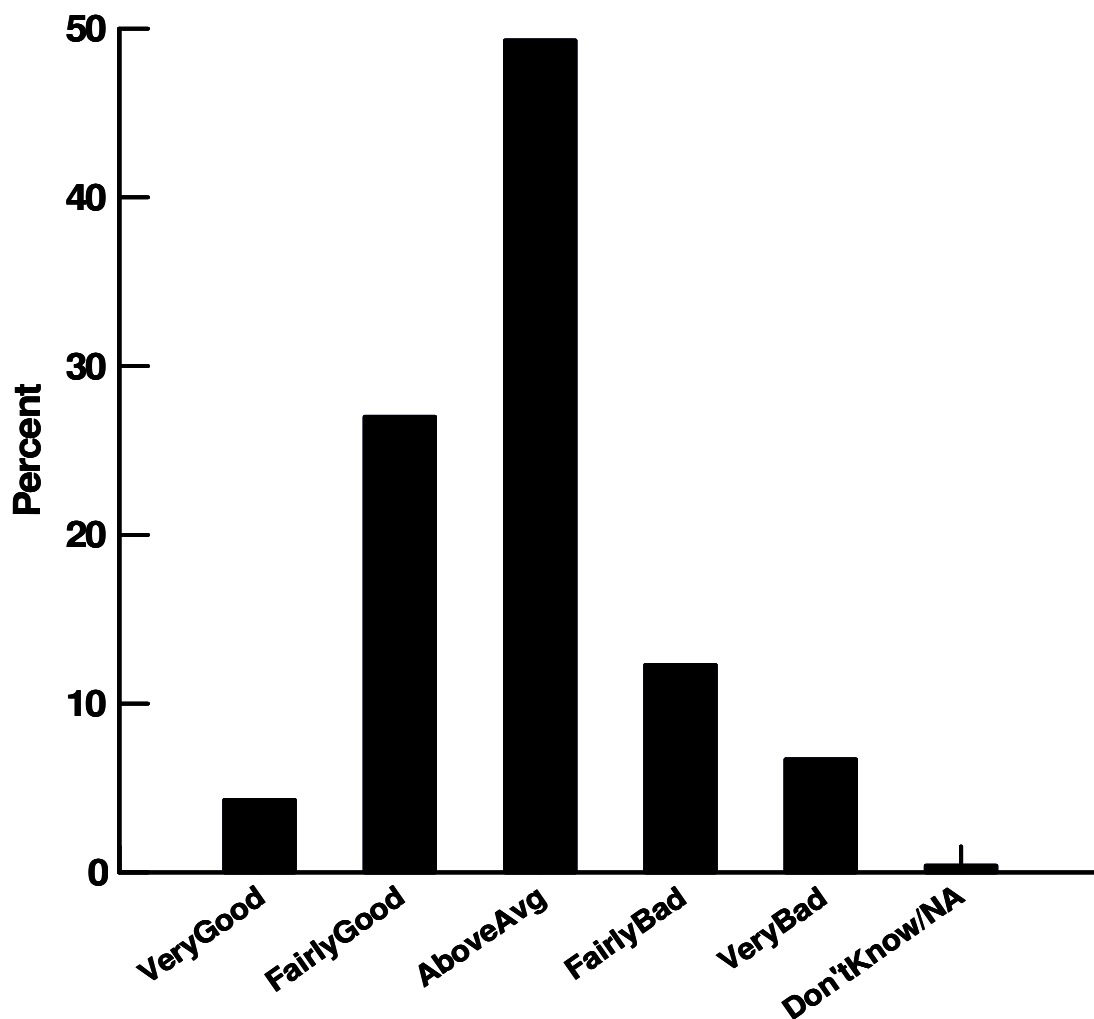


Fig. 4.1a “How would you describe your present economic situation and that of your family?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very good | 58 | 4.3 |
| Fairly good | 361 | 27.0 |
| About average | 660 | 49.3 |
| Fairly bad | 164 | 12.3 |
| Very bad | 90 | 6.7 |
| Don't know/no answer | 5 | 0.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

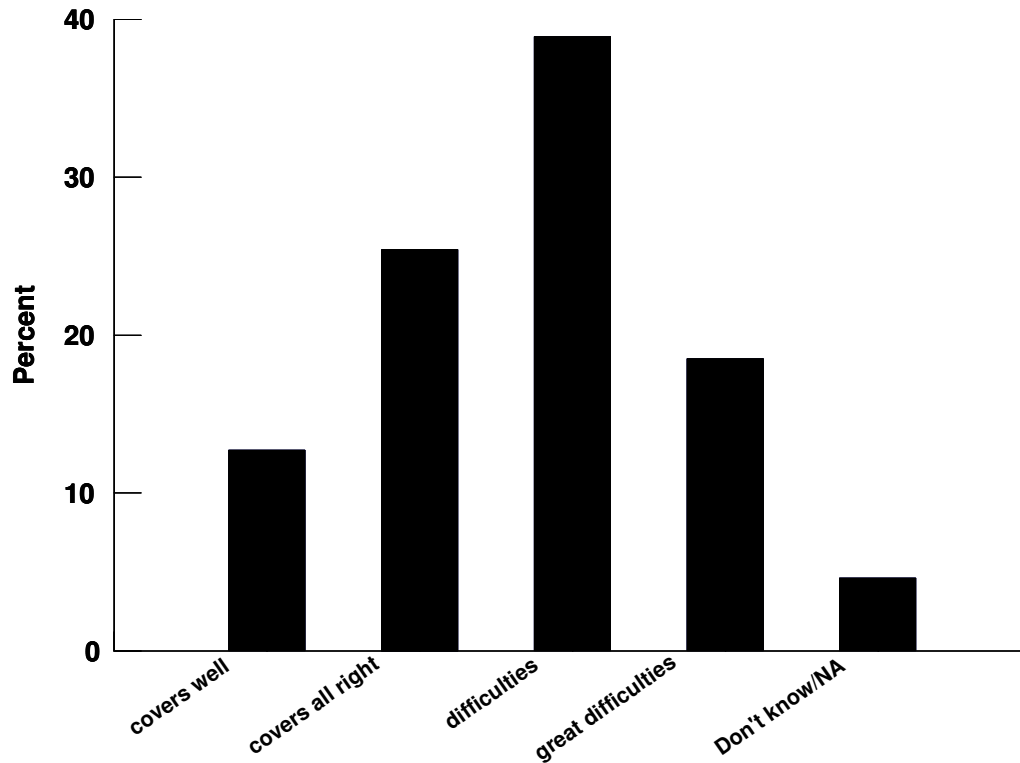


Fig. 4.1b “Does your salary and the total of your family's salary allow you to satisfactorily cover your needs?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Covers them well, I can save | 170 | 12.7 |
| Cover them all right, without great difficulty | 340 | 25.4 |
| Does not cover them, there are difficulties | 520 | 38.9 |
| Does not cover them, there are great difficulties | 247 | 18.5 |
| Don't know/no answer | 61 | 4.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

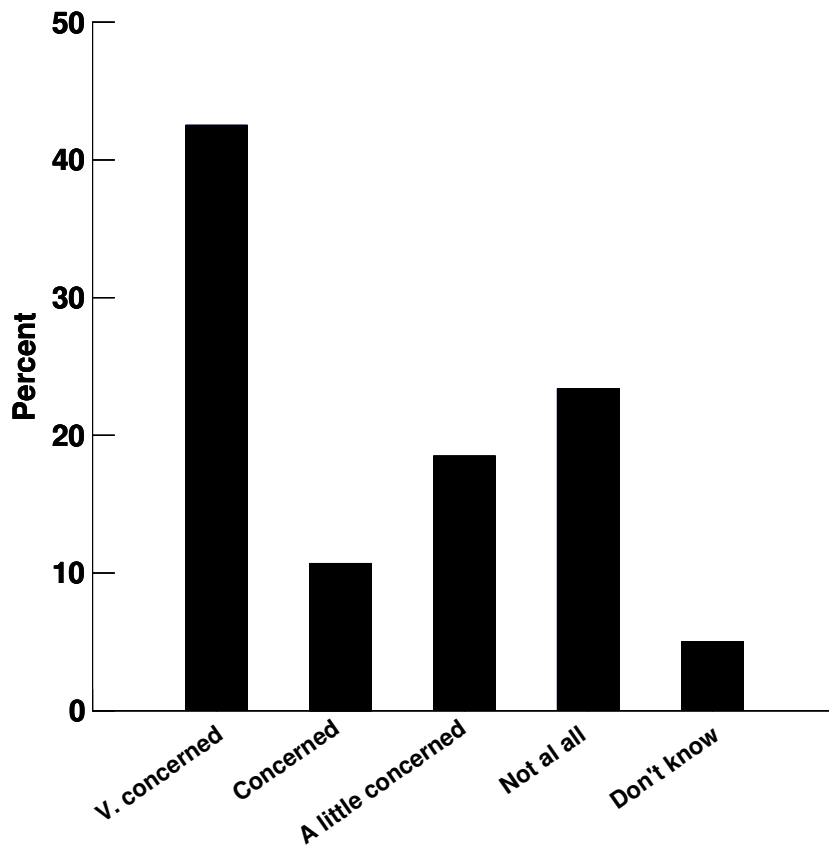


Fig. 4.1c “How concerned are you that you will be left without work or unemployed during the next 12 months?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very concerned | 568 | 42.5 |
| Concerned | 143 | 10.7 |
| A little concerned | 247 | 18.5 |
| Not at all concerned | 313 | 23.4 |
| Don't know/no answer | 67 | 5.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

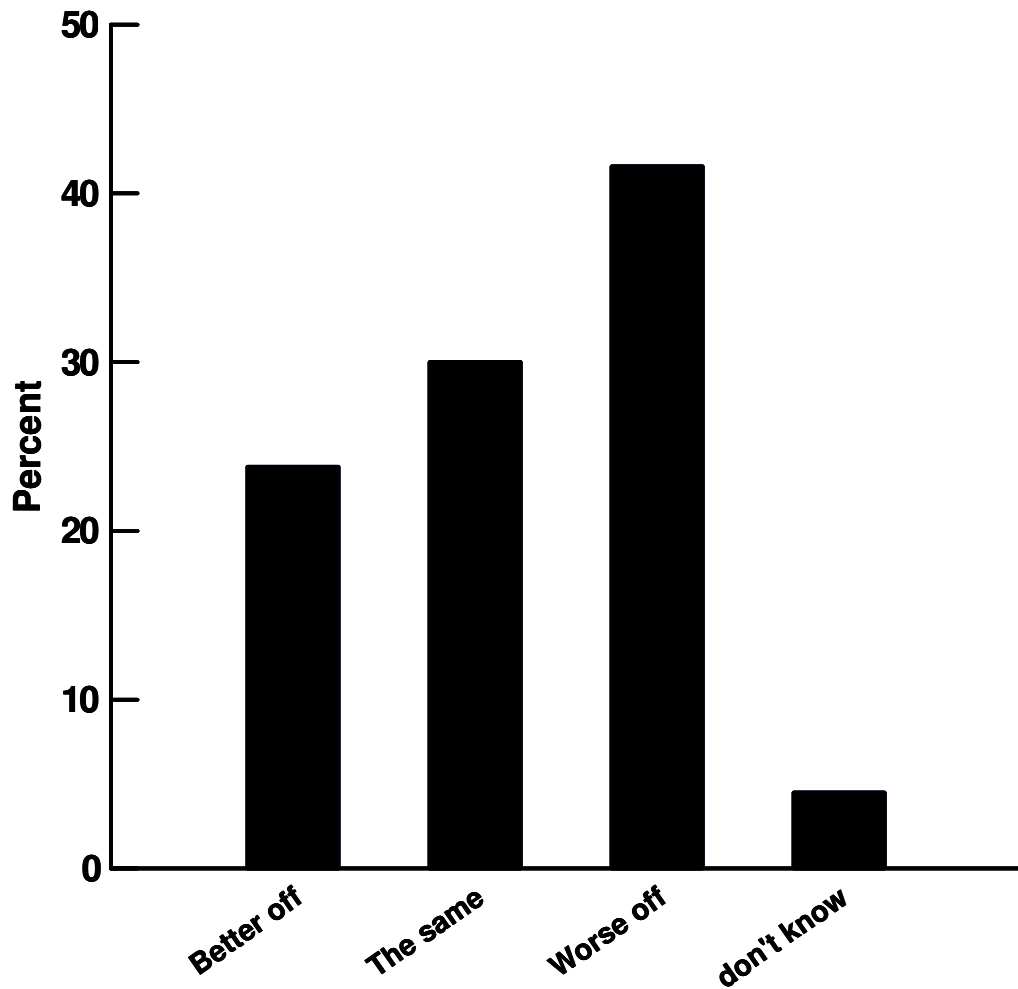


Fig. 4.1d “Would you say your parents lived better, the same, or worse off than how you live?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Better off | 319 | 23.8 |
| The same | 402 | 30.0 |
| worse off | 557 | 41.6 |
| Don't know/No answer | 60 | 4.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

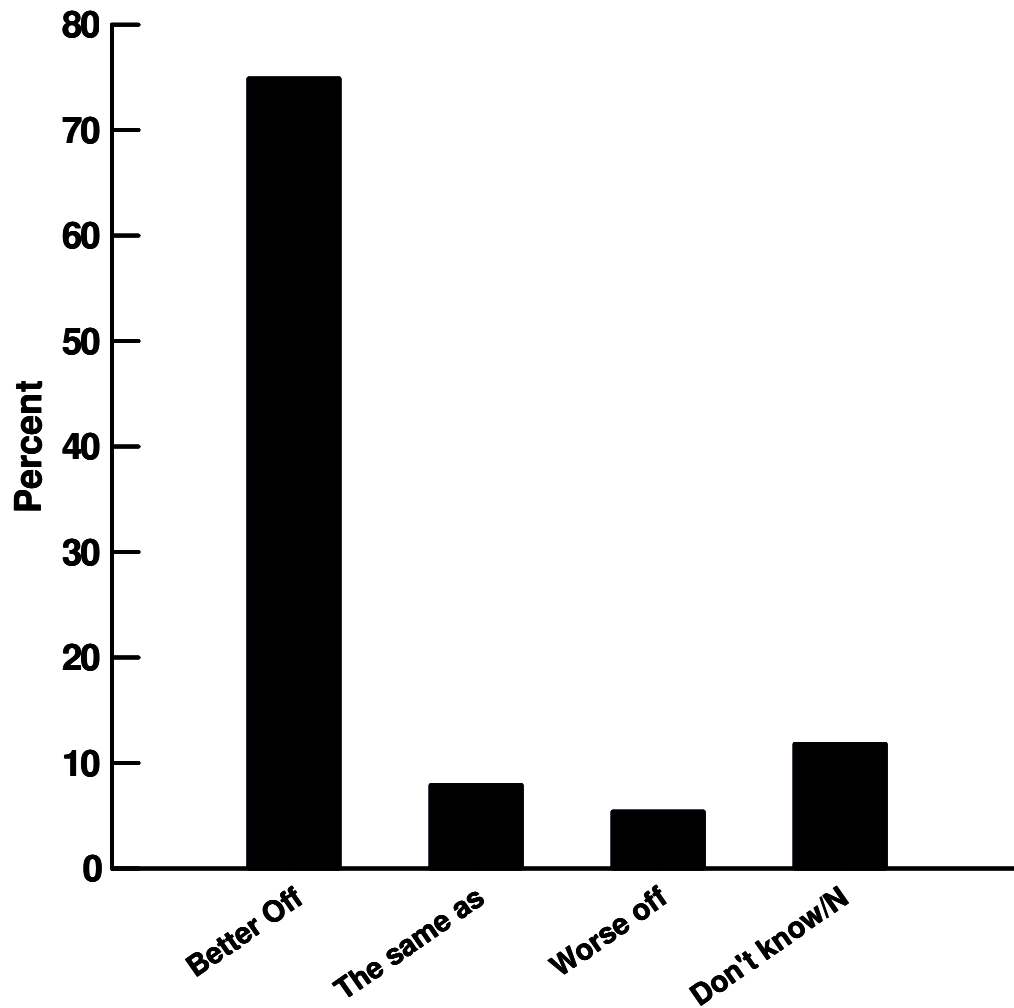


Fig 4.1e “Do you believe your children will live better, the same or worse off than how you live today?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Better | 1002 | 74.9 |
| The same as | 106 | 7.9 |
| worse off | 72 | 5.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 158 | 11.8 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

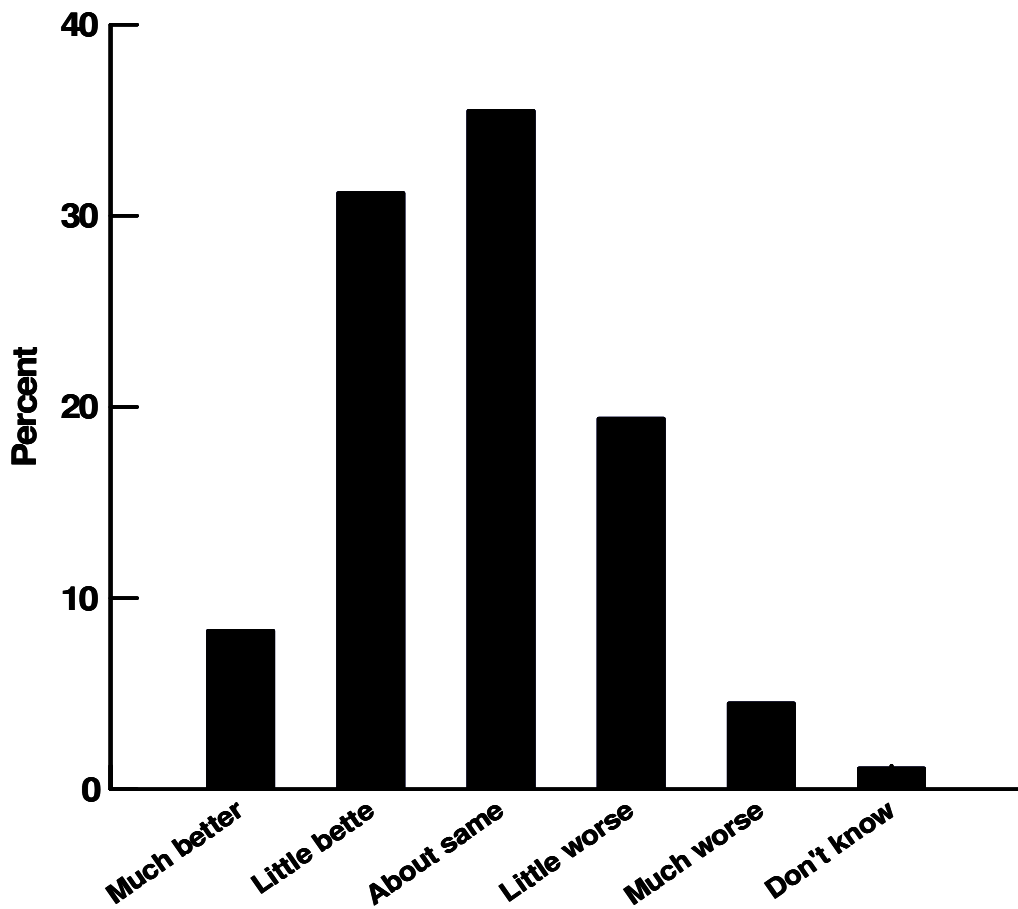


Fig 4.1f How do you consider your economic situation and that of your family, compared to 12 months ago?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Much better | 111 | 8.3 |
| A little better | 417 | 31.2 |
| About the same | 475 | 35.5 |
| A little worse | 260 | 19.4 |
| Much worse | 60 | 4.5 |
| Don't know/No answer | 15 | 1.1 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

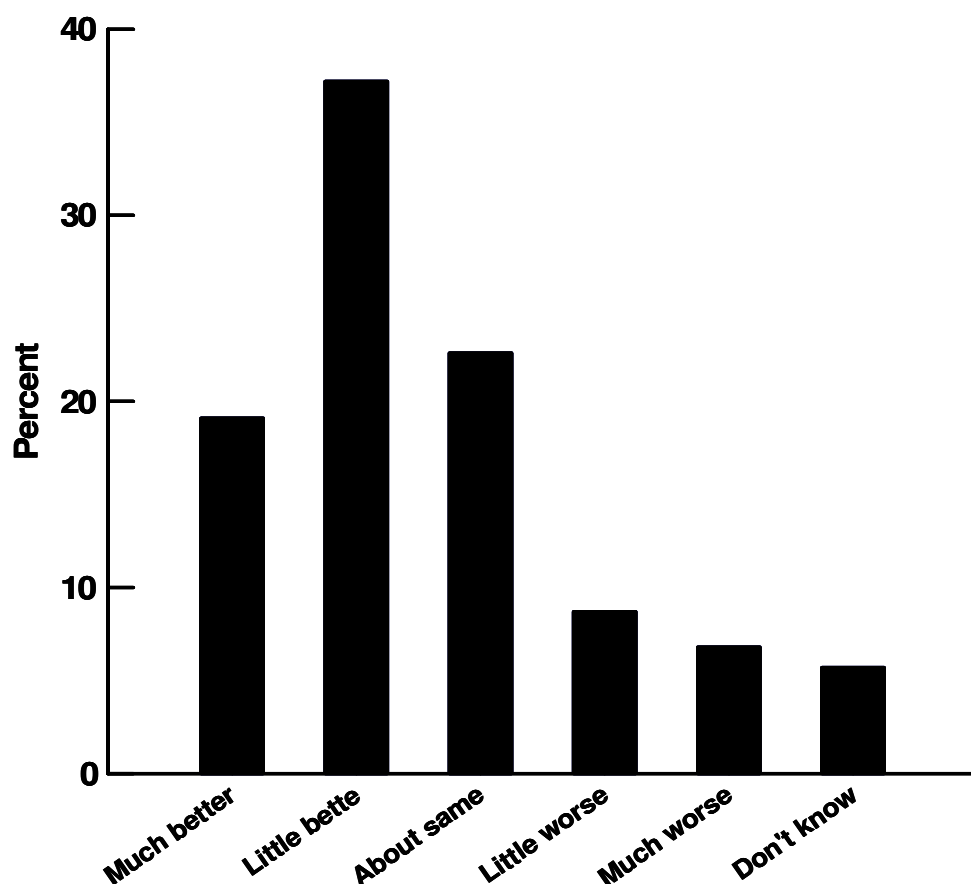


Fig. 4.1g How do you think that your economic situation and that of your family will be in 12 months time?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Much better | 255 | 19.1 |
| A little better | 498 | 37.2 |
| About the same | 302 | 22.6 |
| A little worse | 116 | 8.7 |
| Much worse | 91 | 6.8 |
| Don't know/No answer | 76 | 5.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

