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Identity formation in Jamaican children of garrison communities and their perception of factors
shaping their identities

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A Phenomenological Study

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Abstract

The research sought to present a deep analysis on the formation of identities in Jamaican children living in garrison community in the context of community violence. A phenomenological scientific and theoretical approach was applied, focusing on lived and imagined experiences formations. Data was collected using open interviews from six children, age nine to eleven. The obtained text was subjected to in depth analysis using the software tool Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) – Minerva, developed by R. Sages. Further, dialogical self theory was applied to the analyzed text exploring for the eventual multiple identities in the children. It was found that the children exhibited multiple identities based on the influence of the surrounding society. The major shaping factor influencing identities were the role of authority figures with the ability to provide, protect and be caregiver. The role of the school influenced identity in the direction of leadership and motivation to achieve. While family members were positive forces for future goals and in guiding decision making. Finally, war had a negative impact on identity creating emotions of fear and confusion. These factors contribute to increase understanding of children whose safe heaven or security is invaded. Such knowledge is helpful to consider when looking at children in insecure situation.

Keywords: Garrison community, identity formation, shaping factors, Phenomenology, dialogical self theory, Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA)

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Chapter One

Introduction

“*I feel confused, angry and sad*”, says Natasha regarding the war that they made so big. The war, as called by the children, made national and international news, once again bringing Jamaica to the forefront of the international community, reaffirming the never lost title as *The Murder Capital of the World* (Wilks, Morris, Walker, Pedercini & Qu, 2007). In January 2007, Jamaica was ranked as having one of the world’s highest murder rates, with over 1,583 murders committed, while under the People’s National Party leadership. In 2008, 1611 murders were committed under the first full year of the Jamaica Labour Party government. Consecutively, in 2009 a total of 1680 murders were committed. “A 2007 joint United Nations/World bank study maintained that the rise in crime and violence in the Caribbean recent years, including Jamaica, can be explained by narcotics trafficking in and through the region” (Sullivan, 2010, p. 3).

The year 2010 progressed with Bruce Golding, the newly elected Prime Minister, regime raging war against crime as a means of upholding his anti-crime and anti-corruption election campaign. However, in late May 2010, Jamaica’s stability was challenged as news gradually circulated on Bruce Golding’s reluctance to extradite a wanted kingpin and drug lord to the United States. On May 18, the decision was made, the authorisation of the extradition process began against the West Kingston local don Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke who was wanted for alleged gun and drug trafficking between Jamaica and the United States (Sullivan, 2010). On May 20, 2010, The Daily Observer (2010) headlined, “Human shields in Tivoli”, stated that the residents mounted barricades to keep security forces out. The newspaper reported the residents shouting “leave Dudus alone, a him send our children to school” and “Dudus is next to God leave him alone” (Henry, 2010). Henry also stated, “on that day the first rounds of shotguns were heard and so began “the war”. Jamaica was placed under a state of emergency.

Newspapers highlighted, “Dudus tension keeps students away from class” (Matthews, 2010). The war coincided with the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), the national high school leaving examination that precedes university entrance. The war affected the students as they “were unable to leave their homes or make it to the centers given the pulling of transportation services from the various routes in the city, which was on a virtual lockdown”

(Daily Observer News, 2010). No research has been conducted on the voice of children being affected by community violence in Jamaica.¹ Hence, a study investigating and utilizing the voice of the children is of relevance. The voices of the children have not been heard; hence, there is a need and importance of conducting the following research.

Children interacting within their lifeworld display varieties of characters. Examining the identity development process of children in a less than desirable environment, subjected to misfortune is the desired aim. Based on previous interaction with children in dangerous environment, I was intrigued by the multiplicity of emerging characters displayed. Hence, I now seek to present a deep analysis of the situation of the children of Tivoli Gardens, Jamaica, in the context of community violence from a phenomenological perspective. With the aid of dialogical self theory, this research draws special attention to the context of the Jamaican *garrison community*² in order to understand the effects of community violence on the identity formation of the children. With the application of an emergent research design, from a researcher standpoint the intension is to explore the formation of identity within the perspective, held by six Jamaican children, ages nine to eleven. A phenomenological scientific and theoretical approach is applied, focusing on lived and imagined experiences where individuals make sense and constitute meaning of themselves and of phenomena in the world. The intention is to further discover and gain an understanding concerning those factors that affect and shape the children the most as residents of garrison communities, as described by the children. An examination across the age groups based on the identity created, seeking for differences and similarities will be conducted. Within this framework it is important to highlight the social, cultural and political values found in the garrison community as factors able to have potential effects in the lives of the children.

