SOCIAL CAPITAL AND DEVELOPMENT A CASE STUDY OF THE JAMAICAN VALUES AND ATTITUDES CAMPAIGN

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Given that the body of work on social capital is descriptive in nature, identifying what *is*, rather than providing a theoretical blueprint for social capital generation, the challenge, within the developmental context is **how to** harness human potential within their resident spheres towards a common vision, common goal of generating economic growth while simultaneously developing and maintaining an equitable, stable social environment to expand the quality of life and secure opportunities.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the Jamaican Government's attempt at building social capital through the Values and Attitudes campaign with a view to accomplishing four goals. First, we seek to establish whether the social capital framework offers itself as a credible building block for developmental impulses. Second, the study evaluates the perceived performance of the campaign to date. Third, we attempt to identify any perceived barriers to the potential success of the values and attitudes

programme. Finally, based on our analysis, we provide institutional strengthening suggestions for the successful generation of social capital within the Jamaican context.

To my husband who was also my editor, Yonique Campbell for assistance with sourcing material, colleagues and friends who believed in me, and my children for their patience.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The apparent downward spiral of the fabric of the Jamaican society is a cause of concern for well thinking Jamaicans. The annual increase in the number of domestic crimes, particularly violent crimes, even among our very young, augurs a grey future, should the trends continue. Dr. Wendel Abel (2004) aptly paints a picture of popular perceptions of the contemporary Jamaican landscape as being "aggressive, dangerous, unfriendly, impolite."(Wendel Abel, June 23, 2004, The Gleaner, accessed August 14, 2005**).** These perceptions, he argues, are unfortunately true; and is evidenced by the levels of coarseness and incivility displayed on our roads, in our communities in the media, and in local businesses. Abel (2004) summarises some potent underlying factors:

> *"This society is churning out large numbers of good people with grossly dysfunctional behaviour who don't know how to conduct themselves and relate to each other appropriately.... What is contributing to this? Low levels of literacy no doubt, lack of training of our people in life skills, poor parenting skills and a general deterioration in values and standards in the society. The fundamental issue, however, is that we have not created a national sense of identity and we have not agreed on some common values and codes of conduct by which our society will be guided. We must address this image problem. This involves recreating a national identity. It is about us deciding who it is and what it is, to be a Jamaican. The solutions to these complex problems are equally complex, and*

must involve the collaboration of several agencies, sectors and interest groups. The government must take a lead on this." (Wendel Abel, June 23, 2004), The Gleaner, Profiles in Medicine.

The utterances of the Most Honorable, P. J. Patterson, in his former capacity as Prime Minister, pre-empted the observations of Dr. Abel, and supports the notion that there is national acceptance of the need to stem the declining values and attitudes of Jamaica:

"*I plead for a commitment to restore a sense of decency, to exercise discipline and to conduct our affairs based on the Christian principles of loving our neighbours as ourselves... I am also firmly convinced that we should develop a national strategy and programme of action to promote attitudinal change and social renewal. This is the surest way (and perhaps the only way) to improve in the short run, and in the longer term, maintain the quality of life for all Jamaicans.*" (Excerpt from Address by Hon. Percival James Patterson, Feb. 14, 1994)

The then Prime Minister referred to the works of Carl Stone and explicitly stated that the crumbling social order is a direct result of declining values and attitudes. Indeed, Mr. Patterson (1994) acknowledged the role of the state in generating a high degree of social cohesion, and asserted that the state is expected to establish patterns of appropriate behaviour:

"*The Government has a basic responsibility to help the country reach its full potential, in the process encouraging standards and values that*

…would make everyone proud of their country and its heritage, and …would endow them with the self-confidence to interact harmoniously …with each other, and with people in the rest of the world." (Excerpt from the Address by Most Hon. Percival James Patterson, Feb. 14, 1994)

Not withstanding these strong assertions, Mr. Patterson (1994) charged that ultimately, public acceptance of state led intervention is critical for its success.

Research Rationale

This acknowledgement of the deterioration of societal values as a developmental problematic is now 10 years old, and hits at the heart of the cognitive element of social capital development. The concept of social capital offers not only a way to explore how social interaction between communities and institutions shape economic performance, (Woolcock and Narayan 1998, Uphoff, 1998), but also how social conscience and human learning is developed through participatory processes. A cursory glance at what social capital means will yield familiar buzz words like cooperation, trust, common value systems, and social cohesion. Arguably, all are critical descriptives of the ideals of a developed state. The challenge, however, is how to harness human potential within their resident spheres towards a common vision, common goal of generating economic growth while simultaneously developing and maintaining

an equitable, stable social environment to expand the quality of life and secure opportunities for all. The attainment of this mandate is particularly tenuous in the face of the conflicting demands of each of these spheres: the limitations of poverty, the seduction of power and inherent rationalist tendencies to advance a personal agenda, together with differences in the ideological/political and resource base.

But having implied knowledge of the importance of this focus, as indicated by the creation of the Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign, has not yet apparently translated into the attendant transformative results. While we understand the process outcomes from the existence of positive social capital, we have less experience as development practitioners, in providing the framework, and maintaining the process of manipulating or investing in its elements to generate cooperative behaviour; that is "productive for others as well as oneself' (Uphoff 1998; 216). This realm remains much a mystery, seemingly the purview of behavioural scientists. If, indeed, social capital can be created, then investments in this regard should be an important starting point for development policy practitioners.

Not withstanding the apparent theoretical innocence of the Values and Attitudes Campaign, this leads one to ponder how best the social capital framework can be used as a developmental tool for Jamaica; whether there are any identifiable barriers to its creation and what institutional framework is

required to support any cohesive attempt at its formation. From an examination of the literature on social capital, there is no doubt that an integral link between social capital and development exists. It is how well our Government and Non Government Institutions can develop and harness this tool that will determine mutually beneficial collective action conducive to social and economic development.

Objectives

This research first seeks to examine the importance of social capital as a tool for development by relying, primarily, on an exploration of existing literature on the subject. Development practitioners tend to place heavy emphasis on the areas of economic development, capacity building and Institutional strengthening. Although very critical, they may do so without recognising the concomitant role of social capital as a significant constituent of each of these endeavours.

Another objective is to document Jamaica's attempt at building social capital through the Values and Attitudes Campaign designed by the Jamaican Government with the aim of identifying any perceived barriers to the potential success of the programme.

Finally, this research seeks to compare the theoretical underpinnings of social capital generation with the values campaign, in order to determine what is

required within the Jamaican context for the successful generation of social capital. In this regard, this research may ultimately assist with institutional strengthening, as well as contribute generally to the body of work surrounding social capital formation as a key development strategy.

Research Questions
In order to assist with the above objectives the researcher seeks to answer the following questions:

1) How can the social capital framework be used as a tool for development?

2) Focusing on the Values and Attitudes campaign as an attempt at social capital formation,:

   a. To what extent have the objectives been met

   b. What barriers if any, exist to inhibit such an approach?

   c. From an exploration of these questions, coupled with a review of best practices, what recommendations can be made to strengthen the efforts at building social capital?

Significance of the Study

1. The researcher is not aware of any study conducted that locates the Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign within the social capital theoretical frame-work.

2. The researcher is also not aware of any programme evaluation of the campaign, since its re-launch.

3. The findings from this study are likely to provide clarity to the theoretical underpinnings of a practical policy programme, highlight its strengths and provide potential solutions to institutional weaknesses.

4. This study's findings will provide a foundation for further research on the topic of social capital generation in Jamaica.

C H A P T E R 2

Methodology

Research Design
The researcher has employed the case study method of enquiry to describe, explore and discover potential flaws in a novel government programme of values reformation, and match theory to practice. Due to the nature of the data available (secondary documentary data) and because this research focuses on juxtaposing people's perceptions against a theoretical base, this method best allows for a textured approach, rather than a strictly empirical approach. It is primarily qualitative in nature and this method allows for rich thick description of the situation under interrogation.

The Case study however does not look at the individual programmatic content of the values programme, but rather, at the broader overarching framework. A variety of data sources were used for the case study.

Data sources
Qualitative researchers depend on a variety of methods for data gathering. Babbie (2001) states the use of multiple methods to test the same subject area is referred to as triangulation. Although this paper relied heavily on documentary review, is not entirely committed only developing a theoretical stance but seeks to explore people's perceptions as well as obtain their

recommendations on factors which could enhance Jamaica's values framework, hence, multiple tools were used to collate and assess the data under interrogation viz:-

1. **Literature review**

    To establish two main elements – a) to create the theoretical framework of social capital formation and its importance to development. Utilising books, the internet, journals and scholarly and newspaper articles, we explore the relatively new concept of social capital from a multiplicity of angles. We use these sources to show the relevance of social capital as a means of understanding and possibly curtailing the phenomenon of declining values and attitude. These sources are also used to anchor our examples within the Jamaican context and, finally, to establish the relationship between social capital and development. The Literature review was also used to identify inspirational normative frameworks to augment deficits highlighted in our local attempts.

2. **Documentary reviews**

    These were undertaken to : track the genesis of the values and attitudes campaign; and establish the objectives and the activities articulated. This was drawn primarily from the JIS web-site, programme brochures and the electronic copy of the opening address given at the re-launch of the campaign. The documentary review serves to describe the information pertaining to the campaign that exists in the public domain.

3. Qualitative Interviews

Here the interviews follow "a general plan of enquiry, but not a specific set of questions that must be asked with particular words in a particular order... It is essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction." (Babbie 2001:291-2) Interviews were conducted with a variety of persons:

1. With the programme administrator of the Values and Attitudes campaign to obtain background information on the perception of its effectiveness including identifiable factors inhibiting its success.

2. With Dr. Heather Lyttle-Whyte, convenor of the Steering committee, to obtain unpublished details concerning operational practices, successes and problems with the campaign.

3. With noted social and cultural anthropologists and a foremost political figure :

a. Professor Barrington Chevannes, one of the best-known academic advocates at the University of the West Indies (UWI). Professor Chevannes has made a tremendous contribution to research and teaching in the areas of Caribbean culture and identity, crime/violence, values/ethics and social integration among others. He chairs the Council of the Institute of Jamaica, is the founder of Fathers

Incorporated, and is a member of the Peace Management Initiative (PMI) and through these media is intimately involved with projects geared at bringing about positive behavioural changes and social transformation. Professor Chevannes, by virtue of his academic standings and social involvements, is eminently qualified to give expert voice on social capital formation in Jamaica.

b. Most Hon. Edward Seaga, Distinguished Fellow at the UWI and Former Prime Minister of Jamaica. A Harvard trained sociologist, Mr. Seaga has been a pioneer in the legitimisation of endemic cultural expressions. This role expanded during his political career through his efforts to create and sustain national institutions designed to redress the social anomalies and cultural deficits and instil a keen sense of national pride. Given his political role in the institutional development of some of Jamaica's premier human development institutions such as the Institute of Jamaica, The HEART-Trust NTA, the UDC and the Festival Commission, and given too that as he is not a member of the ruling party, Mr Seaga was consulted to provide candid insights on the weaknesses of the current attempts and provide meaningful recommendations on the ideal institutional structures for the creation of social capital.

4. **Surveys**

"Surveys are excellent vehicles for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population" (Babbie 2001:238). Questionnaires were administered over a three-day period to a total of 100 respondents in the bus park and shopping environs of Half-Way-Tree, Cross Roads and Liguanea, which are highly populous centres of Kingston and St Andrew, Jamaica's capital city. These locations were chosen in attempt to get ideas representative of a wide cross section of Jamaicans. The questionnaire consisted of nineteen (19) questions, three (3) of which were open ended. Questionnaires were used to determine four factors critical to this research:

a. People's awareness of the Values and Attitudes campaign People's support of the campaign: do they think the campaign and its programmatic content can positively influence positive behavioural change?

b. People's trust in Government and a range of civil institutions

c. Who is perceived as the best entity to lead the change process

d. Barriers which inhibit the government's attempt at social capital formation.

Two Focus Group Discussions were undertaken:

First with a group of 12 participants representing a broad cross section of persons drawn equally from the civil service, the UWI student community, the private sector, and the church to explore to what extent the core and key values articulated by the values and attitude campaign are reflected in national life (Institutions, Government, social behaviour) and to assess the key barriers to the promulgation of these desired values and attitudes.

The second group consisted of 30 final year B.Sc. Public Sector Management students, following their visit to parliament. These students were aware of the social capital framework, the existence of a Values and Attitudes campaign, as well as the philosophical underpinnings of the Parliamentarian model.

Pre-test

The questionnaires were administered on three separate occasions to groups of 20 persons for pre-testing and modifications to the questions were made. The pre-test was limited to the University of the West Indies and MIND campuses. Questions found to be ambiguous were rephrased or deleted. Arising from feedback from the pre-testing sessions, the decision to host a separate focus group meeting was made.