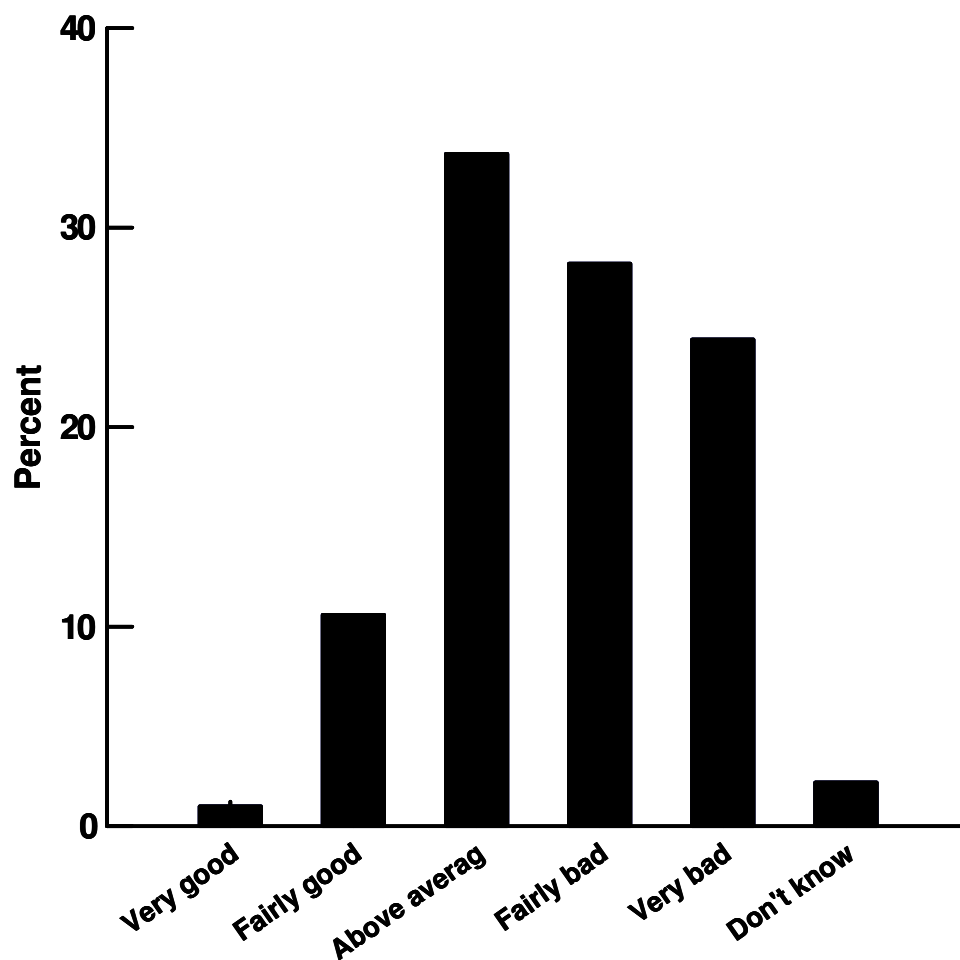


Fig. 4.2a “How would you describe the present economic situation in Jamaica?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very good | 13 | 1.0 |
| Fairly good | 142 | 10.6 |
| About average | 451 | 33.7 |
| Fairly bad | 377 | 28.2 |
| Very bad | 326 | 24.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 29 | 2.2 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

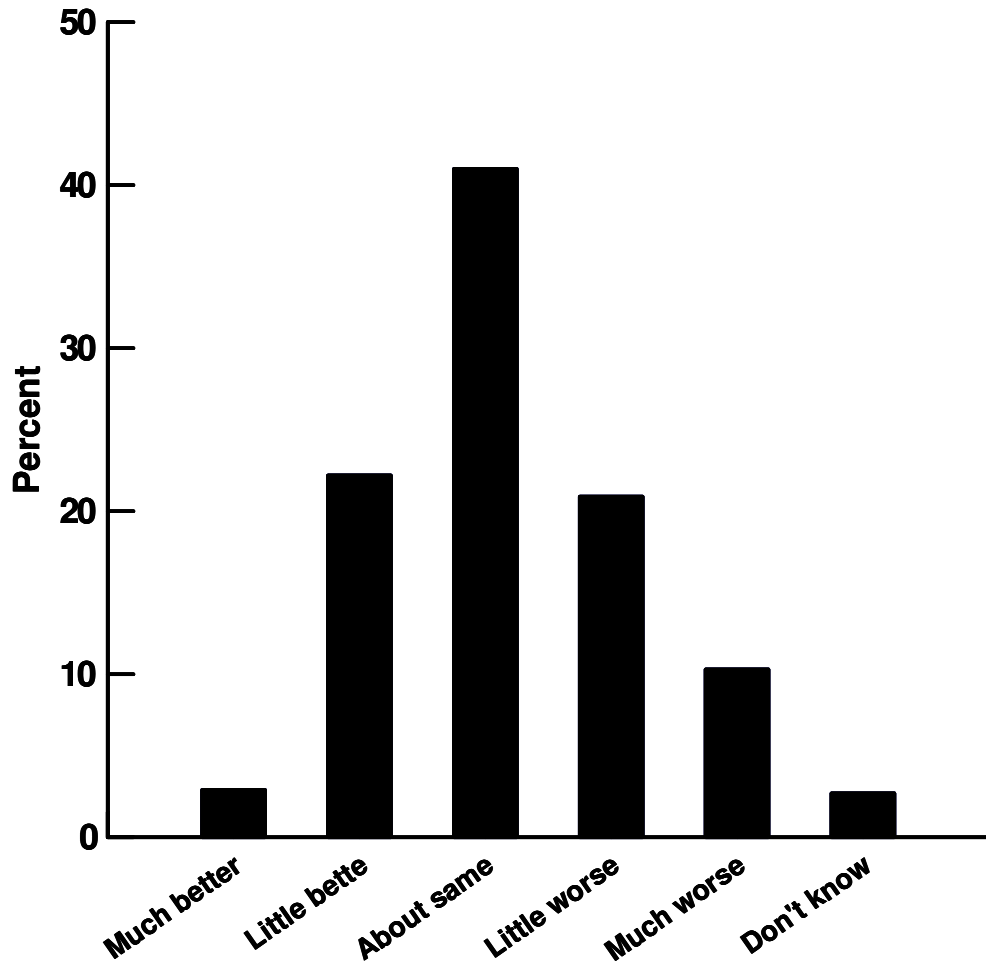


Fig 4.2b “How do you consider the current economic situation in Jamaica compared to 12 months ago?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Much better | 39 | 2.9 |
| A little better | 297 | 22.2 |
| About the same | 549 | 41.0 |
| A little worse | 279 | 20.9 |
| Much worse | 138 | 10.3 |
| Don't know/No answer | 36 | 2.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

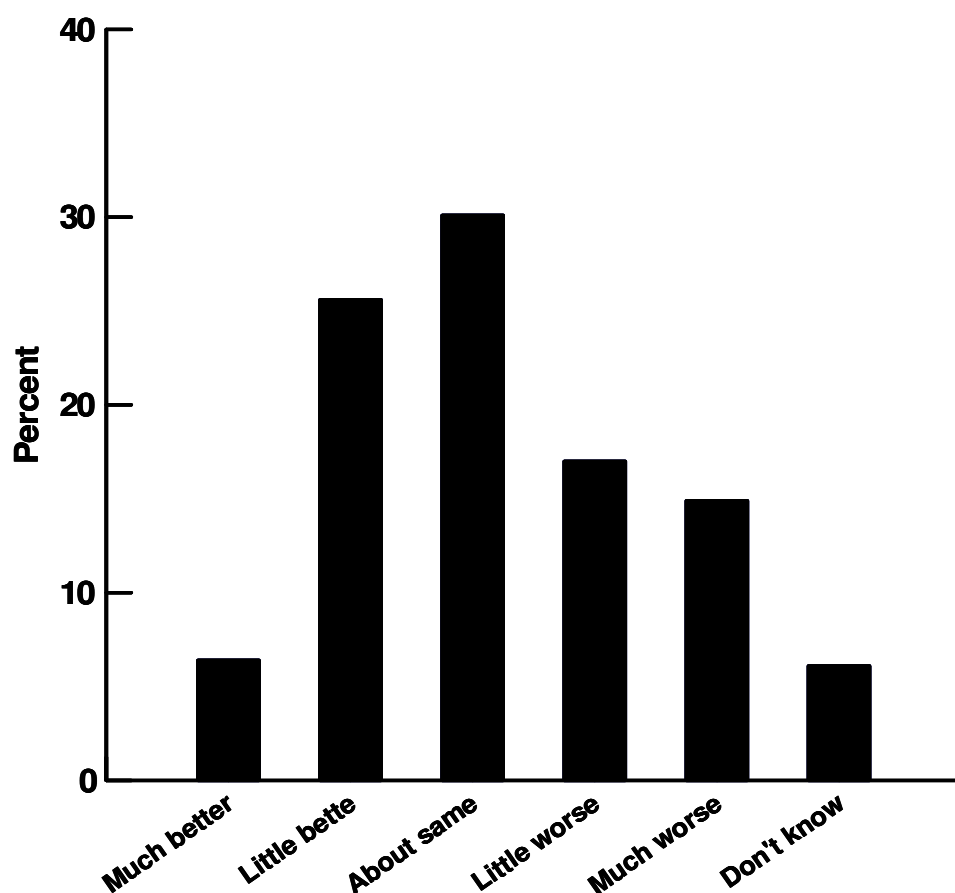


Fig 4.2c “How do you think the country's economic situation will be in 12 months time?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Much better | 85 | 6.4 |
| A little better | 342 | 25.6 |
| About the same | 403 | 30.1 |
| A little worse | 227 | 17.0 |
| Much worse | 199 | 14.9 |
| Don't know/No answer | 82 | 6.1 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

4.3 *Psychosocial well-being, need satisfaction . . .*

The purpose of this set of measures was to attempt to get a somewhat deeper sense--grounded in theories of 'basic human social needs' in anthropology, clinical and social psychology, and social work literatures--of the extent to which Jamaican respondents feel their 'psychosocial' needs are being met within the context of Jamaican society, i.e. in addition to the above 'economic' needs measures, The questions roughly approximate the "existence", "relatedness", and "growth" need clusters posited by theorists like Maslow (1968, 1970), Alderfer (1972) and others, tracking these across five different need facets, but minus the "need hierarchy" assumption. The question lead-in, and the 'need-ladder' question wordings for the five 'psychosocial need-satisfaction' items, were as follows:

"Now I am going to show you five different 'ladders of life'. On each 'ladder', please indicate the 'step' or the 'rung' that best reflects how you truly feel about your present life circumstances. The 'top' of the ladder is 10, and the 'bottom' of the ladder is 0, however you may use any number between 0 and 10 to describe how you feel about your life."

```

-----
10--Feel completely
 9  secure about the
 8  state of my health
 7
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2
 1  Often feel worried
 0--about my health
-----

```

```

-----
10--Feel completely
 9  secure about being
 8  able to afford
 7  basic necessities
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2  Worry constantly about
 1  being able to provide
 0--basic necessities
-----

```

```

-----
10--A life full
 9  of love, warm
 8  friendships,
 7  and good
 6  family
 5  relations
 4
 3
 2  A life without
 1  love, friends,
 0--and warmth
-----

```

```

-----
10--Complete
 9  recognition
 8  and respect
 7  from others
 6
 5
 4
 3
 2  Completely
 1  ignored by
 0--others
-----

```

```

-----
10--Satisfied that
 9  I'm realizing
 8  my fullest
 7  potential
 6  in life
 5
 4  Just about given
 3  up hope I'll ever
 2  get to do anything
 1  important or
 0--worthwhile
-----

```

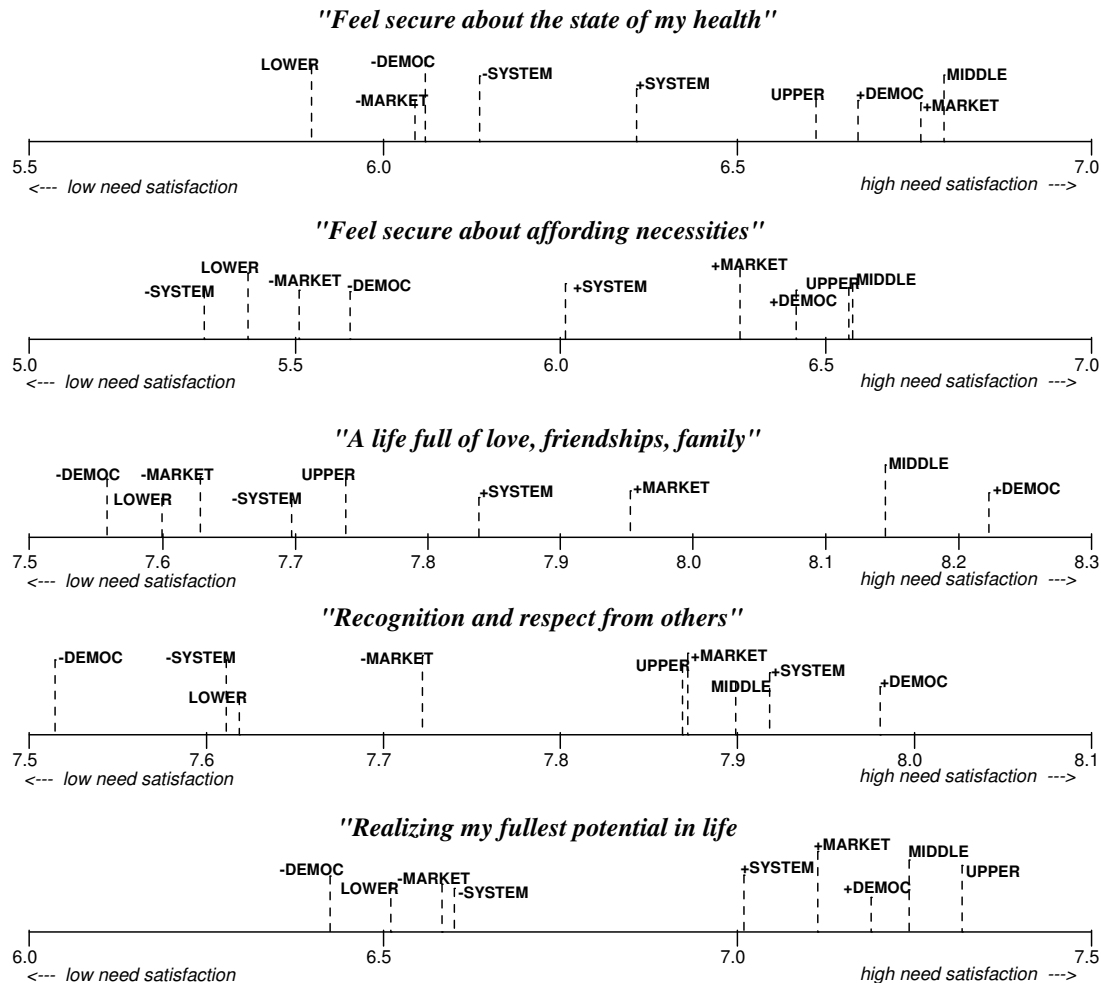
Average scores for the Jamaica sample on these five ‘need ladders’ (broken down by respondents’ social class, and by subjective evaluations of the socio-political system, the market economy, and democratic governance) are shown in Figures 4.3a-4.3e below. The left end of each scale represents low need satisfaction, and the right end of each scale represents high need satisfaction. Note in particular the ‘class divide’ that exists in self-reported need-satisfaction levels, and the association of this with positive/negative evaluations of the socio-economic system, and with subjective evaluations of how well ‘democracy’ functions in Jamaica. Lower/working class respondents clearly do not share the more positive evaluations of the socio-economic order held by upper and middle-class respondents, and are also consistently more likely to report low levels of psychosocial need satisfaction. With some minor variations, this general class-related pattern holds across all five categories of needs. One might reasonably expect this to be so with respect to “feel secure about affording necessities” (need ladder 2). What is more interesting, however, is that these class differences appear to hold as well for needs that are not as directly related to matters of economic sustenance.

Another interesting variation is that with respect to several of the need categories—relatedness needs and esteem needs in particular (ladders 3 and 4), the middle-class respondents report higher levels of need satisfaction than do the upper-class respondents, that is, they appear to feel better about the quality of their relationships with others, and better about themselves. This divergence is rather pronounced in the case of “a life full of love, friendships and family”, with upper-class respondents faring only slightly better than lower-class respondents in that category, while middle-class respondents report much higher levels of need-satisfaction than both. This pattern suggests that ‘economic’ and ‘psychosocial’ needs are being experienced as somewhat separate processes—that the one does not automatically, or necessarily, imply the other, and that they may in some cases even work in opposite directions.

The implications of this economic/psychosocial needs bifurcation for policymaking efforts targeted at improving citizen well-being would appear to be that ‘rapid economic stimulus’ policy solutions are unlikely, by themselves, to produce a sense of citizen need satisfaction. Concomitant attention to improving the social and personal dimensions of citizens’ lives would appear to be an important parallel consideration if Jamaicans are to feel that “this country I am living in is working to meet my needs as a person”. The generally negative evaluations of both private sector (“market”) and public sector (“state”) economic institutions revealed in the “Preferences for Public vs Private” and “Confidence in Societal and Political Institutions” sections of this report tend to reinforce this observation—viz. that economic rationalist policy solutions have been neither popular nor effective in creating a subjective sense of well-being among many Jamaican citizens, because on a day-by-day basis “my well-being” is experienced in terms of societally-provided opportunities for a more profound personal and social life, not just in terms of economic sustenance. Moreover as is evident in the “Individual vs Government Responsibility” section of this report, most Jamaicans continue to believe that it is primarily the responsibility of government, rather than of individuals left to themselves, to ensure that their economic and social needs are adequately met.

Figures 4.3a-4.3e: Self-reported Satisfaction of Five Types of Psychosocial Needs, broken down by Social Class, and +/- Evaluations of the Socio-Political System, the Market Economy, and Democratic Governance

(Plotted figures are average scores on the 1-10 need ladders, broken down by subgroups within the sample - e.g. by lower, middle, and upper-class respondents etc..)



Survey items used to measure the breakdown variables

Social class (self-rating): Which would you say best represents your present position in Jamaican society? Working(lower) class, middle class, or upper class?

+/- Evaluation of democratic governance: In general, would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the way 'democracy' works in Jamaica?

+/- Evaluation of the socio-political system: Generally speaking, do you believe that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you think they are moving in the wrong direction?

+/- Evaluation of the market economy: (4-item scale)

1. In general, how satisfied are you with the way the market economy works in Jamaica?

2. Do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the following statement: 'Only with a market economy can Jamaica become a developed country'.

3. Would you say that the market economy, the private enterprise system, is a fair system for working people, or that under private enterprise working people do not get a fair share of what they produce?

4. In recent years a number of formerly "public" services have been "privatised". Considering price and quality, how satisfied are you with these "privatised" services?

PREFERENCES FOR PRIVATE VS PUBLIC SECTOR SOLUTIONS TO PROBLEMS

Another important aspect of the political culture of any democratic society is the tendency of its citizens to prefer 'private' or 'market' solutions', versus 'public' or 'state' solutions, to emergent social problems--and the related tendency to attribute responsibility for solving those problems to either the individual, or to the government, respectively (Shirazi & Biel, 2005; Morris & Peng, 1994; Fiske & Tetlock, 2000; Verba, 1987; Rotter, 1966). Anthropologists and cultural psychologists tell us that these public/private preferences are often, in turn, a function of the degree of 'individualism' or 'collectivism' embedded in the dominant customs of the culture as a whole--which has implications for what kinds of policy solutions a people will deem appropriate and fair, and are willing to tolerate (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Frey & Powell, 2005; Triandis, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2001).

Since its heyday in the Reagan-Thatcher years, the 'neoliberal market economy' model of development, with its emphasis on privatisation and market solutions, has been a controversial issue among academics and policy makers globally. It is perhaps even moreso now, with mass opinion having turned against the U.S. variant of this model in a number of South and Central American countries, in some cases precipitating dramatic reversals of political fortunes and declining support for free trade agreements.. Certainly Jamaica has seen its fair share of these market/state, private/public debates over the past several decades. Most of the actions taken in this regard have been the product of discussions and negotiations among policy elites, with very little direct 'democratic feedback' from ordinary citizens of Jamaica. This section of the Leadership and Governance study attempts to address that feedback gap by reporting the measured preferences of ordinary Jamaicans in several key related areas: (1) their degree of satisfaction with the overall market economy model, (2) their sense of equity and fairness with respect to the market economy, (3) their views of the 'privatisation' of formerly public services, (4) their basic cultural orientations to 'individual' versus 'governmental' responsibility for solving society's problems, as well as (5) which social problems they consider most important for the nation to solve.