Culture is the interaction between biological needs and functions, social problems created to address those needs and the context within which people live. Hence looking at culture is necessary for reaching solutions to the problem of how the children identities are created in their context. To understand children, we need to know their past, present and future aspirations as they are formulating it themselves in their own words.

¹ At the time of writing the thesis there were no studies on the voice of the children. However, upon completing my thesis I discovered one study by, Bailey, C. (2011). Living with Community Violence: A Conversation with Primary School Children in Kingston's Inner City. *Space and Culture*, 14, 114-128.

² Garrison – a military stronghold based on political tradition, cultural values, beliefs, myths and socialization. See page 26 on the history of garrison formation.

Aim of the Study

This research paper aims at addressing how children experiencing community violence create multiple identities as a result of the multiple institutions they interact with. I have worked as a teacher to children in communities referred to as the garrison; where poverty and crime were and are considered high. While working as a teacher, with children who exhibited varying behavioral patterns, some observations were made regarding the child's adaptation to the multiple dimensions of their life. This led to my interest in the exploration of the contradictory identities formed to foster assimilation into the multiple dimensions of the society; while being affected by life in a community punctuated with criminality and other violent activities. From the standpoint of a participant observer, observations were made regarding the effect of those surroundings on behavioral patterns in addition to the struggle to create identities that could successfully be fitted in the proximal society such as the church and school. It appeared that children adjusted to the proximal society by creating identities differing to the identities to be found within their homes, or even amongst peers within their communities. This research paper seeks to investigate if/how a particular type of society can influence a child's portrayal of their identity.

I also observed that authority figures (pastors, teachers) and respect for authority played an interesting role in what identities children would display and the extent to which the child would make considerations for adjustment. Struggles of adaptation to the societal norms and being swayed by the norms of the community were often conflicting elements. The impressionable years of children and attempting to fit into the different spectrum of society created dissonance, which resulted in the formation of identities on a wide continuum. The observations have generated questions about the formation of identities in the face of neighborhood influences amongst children. Hence, this research seeks to answer the following:

- How are the multiple identities of children living with the situation of community violence being created?
- What are the factors shaping children's identity when living in a violent community?
- How are these lived experiences of the children differing across the varying ages groups based on the emerging identities?

Expectantly, the research will contribute in creating an awareness of the conditions of children in garrison communities; and how it is moulding the image of the children. From the dialogical self theory, I expect to show how the children's 'self' are impacted daily by the dominant voices of those they interact with. The voices of the children are the voices of the society.

Outline of the Research

Chapter 1 presented the introduction, the aim of the study and continues with an overview on the definition of community violence and extant research on community violence in Jamaica. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical approach, phenomenology and dialogical self theory, as the tool for understanding how meaning can be derived from children's lived experiences. Chapter 3 presents, the cultural contextual aspect of the research focusing on the background of life in the Jamaican garrison community. Chapter 4 presents the methodology, showing how phenomenology is a rigorous scientific approach for studying identity formation and meaning constitution. Chapter 5 presents the outcome – part 1 of the lived experiences of each child, showing how multiple identities have emerged. Based on the emerging identities, chapter 6 presents the outcome – part 2 on the shaping factors of those multiple identities across the age groups. In the conclusion the final section of this text will serve primarily to recap and summarize the findings derived from the above chapters.

Overview of Community Violence

Defining community violence

Prior to an exploration of the effects of violence on the formation of identities among Jamaican children living in a context of community violence, the key concept must first be defined. In investigating community violence, the intention is to enlighten the reader to the terrors faced by those cohabitating within such environments. The concept has been widely studied and researched, but little attention has been given to its definition; and as such an operational definition could not be established. Due to this inconsistency, two literature reviews (Trickett, Duran & Horn, 2003; Guterman, Cameron & Stallerman, 2000), meta-analytic in

nature, covering over 18 studies which synthesized and critically analyzed the extant studies, will be used to create a definition.

The foundation for defining community violence has been based on implicit assumptions; as such, the need exists for clear explicit assumptions (Trickett et al., 2003). An operational definition requires researchers to question what is denoted and connoted by the terms “community” and “violence” in respect to young people (Guterman et al., 2000). Most often, community violence research has been used in reference to child development, and research terms refer to the events as stimuli(us) or classes of stimuli possibly affecting children’s development. A clear definition should aim to identify the varying class/classes of stimuli directly affecting development on the differing levels. An operational community violence definition entails specifying the locus of violent events that are deemed to be “community” violent events (Guterman et al., 2000), and identifying boundaries of violent occurrences, mainly those that affect children (Trickett et al., 2003).