Methods of Data Analysis

Information was sifted from related literature in order to extract relevant data for the framework of this research. Data was sifted into emerging streams or categories :

1. Description of Values and Attitudes programme

2. Objectives of Values and Attitudes Campaign

3. Awareness of Values and Attitudes Campaig

4. Trust/confidence in public institutions

5. Barriers to positive Values and Attitudes formation

6. Recommendations

Ideas which initially appeared to be stand alone themes, were re-examined, for example, a prematurely terminated interview with Mr. Seaga, led to further literature review to clarify the nexus of culture and values formation.

Stream four (4)- the role of trust/confidence in public institutions, took on a life of its own and the questionnaire was redrafted after the interview with Professor Chevannes, to include the question of who is perceived as the best entity to lead the change process, as this issue was not previously considered by the researcher.

A second focus group was also conducted to explore themes relating to parliamentarian behaviour, a seemingly dominant and poignant theme, which arose from our first focus group and questionnaire results.

 The qualitative and quantitative data obtained were then used provide answers for the main research questions.

Approach to Questionnaire analysis

Using SPSS the data was coded and analysed and data presented as below:

Pie charts: Showing distribution frequencies of the variables examined. The basic demographic data are appended in the test results.

Cross-Tabulation: A technique to examine the respondent's views. This is a statistical technique showing how those falling in each category of one variable are distributed among the categories of another.

Correlation: To obtain the measure of association (strength) of the relationship between two variables. It varies from 0 (random/no relationship) to 1 (perfect linear relationship) or -1 (perfect negative linear relationship). Types of correlation used:

Spearman's rho: The most common correlation for use with two ordinal variables or an ordinal and an interval variable

Pearson's r: This is a measure of association which varies from -1 to +1, with 0 indicating no relationship and 1 indicating perfect relationship. Between .65 and 1 is indicative of a strong relationship, between .35 - .65 moderate relationship, and below .35 is considered weak.

Limitations to study

There are a number of factors which this study could not have addressed given timelines, scope and the nature of the level of research undertaken:

- **Timeline**

The Values and Attitudes campaign is still a relatively new programme and could not be fully assessed for effectiveness. Further, since undertaking this research, and collecting the bulk of the data in August 2005, there has been a change in political leadership, which may have implications for the level of focus placed on the values and attitudes campaign. The new efforts by the present Governor General, as well as other recent sectarian activities particularly in the media to stimulate the promotion of positive values, are not treated with in this paper.

- **Scope**

This paper is limited by the requirements of the MSc. thesis guide in terms of paper size. It means, therefore, that a limited range of issues could have been explored in a sufficiently meaningful manner to give the paper cogency and credibility. Further, given the wide range of activities with varying levels of implementation, all of which are controlled external to the Values and Attitudes Secretariat, an individual assessment of each of the programmatic contents is ideal. This, however, is more suitable for a larger study, or, each programme could be independently examined as a case study.

- **Population and Sampling**

    Although a statistically valid sample of 100 respondents were polled drawn from the Kingston Metropolitan Area, the views of the metropole may not necessarily reflect those of rural Jamaicans. Further, we found that of the sample polled, 56.12% could not provide some key responses as they were unaware of the existence of the values and attitudes campaign This negatively affected our ability to generalise our findings. Finally, while we attempted to obtain equal responses from men and women, we found that women were more amenable to participating in the survey, and equal representation was not obtained.

- **Recommendations**

    Regarding proposals of what additionally needs to be done to stimulate values reformation/social capital development, the approach is very

normative, and has not been subject to any level of testing to verify its suitability to the Jamaican landscape.

CHAPTER 3

Understanding Social Capital

a. Frameworks for Understanding

Capital is the stock or accumulation that yields or leads to or facilitates an action or productive activity of some appropriate or connected kind (Dasgupta and Serageldin 1999): and social capital is one of five capitals that must exist for development to take place, the other four being natural, physical, financial, and human capital (Madden and Jupp, 1999). The concept of social capital is particularly moot, as there appears to be an academic divide on what its constituents are. Norman Uphoff (1998) provides a most interesting discussion on social capital. He opines that one of the difficulties in grasping exactly what social capital is, rest with its amorphous nature. Discussions on the topic, he claims are rather inconclusive as they offer examples of what it is, rather than the specifics of what constitutes social capital (216). In support of this position, Dasgupta and Serageldin (1999) argue, "Some authors have identified social capital with such features of social organisation as trust. Then, there are those who think of it as an aggregate of behaviour norms. Some view it as social networks and then there are those who think of it as a combination of them all." Despite the difficulty in grasping the critical components of social capital, Uphoff posits a useful

definition: "an accumulation of various types of social, psychological, cultural, cognitive, institutional or related assets that increases the amounts of mutually beneficial cooperative behaviour." (1998, 216).

Other definitions are taken from the works of North (1990) and Olson (1982); by Uphoff where it is described as "the social and Political environment that enables norms to develop and shapes social structure."(1998, 220) Deepa Narayan concludes: "it is the rules, norms, obligations, reciprocity and trust embedded in social relations, social structures, and society's institutional arrangements, which enables its members to achieve their individual and community objectives." (Lederman, Loayza & Menendez 2002, 512). Coleman) says "like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (1988, 16).

As evidenced by the range of definitions proffered, it is evident that Social capital is not a homogenous constuct. However, it can be neatly compartmentalised into two interrelated categories: structural and cognitive (Uphoff ,1998). The structural perspective speaks primarily to the vehicles through which social capital is transmitted, and as such works in tandem with the cognitive dynamics.

Cognitive Elements of Social Capital

The cognitive category derives from mental processes, ideas, culture, values and attitudes that contribute and predispose people to mutually beneficial collective action. Shared values, norms and expectations are part of all social structural arrangements. (Uphoff 1998, 218). It is also here that the core elements of trust, reciprocity and civic engagement are resident. "These phenomena can be invested in to establish or increase their scope and effect and they can all depreciate in terms of the streams of the benefits that they produce"(Uphoff 1998, 220).

We can therefore deduce that a critical aspect of social capital investment is the act or directed effort at increasing or establishing a common value system based on mutual respect, partnership, sound work ethic and trust, while creating and maintaining an enabling environment supportive of these value systems. It is the creation of a culture of behaviour which facilitates human, social and economic development. The more the society cultivates within its members the feeling that they are stake-holders, participants in the social process, the greater the cohesion between its members.

Social Capital: Structural Perspective

The structural category deals primarily with the various forms of social organisation, roles, rules, networks and mutually beneficial collective action

and can be used to facilitate institutional design and strengthening. (Woolcock and Narayan 2000)

Woolcock and Narayan (2000) blend economic development and social capital into four distinct views: the Communitarian view, the networks view, the institutionalist view and the synergy view. Each of these offer some explanations on the various modalities through which social capital can be exploited and developed.

The Communitarian View

Here, social capital is equated with the number and density of local organisations and civic groups through which values, attitudes, norms, rules and sense of community welfare is channelled. Government plays a limited role within this framework as it is the range of private associations within the social space that transmit communal value systems. Communitarians hold that social capital is inherently good; that more is better; and that it is a fine tool to promote group and wider societal interest. (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 229). Consider the "partner" savings system which Kirton (1996) describes as the most popular informal financial institution in Jamaica. It is an informal savings plan where groups of person pool their resources and allow each member to obtain a lump sum of money on a rotation basis. An interest free revolving loan, the partner system is indicative of a high degree of social capital borne by the communitarian spirit. According to Kirton (1996) partners are characterised "by certain institutional features which include voluntary involvement, community orientation… the operational framework is rooted in the close social links between members of the participating group, which may be extended to the family, village, community, work place or some other social entity" (Kirton 1996, 200). All members are not usually known to each other, as supported by Kirton's study which indicated that only 9.3% of partner members indicated that they knew all the persons in their partner plan. However, membership to a plan was the result of the recommendation of

a family member or friend. Implicit in the act of referral is the guarantee of the character of both the new member and the banker as, in many instances, it is the referee who is aware of the financial circumstances of the parties. In many instances the members would not have qualified for a formal loan, nor would have had the collateral to secure one. Hence, this referee role is critical, as it serves to reduce transaction costs and serves to safeguard a system which is highly dependent on individual commitment and trust.

The Networks View

This view looks at vertical and horizontal relationships between people, as well as the relationships within and among organisations. Network theory has been used to explain much of the complexities of public policy making and collective action. It recognises that strong intra-community ties give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose, while weak ties allow for bridging divides based on religion, class, ethnicity and gender. (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 230). The network view represents an exploration of how various relationships translate into sectarian interests; the costs associated with the relationships; and the outcomes of group ties. This distinction is notable since network analysis is concerned with optimising the outputs of social capital as "the sources of capital needs to be distinguished from the consequences derived from them" ((Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 231) as attributing desirable outcomes to social capital ignores the possibility that outcomes may have been derived at the expense of some group within the

society, or that outcomes may not have been optimal. Consider the case of the 2005 Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Government of Jamaica and the Jamaica Confederation of Trade Unions. In acknowledgement of the

(a) A High Debt to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) ratio

(b) A large Fiscal Deficit

(c) Low Economic Growth and

(d) Low Employment Creation

The parties agreed that in the national interest it is imperative that all sectors should

cooperate to halt and correct the situation and one such method was through a general policy of wage restraint in the public sector (Jamaica Information Service, 2006). This MOU appears to have positive social capital outcomes, articulating shared values and trust between the parties and a commitment to working towards a common goal. However, this agreement is arguably the result of non-inclusion of the wider stake-holders on whose behalf the union has negotiated, to the detriment of some interest groups or networks within the policy space, as articulated by the Edith Allwood-Anderson, president of the Nurses Association of Jamaica (NAJ):

 "It is the NAJ's view that the JCTU has taken on the role of the Ministry of Finance in negotiating for our members without prior consultation or participation of the NAJ in the process" (Daily Gleaner Tuesday, April 25, 2006).

Mrs. Allwood-Anderson also claimed that, despite the NAJ's attendance at the last two meetings of the JCTU to express its dissatisfaction, the confederation remained "unconvinced and continues on a path, which is not in the best interest of our members. We did not give them that mandate to negotiate salary and fringe benefits". (Daily Gleaner Tuesday, April 25, 2006).

In addition to the NAJ, the Jamaica Teachers Association (JTA), the Police Federation and the Junior Doctors Associations, among others, are peeved with the negotiation process and proposed outcomes. The ongoing impasse is indicative of sub-optimal social capital outcomes.

So although networks may provide a modality through which social capital investments can generate successful outcomes, the investment activities must guarded from capture by sectarian groups, which can result in sub-optimal outcomes.

The Institutional View

Woolcock and Narayan 2000, 234) posit that the vitality of the community networks and civil society is largely the product of the legal, political and institutional environment. This approach argues that the very capacity of social groups to act in their collective interest depends on the quality of the formal institutions under which they reside. The ability of the state to

perform is directly linked to its internal cohesiveness, credibility, competence and to its external accountability to civil society. It is through this viewpoint that we see the nexus between trust/confidence and capacity building. Civil society thrives to the extent that the state actively encourages it. With an understanding of the institutional view, the state and development organisations/ bureaucracies are able to harness and invest in the social capital stock of the state. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) draw on the works of Knack and Keefer (1995, 1997) who equate social capital with the quality of a society's political legal and economic institutions. The evidence, as presented by Woolcock and Narayan, points to the conclusion that general trust, rule of law, bureaucratic quality of government, and respect of civil liberties are all positively associated with economic growth. Therefore, social capital reduces poverty rates and improves income equality. It is precisely because of this critical component why this paper seeks to examine the level of trust people in Jamaica have in the government and its institutions and the role of civil society, as building blocks for investment activities.

The Synergy View

Building from the previous viewpoint, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) conclude that neither the state nor societies are inherently good or bad: government organisations and civic groups are variable in the impact they have on the attainment of collective goals. States, firms and communities alone do not possess the resources needed to promote sustainable

development.(236) Partnerships are essential. The State's role in such a partnership is both problematic and essential. This paradox speaks to the need for careful study and research to ensure that the State's role yields positive rather than negative results. What should the ideal role of the state be in terms of investment activities? Should it lead? Should it relinquish leadership to civil society? Should the state lead only on particular activities? From whom should the attempts at influencing values in Jamaica come?

The emerging synergy view is perhaps the most comprehensive of the approaches to social capital development and investment, where it allows for the placement of a multiplicity of actors within the policy arena, utilising a combination of the bottom up and top down approaches to solve development problems and social policy making. Information can flow horizontally as well as vertically in both directions, allowing for greater input of and consultation with the community based organisations into those structures which will yield the best social dividend.