Consistent with the findings of a number of other recent national polls, the July-August 2006 national survey indicated that "crime and violence" and "unemployment" are seen by most Jamaicans as being the "most pressing problems the country faces at this time." (Table 5.1) When presented with a list of fourteen "things people typically need at different stages of their lives" (derived from comparable international lists), and when asked who is primarily "responsible" for dealing with each of those basic citizen needs, the expectations of most Jamaicans leaned heavily in the direction that "government should be responsible for providing it to all as a basic citizen benefit", rather than "individual citizens should be responsible for providing it for themselves." As can be seen in Table 5.2, most of the 1338 respondents in the Jamaican sample indicated that it is "the government" that is primarily responsible for addressing social problems of adequate health care, nutrition for school-age children, and providing financial assistance to students, elderly, disabled, and the poor. For social problems related to employment, job training, adequate housing, and child care assistance, the responsibility is seen as being somewhat more mixed - i.e. involving a combination of governmental and individual

responsibility for need provision.

This dependency-oriented cultural preference for 'governmental' over 'individual' solutions/responsibility apparently also extends to a general disapproval of the way in which "the market economy", "private enterprise", and "privatization" have been applied as approaches to solving the nation's social and economic problems in recent years. A substantial majority of Jamaicans (62.3%) report that they are "not satisfied with the way the market economy works", as compared with only 29.8% who say they are satisfied. Similarly, when asked if they feel "the market economy...is a fair system for working people", 71.8% feel that "under private enterprise working people do not get a fair share of what they produce". And again, with respect to privatisation of formerly-public services, 75.3% report that they are "less satisfied with these privatised services."

Considered as a whole, it is hard to find much evidence in these national patterns that would suggest that American-style 'individual self-reliance' and 'deregulated free market' models of rapid economic development are likely to be tolerated by the Jamaican public for any length of time as being 'fair' or 'appropriate'--within the broader cultural context of the dependency-oriented and community-oriented cultural milieu that has evolved historically in Jamaica (as compared with more radically individualistic cultures like the U.S.) The results suggest that most Jamaicans would apparently prefer that the nation's policies be based on a pragmatic balance of public and private approaches, administered by a paternalistic state that regulates market forces in the public interest, with mixed governmental and individual responsibility for social problem solution--a model that more nearly resembles the 'middle way' of social-democratic welfare states like Finland or the Netherlands as prototypes of modernization, rather than the liberal-individualism that prevails in the United States.

5.1 Trends: Most important national problems/priorities

Table 5.1: “What in your opinion is the most pressing problem the country faces at this time?”

| <i>Most important problem for government to solve</i> | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---|------------------|----------------|
| Crime and violence | 589 | 44.0 |
| Unemployment, lack of jobs | 412 | 30.8 |
| School and education | 78 | 5.8 |
| Corruption | 41 | 3.1 |
| Poverty | 37 | 2.8 |
| Cost of living, inflation | 22 | 1.6 |
| Road conditions | 18 | 1.3 |
| Health care | 18 | 1.3 |
| Drugs and gangs | 16 | 1.2 |
| Social values, instilling stronger moral values | 15 | 1.1 |
| Bad government | 14 | 1.0 |
| Low wages | 14 | 1.0 |
| Improvements in the standard of living | 9 | .7 |
| Maintenance of Law and Order | 7 | .5 |
| Water supply | 5 | .4 |
| Unity, the need for people to come together | 6 | .4 |
| AIDs | 4 | .3 |
| Housing | 3 | .2 |
| Ensuring free and fair election | 2 | .1 |
| Sanitation | 1 | .1 |
| Protection of the environment | 1 | .1 |
| Giving people more say in decision making | 2 | .1 |
| Lack of private investment in the economy | 1 | .1 |
| No response | 23 | 1.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

5.2 *Individual versus government responsibility for problem solution*

Table 5.2 Individual vs government responsibility

Question lead-in:

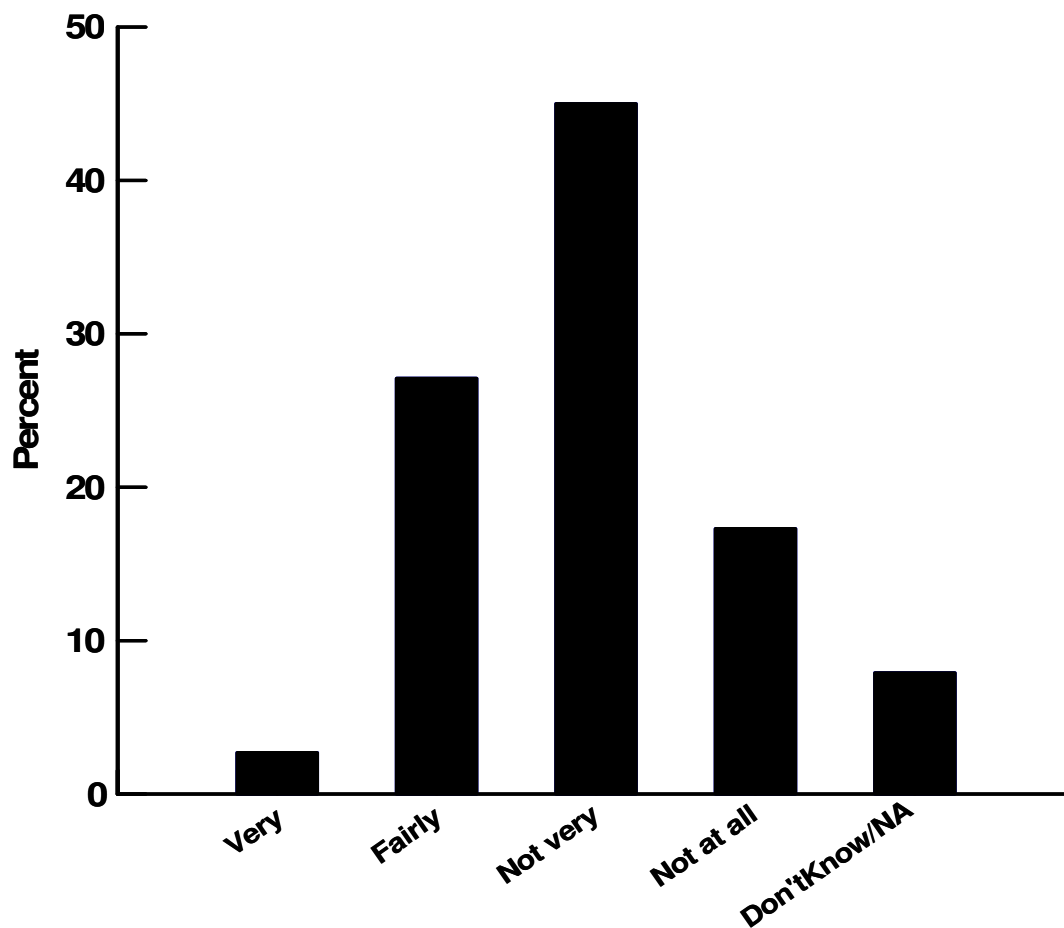
Now I am going to read you a list of things people typically need at different stages of their lives. For each item, indicate whether you feel the **government should be responsible** for providing it to all as a basic citizen benefit, or you feel **individual citizens should be responsible** for providing it for themselves. “1” means that each person should take responsibility for providing it for his or her self, and “10” means government should be responsible for providing it to all. Or, if you feel there should be mixed government and individual responsibility for providing it, you can use a number somewhere in between, for example 3, or 6, or 8 etc.

| <i>Type of problem or need</i> | <i>mean score (1-10 scale)</i> | <i>standard deviation</i> |
|---|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Adequate health and medical care for the elderly | 8.51 | 1.99 |
| Financial assistance to the disabled | 8.35 | 2.06 |
| Adequate health and medical care for the poor | 8.27 | 2.22 |
| Financial assistance to poor families | 7.37 | 2.40 |
| An adequate retirement income in old age | 7.18 | 2.63 |
| Adequate health and medical care | 7.02 | 2.51 |
| Financial assistance to tertiary students | 7.00 | 2.39 |
| Adequate nutrition for school-age children | 6.99 | 2.78 |
| Replacement of income lost due to accidental injury at work | 6.89 | 2.84 |
| Employment training and retraining | 6.46 | 2.65 |
| Employment, a decent job | 6.01 | 2.87 |
| Adequate housing, a decent place to live | 5.69 | 2.84 |
| Financial assistance during periods of unemployment | 5.52 | 2.79 |
| Child-care assistance for working parents | 4.46 | 2.76 |

n = 1330

5.3 *Preferences for public/private, state/market*

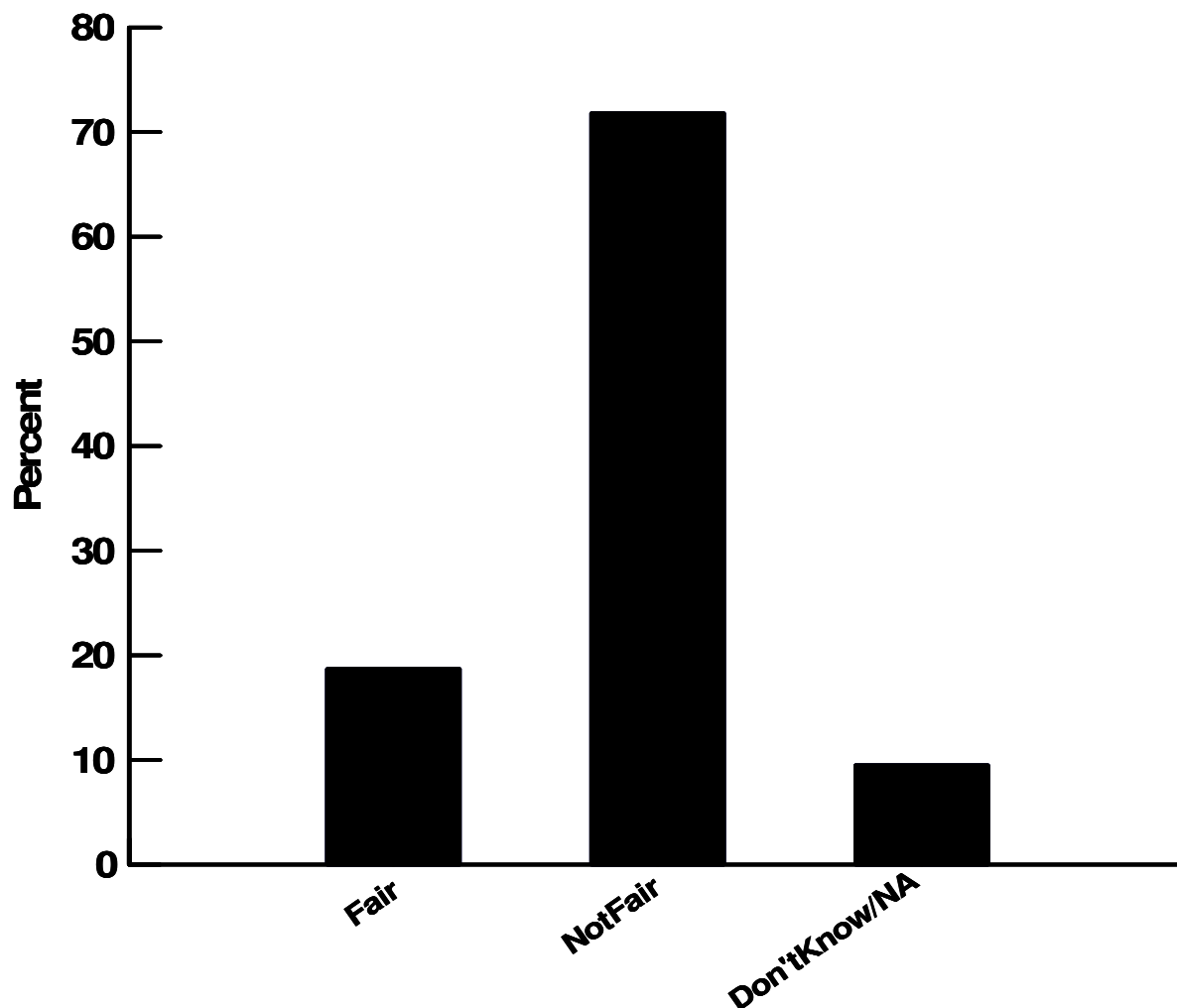
Figure 5.3a



"How satisfied are you with the way the market economy works in Jamaica?"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very satisfied | 36 | 2.7 |
| Fairly satisfied | 363 | 27.1 |
| Not very satisfied | 602 | 45.0 |
| Not at all satisfied | 231 | 17.3 |
| Don't know / No answer | 106 | 7.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

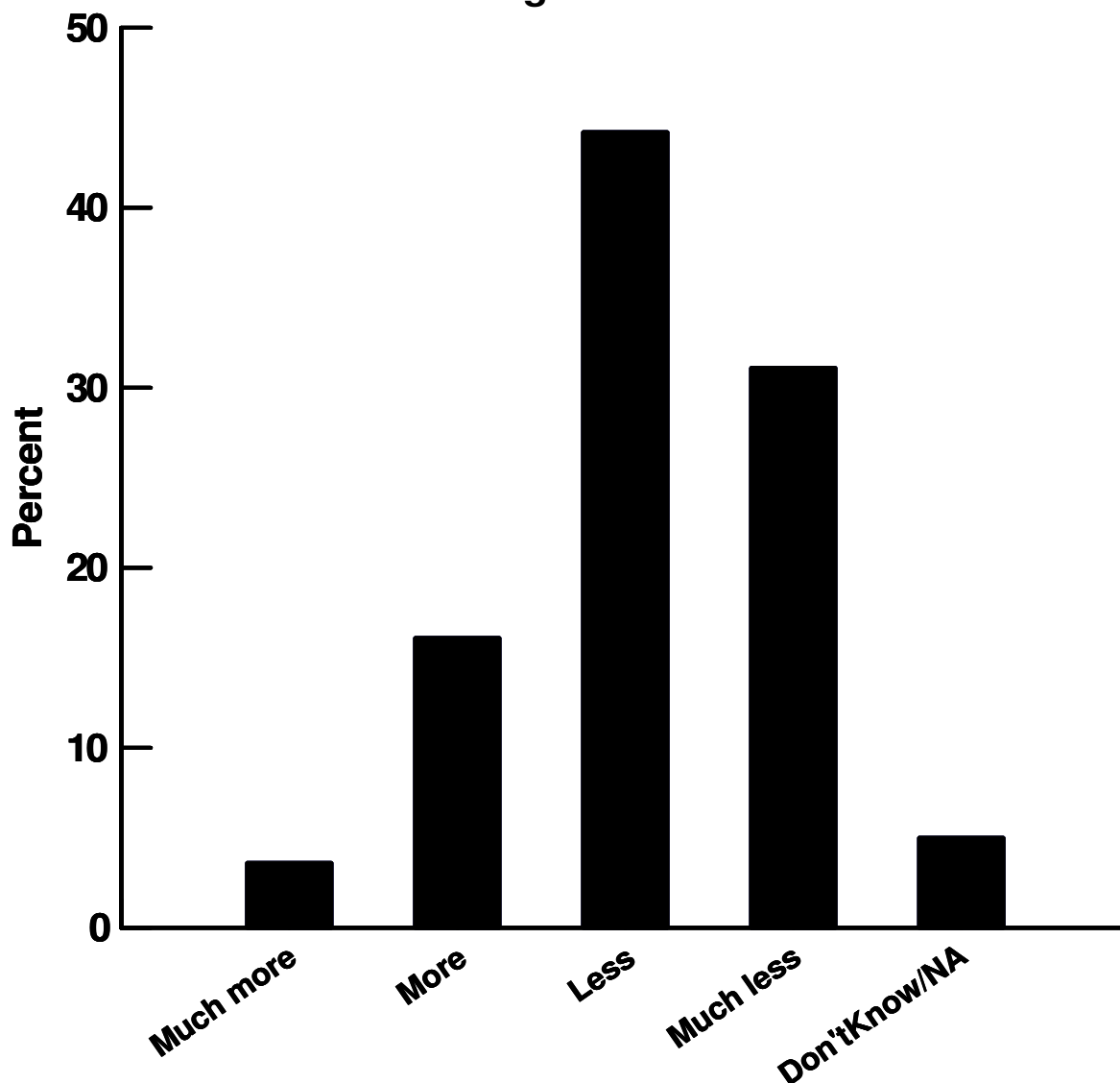
Figure 5.3b



"Would you say that the market economy, the private enterprise system, is a fair system for working people, or that under private enterprise working people do not get a fair share of what they produce?"

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Fair system for working people | 250 | 18.7 |
| Do not get a fair share | 961 | 71.8 |
| Don't know / No answer | 127 | 9.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

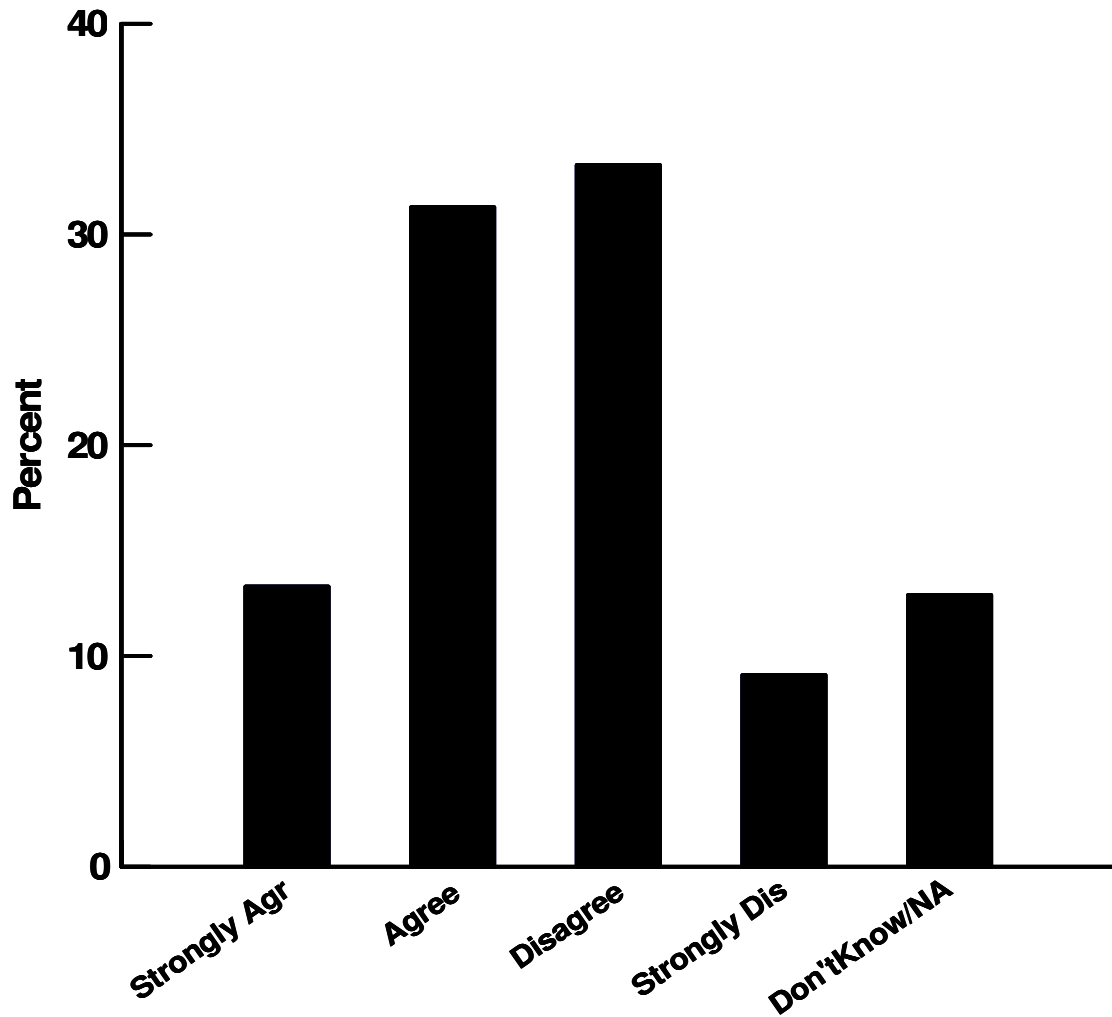
Figure 5.3c



In recent years a number of formerly "public" services have been "privatised." Considering price and quality, how satisfied are you with these privatised services?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Much more satisfied | 48 | 3.6 |
| More satisfied | 216 | 16.1 |
| Less satisfied | 591 | 44.2 |
| Much less satisfied | 416 | 31.1 |
| Don't know / No answer | 67 | 5.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

Figure 5.3d



**"Only with a market economy can
Jamaica become a developed country."**

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 178 | 13.3 |
| Agree | 419 | 31.3 |
| Disagree | 446 | 33.3 |
| Strongly disagree | 122 | 9.1 |
| Don't know / No answer | 173 | 12.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME, CORRUPTION, AND UNEQUAL TREATMENT

In most recent surveys of Jamaicans' views of the most important national problems to be solved, 'crime' and 'corruption' have consistently been listed at the top, alongside 'unemployment', as the most urgent priorities for policymakers to address. The July-August 2006 Leadership and Governance survey therefore devoted a number of questions to determining Jamaicans' experiences with, and perceptions of, crime and corruption in Jamaican society.