Perverse Social Capital

What Woolcock coins as perverse social capital, refers to situations where the communities are at cross-purpose with the wider society and a negative shift in power relations occur (analogous to the Jamaican experience of Community Dons, turf wars and extremely polarised living conditions).

The communitarian perspective provides for an understanding of the dynamics of perverse social capital. The Communitarian perspective, according to Woolcock and Narayan (2000, 229), implicitly assumes that communities are homogenous entities that automatically include and benefit all its members. They also indicate that while this perspective offers attractive contributions to poverty analysis and self empowerment (the poor have ties worth celebrating), it is also a vehicle through which perverse capital, or a counter culture can take root and undermine the value structure of a society. The existence of garrisons in Jamaica, affirms the assumption about community homogeneity while providing evidence of perverse capital. In defining "garrison," Henry-Lee (2005, 88) uses Stone's (1986) definition as follows: "a garrison is a military stronghold based on political tradition, cultural values, beliefs, myths and socialisation."

These Henry –Lee (2005, 88) expanded, were formed through:

- Housing projects set up by the ruling party and peopled with supporters;
- Chasing out all political opposition at gunpoint. The community achieves political homogeneity within, while entry & exit are monitored by top-ranking gang leaders in the context of scarce benefits; and
- Garrisons are maintained by party personnel and the framework of

violence, scarce benefits allocations and patron-clientelism, interest representation of faithfuls and maintenance of party or political values." (Henry-Lee 2005, 88)

Henry-Lee (2005) further notes that the most significant feature about the social capital in these communities is that strong political links and relationships with individuals are usually moulded by political links.

Perverse capital, however, is self evident within the context of a garrison. First, the manipulation of the residents' allegiance through a system of scarce benefits allocation, ruthlessness and violence, coupled with forced alienation from "outside communities," perpetuates this skewed norm of reciprocity, and the resultant solidarity is driven by fear. Second, the state is displaced as the sovereign authority by the "Don" who controls the operations of the garrison. Henry-Lee (2005) asserts that the quality of life of the residents depends on the degree of social capital that they enjoy with the Don. In support of this perspective Khan (1998) refers to the case of Hannah and Craig Towns in Jamaica, where the communities are at cross-purposes with the wider society. Much needed community "protection" was being informally provided but at a very high social cost, where "donmanship," although able to keep out intruders and warring factions, was itself a source of terror to the residents. The Don, through his surrogate role of parent, statesman and law enforcement agency, establishes the law and order within the communities and, upon fear of death, the residents comply. The Don also pays school fees, takes "care" of the old

and indigent and protects the residents from attacks from rival communities. "In return for the "Don's" support, residents must be prepared to pledge undying loyalty and even allow sexual abuse" (Henry-Lee 2005, 97). In these strongholds, the state is virtually stripped of power as legitimate but "outside" entities, including the police, are unable to access these communities freely.

Perverse social capital on a grand scale, is a strong, negative undercurrent capable of aligning members of a society with value systems which undermine the legitimacy and authority of the state and is generally by its nature an anti-developmental impulse.

Social Capital and Violence

Lederman *et al* state that there are two basic arguments as to how social capital can reduce the incidence of violent crimes. Both are based on the existence of sympathetic relationships among community members. The first argument is that social capital decreases the costs of social transactions. This allows for the peaceful resolution of conflicts both at the interpersonal level (home/school/ work) and societal level (equity/ income distribution) (2002, 514).

The second argument articulated by Rosenfeld, Messner and Baumer, according to Lederman *et al.* (2002) shows how strands of disorganisation theory, anomie theory and deprivation strain theory explains the negative link between social capital and crime and violence. According to social disorganisation theory, "weak social controls harm the ability of groups to organise and protect themselves, induce widespread mistrust and suspicion and, thus, create a situation propitious for predatory crime" (Lederman, Loayza and Menendez 2002, 514). This theory creditably offers a partial explanation for the existence of highly politically-polar garrison communities within Jamaica; their inbred distrust of outsiders; and their reliance on community dons and the gun for a sense of security. Moving from the group level of analysis to the individual level; "Anomie theory predicts that in an environment where people lack a strong moral order, behave egotistically, and are willing to exploit others, social trust will decline simultaneously as crime and violence intensifies" (Lederman, Loayza and Menendez 2002, 514). Lastly, according to deprivation/strain theory, the lack of social capital should be regarded as any other form of scarcity that would prevent society members from achieving their common goals. ."(Lederman, Loayza and Menendez 2002, 514). A 2001 study by Rosenfeld *et al* on Social Capital and Homicide concluded that where levels of generalised social trust are high and civic engagement is widespread, homicide rates are low, regardless of the level of deprivation, the density of the population, and other socio-demographic influences (18).

There is consensus among leading authors that, from the basic community level to that of the political directorate, groups of people within the society can be mobilised to achieve a group or common objective. Social capital is, therefore, offered as one of the critical development approaches capable of reversing the ill effects of declining value systems, and halting the level of crime and violence currently being experienced. It is how well that the dynamics are first understood and then managed that will determine how successful this approach can be in obtaining social change and development.

Of import is the dominance of themes of social cohesion; trust, ethics and leadership; and culture, which permeate throughout the theoretical accounts of social capital. These themes are inviolable components and the virtual underpinnings of all investment activities. They are both indicators of the existence of social capital, as well as catalysts for the creation of social capital. An exploration of these inter-related themes can only serve to elucidate what needs to be done as part of the investment exercise yielding positive streams of benefits to increase the social capital stock of a developing nation.

b. Social Capital and its Correlates

Social Cohesion

The meteoric rise in crime and violence in Jamaica, the emerging social cleavages and the decay in the values and attitudes of citizens at all levels of the strata are indicative of a larger problem of social incoherence. This negative outlook militates against the very objectives of development, noticeably retarding the process because of the difficulties in coalescing around a common value system, sense of nationhood and national direction, and is eroding or changing the social capital stock of this country. Part of the objective of social capital investments is to counter the negative long-term effects of incoherence and foster social cohesion. Social cohesion is described as "the glue that holds society together promoting harmony, a sense of community and a degree of commitment towards a common good" (Colletta et al 2001, 2). It is strongest when the majority of members of a society consider themselves as stake-holders and, conversely, weakest when the majority of stake-holders are alienated or stake-less (Siddique 1999, 18). An inherently moral phenomenon, social cohesion exists because of the impartial embracing and handling of the social, cultural, religious, and political differences present in the society (Siddique 1999, 19).

Social cohesion, is conceptually close to the notion of social capital, and is sometimes used interchangeably, as is evidenced by a definition proffered by the European Council.

> *"Social cohesion as a concept includes values and principles, which aim to ensure*
>
> *that all citizens, without discrimination and on an equal footing, have access to*

fundamental social and economic rights. This therefore involves building shared values and communities of interpretation, and generally enabling people to have a sense that they are engaged in a common enterprise, facing shared challenges and that they are members of the same community"[i] (VI Student Convention 2003).

The threat to social cohesion is not limited to Jamaica and other developing countries, but is the current topic of debate by the European Union and its member countries. A high social capital grid country like Canada, has also expressed concern and the Canadian Government, through its Strategic Planning and Policy Coordination Department of Canadian Heritage (SRA), conducted research on social cohesion strategies, mainly in Europe, and have compiled their own working definition as follows:

Social cohesion is the ongoing process of developing a community of shared values, shared challenges and equal opportunity within.... based on a sense of trust, hope and reciprocity among all (SRA, 2000, 6).

While Narayan, Chambers et al (2000) state: "social cohesion is determined by unity within a community- exhibited by shared understanding, mutual support and reciprocity of relationships (Narayan et al 2000, 133), Narayan's study revealed that, in the Jamaican context, definitions of social cohesion

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[i] Drawn from the VI European Student Convention Reader treating with the contribution of higher education to social cohesion in Europe. Convention hosted by the National Union of Italian University Students and the National Union of Students in Europe

include "unity, togetherness, no political war, understanding each other, share experiences and show respect" (Narayan et al 2000, 146). Implicit in these definitions is the deviation away from the divisiveness of the political culture in Jamaica, a dismantling of garrison type strong holds and the embracing of consultative approaches to decision making. This supports the three dimensions on which a definition of social cohesion may be based:

• trust - in particular, in institutions;

• a feeling of belonging - based on individuals' social integration;

• a willingness to show solidarity (in terms of social and fiscal contributions) to society (SRA 2000, 34).

One could reasonably accede that the evidence of social capital lies in the level of social cohesion of a society.

Conversely, social ill-being, defined as "the experience of being isolated, left out, looked down upon, alienated, pushed aside and ignored by mainstream" (Narayan et al 2000, 133) facilitates perverse social capital as the fraying of the social fabric can lead to the forging of solidarity ties with mafia-type networks. (Bess 1995, 2).

Trust, Ethics and Leadership

"Trust is some sort of belief in the goodwill of the other, given the opaqueness of other's intentions and calculations..." (Seligman 1997, 43). Any attempt to

construct a social order "must be predicated on the development of stable relations of mutual trust and ongoing social interactions between social actors" (Seligman 1997, 13). Trust is an expression of confidence in our Institutions, in our leadership, in people to do what is right and beneficial.

Trust is both functional and moralistic, since it connects us to the communities in which we live and helps us to solve collective action problems (Uslaner 2002). High levels of trust exhibited by people within a social space can serve to inhibit rationalist tendencies in favour of the collective, regardless of information asymmetry. This is a logical conclusion, given that with perfect information, trust would no longer play a dominant role in determining cooperative behaviour. Uslaner's thesis on moralistic trust supports this perspective as he argues that moralistic trust has its origins in the optimistic orientation towards the world that certain agents have. The moralistic trust of the individual has repercussions for the collective, since: "People who trust have an expansive view of their community and this helps to connect them to people who are different from themselves. It also leads people to seek common ground when they disagree on solutions to public issues" (Uslaner, 120). Fukuyama (1999) expands the discussion on trust by highlighting that all groups have a radius of trust, a circle of people amongst whom a cooperative norm is expected and reciprocated. Any society consisting of large overlapping radii of these relationships of trust are most likely to coalesce around and uphold a similar value system. If societies are able to engage with their citizens

and generate trusting relationships outside of the narrow circle of family and friends, they should then be able to concretise positive values and attitudes, placing themselves in a prime position to embark and sustain development.

Regrettably, this issue of trust appears to be the developmental Achilles heel for Jamaica. " It is indisputable that the lack of trust does stand in the way, in many instances, in moving forward with the development agenda of this country" commented Gillian Lindsay-Nanton, the outgoing United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) representative to Jamaica, at her send off function (The Gleaner, Wednesday August 18, 2004), comments no doubt based on her experience as a development practitioner.

Considering the centrality of trust to the formation and sustenance of social capital, then the concept of integrity becomes central to governance and development. Ethical behaviour, no doubt, facilitates development as it discourages undesirable behaviour and rewards those considered "good" or "healthy." Ethics is considered what is right, fair, just and good about what we ought to do; not just about what is the case, or what is most accepted or expedient (Cooper 1998).

An ethical infrastructure sets the tone for development by providing basic codes of conduct, together with the supportive regulatory/legal framework, the education and communicative instruments required to transmit and uphold a values system. This infrastructure facilitates the enshrinement of a

value system, eliminates corruption and serves to generate public confidence in the formal institution. Bertok (2000) implies that a government that lacks an ethics infrastructure is unlikely to be trustworthy, and likely to suffer from systemic failures evidenced by corruption. Avoiding or countering corruption and engendering public trust and confidence are critical components of sustaining economic development and, indeed, an integral component in developing social capital.

The Political leadership must be committed to the ethical infrastructure, or else it will be a toothless enterprise. Bertok (2000) refers to the role of guidance in cultivating an ethical framework. Guidance, Bertok argues, relies more on leadership, personal responsibility and showing by example, an approach successfully used in Scandinavia and the UK, as high standards of behaviour are expected in high places Bertok (2000). The Very Rev. Fr. Michael Lewis wrote recently in the Catholic Observer, an insert in the Sunday Gleaner, that some of the fault for the exhibition of disrespect to what were previously considered sacrosanct institutions rests with our leadership. "One cannot command respect," he argued, "if one does not carry out ones duty with a sense of respect for those one leads. Leadership must never be seen as an authority, but rather must be seen as service... to be a leader means that I must see dignity in myself..see dignity in each person and to respect that dignity as my own..to lead means not to push, but simply to give a good example to those around me so that I may have a moral voice" (Lewis 2006, 2).

It serves as a strong reminder that a call for a values framework, must be supported by the display of emulative behaviour, one of the critical hallmarks of good leadership.

Conversely, where there is a self serving bureaucracy, corruption, a disregard for civil liberties and human rights, vast inequality, social divides, the institutional structures do not have the moral authority to generate trust and consensus building, key components critical to this approach.

Social Capital and Culture

A "Community's culture consists of the beliefs, preferences, and behaviours of its members, along with the mechanisms that link these traits to one another. Together, these traits give the community a unique identity that distinguishes it from other communities. This identity is subject to change, for a culture is a living organism. Through their interactions with one another and their reactions to external influences, the members of a community transform their behaviours and ultimately also the beliefs and preferences that drive their personal choices" (Kuran 2004).

According to Pye, "A culture like an individual, is a more or less consistent pattern of thought and action...each culture has its own pattern of thought, action, and expression, dominated by a certain theme that is expressed in social relations, art and religion (1987:20). Culture is also defined as values

attitudes beliefs, orientations and underlying assumptions prevalent among a people (Huntington 2000.xv), which shapes and is shaped by humanity.

Seaga (2005) asserts that we (Jamaicans) have failed to recognise and control the powerful underlying dynamics of culture which have served to affect social life. More critical is the key issue of whether political leadership can mitigate the apparent impending disaster by stimulating cultural change and if it cannot, then which institution is best suited to effect that role?

Cultural Influences on the local values and attitudes

According to Seaga (2005) whose views are to a great extent supported by Chevannes (2005), there is a strong counter culture which exists among our youth which has broad support, without ideology, theology or social commitment. It is individualistic and impulsive, and is characterised by a detachment from civil society inter alia. This counter culture focuses on money, sex, power and, in instances, the retribution of violence as a renegade route to respect. Those caught in the maelstrom of violence are invariably rootless and ruthless in their pursuit of "respect." Ruthless, primarily because they are rootless and having no faith in any future, much less a bright one. This counter culture, Seaga (2005) documents, is fed by early socialisation practices and ingrained cultural realities.

He opines that young children are over-indulged with little regimentation in their daily routines, including feeding on demand. This lack of regimentation contributes to a satisfaction-on-demand personality trait which, no doubt, manifests itself in short term goal attainment. There is a radical shift from over-indulgence of babies, which transitions into aggressive reactions to misconduct of children. Seaga (2005; 8) stated that "the confidence of self and security that the child should be building at this time is weakened. This shapes insecurity in the maturing adult leading to submissiveness and lower levels of achievement, or hyper-aggressive" retaliatory responses. Of the urban setting, he further adds that "inner city children face a struggle for yard space." This, no doubt, translates to the incidences of "cornerism" and turf wars which puncture the urban setting. "Insufficient food, overcrowded schools...add to the competing demands of an aggressive environment and aggressive response" (Seaga 2005:10).

The deep seated need for respect is another feature of the Jamaican cultural landscape. "Respect is a powerful dynamic, so powerful indeed that an act of disrespect can bring death. Male power rests on the power to demand respect, particularly from their peers and from women" (Seaga 20005, 25). Justice too, Seaga outlines, is another dominant cultural theme, where injustice is anything that makes life harder, while those who are privileged enjoy life. Justice and respect are almost twin concepts. These features, coupled with the short circuit fuse of aggression, would seemingly offer a credible explanation of the

corner dynamics of inner city communities and the growing levels of aggression apparent in our society today. Chevannes (2005) concurred that the explosive "corner" dynamics are indicators of a thriving sub-culture, where there is little or no faith in the state Institutions. The Police, the Politicians, the Government are viewed with open hostility, and there is a deep-seated mistrust of developmental initiatives.

Individualism presents itself as a viable means through which success can be achieved. "Individualism is the resource base and the crucible by which in many forms and many ways, self expression is shaped into successful art, spiritual liberation, athletic elegance, ingenious trade practices and cunning devices of all types" (Seaga 2005, 21). By extrapolation, the opportunities for the elusive notion of success are embedded within individualistic endeavours and incompatible with notions of cooperation and group identity.

Mr. Seaga strongly expressed the opinion that we cannot introduce programmatic content, or predetermine the institutional structure for supporting any values campaign, without first understanding the underlying principles and role of culture in defining our behaviour as a people. Any attempts at raising social capital, should involve cultural penetration.

The discussion of social capital should be informative to policy-makers who want to increase the stock of social capital in any given country. Fukuyama

(1999) cautions, that states do not have many obvious levers for creating many forms of social capital. Social capital is frequently a by-product of religion, tradition, shared historical experience, and other factors that lie outside the control of any government. Policy-makers also need to be aware that social capital, particularly when associated with groups that have a narrow radius of trust, can produce negative externalities and be detrimental to the larger society.

States can both do some positive things to create social capital, and forebear from doing others that deplete a society's stock. Chevannes (2005) articulated the view that given the Jamaican culture of political intolerance and distrust, the paradigmatic shift required by a values revolution dictates the formulation of an alternate approach which has, at its core, grass-rooted, culture building mechanisms. He alluded to the possibility that the State is not the most suitable Institution to lead any values reformation, as they do not possess the moral authority to do so. We can surmise from the accounts of Seaga and Chevannes the importance of some of the underlying cultural variables; the importance of civic organisations penetrating communities; giving them voice and choices; the importance of an ethical framework; where what is right is not only done; but seen to be done; and the importance of leadership exhibiting respectful behaviour to all, as well as the potential dilemma of who is best equipped to lead a transformational exercise.

CHAPTER 4

Social Capital: A Corollary to Development

According to the World Bank 1997 Report, critical to the effectiveness of any State is its ability to stimulate development by providing an environment conducive to social partnership and economic growth, while protecting the vulnerable (summary:1). Development is simplistically and correctly associated with progress. Having multiple dimensions (primarily economic and social) the indicators of development are varied and, oftentimes, at odds, depending on the visual lens embraced when exploring this concept. According to Thomas, development is seen as consisting of deliberate efforts aimed at progress on the part of various agencies, including governments, all kinds of organisations and social movements (1996, 97). Esman opined that development is the "steady progress toward improvement in human condition; reduction and eventual elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease; and expansion of the well being and opportunity for all" (1997, 5). In addition to economic growth, Todaro (1989) conceives development as a process involving changes in social structure, popular attitudes and national institutions.

To capture the essence of the various authors, we will define development as the economic, social/psychological, institutional and physical changes resulting in improvement in the human condition arising from the collective actions of

purposive individuals. Implicit to the development agenda is the notion of social capital where it is the cooperative actions of individuals that serve to build a society infused with the values and attitudes commensurate with developmental imperatives.

Social Capital and Economic Development

The "ginnal", "samfie" and "anancy" refer (with perverse pride) to the Jamaican con-artist. Glorified as a cultural icon in folk tales and jest, it is an aspect of the Jamaican psyche that predisposes and forgives errant behaviour. Here, the function of social capital at the cognitive level, is to reinforce positive value systems and work ethics and reduce or eliminate the elements of corruption, nepotism and principal-agent conflicts. While, at the structural level, social capital seeks to form the partnerships, networks and alliances conducive to economic performance and growth. Social capital effectively reduces the transaction costs associated with formal coordination mechanisms like contracts, hierarchies, bureaucratic, rules etc. (Fukuyama1999, 4).

Positive social capital reduces or eliminates the elements of corruption, nepotism and principal-agent conflicts. It eliminates the safeguards necessary to prevent abuse from information asymmetry and capture (regulatory, market, political and otherwise). The economic cost of enforcing regulations

and seeking remedies for breeches/ torts are reduced, and this promotes an investment-friendly climate, critical to developing states.

Fukuyama (1999) argues that as economic activity becomes more complex and technologically sophisticated, it becomes more costly to monitor. Rather than attempting to provide detailed contingencies for unforeseen events and engage in very rigid bureaucratic processes as a means to control outcomes, it is more efficient and economically viable to operate in this knowledge environment under a professional code of ethics, to which employees are committed.

Poor worker-management relations led to a high degree of industrial disputes and work stoppages in Jamaica, especially from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s. Antagonistic labour relations, characterised by sabotage, pilferage, poor work ethic and distrust of the management structure have driven foreign direct investments (FDI) away, impacting directly and negatively on a country's economic development. The recent case in Jamaica of the closure of gold mining operations in Pennants, Clarendon due, primarily, to an unstable industrial climate coupled with security concerns, lends support to Fukuyama's observations. At the macro level, investors require confidence in the political, social and economic stability of the country. Where corruption is high, and officials can be bought, this adversely affects the countries credibility in the international market.

From the IADB 2003 study, we can see how a number of factors relating to the issue of low productivity are directly related to the low social capital. These include:

a. a poor response by the private sector to productivity incentives because of their lack of confidence in an uncertain economic environment;

b. the deep distrust between workers and management which de-motivates workers;

c. incentives offered are usually not large enough to have an impact on productivity;

d. work norms and management styles are deeply embedded in work cultures and are constantly being fed by the non-work environment thus making it difficult to effect change in the workplace. Social relationships based on class, colour, ethnicity, residential location and education spill over from the wider society into the workplace; the competitive environment is blocked by unequal economic power between new and old capitalists and by the existence of powerful business groups who control the market place. Barriers to entry are created thus excluding potentially productive operators. These powerful enterprises can engage in lobbying and rent-seeking behaviour in order to maintain their monopolistic control (IADB 2003).

Two of the remedies to low productivity and enhanced economic performance, as articulated by the IDB study, are fully in keeping with the structural tenets of social capital:

Civic Dialogue and Social Partnerships

Civic dialogue and social partnerships must be a central element of any programme for economic and social recovery, and that this must be accompanied by greater levels of information sharing and public education programmes on the critical choices ahead. The government has not done enough to communicate with and inform its stake-holders, which results in the concomitant low levels of trust between government and civil society, as well as insufficient public understanding of the current economic and social condition of the country. Government must urgently move to correct this by engaging all stake-holders in a dialogue to arrive at a national consensus on the way forward for the country. The process should involve government, the private sector, IDPs, trade unions, civil society, opposition parties and others (IADB 2003). This notion of dialogue and partnership is fully endorsed by the 1997 World Development Report, which further states "governments are more effective when they listen to business and citizens and work in partnership with them (Summary: 10).

Public/Private Sector Partnerships for Investment

Government should promote greater public/private sector partnerships especially to finance social sector programmes. Against the background of the tight fiscal situation of the country, it was posited that the State could not provide the level of financing required for developing the private and social sectors. It was therefore important to form partnerships with non-State actors to secure resources to improve sectors such as health and education, and also for general infrastructure development (Inter-American Development Bank 2003).

There is a further relationship between social capital and economic development. Given that the principal engine of economic development is the work and creativity of individuals, Grondono (2000) observes that essential to their levels of productivity is the extent to which individuals feel they have control over their destiny. Societies that control individuals to a high degree and limit their participation in national affairs, end up demoralising their citizens. This in turn has a negative effect on their productive capacities as creative energies have no legitimate outlet (Grondono 2000). Conversely, "what people believe about what it takes to be prosperous has much to do with how they behave, and beliefs become reflected in attitudes and values" (Porter 2000, 23). If "beating the system" or participating in underground economies offer attractive avenues to progress, and if the

institutional structures frustrate legitimate enterprise, then these "alternate" routes are most likely to be charted.

 Here in Jamaica, we bemoan the lack of interest by our youth population in agricultural pursuits and the seemingly idleness of inner city youth. However, the "way people behave in society has much to do with the signals and the incentives that are created in the system in which they live" (Porter 2000, 23). Regarding these very complaints of poor work ethics of the workers in developing countries, Porter raises the alarm what if there is no reward for hard work? What if there is no advancement even if one works hard? (Porter 2000, 23). The answer is fairly simple, one cannot expect a society to uphold the values of hard work when there is little reward. Therefore, economic development is more likely in societies which encourage civic dialogue, inculcate the right work ethics, and examine their incentive structures and value cooperation while respecting individual liberties.

Social Capital ,Capacity Building and Institutional Strengthening

> *Capacity is the ability of individuals, organisations and societies to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve goals. Capacity development entails the sustainable creation, utilisation and retention of that capacity, in order to reduce poverty, enhance self-reliance, and improve people's lives..... Capacity development builds on and harnesses rather than replaces indigenous capacity. It is about promoting learning, boosting empowerment, building social capital, creating enabling environments, integrating cultures, and orientating personal and societal behaviour.... The UNDP recognises that capacity building is a long-term, continuing process, in which all stakeholders participate.*

> *UNDP 1997 Briefing Paper*

The concept of capacity building heavily reverberates within the developmental approach to Public Management. "The recent attempts to overhaul developing economies have placed in stark relief the need for adequate public Sector administrative capacity..[as]..increasingly the ability of civil service to carry out the critical - much less the routine- functions of government is severely constrained" (Nunberg, et al, 1995 :1). "In short," argues Grindle, "while many governments claimed a leading role in the process of development they demonstrated remarkable incapacity to plan and pursue it" (Grindle 1997:1).