Contrary to the negative impression of police work often fostered in sensationalistic media accounts, most Jamaicans are in fact highly supportive of the attempts of police to tackle crime in their communities, with 69.8% evaluating the work of police in preventing crime as "good", and only 10.5% rating anti-crime efforts as "not very good" or "bad". (Figure 6.1c) A sizeable majority apparently fear, however, that the police are ultimately losing the battle with criminal elements. In terms of the overall efficacy of the government in being "able to enforce the laws", on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means that the state is "unable to enforce any laws", and 10 means that the state is "able to enforce all laws", 61.8% rated Jamaica as being toward the lower end of that scale (1-5), with only 35.3% rating Jamaica as being in the 6-10 range. (Figure 6.1d) Similarly, when asked whether they thought "the war against crime and delinquency in Jamaica is being won", only 12.6% agreed that it was, whereas 85.4% said that it was not. (Figure 6.1b)

Most Jamaicans are similarly skeptical-but-still-hoping regarding the continuing presence of corruption, and government efforts to combat it. Whereas only 18.2% will say they or someone in their family have "known of an act of corruption in the last 12 months" (which could conceivably be higher owing to the social desirability bias inherent in the question), when specifically asked whether they "personally know a case in which a person received privileges because they supported the ruling party", 13.8% say they "know one case" and 17.9% say they "know more than one case", with another 21.3% saying they "don't know but I have been told about it." (Figure 6.2c) When asked how much time they think will be needed to eliminate corruption in Jamaica, 42.2% of respondents believe it will take more than five years, with 43% saying they believe the task could be accomplished in 1-5 years. (Figure 6.2a) There also seems to be substantial acknowledgement, albeit reluctant, of corrupt practices as being a regular feature of Jamaican life. When asked specific questions that pose hypothetical situations involving contact with corrupt officials, a majority of respondents say they would "advise a relative who is visiting Jamaica" that it is "likely" or "very likely" that someone in a Ministry could be bribed in order to get a contract or concession, and that it is "likely" or "very likely" that police could be bribed in order to avoid being stopped. Substantial numbers, though not a majority, also feel it is "likely" or "very likely" that a judge could be bribed in order to obtain a favourable sentence. (Figures 6.2e,f,g).

Regarding the likelihood of receiving 'equal treatment before the law' (Figures 6.3a, b), most Jamaicans are again skeptical, seeing the justice system as strongly skewed in favour of protecting the interests of a privileged few. 69.4% say that "administration of justice in Jamaica mainly favours the rich", whereas only 24.2% believe that "administration of justice in Jamaica benefits most citizens equally". Similarly, 68.8% say that the country is "governed for the benefit of a few powerful interests," with only 26% believing it is "governed for the good of everyone".

6.1 Trends: Crime and police protection

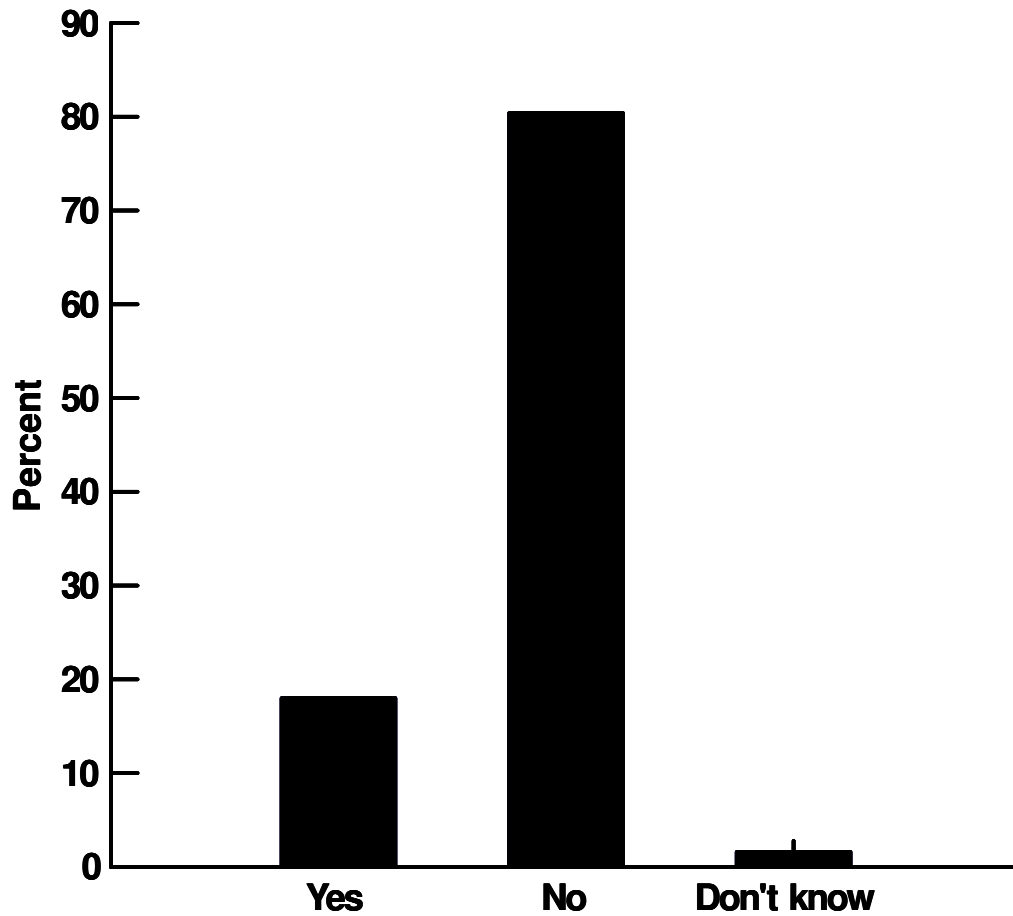


Figure 6.1a: “Have you or a family member been assaulted, attacked or a victim of a crime in last 12 months?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Yes | 241 | 18.0 |
| No | 1076 | 80.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 21 | 1.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

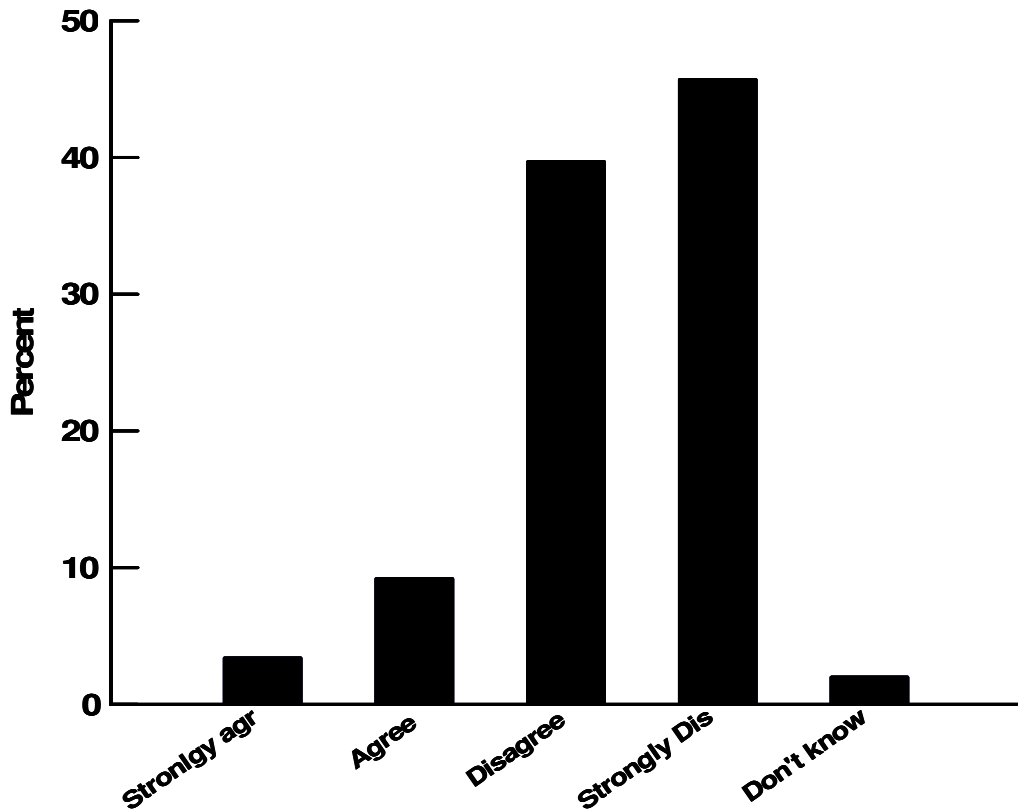


Figure 6.1b: “The war against crime and delinquency in Jamaica is being won...”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 46 | 3.4 |
| Agree | 123 | 9.2 |
| Disagree | 531 | 39.7 |
| Strongly disagree | 611 | 45.7 |
| Don't know/No answer | 27 | 2.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

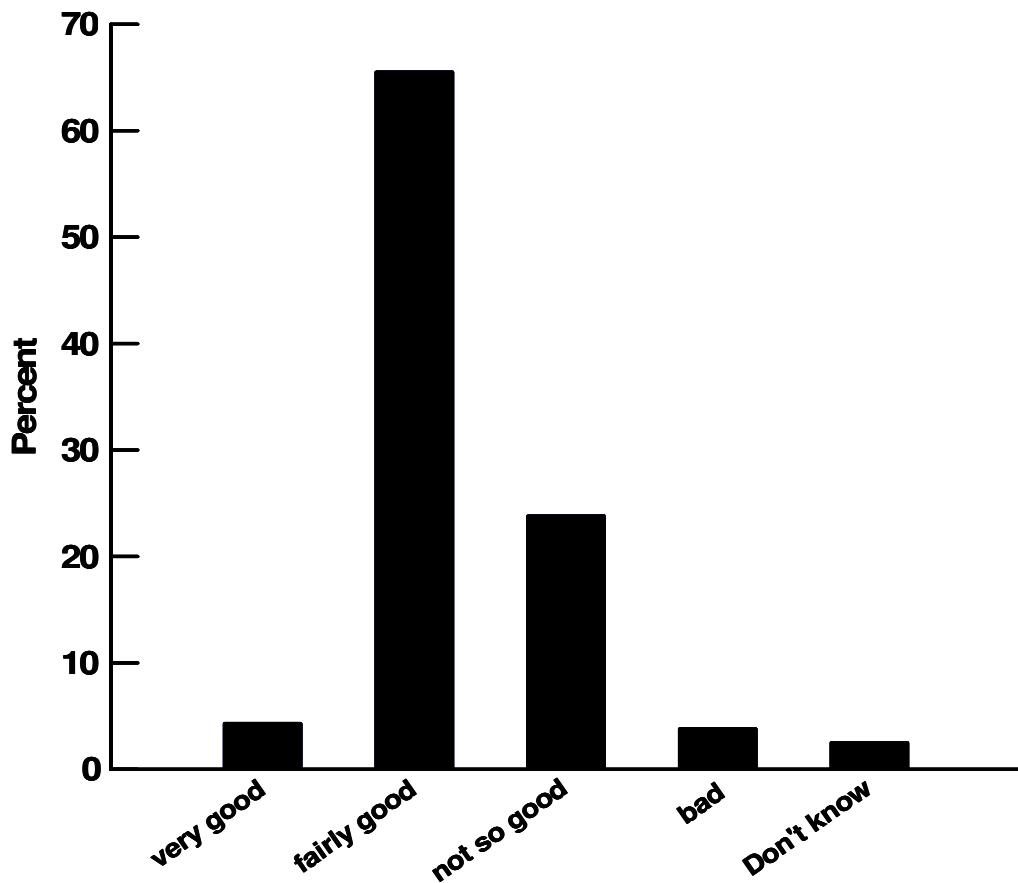


Figure 6.1c: “How would you evaluate the work of the police in preventing crime in your community?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very good | 58 | 4.3 |
| Fairly good | 876 | 65.5 |
| Not so good | 51 | 3.8 |
| Bad | 90 | 6.7 |
| Don't know/No answer | 34 | 2.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

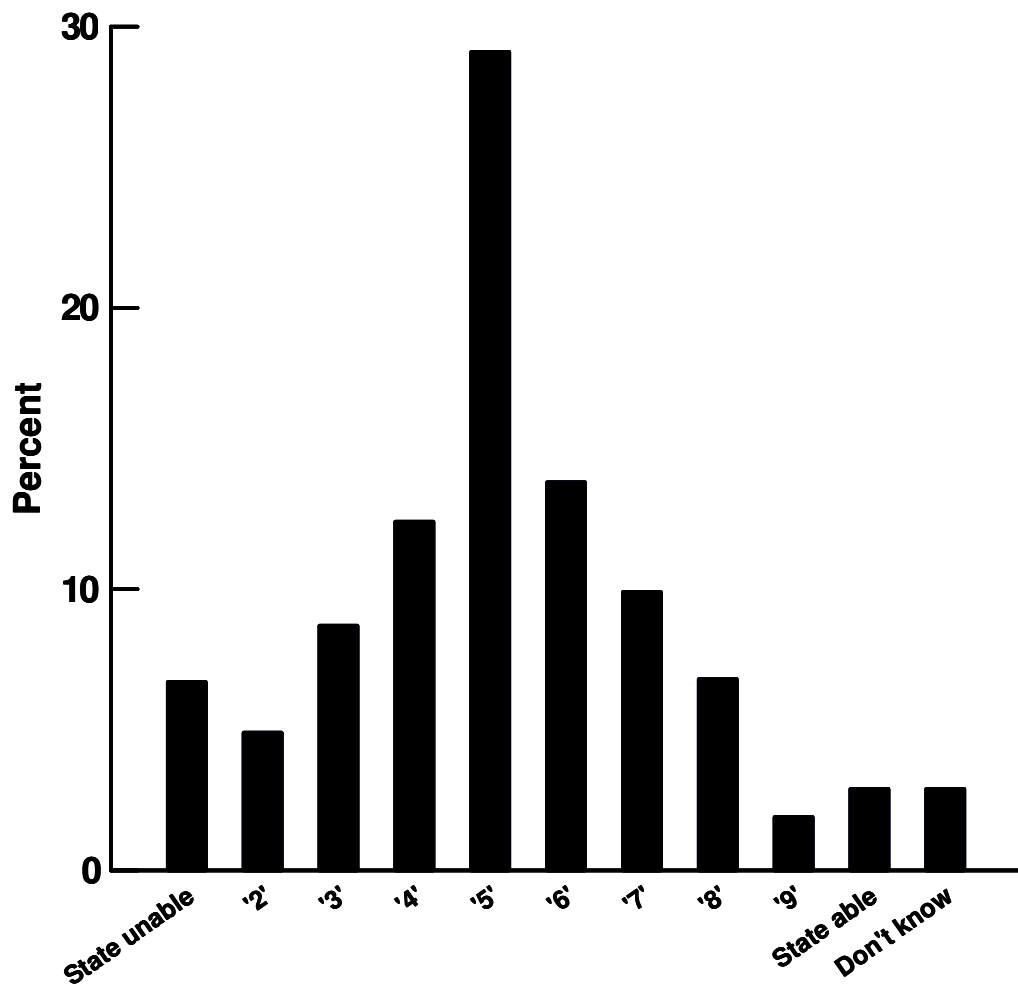


Figure 6.1d: “On a scale from 1 to 10, where 1 means the state is unable to enforce any laws, and 10 means the state is able to enforce all laws, where would you locate Jamaica?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| 1- state unable to enforce any laws | 90 | 6.7 |
| 2 | 65 | 4.9 |
| 3 | 116 | 8.7 |
| 4 | 166 | 12.4 |
| 5 | 390 | 29.1 |
| 6 | 184 | 13.8 |
| 7 | 133 | 9.9 |
| 8 | 91 | 6.8 |
| 9 | 25 | 1.9 |
| 10 - state is able to enforce all laws | 39 | 2.9 |
| Don't know/No answer | 39 | 2.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

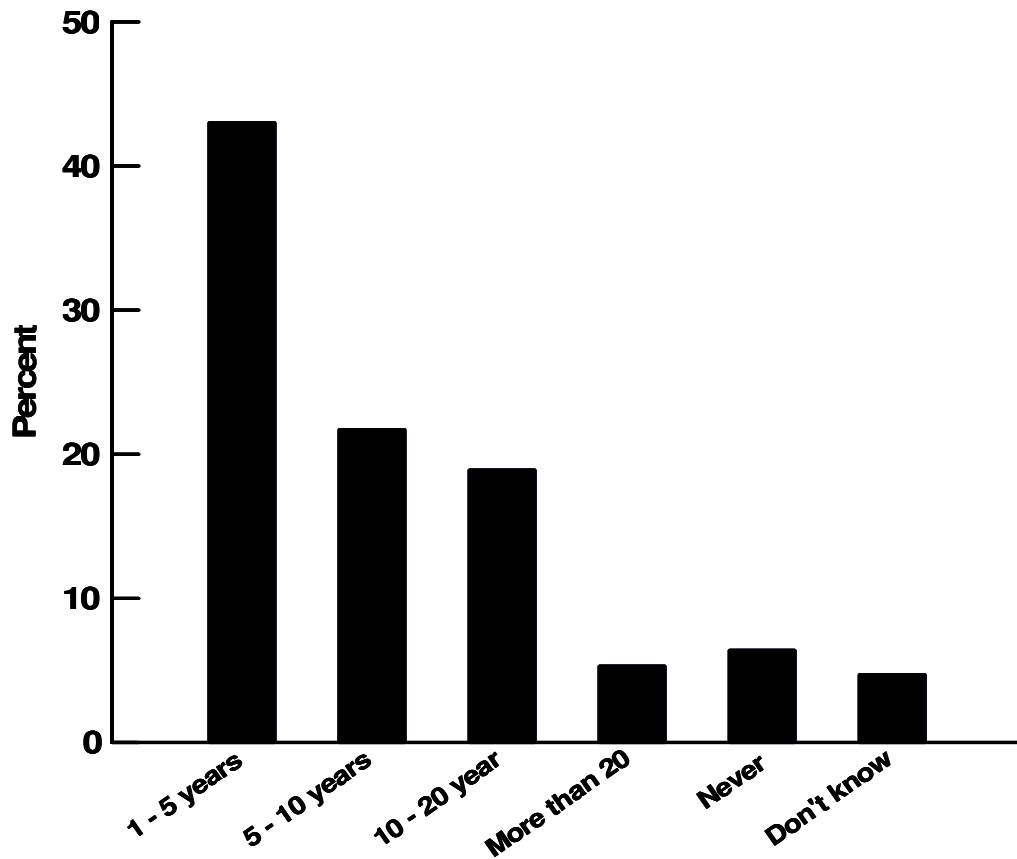


Figure 6.2a: How much time do you think will be needed to eliminate corruption in Jamaica?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| 1 - 5 years | 160 | 43.0 |
| 5 - 10 years | 244 | 21.7 |
| 10 - 20 years | 169 | 18.9 |
| More than 20 years | 215 | 5.3 |
| Never | 486 | 6.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 64 | 4.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

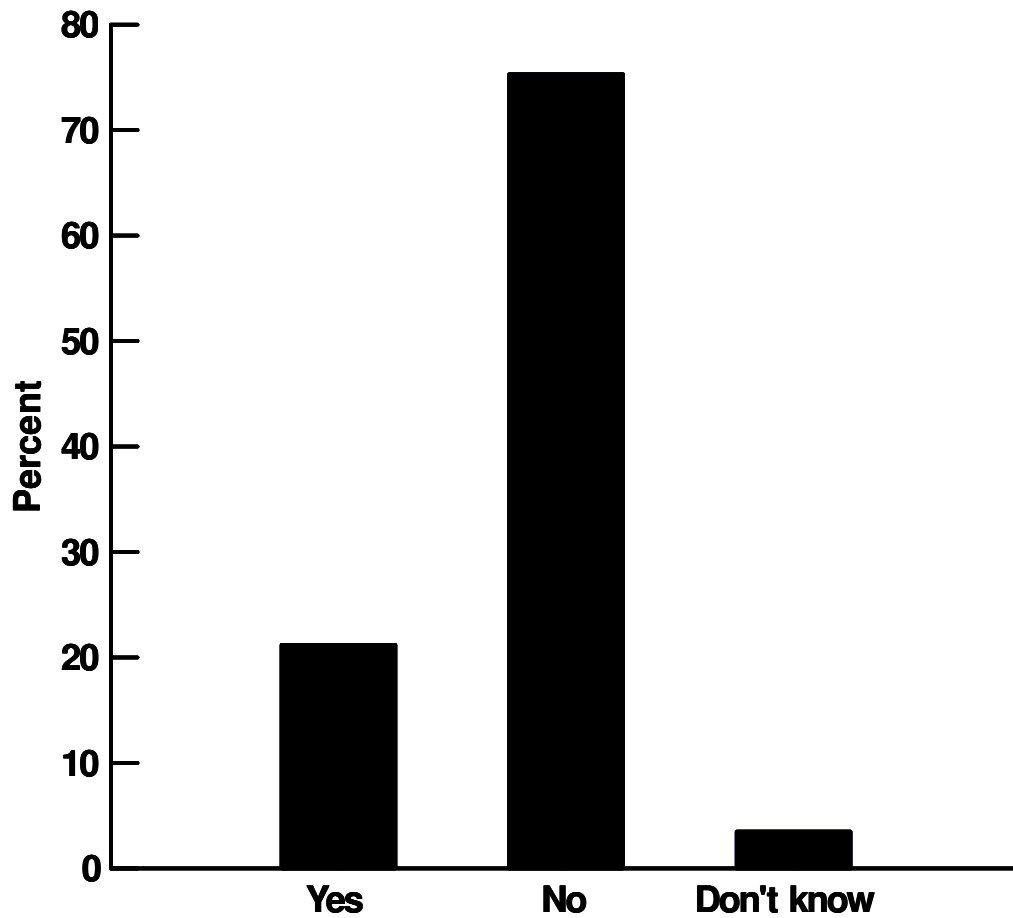
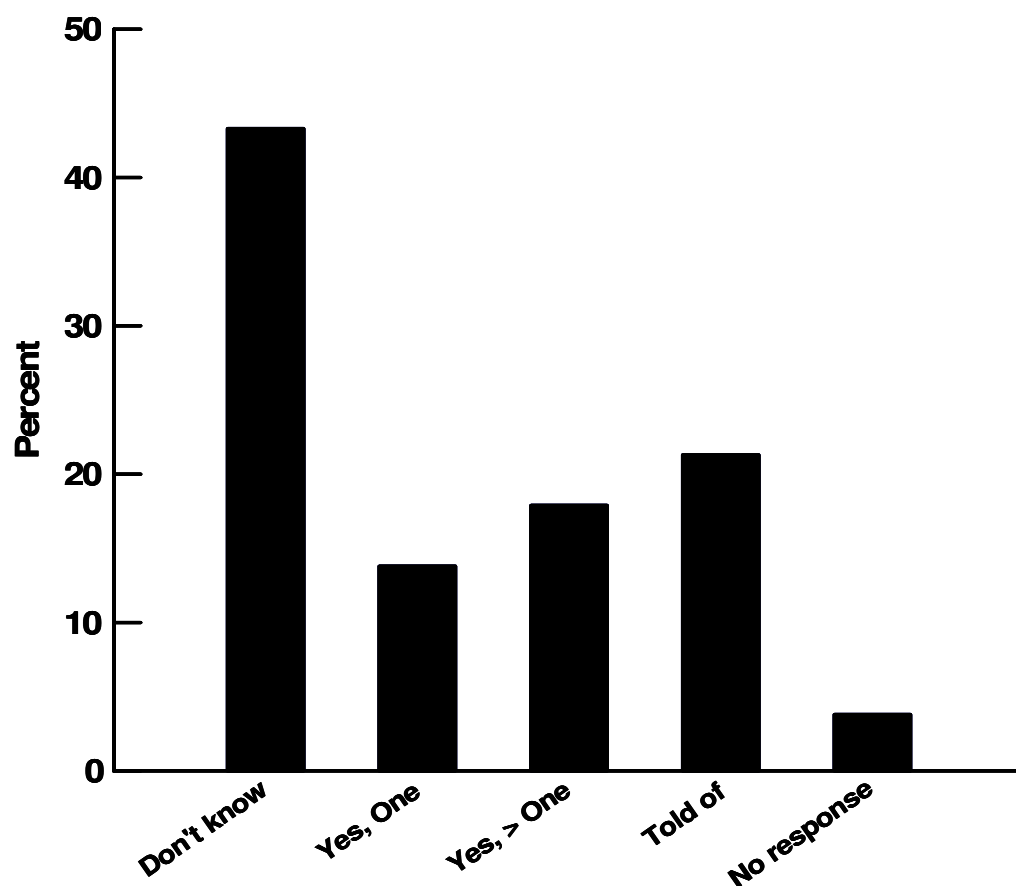