Grindle (1997) postulates that problem solving abilities, together with organisational culture and the treatment of human resources, are those factors which contribute most to successful organisations. Where there is a strong and positive work ethic, a commitment to goals and a clear course of action/ mission, despite difficulties relating to budgetary constraints, these organisations are poised for success. Hence in this regard, **capacity building is seen as the inculcation of values, clearly understood and agreed upon mission,** authority relationships and problem solving capabilities and technical skills essential to productive outputs. This action of inculcating values is part of the investment in social capital. The impetus for change can only be successfully driven within the developmental context where there is a collective vision and value system sufficiently dominant to overcome resistant undercurrents.

Building organisational capacity is not limited to functional changes, but includes structural changes such as constitutional reforms, regulatory reform, strengthening property rights laws, creation of market based rules, dismantling of protectionist policies and practices and creating a seamless operating environment both vertically and horizontally within the government and with the triadic partnership of private sector and civil society. The "very capacity of social groups to act in their collective interest, depends on the quality of the formal institutions under which they reside" (Woolcock and Narayan 2000: 234). It is through institutional strengthening that values and

attitudes, trust in government institutions, consensus building and good governance ought to be accomplished.

Without these enlarged capacities, it is argued by neo-institutionalists, development and effective governance cannot be achieved. The public institutional framework is, therefore, central to the process of promulgating a national value system. It is the primary means through which a vision can be transmitted and trusting relationships can emanate outwards.

But, in order to build capacity, one must first be capable of identifying where the gaps exist. "Too often," Grindle and Hildebrand argue, "capacity building initiatives do not fully assess the roots of constraints on performance..[but rather]..on the most concrete examples of incapacity" (Grindle 1997: 5). The gaps that exist within the social fabric of the Caribbean are indicative of an often ignored starting point for development. The State, in order to build a semblance of social partnership with the communities, must first earn the trust of the various stake-holders as part of its investment activities, as a negative perception of the state, its agents and its agencies, will have serious implications for any attempt at formalising a national value system. The IDB 2003 report and Francis Fukuyama both independently proffer institutional strengthening options which are by nature critical to development activities in keeping with the objectives of social capital:

Public Sector Institutional strengthening

Quality public institutions are consistently regarded as a precondition for social and economic development. The IDB (2003) report on Jamaica urged government action to improve public management and accountability particularly as decentralised levels within the public sector. This serves to reduce the mistrust in public sector institutions and fosters a climate conducive to partnership, relationship and national consensus building.

Fukuyama argues that States indirectly foster the creation of social capital by efficiently providing necessary public goods, particularly property rights and public safety. He points to the fact that private property rights protection is very inferior to the state-supplied version, since there is nothing to prevent these private providers from getting into a host of other illegal activities as well. There are also economies of scale in the deployment of coercive force used to enforce property rights. People cannot associate, volunteer, vote, or take care of one another if they have to fear for their lives when walking down the street. Given a stable and safe environment for public interaction and property rights, it is more likely that trust will arise spontaneously as a result of iterated interactions of rational individuals. We can expand Fukuyama's discussion and add that, specifically, within the Jamaican context an ethical framework as part of the Institutional building exercise is also a critical component of the state's role in raising or investing in its social capital stock. (Fukuyama 1999: 11).

Education is proffered by Fukuyama (1999:11) as another key area where governments probably have the greatest direct ability to generate social capital. He states that educational institutions do not simply transmit human capital, they also pass on social capital in the form of social rules and norms. This is true not just in primary and secondary education, but in higher and professional education as well. Doctors learn not just medicine but the Hippocratic oath. One of the greatest safeguards against corruption is to give senior bureaucrats high-quality professional training and to create an *esprit de corps* among this elite. This would no doubt assist with raising standards, public perception and public trust.

Arguably, the most important Institution building exercise any government can undertake involves an element of cultural engineering, through which there is an embedding of a sense of nationhood, national pride. These institution building exercises must incorporate national symbols and icons. Where respect and appropriate reverence is shown at all times in relation to our National symbols and icons, (National Flag, Anthem, Public Office, Parliamentary proceedings), it serves to reinforce a national value system, and raises the level of trust that citizens have in their national institutions.

The Southeast Asian experience with its creation of the celebrated vision document, is held as one of the premier examples of using a national institutional framework, to craft and implement a visioning exercise. This document encapsulated future goals and aspirations, providing convincing evidence of the potential for social growth and development. In 1991 Prime Minister Mahathir of Malaysia, articulated Vision 2020, which was the governments vision of the Path to Industrialisation. It set out a timeline, complete with an action plan to accomplish its objectives. Singapore's vision is articulated in a government production entitled **Next Lap** which sets out, on a moving target basis, the countries plan to catch up with industrialised nations by 2020-2030. The Singapore vision focuses on four key areas: economic dynamism, national identity, quality of life and the configuration of a global city. These articulated visions facilitated social cohesion. They were the "rallying" points around which citizens were invited to buy into the system and become stake-holders (Siddique 2001: 23-24).

Werlin (2003) points to the merits of cultural engineering as a means to effect positive values transformation. He argues that Singapore's cultural engineering was achieved through information dissemination, indoctrination, persuasion, incentives, sanctions and coercion (334). He credits Singapore's capacity to reform to its governments ability to change within the bureaucracy, by recruiting the best and the brightest, improving salaries, discourage corruption and changing the values of civil servants. Notwithstanding the

authoritarian form of governance which exists in Singapore, Werlin noted that Singaporean government official were remarkably responsive to changing needs and demands by listening to criticism and funding research on existing and emerging problems (335).

Because of the ideology of the Malaysian polity, the approach undertaken was predominantly top down, but given our penchant for western styled, albeit "dysfunctional democracy" (Werlin, 2003: 336), a more synergistic approach would be necessary to lead to greater credibility and popular "buy-in." There are none the less, many lessons which we could draw on from the South East Asian experience regarding institutional strengthening and cultural engineering. This means that the government and civil society would be instrumental in crafting a credible vision document for the nation. A vision not only of where the nation hopes to be over time, but **what** it means to be Jamaican. This vision must become the national agenda for change, the litmus test of performance and the anchoring centre around which other development initiatives revolve. Such a vision, having been drafted by government, together with civil society, has to persistently, overtly, and loudly remain in the public domain to be effective.

The more sophisticated we become as a people, is the more we need to shape the change within our institutions, and substitute our value systems. Therefore, we need to become adept at redefining our structures in order to develop and maintain a positive value system.

Social capital offers itself as a relevant and valid framework for understanding cause and effect associated with values substitutions, as well as provides a framework for understanding modalities for the transmission, growth and generation of social capital. Accepting Ostroms' evaluation that social capital accrues (or disintegrates) over time, the challenge entailed in developing social capital, particularly the cognitive elements relating to values and attitudes, trust, civic pride and engagement, resonates with designing the appropriate Institutional framework and processes to support these lofty objectives. As Krishna (2000) opined, through purposive action, members of any society can improve prospects for mutually beneficial collective action. Krishna (2000).

We are reminded by Chevannes and Seaga that the process of institution building however is culture and context specific. While we can devise very normative theoretical prescriptions, there are no guarantees that the idealised structures will yield the intended outcomes. However, we can examine our own attempts at values reformation and draw on best practices as a reference point in our search for institutional solutions congruent with social capital formation.

CHAPTER 5

The Values and Attitudes Campaign

> *"Teach us true respect for all*
> *Stir response to duty's call*
> *Strengthen us the weak to cherish*
> *Give us vision lest we perish*
> *Knowledge send us, Heavenly Father*
> *Grant true wisdom from above*
> *Justice, truth, be ours forever*
> *Jamaica, land we love."*
> *Verse Two, National Anthem of Jamaica*

On Tuesday February 15, 1994, the Prime Minister of Jamaica, the Most Hon P. J. Patterson launched a national consultation on values and attitudes sponsored jointly by the Government of Jamaica (GOJ) and UNESCO. This was slated to be the first in many such to be hosted island wide, as part of the national campaign for social renewal.

According to the JIS news release, there were over 1,200 participants involved in the launch representing a myriad of sectors including the state, the legislature, the judiciary, the church, media, private sector, academicians, community associations and non government organisations, among others.

During his opening speech, the then Prime Minister opined that a multiplicity of causal factors have contributed over the years to the erosion of the value

structure of our society. First, he points to the legacy of slavery and colonialism, which he says has undoubtedly served to create an ambivalent attitude and undermines our confidence in ourselves as a people. Second, he notes that the fight for scarce benefits and spoils and the subsequent polarisation of the society has resulted in displays of open hostility and tribal behaviour at the expense of unity and working together towards common goals.

By way of providing further explanations of the social and moral decay evident, Mr. Patterson also outlined the impact of cultural penetration, through the glorification of violence and easy lifestyles out of the reach of many. This far reaching penetration is fuelled by the negative news onslaught by media. He cautioned that the media is to take responsibility for imagery portrayed for even though we value freedom of speech, the continuous onslaught of negative imagery can lead to anarchy. These factors together with a limping economy, the brain drain, corruption and an unfailing effort to beat the system, completes the smorgasbord of negative influences attributed to the decline in values and standards.

The Role of the Public Sector and Social Agenda

Patterson (2004) acknowledged the redefinition of the role of the state globally. Despite this redefinition, he stated that it falls within the role of the state to establish patterns of conduct and rules of behaviour for its citizens.

However, he noted that pivotal to the compliance, and respect of these laws is the degree of public acceptance.

Having accepted the assertions of the Nettleford Report that the Government has a basic responsibility to help the country to fulfil its potential, in the process of standards and values, the then Prime Minister, P. J. Patterson, agreed that the Government needs to get their own house in order, so that it can lead by example.

He did not however accept that the political leadership is solely responsible for the breakdown of social order, Nor did he accept that the entire society can wait for the housecleaning to take place before acting on itself. Patterson defined the role of the government in this venture as follows;

1. Spearhead the social agenda,

2. Emphasise human resource development

3. Protect the most vulnerable groups

4. Combat corruption and eliminate waste.

According to Patterson, these efforts, particularly that of spearheading the social agenda requires full partnership for its success. He stated that the government must lead in community building and not relegate their role to that of distributor of spoils and scarce benefits; they must empower people,

properly fund and support social institutions and coordinate efforts with that of the 71 registered NGO's and over 1000 community organisations.

Mr. Patterson concluded that information sharing is critical to the programme and that this consultation must result in practical objectives, concrete suggestions and elements of an action plan which are to be implemented (His speech Tuesday Feb. 15,1994).

The campaign however suffered from inertia and the momentum did not increase until the re-launch in 2003.

Overview of the Current Values and Attitude Programme[i]

The revitalised Values and Attitudes Programme (VAP) – **"For a Better Me, a Better You and a Better Jamaica"** – is intended to operate along two principal lines focusing on:

1)   **Institutional Arrangements** reflecting a Values and Attitudes culture through inter alia;

> Customer Service Charters
>
> Schools and their curricula
>
> Community Policing

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[i] (Extracted from http://www.valuesandattitudes.info/index1.html)

Traffic Regulations and Management

Public Order Provisions

2) **<u>Individual Behaviour</u>** to reflect

A positive mindset

Improved sense of self

An awareness of Vision for Self and Nation

A commitment to responsible living

Little-White (2006) advised that research conducted by Dr. Karl Stone was used as the framework to validate the approach adopted. However the 2003 phase brought further clarity to the task of values transformation by establishing and the following definitions of key concepts from some of the stake-holder consultative sessions.

"Values are represented by the norms and mores developed within cultures and communities, which are informed by the traditions of religion, ethnicity or political environment" (Source: Mona School of Business Symposium 2003).

Values simply are "the things which persons regard as having ultimate importance, significance of worth; a set of principles, standards or beliefs concerning things ultimately important" (Source HEART/NTA Personal Development Manual)

"Attitudes are the positive or negative thought and feelings that we have about ourselves, others, objects and events in our environment. "it is a way we respond to people,concepts and situations (Source: HEART-NTA personal Development Manual. Values and attitudes 2003 Phase).

The campaign objectives

The objectives of the campaign articulated at the re-launch are:

1. To facilitate the development and agreement in the society of a set of governing ideas that are key to building a new national culture, depicting good governance, public order, socio-economic growth and environmentally sound practices

2. To heighten a programme of public awareness of the need to inculcate and adopt proper values and attitudes to achieve the above

3. To sustain mechanisms by which access to programmes and material is made available to individuals and organisations seeking to inculcate and adopt positive values and attitudes.

Assessment of Campaign Objectives

Objective # 1:

In keeping with its first stated objective, the campaign identified core and key values, around which the body of the campaign coalesces. According to the

campaign documentation, Jamaicans are being encouraged to embrace these values and apply them to their daily lives. These include core values of Respect, Honesty, Truthfulness, Forgiveness and Tolerance, Peace and Love and Fairness; and key values of Discipline, Leadership, Love, Punctuality, Progress, Work, Responsibility, National Pride, and Cooperation. The campaign asserts that these are essential for everyone who wants to see the return to a kinder, gentler, more caring Jamaica. It seeks to accomplish these goals by embedding these values in its institutional arrangements, which should ultimately reflect a positive values culture.

Our focus group session indicated that these values are indeed critical to our sense of self and for nation building. When asked which of the core values is the most important, "respect" obtained the most frequent response, with initially five (5) persons out of twelve agreeing on the primacy of its importance. One respondent said:

> "If the politicians and the police and the government workers show people respect, then we would trust them more."

Another said:

> "We stop showing people respect and that is why we are so violent.....not even old people get respect anymore, not even the church....you see how dem wear bashment outfits to church? It is a total lack of respect for everyone and everything."

Peace and love according to two persons ranked as the most important value:

> "We are too aggressive, if we were a peace loving set of people, we
> wouldn't have so much violence."

This assertion fuelled further debate, as other group members declared the dislike of the label "aggressive". In defense of his fellow panelist, one person asserted;

> "let us not debate on whether Jamaicans are aggressive or not. The real
> issue is that if peaceful solutions to conflict are found, if people learn
> the right and proper way to handle disputes, then we wouldn't have so
> much violence.'

Another two discussants listed honesty as the most important value. One explained:

> "We are so used to beating the system that we are no longer honest
> people.. Tthe Politicians lie and steal, we bribe police to not get
> speeding tickets, we try to get away with not paying taxes, there are so
> many everyday examples of dishonesty that I can find, and everybody is
> guilty in some way."

After this panelist voiced her opinion, two persons who initially stated that "respect" was the most important value, changed their position and agreed that honesty was the most important value that we should reinforce.

When asked what is the most important key value? Leadership and National Pride evoked the two most frequent responses. In explaining her position, one member of the group said:

"if the leaders dem behave honest and decent, then everybody will follow, but me, (I) caa (can't) follow nuh tiefing (dishonest) politician."

Another said:

"Look how they behave bad in parliament, and disrespect dem one anodda (disrespect each other) what kind of example are they setting."

Another potent response was:

"me nuh see nobady who fit to tell me what to do, cause the whole a dem corrupt, mek dem guh weh (go away) 'bout values and attitudes."

On the issue of national pride, the group maintained that the word Jamaican, has become a "bad-word" another said:

"We don't have no pride in we self anymore, look how the whole place pop down and dirty? When you go to the movies, not even the anthem people want to stand up for, we are not like the Americans who (are) proud to be American."

One member of the group retorted:

" What (do) we have to be proud of anyway".

This retort fuelled a vibrant debate on the many achievements and facets of Jamaican life of which we can be proud.

While the group agreed that the campaign articulated the key vales which ought to be enshrined in daily lives, The majority (9 persons) did not see these values being embedded in local institutional arrangements, while three (3) persons who were all employed in the civil service, stated that the move towards citizens charters and organisation mission statements is geared towards embedding these ideals. After a vibrant debate with the non government group members, the majority group of nine (9) conceded that some efforts are being made to have values enshrined within the countries institutional arrangements, but they were all agreed that the efforts to date were not enough, that there is little sign of behavioural change.

Using our questionnaires, we had asked a wider audience whether or not people generally thought that the means proposed through which a values culture should become embedded were suitable. A large majority, agreed that the means proposed are suitable as indicated by the below table.

Table 1.

Means to embed value systems

People will behave better by promoting:	Total Persons Polled	98
	Yes %	No %
Customer Service Charters	72.45%	26.53%
School Programmes like PALS	86.73	13.27
Community Policing	86.73	13.27
Traffic Regulations and Management	83.67	16.33
Enforcing Public Order Provisions	80.61	19.39

In a bid to further test if key values important to individuals are embedded in the institutional arrangements, we asked if sound work ethics and moral values are evident in government agencies. A minority of persons polled (24.48%) agreed that agencies of the government reflected values important to them. While there was an equal number of persons who either disagreed or stated that to some extent the values were reflected. It was however interesting to note (see table 2. below) that as the age group increased, so did the number of positive responses to that particular question, however, our chi square test indicated that the relationship was not significant[i].

Table 2.

Age and Work Ethics & Moral of Govt. Agencies Cross-tabulation

Age	Work Ethics & Moral of Govt. Agencies			Total
	Yes	no	Somewhat	
18 - 25	8	12	15	35
26- 35	6	12	13	31
over 35	10	13	9	32

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[i] See Chi square test at appendix 2.

Total	24	37	37	98

We then tested more generally to see whether people believed a values framework can positively change people's behaviour. Our survey revealed that people overwhelmingly (94.4%) believed that promoting sound values can bring about positive behavioural change, irrespective of their awareness of the current values and attitudes campaign as illustrated by figure 1. below:

Figure 1.

Effects of values promotion on behaviour.
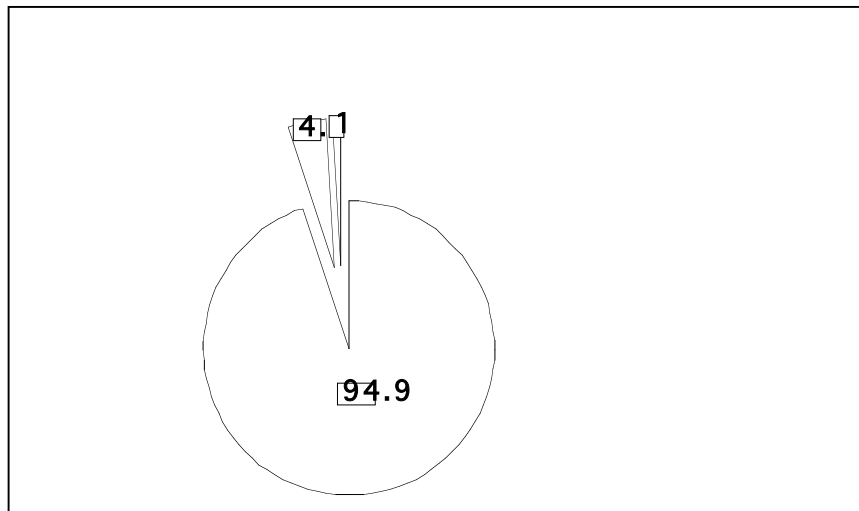
Using the questionnaires, we asked more specifically if they believed the current values programme campaign is capable of effecting positive

behavioural change in Jamaicans. Of the 51 persons who indicated that they are aware of the programme, 76% replied in the affirmative while 24% do not believe it a good way to effect change. Our further explorations of themes of trust may offer greater insights on why a large enough minority do not think the programme is capable of yielding desired results. This question was not applicable to 56.12% of the sample[i].

The Focus groups opinions and questionnaire results are indicative that the first objective has been met, that is; there is consensus on the core values to be embraced, and agreement on the principal means through which a values culture can become embedded. However the focus group feed back, as well as the fact that only 24.48% of the persons polled agreed that values important to them are reflected in government ministries and agencies, clearly indicates that the desired transformation is not yet evident.

Objective #2

To achieve its second objective of heightening public awareness of the need to inculcate a positive value system, the campaign asserts that it requires the collaboration of a number of identified critical partners to obtain national acceptance of the campaign goals and influence behavioural change as follows:

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[i] See appendix 2

The Church: This institution was identified because of its reach, nurturing of spiritual bases for our values and social programmes and position of respect and authority.

The media: Because of its reach, this source is described as having heavy influence on behaviour and contains power to change attitudes through their message.

Professional Groups: Because of their ability to provide research, psychologists, teachers to ensure appropriateness of messages and approaches.

Volunteers: because it is from among them will come the activists and animateurs within communities and organisations.

Others - who have an institutional leadership role or who are moved to offer their services to particular groups of persons.

Since the re-launch, a web-site (http://www.valuesandattitudes.info/index1.html)- has been developed to disseminate information on the varied and related activities falling within the framework of the values campaign that have been undertaken. Little-White (2006) asserts that the secretariat has had some success with the partnership approach, as is evident by growing number of activities registered with the secretariat. She cited the "Respect" and "Safe-school" programmes as examples of the successful partnering of the VAC, with the media, private sector and persons involved in the entertainment industry.

"A lot of goodwill exists" Little-White (2006) noted, and expanded that the very existence of the secretariat is premised on goodwill. She conceded however, that the level of partnership and support desired has not been achieved primarily due to the perception that the VAC is a "government" activity, rather than a government led activity.

Our findings show that a surprising majority of 56.12% of the respondents has ***not*** heard about the values and attitudes campaign. Given that only 43% of the people polled have heard of the values and attitudes campaign, this immediately reduced the potential to obtain feedback on the perceptions of the content of the programme. However, this data immediately points to two factors; first, it is a strong indication that the second stated objective of the campaign, which is to heighten public awareness, is not adequately being addressed within the tested age groups of 18 and over, as illustrated by table 3:

Table 3.

Awareness of Values and Attitudes Campaign

Heard about Values & Attitudes Campaign ?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	43	43.88
No	55	56.12
Total	98	100.00

Second, given the fact that the values campaign is being driven by the public sector, we would have anticipated that at least 90% of those polled who are employed within the public sector, would have at least heard of the campaign. This finding was also disappointing as only 56% of those employed within the public sector confirmed that they have heard of the campaign. (See table 4.) Other than the government agencies, the thrust of the activities are geared towards schools and again the majority of students polled were unaware of the existence of the programme. This would suggest that the programme is fairly weak within its own domain. Surprisingly, it was those persons who are listed as unemployed who were most aware of the campaign.

Table 4.

Awareness of Values and Attitudes Campaign and Occupation Cross Tabulation

	Heard about Values and Attitudes Campaign ?	
Occupation	Yes	No
Student	45.5%	54.5%
Private Sector Employee	26.2%	73.8%
Public Sector Employee	56.0%	44.0%
Unemployed	60%	40%
Other	66.7%	33.3%

To compound the issue of the lack of public awareness of the existence of the programme, of the minority grouping of persons who have heard of the values and attitudes campaign, only a mere 18% of the respondents, (or 8.16% of all persons polled) believe that the values and attitudes campaign is an active programme. (See table 5.)

Table 5.

Perceived activity of the VAC

Is it active	Frequency	Percent
yes	8	8.16
no	14	14.29
Don't Know	24	24.49
N/A	50	51.02
did not answer	2	2.04
Total	98	100.00

The implications are that there is insufficient awareness of the very existence of the values and attitudes campaign, and insufficient awareness of its programmatic content, even within the public sector.

Objective # 3

The third objective to sustain the programme is being spearheaded by the National Steering Committee. Its membership is composed of individuals drawn from a cross section of society, given the stake-holder input articulated by objective #2. The committee is charged with strategic planning and programme development. It also undertakes a facilitatory role for the promulgation and publicity of the programmes undertaken by individual organisations (government and non government) which fall within the operational descriptives of values transformation. This joint marketing approach serves to a)create a national "register " of activities; b) provide well needed linkages between those organisations who require assistance in

establishing their own values framework, and those persons/organisations who have the requisite expertise; c) It seeks to move away from a partisan approach and obtain consensus from the political parties through inclusion of representatives from the opposition, and the wider civil society, with the hope of reflecting a national esprit de corps. The office of the Prime Minister under the portfolio of the Minister of Information provides the secretariat hub for the campaign.

On some measures, this objective of sustaining the programme is being met. For example, the web-site does provide for the promulgation of activities undertaken by individual institutions. The researcher visited the hub at the Prime Minister's office and was graciously accommodated and received helpful information pertaining to the programme, ***without*** declaring that it was the subject of a study. The willingness to share information with anyone who enquires is a positive indication of the facilitatory role undertaken by the hub. On a separate occasion, this researcher was graciously accommodated by Dr. Heather Little-White who candidly discussed some of the highlights of the programme as well as some weaknesses. Dr. Little-White advised that the approach undertaken by the steering committee of the National Values and Attitudes Campaign is to first start with Government entities by endorsing endemic programmes within the ministries and agencies that reflect a values culture, and cited the NHT, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health as positive examples of the operationalisation of the VAC's mandates.

She advised that manager of the secretariat has participated in the Living Values Education programme, which is coordinated by the association for Living Values Education, and is supported by UNESCO. She spoke favourably of a pilot project in western Jamaica which recently ended in May 2006 with a view of having the programme institutionalised[i].