Figure 6.2b: Have you or someone in your family known of an act of corruption in the last 12 months?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Yes | 283 | 21.2 |
| No | 1008 | 75.3 |
| Don't know/No answer | 47 | 3.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |



**Figure 6.2c: Do you personally know a case
In which a person received privileges because
they supported the ruling party?**

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| I don't know any case | 579 | 43.3 |
| Yes, I know one case | 184 | 13.8 |
| Yes, I know more than one case | 239 | 17.9 |
| I don't know but I have been told | 285 | 21.3 |
| Don't know/No answer | 51 | 3.8 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

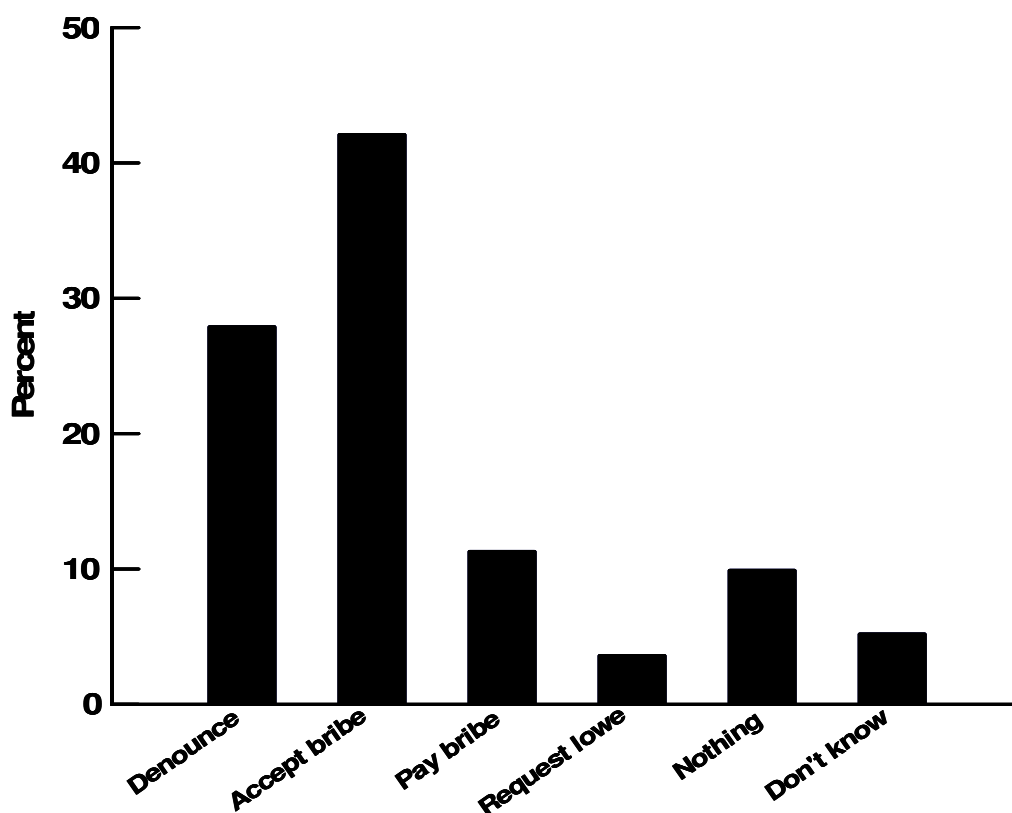


Figure 6.2d: If a relative of yours asked you what to do, because a public functionary insinuated it is necessary to pay a bribe in order to process things quickly, what would you recommend?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Denounce bribe | 379 | 27.9 |
| Conduct business without bribe | 563 | 42.1 |
| Pay bribe | 151 | 11.3 |
| Request bribe be lowered | 48 | 3.6 |
| Nothing | 133 | 9.9 |
| Don't know/No answer | 70 | 5.2 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

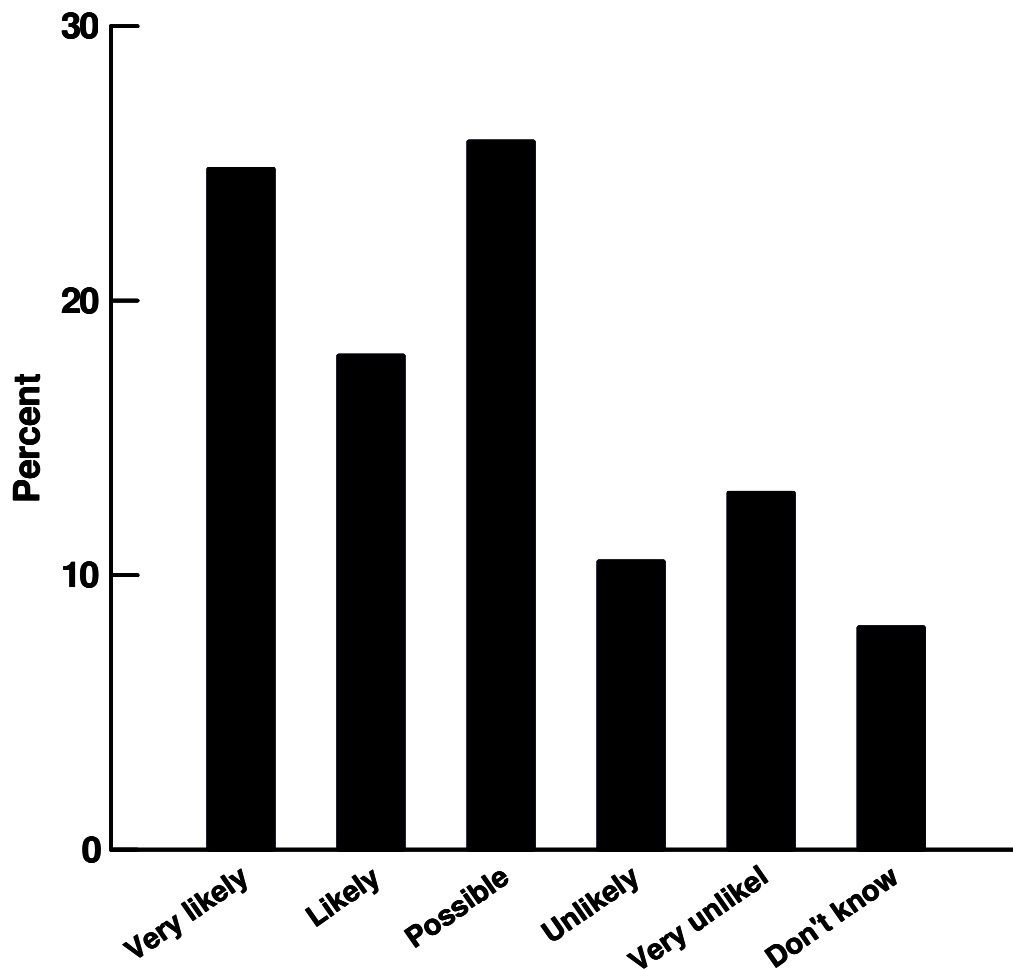


Figure 6.2e: If a foreign friend asked you about the probability of being able to bribe someone in a Ministry to get a contract or concession, what would you say?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very high probability | 332 | 24.8 |
| Quite high probability | 241 | 18.0 |
| Moderate probability | 343 | 25.8 |
| Low probability | 140 | 10.5 |
| Very low probability | 174 | 13.0 |
| Don't know/No answer | 108 | 8.1 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

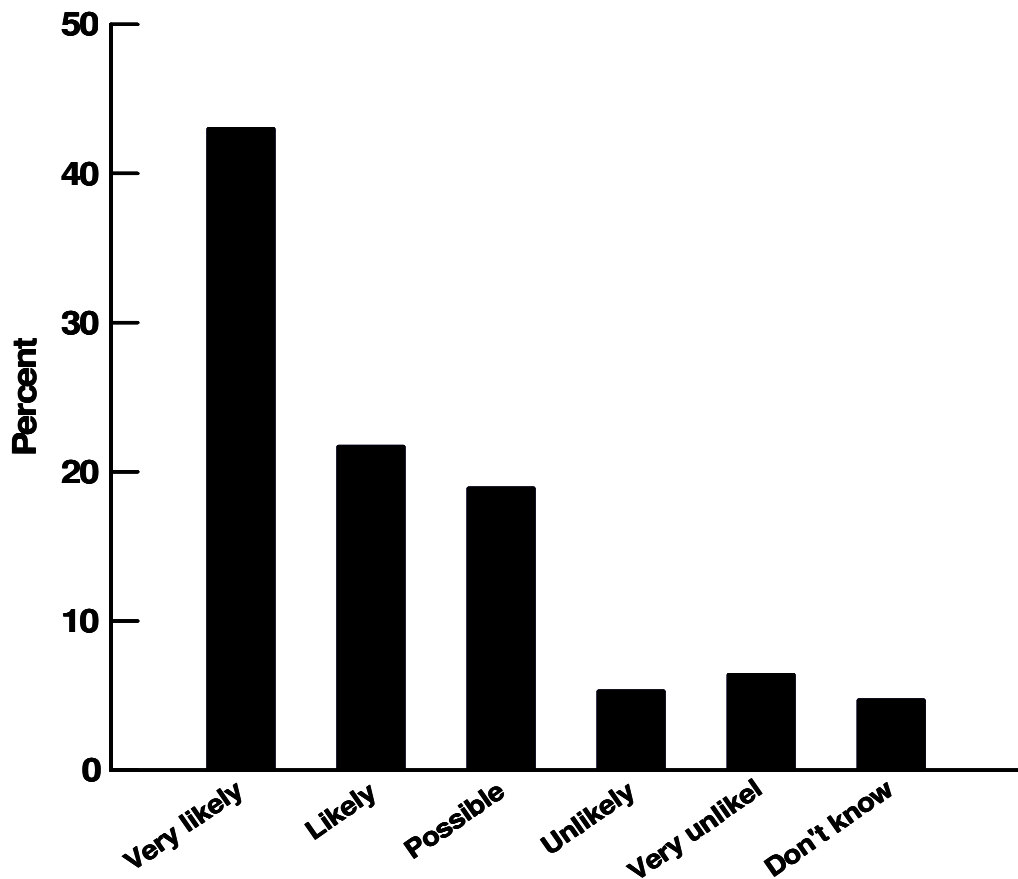


Figure 6.2f: If a foreign friend asked you about the probability of being able to bribe the police in order to avoid being stopped, what would you say?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Very likely | 575 | 43.0 |
| Likely | 291 | 21.7 |
| Possible | 253 | 18.9 |
| Unlikely | 71 | 5.3 |
| Very unlikely | 85 | 6.4 |
| Don't know/no answer | 63 | 4.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

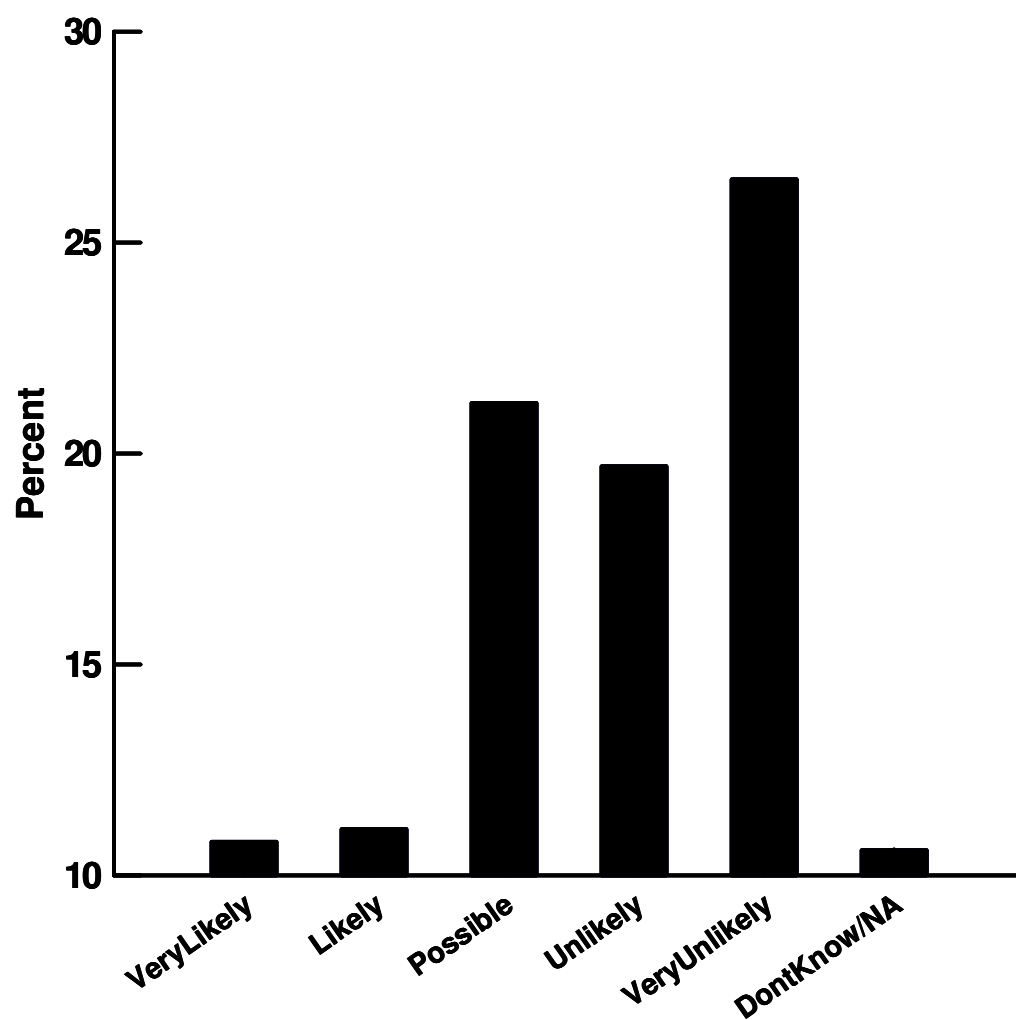


Figure 6.2g: If a foreign friend asked you about the probability of being able to bribe a judge to get a favourable sentence, what would you say?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| very likely | 144 | 10.8 |
| Likely | 149 | 11.1 |
| Possible | 284 | 21.2 |
| unlikely | 264 | 19.7 |
| Very unlikely | 355 | 26.5 |
| Don't know/no answer | 142 | 10.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

6.3

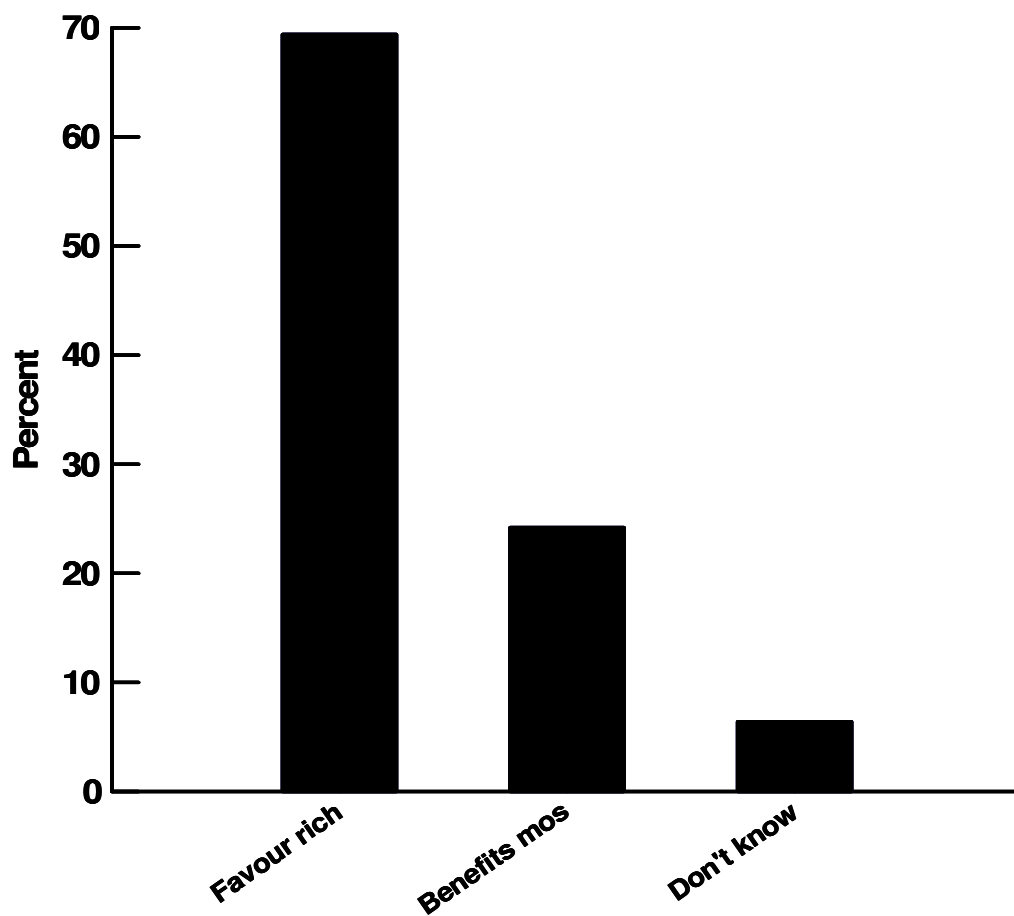
Equal treatment before the law

Figure 6.3a: “Would you say that administration of justice in Jamaica mainly favours the rich, or that administration of justice in Jamaica benefits most citizens equally?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Favours rich | 929 | 69.4 |
| Benefits most equally | 324 | 24.2 |
| Don't know/No answer | 85 | 6.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

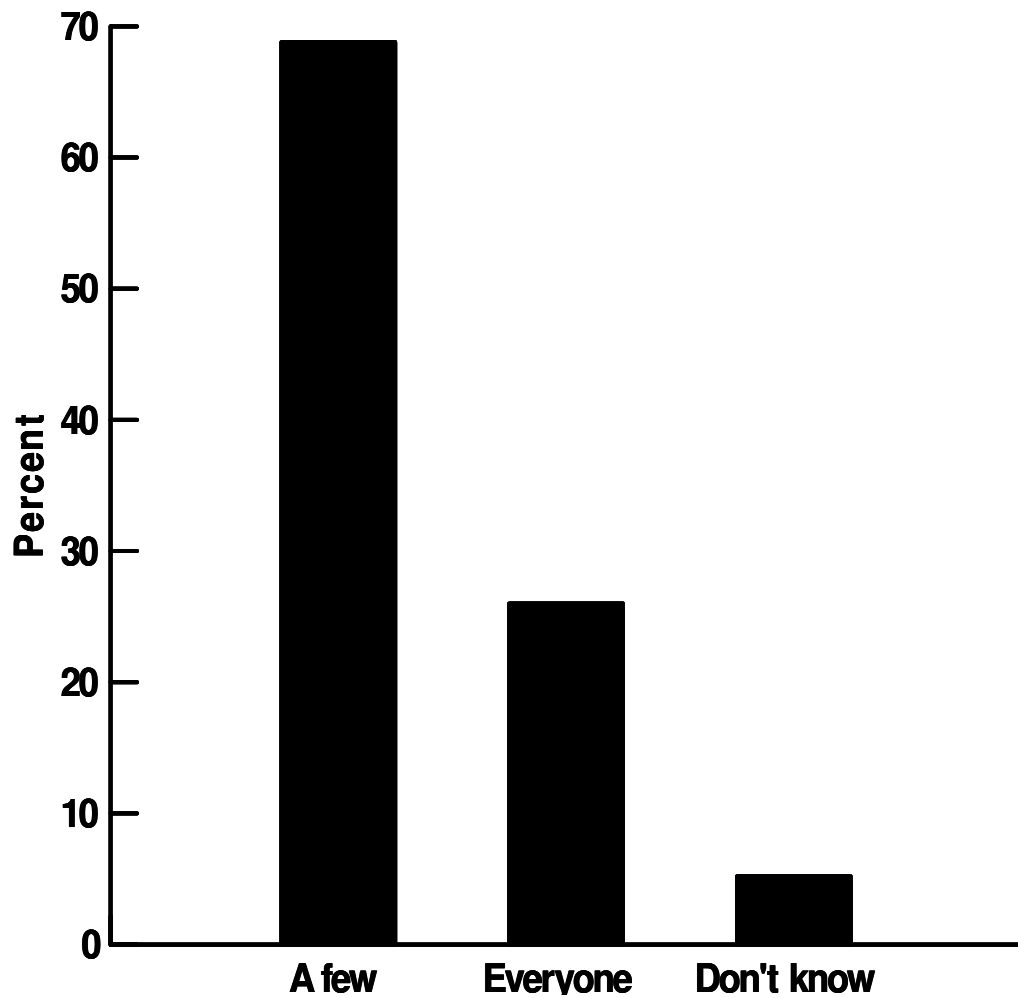


Figure 6.3b: “Would you say that the country is governed for the benefit of a few powerful interests, or is it governed for the good of everyone?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| A few powerful interests | 921 | 68.8 |
| Everyone | 348 | 26.0 |
| Don't know/No answer | 69 | 5.2 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION & CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

*The citizen, unlike the subject, is an active participant in the political input process – the process by which political decisions are made. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture*, 1963, p. 117.*

As Yale political scientist Robert Dahl pointed out fifty years ago in his classic *A Preface to Democratic Theory*, the common thread that runs through most historical definitions of ‘democracy’ is that it is a system in which “ordinary citizens exert a relatively high degree of control over leaders.” (1956, p.3) A healthy democratic culture is necessarily a participatory culture – one in which the citizenry becomes actively ‘engaged’ with the social order in meaningful and self-empowering ways through voting and various forms of community and political participation, and in which citizens keep themselves and others well-informed as to the significance of public events via the available media of communication. Citizen participation and active media use are also important elements in building ‘social capital’ (Putnam 1993, 1995). The opposite of this state of affairs is disengagement, complacency, alienation, anomie, indifference, passivity, powerlessness – all of which work against democracy, and against social capital.

To what extent do Jamaicans actively engage with the larger community through various forms of participation and media use? In the July-August 2006 national survey, we asked questions about involvement in 18 types of conventional and non-conventional participation other than voting (for voting, see section 8 below), and also about exposure to current events via print and electronic media, and casual conversation with others. The national findings are summarized in Table 7.1 and Figure 7.2.

Other than voting (see section 8), the most common forms of political participation through which Jamaicans interface with their political system--and which they report having engaged in at least once--are attendance at political meetings and election rallies (38%), persuading others to vote (32.4%), contacting a local government official on a community problem (31.5%), contacting a central government official on a community problem (24.4%), joining a political party (22.6%), participating in a peaceful march or demonstration (20.1%), and working for a party or candidate in an election (18.5%).

Note that that these most frequent citizen participatory behaviours are all ‘conventional’ ones, and that the more dramatic, nonconventional behaviours that usually attract media attention are in actuality the least frequent ones – namely, blocking traffic in protest, violent marches and demonstrations, organized strikes and boycotts, and sending petitions and letters of protest to political leaders. The picture of the reality of Jamaicans’ participation in public affairs that mass print and electronic media project is therefore (perhaps inevitably, owing to their inherent sensationalistic bias) a distorted one, which exaggerates the relatively infrequent nonconventional behaviours, and minimizes--as less dramatic and newsworthy--the more conventional forms, which are in reality the most common forms of political engagement.

With respect to media use (Figure 7.2), Jamaicans’ principle sources of information about current events are, in order of frequency of use: TVJ, word-of-mouth, CVM, RJR, the Gleaner, Fame FM, the Observer, internet, Power 106, and Hot 102. As is typical by international comparison, televised news clearly prevails as the chief medium of information and images on civic affairs, followed by the most popular newspapers and radio stations. One interesting cultural feature, somewhat less typical, is the continuing prominence of “word-of-mouth” as a major source of current affairs information.

7.1 Trends: Political participation

Table 7.1: Levels of citizen involvement in 18 types of conventional and non-conventional political participation other than voting

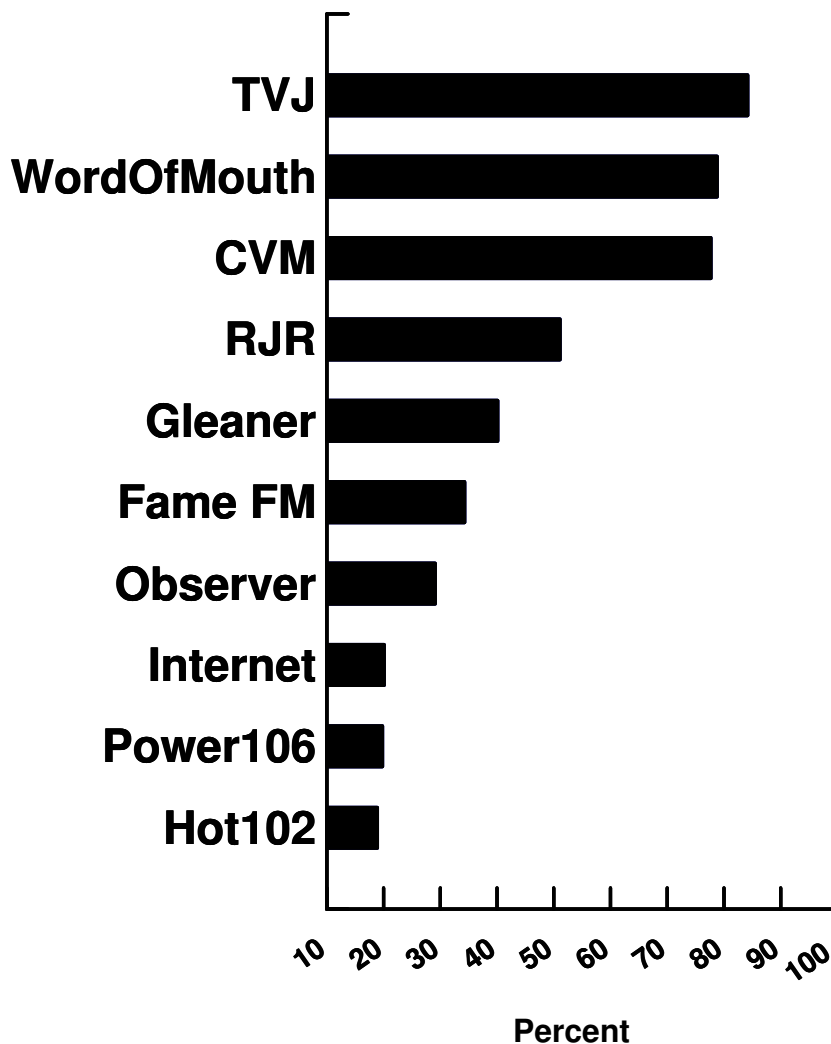
| <i>Form of Political Participation</i> | | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------|------------------|----------------|
| Have you ever . . . joined a political party? | <i>Yes</i> | 302 | 22.6 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1012 | 75.6 |
| Worked for a party or a candidate in an election? | <i>Yes</i> | 247 | 18.5 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1075 | 80.3 |
| Attended a political meeting or an election rally? | <i>Yes</i> | 509 | 38.0 |
| | <i>No</i> | 811 | 60.6 |
| Attempted to persuade others to vote? | <i>Yes</i> | 434 | 32.4 |
| | <i>No</i> | 886 | 66.2 |
| Written a letter to a newspaper on a political issue? | <i>Yes</i> | 63 | 4.7 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1257 | 93.9 |
| Phoned in to contribute your comments to a radio or television talk show, on a political issue? | <i>Yes</i> | 101 | 7.5 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1221 | 91.3 |
| Contributed your comments to an internet 'blog' on a political issue? | <i>Yes</i> | 64 | 4.8 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1261 | 94.5 |
| Personally sent a letter or message of protest, or support, to a political leader? | <i>Yes</i> | 83 | 6.2 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1240 | 92.7 |

(cont.)

| <i>Form of Political Participation</i> | | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|---|------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Contacted a <i>local</i> government official or politician, to seek help with a <i>personal</i> problem you or your family had? | <i>Yes</i> | 243 | 18.2 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1077 | 80.5 |
| Contacted a <i>central</i> gov't official or politician, to seek help with a <i>personal</i> problem you or your family had? | <i>Yes</i> | 247 | 18.5 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1075 | 80.3 |
| Contacted a <i>local</i> gov't official or politician, on some general <i>community</i> problem? | <i>Yes</i> | 422 | 31.5 |
| | <i>No</i> | 904 | 67.6 |
| Contacted a <i>central</i> gov't official or politician, on some general <i>community</i> problem? | <i>Yes</i> | 326 | 24.4 |
| | <i>No</i> | 999 | 74.7 |
| Signed a petition? | <i>Yes</i> | 165 | 12.3 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1156 | 86.4 |
| Blocked traffic in protest? | <i>Yes</i> | 104 | 7.8 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1220 | 91.2 |
| Participated in an organized 'strike'? | <i>Yes</i> | 182 | 13.6 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1145 | 85.6 |
| Participated in an organized 'boycott'? | <i>Yes</i> | 118 | 8.8 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1204 | 90.0 |
| Participated in a peaceful march or public demonstration? | <i>Yes</i> | 267 | 20.1 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1060 | 79.7 |
| Participated in a march or public demonstration that involved some violence? | <i>Yes</i> | 65 | 4.9 |
| | <i>No</i> | 1255 | 93.8 |

n = 1338

**Fig. 7.2: Media Sources of "News and Information
(% who report exposure to "current events" via th
medium either "every day" or "3-4 times a week"**



LEADERSHIP, PARTY, AND ELECTORAL PREFERENCES

Jamaicans' orientations to political leadership can be usefully summarized in terms of three overlapping areas: (1) their views of the relative effectiveness of past and present national *leaders*, (2) their *party* preferences, and (3) their *electoral* preferences and voting behaviour. The July-August 2006 national survey posed relevant questions in each of these areas.

Citizen views of prominent national 'leaders' typically reflect something more than just a simple preference for who should lead. They are, beyond that, often symbolic of a broader sense of shared national identity, of particular group, class, and ethnic identities, and of national goals and aspirations over time. As Murray Edelman eloquently observed in *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, national leaders typically "personify a range of fears and hopes". In that symbolic role they become visible signs "of competence, evil, nationalism, future promise, and other virtues and vices and so help introduce meaning into a confusing political world". (1986, p. 37) Moreover, as Harold Lasswell (1960) first noted in his *Psychopathology and Politics*, and Robert Lane (1969) later elaborated in *Political Thinking and Consciousness: The Private Life of the Political Mind.*, when individuals hold intense opinions about national political leaders (whom they usually have not met personally) as abstracted objects located above their sense of self, a quasi-therapeutic process of emotional displacement is in fact occurring in which citizens' private dispositions are being displaced onto symbolic leaders and rationalized as "political opinions" and "leadership preferences."

The July-August 2006 Leadership and Governance survey explored Jamaicans' comparative evaluations of a variety of past and present leaders, asking respondents to rate 20 national leaders in all. A "prominent national leader with substantial political influence" was defined broadly to encompass both persons who formally hold political office, and also those who substantially influence national opinion/events/goals without formally occupying a political office (historical examples of which include persons like M. K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Bob Marley.) The list was necessarily incomplete, owing to limitations of survey space, but a reasonable range of prominent national leaders, past and present, was nevertheless sampled.

Of the 20 listed leaders, the most highly-regarded, those whose average "approval" ratings are in the 80%-90% range, include (in order of preference) Marcus Garvey, Norman Manley, Bob Marley, Michael Manley, Alexander Bustamante, and Portia Simpson Miller. 'Moderately popular' leaders, with ratings in the 50-80% range, include Hugh Shearer, David Sangster, P.J.Patterson, Desmond McKensie, and Edward Seaga. 'Less popular' leaders, with ratings below 50%, include Karl Blythe, Peter Phillips, Robert Pickersgill, Pearnel Charles, Audley Shaw, Bruce Golding, Maxine Henry-Wilson, Omar Davies, and K.D.Knight.

Other leadership-related questions looked at gender preference, and performance evaluations (as of July 2006) of the current and previous prime ministers. When asked whether they agree with the statement "Generally speaking, men make better political leaders than women," 85.4% disagree, with only 9.2% agreeing and 3.4% strongly agreeing with the statement. Admittedly this is a rather "politically correct" question, and thus potentially subject to social desirability bias, so it is hard to gauge whether more subtle latent gender prejudices may be lurking beneath the surface. However it does at least indicate, in terms of the dominant surface norms in Jamaican society, that attitudinal barriers to leadership participation by women are less than overwhelming and apparently surmountable.

With respect to leadership performance ratings as prime minister, as of July 2006, 69.3% said they "approve of the current national government as headed by Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller", which is somewhat higher than the 49.3% who, at the same point in time, said

they approved of the previous government under P.J. Patterson.

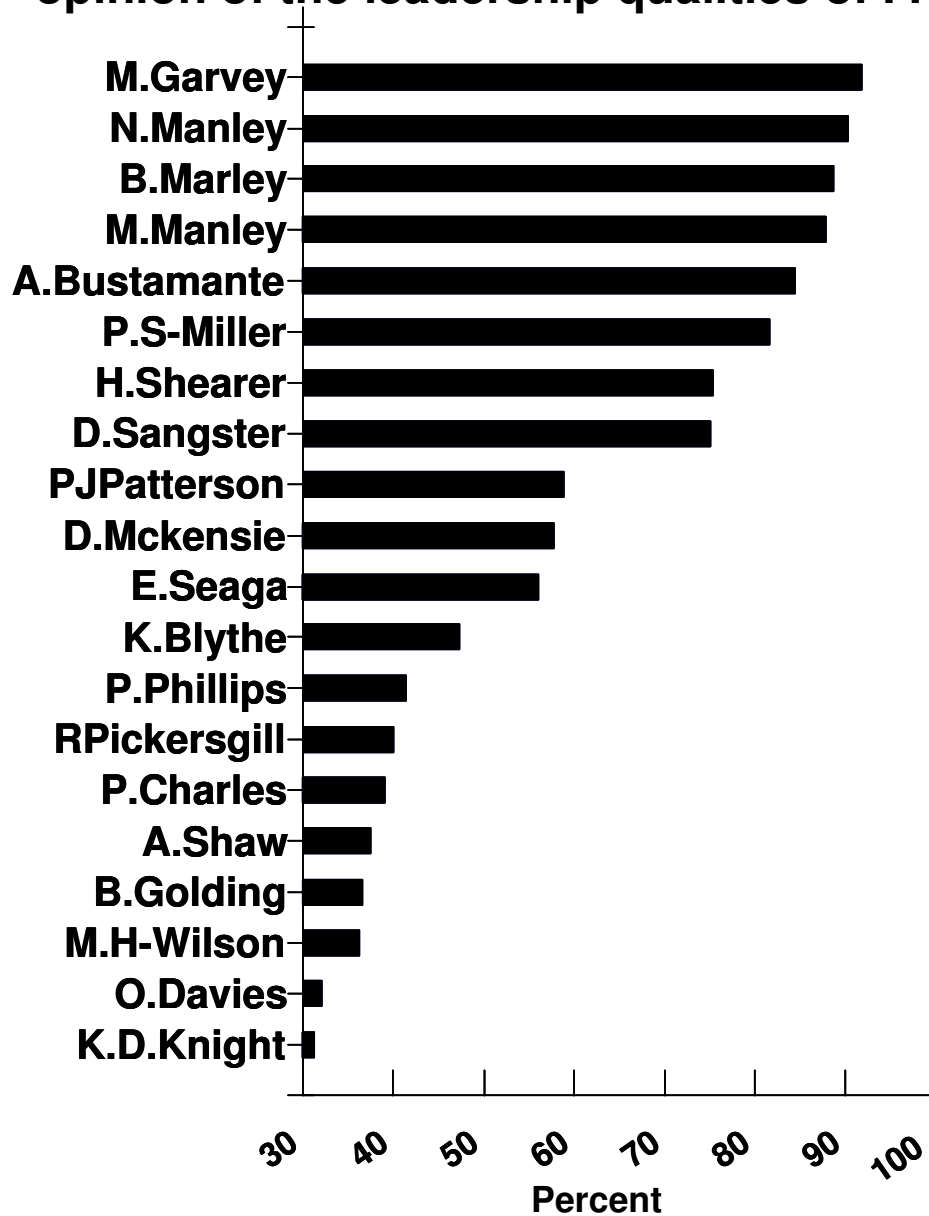
With respect to Jamaicans' party preferences (again, as of July 2006), 35.2% indicated a preference for the PNP as the party that "would do the best job of governing Jamaica at this time", compared with 17.3 % who preferred the JLP as the most capable of governing. However fully 41.9% (a figure notably higher than support levels for either party) indicated that they were "undecided" at that point, suggesting considerable potential electoral uncertainty as to party support leading into the next election, and perhaps also a degree of dissatisfaction and disengagement from the two-party system generally, constituting what Walter Dean Burnham (1979) has termed a "latent party of abstainers" (or "latent party of nonvoters"). In terms of party image, 30.9% said they had a "favourable" and 51.4% said they had an "unfavourable" image of JLP, whereas for PNP the figures were much more encouraging, with 45.7% holding a "favourable" and 38.9 holding and "unfavourable" opinion of the party.

In terms of Jamaicans' electoral preferences, as of July 2006, 39.4% of the respondents reported that they would "probably" or "definitely" vote for PNP in the coming election, whereas 17.2% indicated they would "probably" or "definitely" vote for JLP, with another 17.7% saying they either would not vote or were not eligible. We also asked respondents about their longer-term trends with respect to party voting patterns in elections. When asked, "Thinking back to the times you've voted in the past...how did you vote?", 24.4% reported that they "always" vote for PNP, 10.5% said they "usually" vote for PNP, 8.7% said the "always" vote for JLP, and 6.7% said they "usually" vote for JLP, with another 10.8 indicating they had voted for "both". This still leaves 38.9% in the Don't Know / No Answer category – a figure larger than the "always" plus the "usually" responses for either of the two parties, again suggestive of the "latent party of abstainers/nonvoters" trend.

When asked about their voting in the previous national election in 2002, 62.4% indicated that they were enumerated to vote, and 27.1% that they were not enumerated, in the previous election. 47.2% indicated that they voted in that election, 26.2% that they did not, and another 26.5% didn't remember, were unsure, or refused.

8.1 Trends: Views of prominent national leaders

Fig. 8.1a: Ratings of past & present "national leaders" (% who say they have a "favourable opinion of the leadership qualities of . . .)"



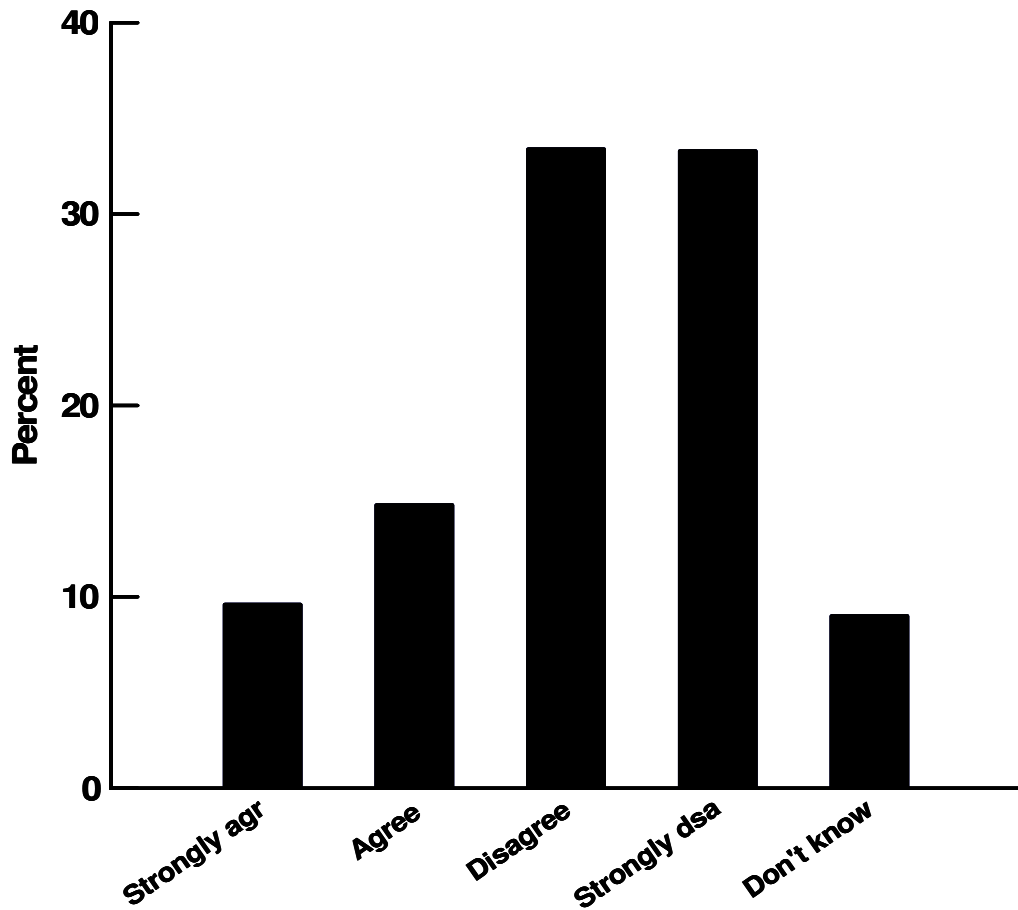


Figure 8.1b: "Generally speaking, men make better political leaders than women..."