Given however that the planning and programme development role rests with the steering committee, our data would suggest that at least within the public domain, a knowledge deficit exists. When asked by our questionnaire to describe the effectiveness of the values and attitudes programme to date, only a mere 1.02% of the respondents thought it was highly effective and required little or no modifications. 24.49% indicated that they did not know how to evaluate the programme, while 11.2% regarded the programme as somewhat effective but was not sufficiently expansive, not reaching enough people. This question was not applicable to 44.90% of the sample.

Table 6.

Perception of effectiveness of the Values and Attitudes programmes

Describe the programme to date	Frequency	Percent
Highly effective, requiring little or no modification	1	1.02
Somewhat effective, requiring programme content changes	9	9.18
Somewhat effective, requiring a broader reach	11	11.22
limited effect, requiring change and broader reach	4	4.08

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[i] Highlights of the project can be accessed on the Living Values website: http://www.livingvalues.net

Not effective at all, requiring complete redesign	5	5.10
don't know	24	24.49
N/A	44	44.90
Total	98	100.00

Barriers to the Success of the VAC

Arising from our surveys and interviews we see the following themes emerging as the leading inhibitors to the success of the VAC

Awareness

It could be argued that the secretariat is merely a hub for independent activities, which would explain the lack of awareness evident. However, given our findings that: there is acceptance of the core and key values; acceptance of the proposed modalities for change; as well as a belief that the values and attitude programme can positively influence behavioural change, it becomes apparent that a major source of the programme's stymie, lies in a lack of public awareness. This position is supported by the correlation results, which show that there is a strongly positive significant relationship between the effectiveness of the campaign and whether people have heard of it. There is also a strong co-relation between the agreement that the campaign is a good way to effect behavioural change and people's knowledge of it[i]. This clearly illustrates that popular support and buy in are contingent on what is known about the campaign.

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[i] See appendix 2. for correlation results

Funding

Dr. Little-White noted that funding is perhaps the biggest barrier to the programmes success. She stated that although there is good-will in the public domain, good programmes already in hand; there is insufficient funding to sustain the activities. She indicated that the activities are largely concentrated within the metro pole, however efforts to establish Parish Committees, are frustrated by a lack of financial resources. She disclosed that the government funding is woefully inadequate and can only pay for some administrative expenses.

This means that it is either through partnerships with the private sector and NGO organisations, that the activities undertaken have been funded. Or, programmes resident within key ministries or state agencies are funded by their own budgets. Even the issue of awareness building is impacted by lack of funds, as the web-site maintenance by the JIS is at a cost. Dr Little -White disclosed that her budget submission for 2006-7 is the tiny sum of 30 million Jamaican dollars, which she states will be used to support key family life, schools and mentoring programmes. This figure is miniscule, given the programmatic content; however, it represents a more than ten fold increase in their current allocation from government. She remains optimistic that given the value of the VAC, she will obtain the budget support from the

government. In the interim however, the drive to raise funds from the private sector remains relentless.

Political Leadership

We have already established the importance of leadership to social capital formation, in particular values reformation. It then becomes imperative that political actors exhibit the ethics and values being espoused by the VAC. They must lead by example to engender the level of trust critical raising social capital. From a multiplicity of angles the themes of leadership, trust and moral authority have arisen. Our focus group discussion intimated the central role that leadership plays. This sentiment was also articulated by Professor Chevannes, when he questioned whether or not the Government has the moral authority to lead a values and attitudes campaign. Our questionnaire findings similarly point to this apparent deficit:.

1. Only an alarming 2% of the persons polled indicated that they trusted the Government to do what is right most of the time, while the majority of 51% indicated that they trust the government some of the time . A large percentage indicated that they hardly ever trust the government to do what is right 30.6%. (See figure 2. below).[i]

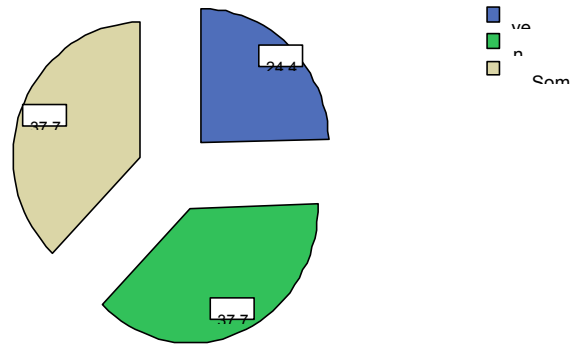[i] See appendix 2. for corresponding frequency table.

Figure 2.
Trust in Government to do what is right

Legend:
- most tim
- only the
- hardl
- Nev

Values shown: 16, 30, 5
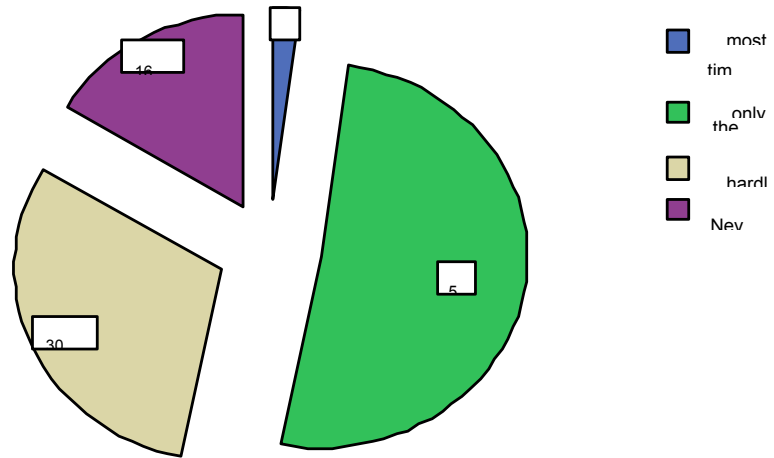
2. Similarly, only a minority of 24.5% indicated that Government and its agencies display work ethics and moral values important to them. The overwhelming majority indicated that either the government/agencies only partially, or did not at all display the values important to them. Figure 3. illustrates[i]:

Figure 3.

3. We obtained further uncomplimentary opinions regarding the behaviour of parliamentarians. Of the 73 persons who indicated that they watch/listen to the budget debate broadcasts, 89% (or 65.3 of total sample) stated that parliamentarians did not exhibit manners worth emulating. This is particularly meaningful, in light of the belief expressed by 84.56% of the persons polled, that the behaviour of

parliamentarians influences the general population.

18.2
25.5
65.3
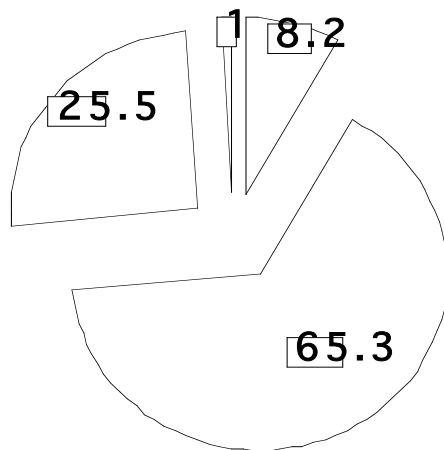
Parliamentarians exhibit Manners	Frequency	Percent
Yes	8	8.16
No	64	65.31
N/A	25	25.51
did not answer	1	1.02
Total	98	100.00
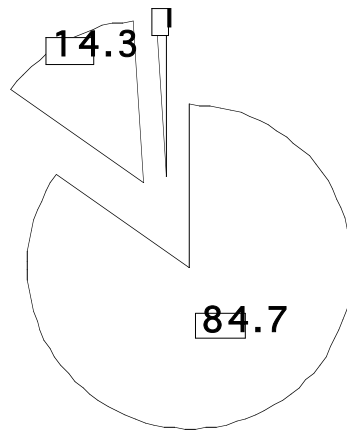
Parliamentarians behaviour influence Jamaicans	Frequency	Percent
Yes	83	84.69
No	14	14.29
did not answer	1	1.02
Total	98	100.00

The researcher had occasion to escort 30, final year B.Sc Public Sector Management students to a sitting of Parliament, and utilised the opportunity to explore the issue of parliamentarian behaviour with the students. During an informal debriefing session, **all** the students expressed a deep disgust, and concern with the poor behaviour displayed by the Parliamentarians. One student commented " then these are the people who are leading us? No wonder we are heading no-where."

The students, by virtue of their course of study, are aware of the debating culture of the Westminster-Whitehall model, and are aware of the private,

cordial relationship enjoyed by persons sitting across the floor, but were disturbed by the public display of incivility. On the day of the visit, we noted a disregard of the parliamentary symbols, a disregard of time, inappropriate posture, body language, improper interruptions and derogatory comments hurled across the floor. Given that these events are public, and in instances televised, the students expressed deep disappointment in the messages that are being transmitted to the wider society. One student stated that it is hypocritical of the Government to talk about values and attitudes, when they don't have any (good) behaviour.

Although Fukuyama (1999) asserted that the state is limited in the ways in which it can positively stimulate social capital, we have indicators which suggest strongly that it is through a political commitment that the transformation can occur. It is the leaders who should display what it means to be a proud Jamaican. The leaders should show umbrage at the disrespect of National images and symbols, and this concept of leadership is not singular, or peculiar to A Prime Minister, but rather a standard adopted by all political officials and aspirants.

We can conclude that if the behaviour of our political leaders is perceived to be negative, its impact is likely to be negative. Similarly, if they actively lead the process of values reformation, by being positive role models, the outcome

is likely to be positive. A positive shift in the behaviour of parliamentarians will also serve to give the government the moral authority required for effective leadership. Transformation includes; a commitment to funding research and development, funding values based programmes and cultural activities; and a commitment to institutionalising ethical and values based frameworks. There is a place and role for synergistic relationships, however, if the principal engine of the state, that is the government and its agencies and the animateurs within the political space, do not actively espouse the desired values, then the activities of its other civic institutions (NGO's, church, family) as well as those of the Values and Attitudes campaign, are castrated.

C H A P T E R 6

Conclusion

Having explored the theoretical bases of social capital formation and development, together with examining the practical application of the Values and Attitudes Campaign, a programme geared at social capital formation, we can bring our quest for clarity to a conclusion by answering succinctly the research questions originally posed. We can now collapse the questions posed in two:

1. Does the social capital framework offer itself as a credible building block for developmental impulses

2. How useful is the Values and Attitudes Campaign as a practical tool for raising social capital.

The social capital framework, while appearing amorphous and highly descriptive, does none the less, offer itself as a credible framework for understanding and for shaping development impulses. Viewing development as the economic, social/psychological, institutional and physical changes resulting in improvement in the human condition arising from the collective actions of purposive individuals, we can see that implicit to this agenda, is the notion of social capital, where it is the cooperative actions of individuals that serve to build a society. The individuals must of necessity possess, or acquire the values and attitudes commensurate with developmental imperatives. Social

capital speaks to a culture of behaviour which facilitates human, social and economic development. The more the society cultivates within its members the feeling that they are stakeholders, participants in the social process, the greater the cohesion between its members. Coleman (1988) says "like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible."

The social capital framework aids development in a number of ways:

a) It facilitates capacity building: which is seen as the inculcation of values, clearly understood and agreed upon mission, authority relationships and problem solving capabilities and technical skills essential to productive outputs. This action of inculcating values is part of the investment in social capital. The impetus for change can only be successfully driven within the developmental context where there is a collective vision and value system sufficiently dominant to overcome resistant undercurrents.

b) It facilitates the building of legal and ethical institutions which are in sync with the social environment, and gives meaning to the concepts of justice, equity.

c) Facilitates economic development through informal saving mechanisms, creates a favourable labour climates and it facilitates social contracts/partnerships with government. Positive social capital reduces or eliminates the elements of corruption, nepotism and

principal-agent conflicts. It eliminates the safeguards necessary to prevent abuse from information asymmetry and capture (regulatory, market, political and otherwise). The economic cost of enforcing regulations and seeking remedies for breeches/ torts are reduced, and this promotes an investment-friendly climate, critical to developing states.

d) It fosters cooperation among members of the society, gives leadership credibility and possesses powers of persuasion. Because of the trusting component, it can influence people to forgo individual benefits in the interest of group rewards, and can therefore alter rationalist tendencies.

a) It can serve to reduce levels of violence through peaceful resolution to conflicts, and through citizen activity. It reinforces moral authority, and impresses values which are not conducive to lawlessness and violence. Rosenfeld *et al* concluded that where levels of generalised social trust are high and civic engagement is widespread, homicide rates are low, regardless of the level of deprivation, the density of the population, and other socio-demographic influences (2001).