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Strongly agree | 46 | 3.4 |
| Agree | 123 | 9.2 |
| Disagree | 531 | 39.7 |
| Strongly disagree | 611 | 45.7 |
| Don't know/No answer | 27 | 2.0 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

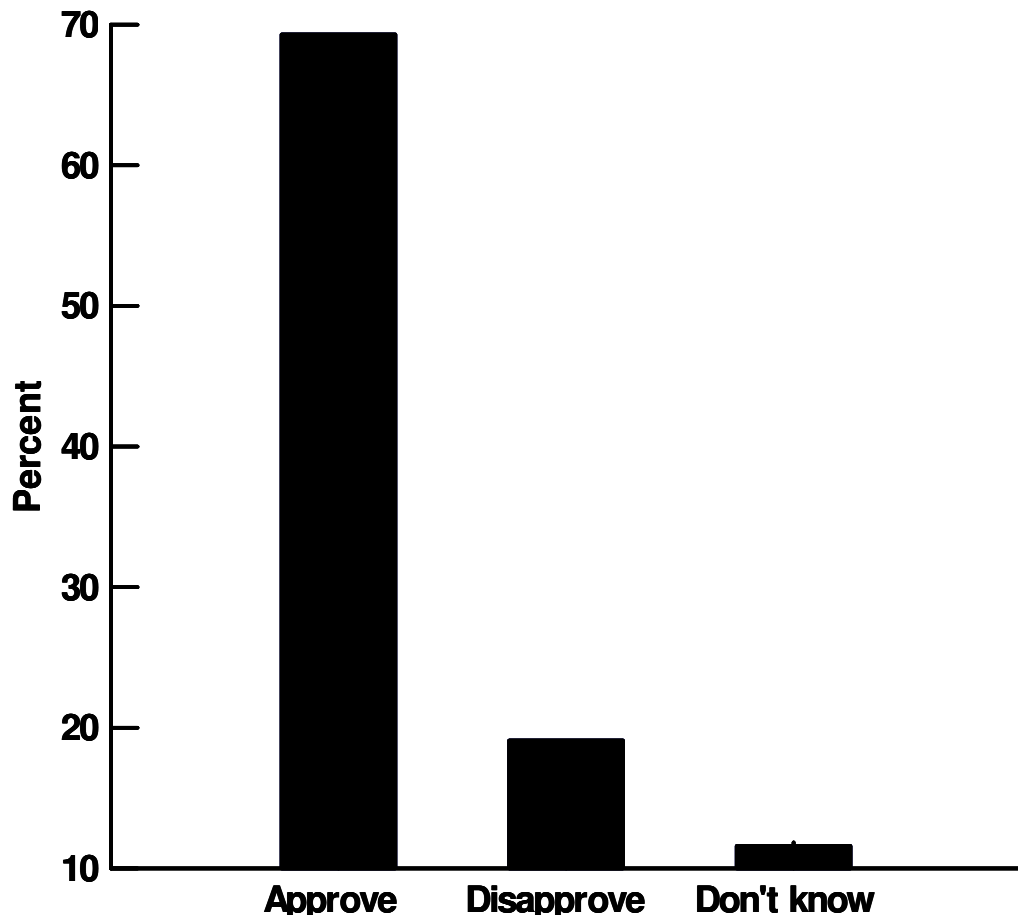


Figure 8.1c: “Do you approve or disapprove of the current national government as headed by Prime Minister Portia Simpson-Miller?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Approve | 927 | 69.3 |
| Disapprove | 256 | 19.1 |
| Don't know/No answer | 155 | 11.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

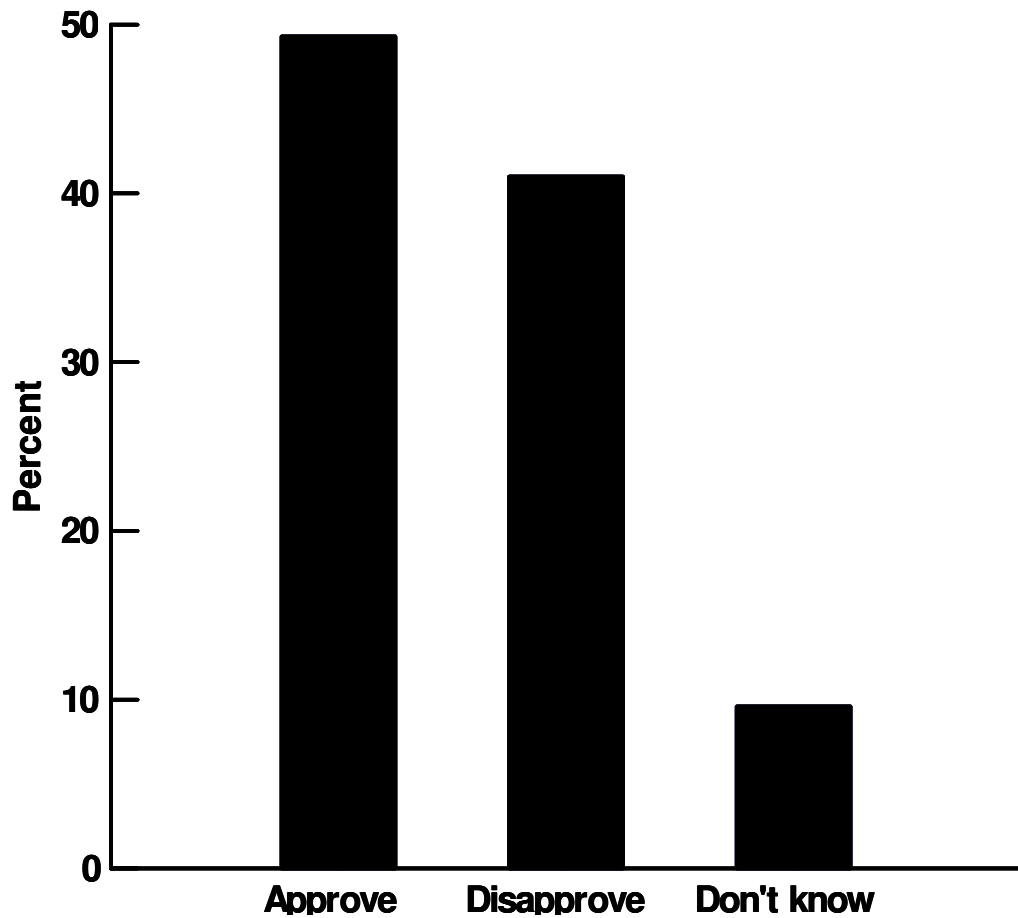


Figure 8.1d: “Did you approve or disapprove of the national government as headed by the previous Prime Minister P.J. Patterson?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Approve | 660 | 49.3 |
| Disapprove | 549 | 41.0 |
| Don't know/No answer | 129 | 9.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

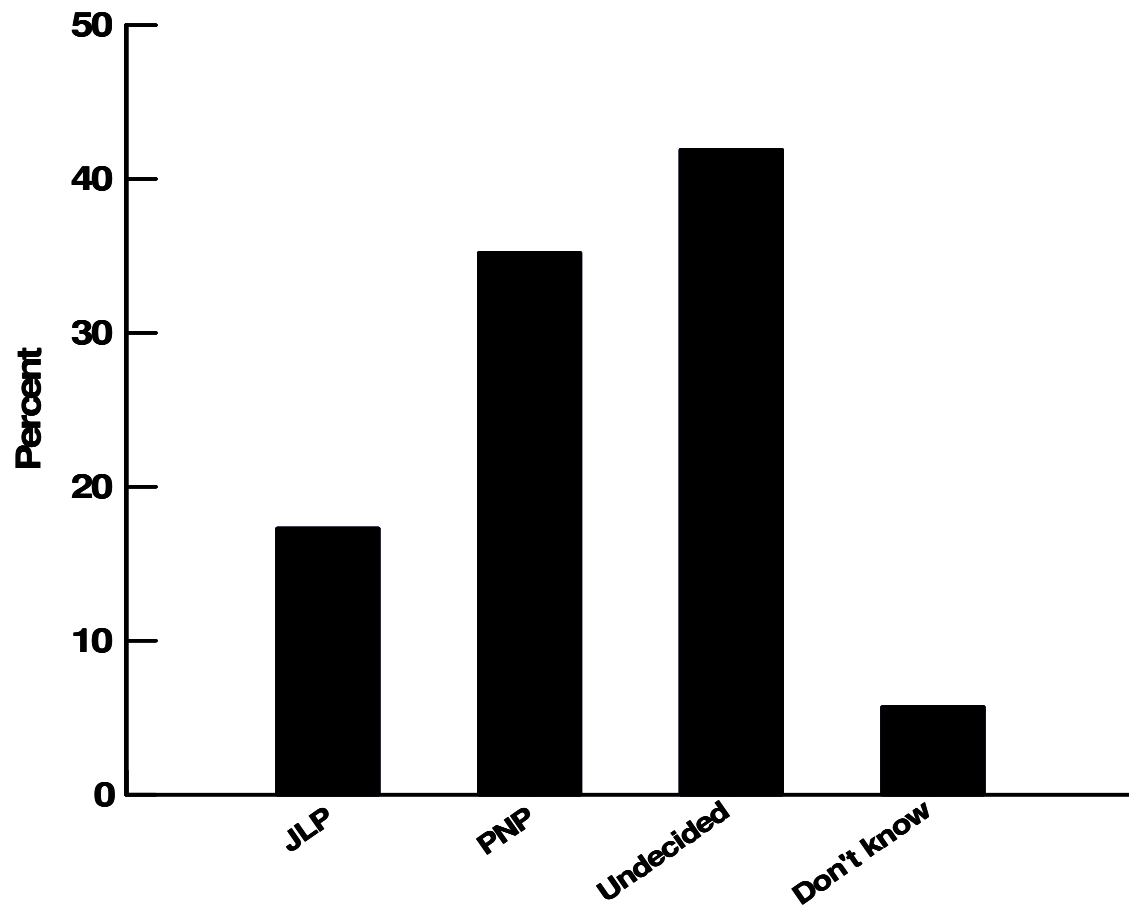


Figure 8.2a: “Which of the two major political parties do you think would do the best job of governing Jamaica at this time?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| JLP | 231 | 17.3 |
| PNP | 471 | 35.2 |
| Undecided | 560 | 41.9 |
| Don't know/No answer | 76 | 5.7 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

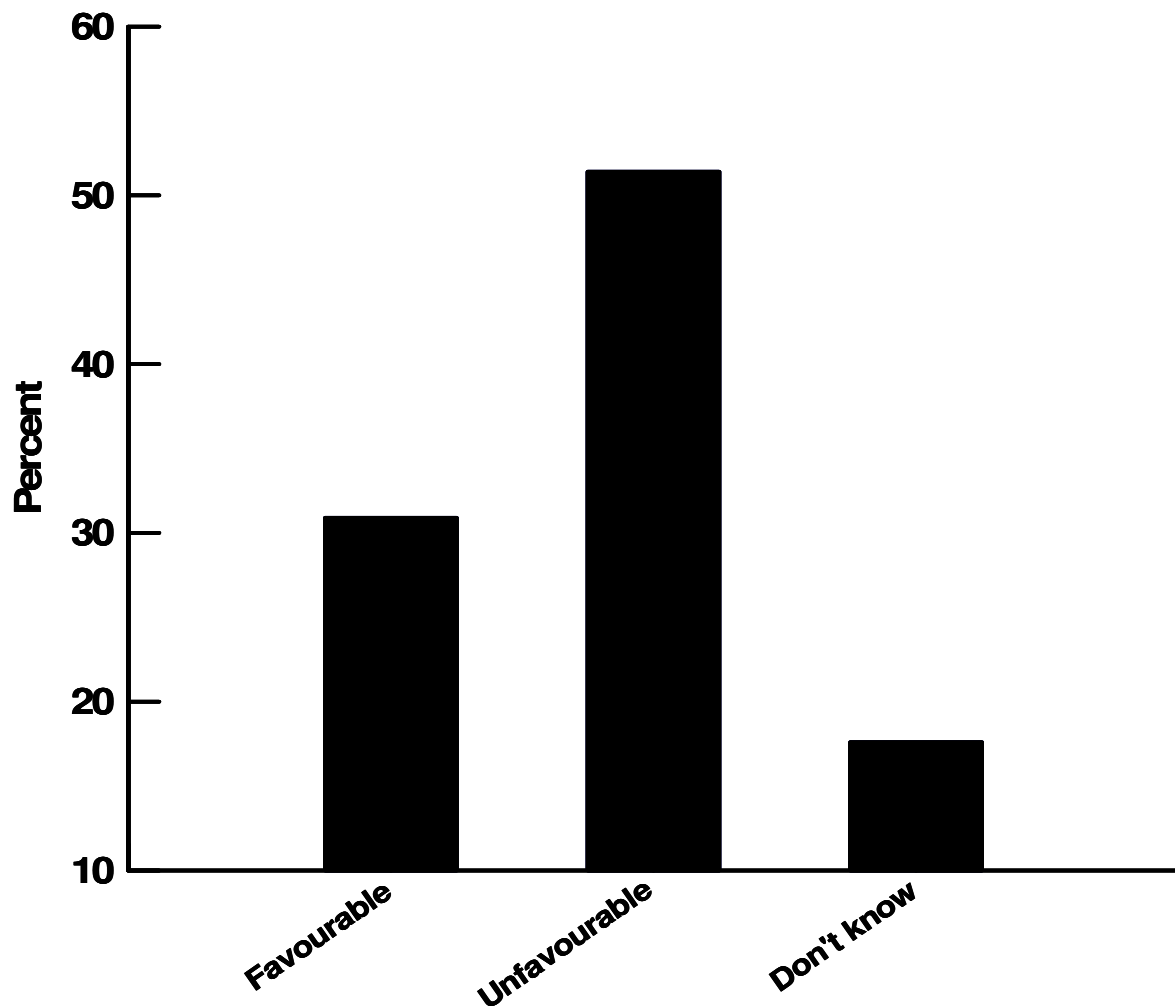


Figure 8.2b: “Generally speaking, do you have a favourable or an unfavourable opinion of the JLP?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Favourable | 414 | 30.9 |
| Unfavourable | 688 | 51.4 |
| Don't know/No answer | 236 | 17.6 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

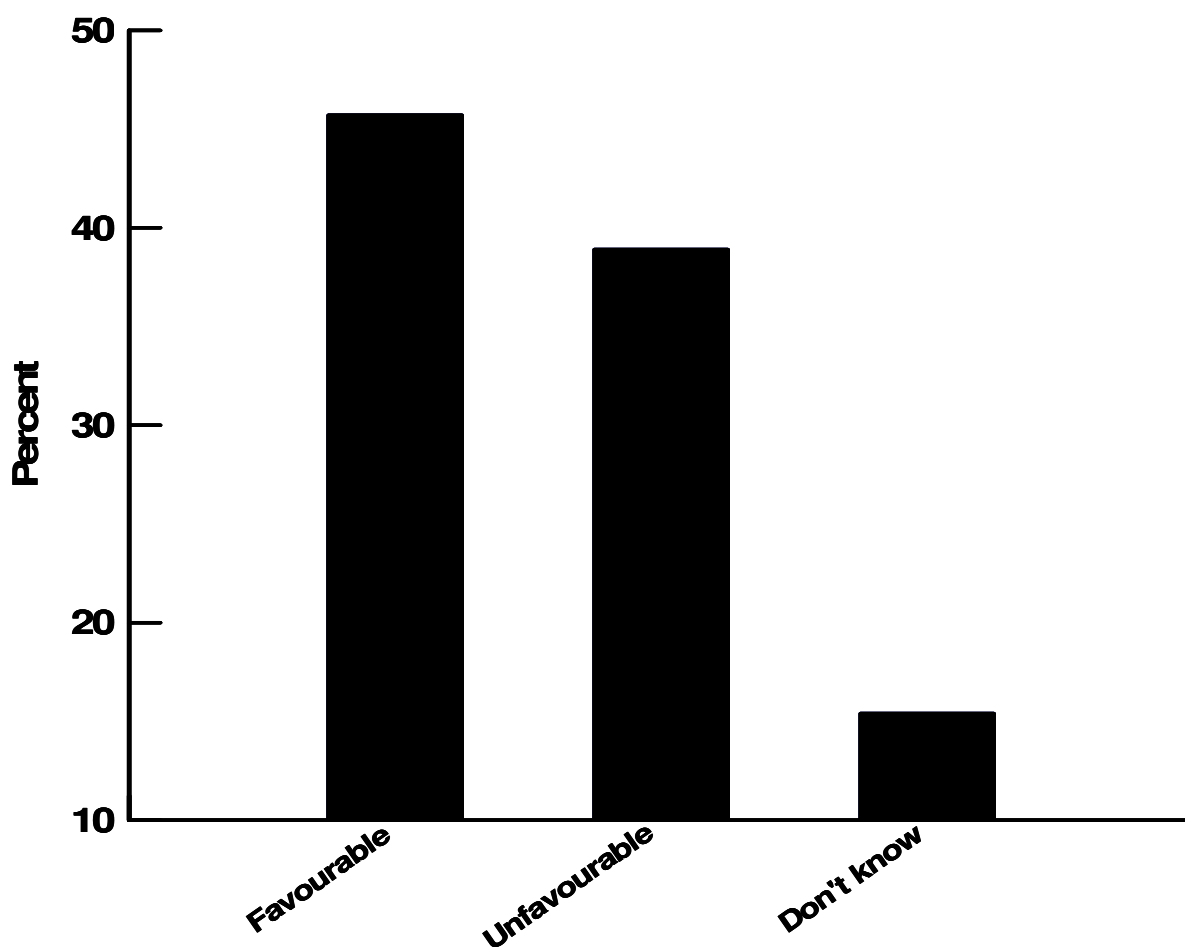


Figure 8.2c: “Generally speaking, do you have a favourable or an unfavourable opinion of the PNP?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Favourable | 611 | 45.7 |
| Unfavourable | 521 | 38.9 |
| Don't know/No answer | 206 | 15.4 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

8.3

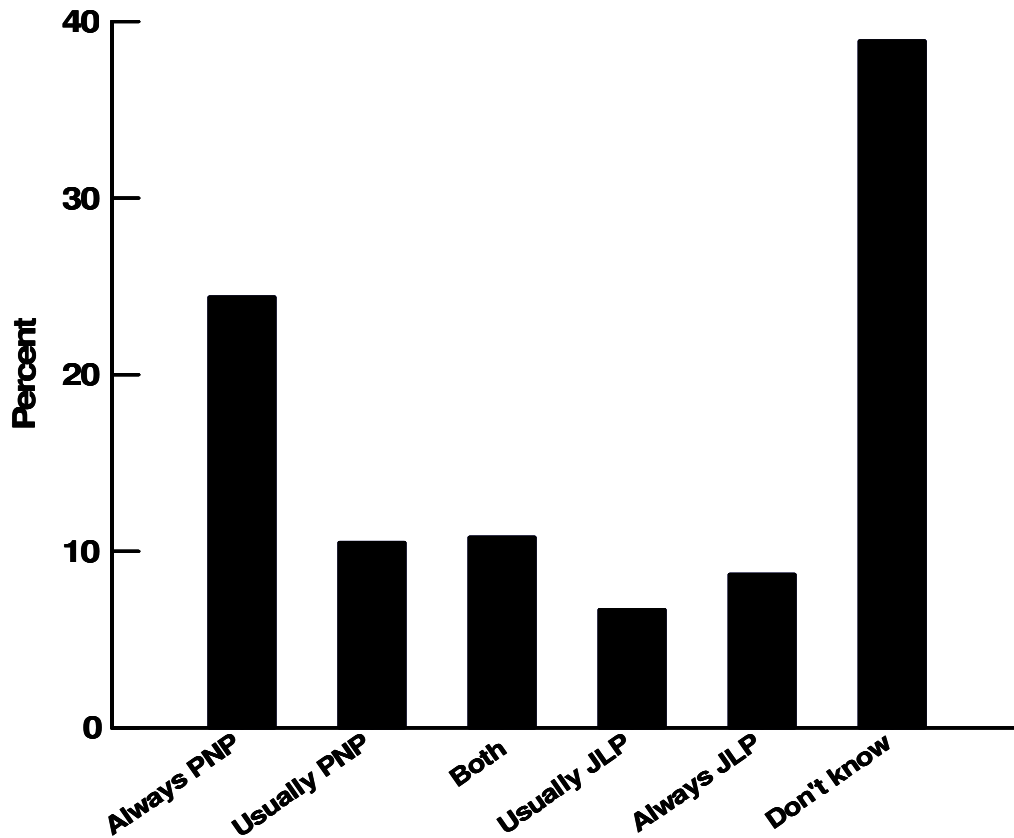
Electoral preferences

Figure 8.3a: Thinking back to the times you've voted in the past...how did you vote?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Always PNP | 326 | 24.4 |
| Usually PNP | 141 | 10.5 |
| Both | 144 | 10.8 |
| Usually JLP | 90 | 6.7 |
| Always JLP | 116 | 8.7 |
| Don't know/no answer | 521 | 38.9 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

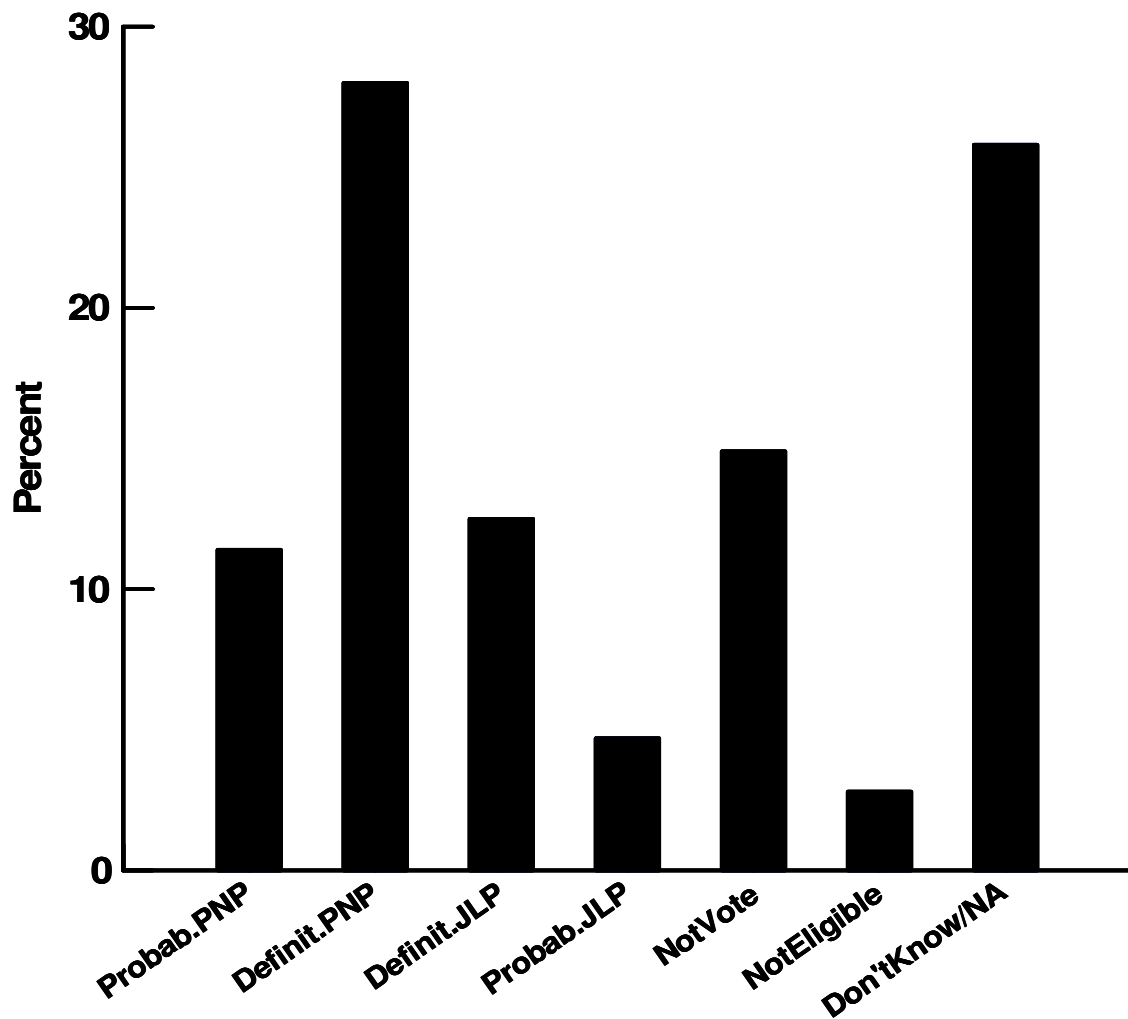


Figure 8.3b: If general elections were held this year with Bruce Golding as the leader of JLP, and Portia Simpson Miller as the leader of PNP, how would you vote?

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| Probably PNP | 152 | 11.4 |
| Definitely PNP | 374 | 28.0 |
| Definitely JLP | 167 | 12.5 |
| Probably JLP | 63 | 4.7 |
| would not vote | 199 | 14.9 |
| Not eligible to vote | 38 | 2.8 |
| Don't know/No answer | 345 | 25.8 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

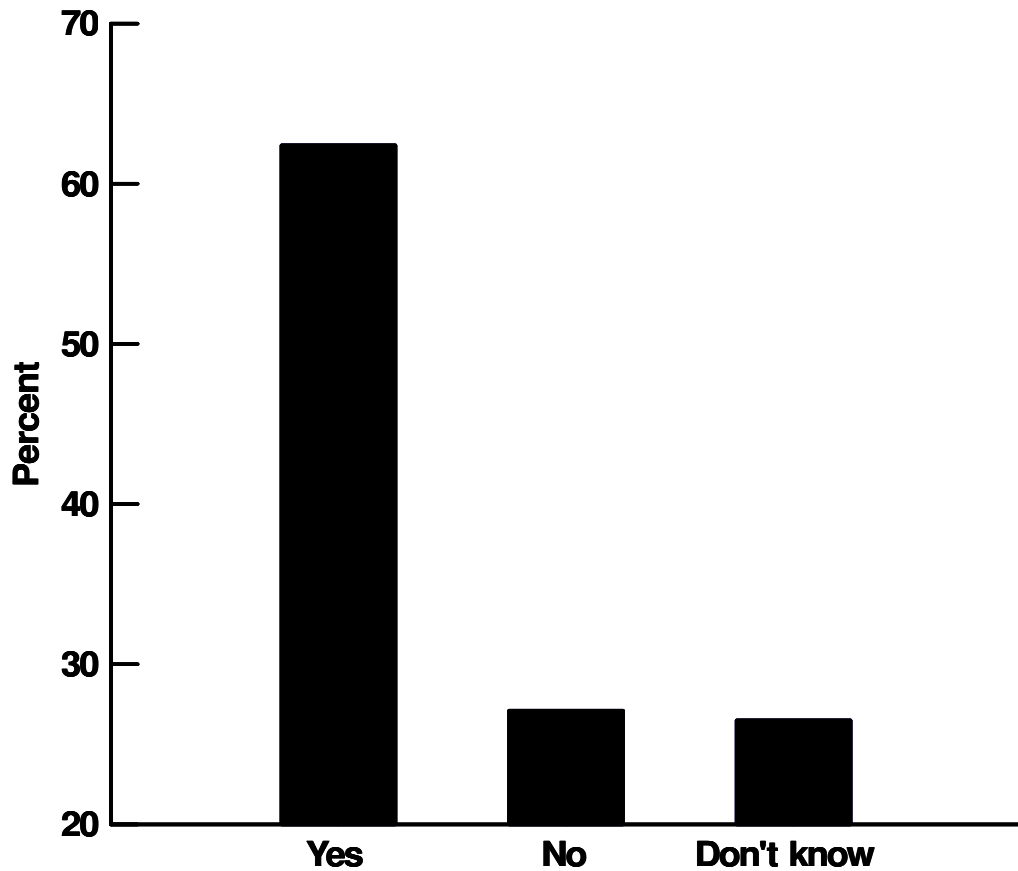


Figure 8.3c: “Were you enumerated to vote when the last national elections were held in December 2002?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| Yes | 835 | 62.4 |
| No | 362 | 27.1 |
| Don't remember, unsure, no response, or refused | 141 | 10.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

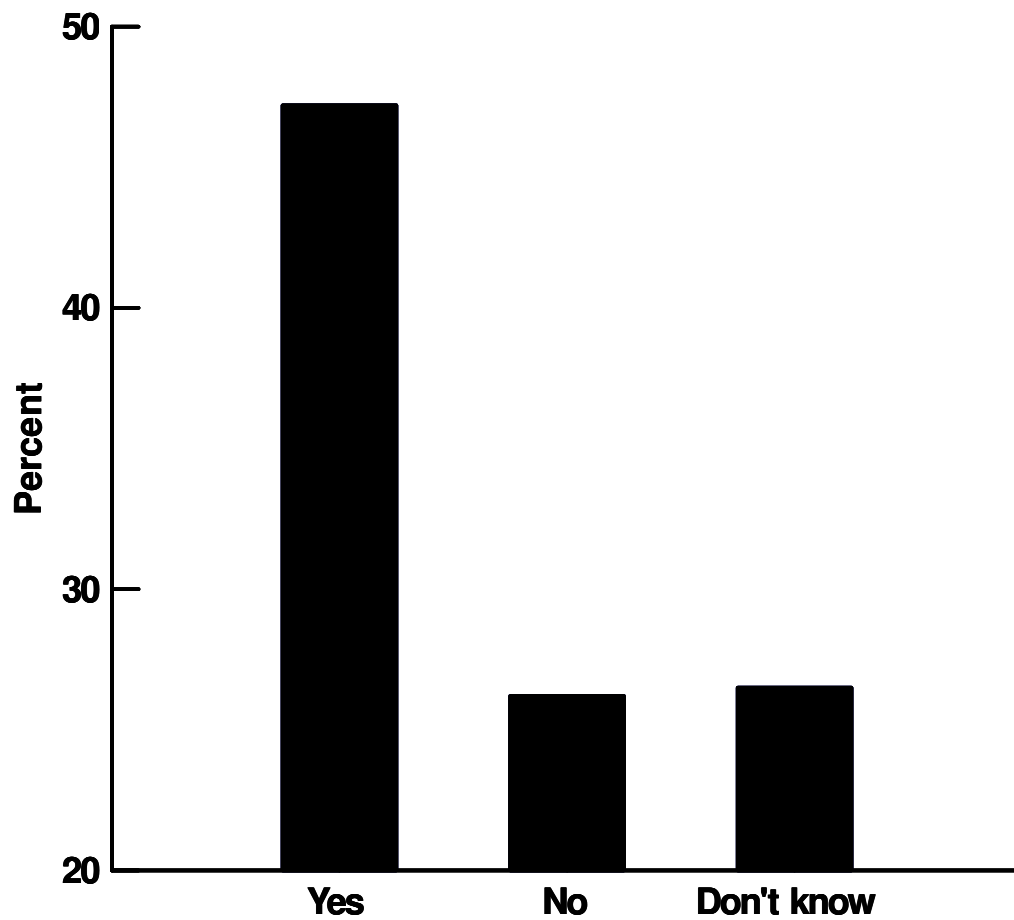


Figure 8.3d: “Did you vote in the national elections in December 2002?”

| | <i>Frequency</i> | <i>Percent</i> |
|--|------------------|----------------|
| Yes, voted | 632 | 47.2 |
| No, did not vote | 351 | 26.2 |
| Don't remember, unsure, no response, or refused | 355 | 26.5 |
| Total | 1338 | 100.0 |

A PREVIEW OF THE 'SECOND' ANNUAL LEADERSHIP & GOVERNANCE SURVEY

As discussed in the introductory section of this report, one of our objectives in conducting biannual surveys is to ensure that we go considerably "deeper" in our probing of Jamaicans' sociopolitical orientations than is ordinarily the case with the periodic national polls conducted by polling organizations geared towards mass media outlets--which tend to focus more narrowly on temporal issues of the day rather than on systematically tracking longer-term social indicators and fundamental citizen orientations, over time, for comparative purposes. The most productive way to achieve these appropriate levels of "academic depth" is to bifurcate the annual survey. The first of the two surveys administered each year (as reflected in this report) is an "orientations to democratic leadership and governance" survey--tracking issues of ongoing citizen support for basic democratic norms, electoral/party orientations, and economic policy preferences. The 'second' survey each year will then be a "national values and beliefs" survey, that focuses much more intensively--in terms of sociological, historical, anthropological and psychological variables of ongoing interest to social scientists--on the "social roots" of Jamaican cultural and democratic trends. This bifurcated approach allows us ask roughly twice as many potent questions per year, on a repeated annual basis, and to test roughly twice as many theoretical constructs as would otherwise be possible in an annual survey, without encountering undue response fatigue on the part of respondents by making a single questionnaire 'too long'.

In L&G Survey II, the second annual survey to be conducted this year, the basic demographic questions (gender, class, employment, occupation etc.) will of course be asked again, to be constant across both surveys, and there are also a few substantive questions that are always asked in both yearly surveys such as party and voting preferences, but beyond that the subject domains we intend to develop more thoroughly in survey II this year are . . .

- Materialist vs postmaterialist value shifts over time, enabling data links (80 cultures) to the Inglehart "World Values Survey".
- Jamaicans' views of perceived 'equality' and 'fairness' between major societal groups (class, gender, age/generational, ethnic), enabling data links (20 cultures) to the international Cross-cultural Variations in Distributive Justice (CVDJP) study.
- Cultural tendencies to 'individualist' versus 'collectivist' values in Jamaican culture and politics (enabling cross-national linkages [100+ cultures worldwide] with the work of Triandis et al and the IACCP)
- Sense of political efficacy (perceived control over political & personal outcomes, sense that voting/participating can/can't make any difference)
- Omnibus measures designed to track changes over time in the degree of citizen 'alienation' and 'disengagement' from the Jamaican political/social system and its component institutions, further probes on social/interpersonal trust, 'social capital'.
- Attitudes to job satisfaction, work, unions, employers; protestant work ethic endorsement and capitalist values scales; status concern; social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto)
- Further exploration of citizen patterns of mass media and information technology use (in relation to political engagement and civic participation)
- An evaluation of the personality characteristics that are most commonly associated with the 'public images' of prominent Jamaican political leaders, and the effect of these appraisals on voting, opinion etc.
- Political "blaming" tendencies (attribution of causality) for societal and personal problems (I.e. who/what do people typically blame for what goes wrong, and credit for what goes right?)
- Jamaicans' "hopes and fears for the future of the country" (open-ended hypothetical utopia/dystopia question format, based on the classic Cantril "hopes/fears model" used for many years by the Roper Organization polls)

REFERENCES

- Abdulah, N. (1986). *Designing social surveys in the Caribbean*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Alderfer, C. P. (1972). *Existence, relatedness, and growth*. New York: Free Press.
- Alleyne, S. & Benn, S. L. (1989). *Manual for data collection and presentation in social surveys, with special reference to the Caribbean*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Almond, G., Verba, S. (1963). *The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Axelrod, (1984). *The evolution of cooperation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Barrow, C. (1984). Guidelines for the conduct of social surveys in the Caribbean. Occasional Paper No. 17. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Beersma, B. (1999) Negotiation processes and outcomes in prosocially and egoistically motivated groups. *International Journal of Conflict Management*, 10, 385-403.
- Brewer, M.B. & Campbell, D.T. (1976). *Ethnocentrism and intergroup attitudes: East African evidence*. New York: Halstead.
- Budd, E. C., Sigelman, C. K. & Sigelman, L.(1981). Exploring the outer limits of response bias. *Sociological Focus*, 14, 297-307.
- Burnham, W. D. (1979). The appearance and disappearance of the American voter. In W. D. Burnham, (Ed.), *The Disappearance of the American voter*. Washington, DC: American Bar Association.
- Citrin, J. (1974). The political relevance of trust in government. *American Political Science Review*, 68, 973-988.
- Conover, P. J., & Feldman, S. (1984). How people organize their political world: A schematic model. *American Journal of Political Science*, 28, 95-125.
- Converse, J. M. & Presser, S. (1986). *Survey questions: Handcrafting the standardized questionnaire*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Converse, P. (1964). The nature of belief systems in mass publics. In D. E. Apter (Ed.), *Ideology and discontent* (pp. 206-261). New York: Free Press.
- Corporacion Latinobarometro (2004). *Summary report, Latinobarometro 2004: A decade of measurements*. Santiago, Chile: Corporacion Latinobarometro.
- Corporacion Latinobarometro (2005). *Latinobarometro report 2005: 1995-2005, A decade of public opinion*. Santiago, Chile: Corporacion Latinobarometro.

- Dahl, R. (1956). *A preface to democratic theory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dasgupta, P. 1988. Trust as a commodity. In D. G. Gambetta (Ed.), *Trust* (pp. 49-72). New York: Basil Blackwell.
- Davis, J. A. & Smith, T. W. (1996). *General social surveys: 1972-1996: Cumulative codebook*. Chicago, IL: National Opinion Research Center.
- deCremer, Snyder, M. & DeWitte, S. (2001). 'The less I trust, the less I contribute (or not)?' The effects of trust, accountability and self-monitoring in social dilemmas. *European Journal of Social Psychology* 31, 93-107.
- Deutsch, M. (1958). Trust and suspicion. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 2, 265-279.
- Deutsch, M. (1960). The effect of motivational orientation upon trust and suspicion. *Human Relations*, 13, 123-140.
- Deutsch, M. (1962). Cooperation and trust: Some theoretical notes. In M. R. Jones (Ed.) *Nebraska symposium on motivation. Current theory and research on motivation*, (Vol 10, pp. 275-319). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Fiske, A. P. & Tetlock, P. E. (2000). Taboo tradeoffs: Constitutive prerequisites for Political and Social Life. In S. Renshon and J. Duckitt (Eds.), *Political psychology: Cultural and crosscultural foundations* (pp. 47-65). London: Macmillan.
- Frey, R. A. & Powell, L. A. (2005). Interdependent and independent distributive worldviews in Jamaica and New Zealand: Beyond left-right ideology in the study of justice perception: *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 36, 117-146.
- Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: The social virtues and the creation of prosperity*. New York: Free Press.
- Himmelfarb, S. & Lickteig, C. (1982). Social desirability and the randomized response technique. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43, 710-717.
- Hudson, B. (2004). Trust: Towards conceptual clarification. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 39, 75-87.
- Hwang, P. & Burgers, W. P. (1997). Properties of trust: An analytical view. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 69, 67-73.
- Hwang, P. & Burgers, W. P. (1999). Apprehension and temptation: The forces against cooperation. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 43, 117-130.
- Inglehart, R. (1988). The renaissance of political culture, *American Political Science Review*, 82, 1204-1230.
- Krosnick, J. A. & Alwin, D. F. (1987). An evaluation of a cognitive theory of response order effects in survey measurement. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 51, 201-219.

- Krosnick, J. A. & Berent, M. K. (1993). Comparisons of party identification and policy preferences: The impact of survey question format. *American Journal of Political Science*, 37, 941-964.
- Krosnick, J. A. & Fabrigar, L. R. (2000). *Designing good questionnaires: Insights from psychology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lane, R. (1969). *Political thinking and consciousness: The private life of the political mind*. Chicago: Markham.
- Lane, R. (1973). Patterns of political belief. In J. Knutson (Ed.), *Handbook of political psychology* (pp. 83-116). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lasswell, H. (1960). *Psychopathology and politics*. New York: Viking Press.
- Lau, R. & Sears, D. (1982). *Political cognition*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Leung, K., Bond, M.H., & Schwartz, S. (1995). How to explain cross-cultural differences: Values, valencies and expectancies. *Asian Journal of Psychology*, 1, (2), 70-75.
- Lipset, S. M. & Schneider, W. (1987). *The confidence gap: Business, labor and government in the public mind*. New York: Free Press.
- Markus, H., Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, 98, 224-253.
- Maslow, A. H. (1968). *Toward a psychology of being*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.
- Maslow, A. H. (1970). *Motivation and personality*. New York: Harper.
- McClosky, H. (1958). Conservatism and personality. *American Political Science Review*, 52, 27-45.
- Morris, M.W. & Peng, K. (1994). Culture and cause: American and Chinese attributions for social and physical events. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 949-971.
- Munroe, T. (1999). *Renewing democracy into the millennium: the Jamaican experience in perspective*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.
- Omodei, M. & McLennan, J. (2000). Conceptualizing and measuring global interpersonal mistrust-trust. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 140, 279-294.
- Payne, A. J. (1994). *Politics in Jamaica*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Poppe, M. & Utens, L. (1986). Effects of greed and fear of being gypped in a social dilemma situation. *Journal of Economic Psychology*, 7, 61-73.
- Porta, L. R., Lopez-de-Silanes, A., Schleifer, A., & Vishny, R. W. (1997). Trust in large organizations. *American Economic Review*, 87, 333-338.
- Powell, L. A. (2005). Mapping Jamaican perceptions of distributive justice: An equity-based heuristic. *Social and Economic Studies*, 53, 63-88.
- Prothro, J. W. & Grigg, C. M. (1960). Fundamental principles of democracy: Bases of agreement and disagreement. *Journal of Politics*, 22, 276-294.

- Putnam, R.D. (1993). *Making democracy work: Civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Putnam, R.D. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6, 65-78.
- Pye, L. & Verba, S. (1962). *Political culture and political development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pye, L. (1962). *Personality and nation building*. New Haven, CT.: Yale University Press.
- Pye, L. (2000). The elusive concept of culture and the vivid reality of personality. In S. Renshon and J. Duckitt (Eds.), *Political psychology: Cultural and crosscultural foundations* (pp. 18-32). London: Macmillan.
- Robinson, J. P., Shaver, P. R. & Wrightsman, L. S. (1999). *Measures of political attitudes*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Rotter, J.B. (1966). Generalized expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. *Psychological Monographs*, 80, (1, Whole No. 609).
- Rotter, J.B. (1967). A new scale for the measurement of interpersonal trust. *Journal of Personality*, 35, 651-665.
- Rotter, J.B. (1971). Generalized expectancies for interpersonal trust. *American Psychologist*, 26, 443-452.
- Scheufele, D. A. & Shah, D. V. (2000). Personality strength and social capital: The role of dispositional and informational variables in the production of civic participation. *Communication Research*, 27, 107-131.
- Schindler, P. L., & Thomas, C. C. (1993). The structure of interpersonal trust in the workplace. *Psychological Reports*, 73, 563-573.
- Shirazi, R. & Biel, A. (2005). Internal-external causal attributions and perceived government responsibility for need provision: A 14-culture study: *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 36, 96-116.
- Stone, C. (1971). *Stratification and political change in Jamaica and Trinidad*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Professional Papers.
- Stone, C. (1973). *Class, race and political behaviour in urban Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Stone, C. (1974). *Electoral behaviour and public opinion in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Stone, C. (1980). *Democracy and clientelism in Jamaica*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books.
- Stone, C. (1982). *The political opinions of the Jamaican people*. Kingston, Jamaica: Jamaican Publishing House.
- Stone, C. (1989). *Politics versus economics: The 1989 elections in Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Publishers Ltd.

- Stone, C. (1992). Values, norms and personality development in Jamaica. Unpublished paper. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Sullivan, J. L. & Transue, J. E. (1999). The psychological underpinnings of democracy: A selective review of research on political tolerance, interpersonal trust, and social capital. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 50, 625-650.
- Triandis, H. (1994). *Culture and social behavior*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Triandis, H. (1995). *Individualism and collectivism*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Triandis, H. (1996). The psychological measurement of cultural syndromes. *American Psychologist*, 51, 407-415.
- Triandis, H. (2001). Individualism-collectivism and personality. *Journal of Personality*, 69 (6), 907-924.
- Van de Vijver, F. & Leung, K. (1997). *Methods and data analysis for cross-cultural research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Verba, S. (1987). *Elites and the idea of equality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Yamagishi, T. & Yamagishi, M. (1994). Trust and commitment in the United States and Japan. *Motivation and Emotion*, 18, 129-166.
- Wrightsman, L. S. (1991). Interpersonal trust and attitudes toward human nature. In J. Robinson, P. Shaver, & L. S. Wrightsman (Eds.), *Measures of personality and social psychological attitudes* (pp. 373-412). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