The framework offers important insights into the root cause and effects of values substitution, highlights modalities of transmission, and is capable of transformation into a policy programme with tangible policy outcomes.

Regarding the usefulness of the Values and Attitudes Campaign, the research results show that the campaign represents a credible attempt at transforming a theoretical framework into a workable policy programme. Its objectives and programmatic content are conceptually consistent with the tenets of social capital, and are capable of yielding desired outcomes. But in order to obtain the desired yield, there are other related factors which must be addressed. These include:

a) Levels of awareness of the programme. Popular support and buy in are contingent on the level of awareness. The programme therefore needs to be highly and consistently visible.

b) Funding. Insufficient funding is in place to develop new programmes and sustain existing activities. This lack of funds also limits the ability to conduct research and evaluation activities.

c) Political Leadership. Our study revealed that leadership is critical to any values reformation exercise. If the behaviour of our political leaders is perceived to be negative, its impact is likely to be negative. Similarly, if they actively lead the process of values reformation, by being positive role models, the outcome is likely to be positive. A positive shift in the behaviour of parliamentarians will also serve to give the government the moral authority required for effective leadership.

We can conclude that the Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign represent a practical model of how negative trends in the Jamaican value system can be

countered through social capital investments. The spirit and essence of the campaign strikes a positive chord in the minds of those who are aware of its existence, and is capable of yielding the desired results, if sufficiently bolstered. We can now look more specifically at some recommendations which should provide the bolstering of which we speak.

C H A P T E R 7

### Recommendations

Declining moral values, escalating crime rates and general incivility are not a natural dimension of the development discourse. These trends can be neutralised through carefully crafted institutional design efforts. Institutional design is primarily about shaping and reshaping formal structures such as constitutional arrangements, parliamentary systems and courts and voting systems, ministries and agencies. It also seeks to coordinate the behaviour of individuals in society, (Pettit 1998:55) so that individuals seeking their own interest maximise welfare or serve the interest of some principal, such as government (Coram 1998: 90). The more sophisticated that we become as a people, the more we shape the change within our institutions, and substitute our value systems. Therefore, we need to become adept at redefining our structures in order to develop and maintain a positive value system.

The institutional framework of the VAC provides an overarching structure through which capital is harnessed, while the processes engaged will seek to develop the cognitive capital. It is this bifocal task that the Values and Attitudes campaign seeks to undertake.

We present here our model of the Institutional framework required for effective values transformation to take place. This model serves primarily to underscore the significance of the individual components in achieving desired results. To some extent the VAC already follows this framework:

<u>Figure 5. Institutional Framework; Building from the Ground Up</u>
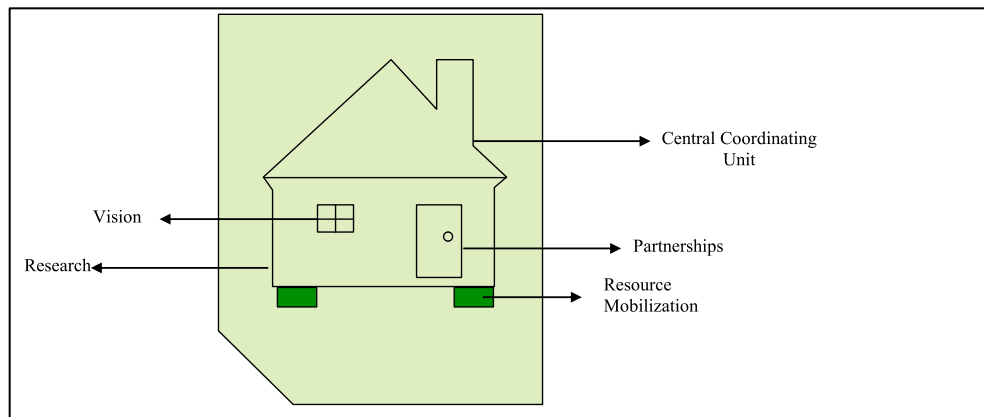
Resource Mobilisation

Resource Mobilisation is the underpinning of any successful reengineering exercise. It provides the support base for both critical skills and funding essential to undertake an activity of this nature. It is the preliminary step, which ought not to be bypassed, as under capitalisation can only lead to flawed methodologies, stymied implementation, unsustainable activities and

undesired results. Without the requisite resource injection, the project

becomes a source of wastage, that is, insufficient return on investment.

Research and Development

Of the five ways Francis (2000) refers as a starting point for social capital development at the policy level, the research and learning component is critical. Research and learning must be an active, ongoing activity, with built in evaluative mechanisms being a critical component of the endeavour. One area of research which has been identified relates to the value of understanding root causes of societal degradation as an underpinning of values reformation activities. This is commensurate with the Harvard Values and Attitudes change template, which articulates the following research agenda:

- Identify those values that promote economic, political and social progress. assess the priority placed on each

- Determine the factors that impede the promulgation of the desired value

- Determine which values/attitudes foster the democratic evolution of political institutions, economic development and social justice, then rank them

- Establish the relationship between culture and development; to a) determine development forces incongruent with existing value system, b) determine the impact on existing values system by those forces, c) determine what will occur if the values and attitudes are not changed

- Determine the relationships among values/attitudes, policies and institutions: to a) assess the extent to which policies and institutions reflect the desired values and attitudes, b) to determine likely outcomes

when there is an incongruence between the values and attitudes and the institutional framework c) to determine to what extent policies and institutions can positively change values and attitudes

- Establish a value/attitude Measurement mechanism by identifying existing instruments for measuring value and attitude change and tailoring these to support change initiatives

- Employ the lesson drawing and comparative approaches to evaluate local progress.

Of course, some of these activities have been undertaken to varying degrees, but given the paucity of resources, it is clear that a fulsome research culture is not being maintained.

Partnerships

Accepting that states alone do not possess the capabilities to transmit or effect behavioural change, the concept of partnership becomes essential. It is the partners who will provide synchronicity in the message relay, support funding efforts, provide support expertise and widen the reach of the campaign to all of Jamaica. The Partners must therefore play a critical role in the design and implementation of the programmatic content.

Vision

Drawing on the South East Asian experiences, a national vision must be crafted jointly with civil society and sectarian interests. We are aware of various fora undertaken by sectarian interests groups such as the UNDP civic dialogue projects, we are also aware of the major output document from the Cabinet office entitled "Government at your Service: Public Sector Modernisation Vision and Strategy 2002-2012" which articulates the evolving values and objectives of the Government of Jamaica, and chronicles the journey to change. While a commendable confluence of well needed reform strategies, it is not solely to this end that we refer when we propose a national vision.

A national vision must not simply exist on paper, or in principle, but must be placed at the forefront of the national agenda. It must address issues of identity; it must incorporate the desired value systems and must state categorically how transformation is to be achieved. The current vision document is not sufficiently a central driver of change, nor is it at the centre of national life, though it is the cornerstone of public sector modernisation.

In addition to requiring a redrafted vision document, there is need of greater clarity of exercise.

The Values and Attitudes Campaign is indeed a misnomer. Dr. Heather Little-Whyte (2006) pointed out that it is an institutionalised programme and **not** a

campaign. The word campaign evokes images of a temporary, publicly waged activity to derive a desired outcome, while programme, suggests a more systematic and streamlined approach, which may or may not be within the public domain. Perhaps public expectations of what the activities should be, how they are carried out and the degree of visibility, are contingent on its nomenclature.

Having already publicly declared a "campaign" perhaps a real "campaign" should exist alongside the broader institutionalisation endeavours.

Central Coordinating Unit

Despite the concerns raised regarding the legitimacy of a values campaign instituted by the government, a central coordinating unit is essential to an operation of this nature. Some authority has to take ultimate responsibility for the activities undertaken. The Unit however should not act merely as a registry of independent activity, but should have a principal role in streamlining the activities undertaken by the partners. The partners should be bound by agreement on matter relating to programme implementation. This ensures consistency and presents the efforts as a comprehensive and cohesive programme rather than the current apparent piecemeal approach.

Engaging An Iterative Cognition Process

The programmatic content of the VAC should involve an iterative process. Borrowed from mathematics logic, an iterative process is that of a recurring loop. It entails repeating steps again and again. Why is this important? If we want to selectively reinforce learning over a period of time, the messages being reinforced must be consistently and frequently be replayed. The messages become embedded and eventually without much conscious thought, it becomes the motivator of action. Quite similar to learning by rote, the right type of imagery, national identity, desired roles and behaviour patterns are transmitted through a variety of means to the general population.

Consequently, we can construct the below flow chart which captures the modalities for change.

Figure 6. Iterative Cognition Process
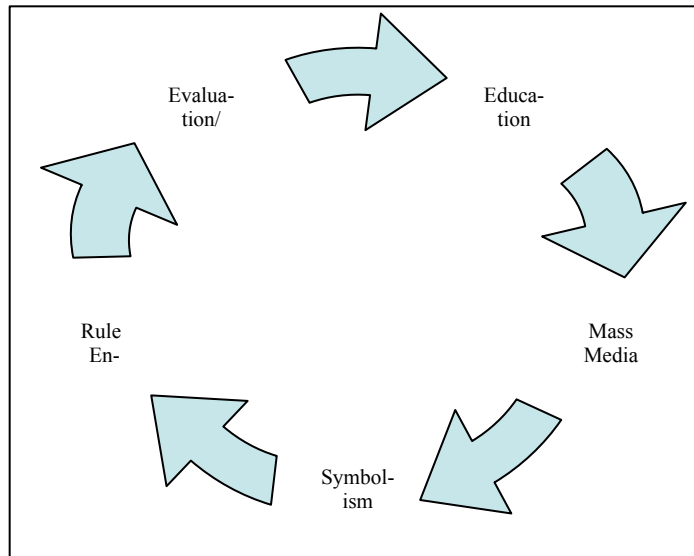
This method has little room for discontinuity or discord. The messages relating to social relationships, identity and collective behaviour being transmitted must be both continuous and must be consistent. Inconsistency leads to cognitive dissonance, which is used here to mean the forced rejection of conflicting information. The danger is that the objective of the exercise can be thwarted because of a rejection of inconsistent messages/imageries.

Within this general iterative process are the modalities for change:

- Education as change agent
- Mass media as change agents
- Symbols, Icons and Leaders

- Enforcing rules and regulations

- Evaluation and monitoring

Education as the primary mode of transmission

 "Schools, particularly elementary schools, are among the most important institutions for promoting a sense of Nationhood and National cohesion. It is in schools that the young learn about their land and its peoples, the history and sense of achievement of their ancestors and their society's goals, beliefs, values and traditions. It is where they learn the love of country and pride in their fellow citizens. The strength of national cohesion, depends greatly on the effectiveness of the school system" (Laya, Jaime 2001, 170).

Although the school becomes the primary means through which values are transmitted to the youth population, education as a mode of transmission transcends the concept of school. It incorporates all of the modalities, as it is concerned with the learning, or relearning of desired value systems. Education therefore extends to public fora, the use of media campaigns to place information in the public domain.

Mass Media as a mode of values transmission

The media more than any other time in history wields significant power over how the masses think. With the popularity of television, radio and the

internet, a wider array of information is available for consumption. This influence is often external and opens a developing country like Jamaica to cultural penetration. Through print and electronic media a positive message must be frequently replayed. The media should also be used to ensure that the activities of the VAC are highly visible.

Local media however still holds significant power to stave undesired imagery. Media institutions can determine the type of programmes that are broadcast, the types of lyrics that are played and glorified on radio, and that positive messages are given preeminence. It is for this reach and power that the involvement of the media in a values campaign is essential.

Enforcement of Law and Order

The issue of optimal compliance to rules regulations is vexing. Scholars are not agreed on enforcement strategies or levels of enforcement required. What is agreed however is that voluntary compliance is least likely to occur without some tangible benefit being attached. In order to obtain compliance on matters relating to Public order, the enforcement of rules and regulations become essential. It sends a message that the State is indeed serious about the value systems that it espouses and raises the standards by which individuals are expected to behave. Traffic violations, littering and disorderly public order, must be treated as antithetical to developmental objectives and should not be tolerated.

Monitoring and assessment

Each project, each mode of transmission, must routinely be evaluated and refined.

The Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign has the potential of being a very effective programme through which social capital can be generated and sustained. It follows to a great degree those features of the Harvard model, and embedded within its structure is the use of critical transmission modalities. The Primary reasons gleaned for its lukewarm success, revolves around, lack of public awareness of the campaign, the lack of trust in Public Institutions, the deficits in Leadership and the lack of a National Vision.

The researcher firmly believes that with the appropriate institutional support, the Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign is poised for success, and has the potential of being an   inspirational model to other developing countries faced with a similar dilemma of declining   values.

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