What constitutes “community” must also be explicitly stated when specifying the location of violent events that are decided on as “community” violent events. An uncertainty exists in determining the role community plays in demarcating the assumptions of violent events (Guterman et al., 2000). The attempts to define community has resulted in respondents being asked to do this task by considering or not considering violence inside and outside the home, occurring or not occurring inside school, on the way to school, on television, radio or in the newspaper. This should be avoided as should the use of labels or terms such as “urban” or “inner city” as a synonym for community; which are often considered subtypes of communities. Incorrect usage obstructs the growth in knowledge development in the field. The aim then should be to approach the definition with an explicitly stated location of violent events experienced by the respondents that “do” have an effect, giving caution to those experienced in other locations and portrayed by the media.

The next step, identifying the boundaries of violent occurrences explicitly those affecting children, has proven problematic. For this reason, defining “violence” in community violence has little consensus, because its definition encompasses several thematic, conceptual and operational difficulties. Even with the use of the most popular scale, the Richter and Martinez (1990) “Survey Exposure to Community Violence: Self Reported Version” (as cited in Trickett et al., 2003), consisting of three versions (one for adolescent, toddlers and younger

children), a disparity exists and no unity has been reached. Table 1 below summarizes and gives a list of the events under the major categories on the Exposure Survey.

TABLE 1

Types and categories of events used in measuring community violence under Exposure Survey

Experienced	Seen	Seen cont'd	Heard	Witness/Victim
Being beaten	Someone Arrested	Hit at each other	Gun shots	Shooting
Stabbed	Someone Beaten	Yell at each other		Beating
Threat of being shot	Someone Stabbed	Drug Deal		Knifing
Threat of being killed	Someone Shot	Drug at home		
Safeness at Home	Shot/stabbed at home	Gun at home		
Safeness at School	Threat of S/S at home	Dead body		

The disunity is derived from defining violence from the wide scope of what constitutes violence. From viewing a dead body (a by-product of violence) to threatening acts (non-physical injurious acts) are among the classification. Verbal threats of injury that can provoke reactions of fear and traumatising are also included. Hence the criteria should denote the difference between non-threatening injurious acts but causes psychological complications (Trickett et al., 2003). Major denotation should include direct exposure or victimization, or violence targeting children from indirect exposure and children witnessing violence (Bradley, 2003). Clarity in the dichotomous relationship between discreet violent events and dangerous and/or stressful living conditions must be addressed. Additionally, clarity in behaviours (non-physical injurious acts and discrete violent events), and its psychosocial effects (perceptions of fear and dangerousness); as well as, its context (dangerous and stressful living conditions), need to be examined as concepts within the arena of violence, that are crucial to the definition of community violence (Guterman et al., 2000).

In summary, a working definition of community violence should exhibit, (1) a legitimate relationship reflective of how community violence affects child development, (2) explicitly stated location of violent events that have an effect when the child experiences it, (3) consideration of whether behavior, its effect and the context in which it is embedded, are an indication of defining its violent nature.

Symbolically, people construct community making it a resource, a vault for meaning and a reference for their identity. A community incorporates several elements, particularly place or territory, interest and serves as a social network. Community as a place refers to the territory where people are sharing something geographically understood in common. Boundary identification may be marked on a map, in law or by physical features (rivers, roads etc) (Cohen,

1985). Unobvious boundaries exist, in the minds of the beholders, and may be seen in different ways by those on either sides as well as those on the same side. This perspective is the symbolic side of community boundary and is fundamental to the experiences of the people within. The other side of the coin in the understanding of community is, the simple fact that people living in close proximity to each other does not automatically mean that they have much to do with each other, as there may exist little interaction between neighbors. The aspect that mattered the most to people on the concept of community was the network, or the sense of belonging to a social network, family and friends (Smith, 2001). In conclusion, the important factors in the concept of community are the geographical and boundary limitations of the community, the immediate social environment of families; as well as, the network of actual social relationships maintained, not confined to the local area in which one lives, but that which runs beyond its boundaries (Cohen, 1985).

Review of Community Violence Research in Jamaica

The extant literature on Jamaican children's exposure to community violence, despite the island's long history of chronic crime and violence is very limited. Literature on crime and violence alludes to the psychological impact of violence on the youths. Statistics depict the age group affected as perpetrators, victims and witness, but amidst the publicity, too few researchers have ventured into the realm of exploring the depth and magnitude of the effects that violence has on children in urban Jamaica, namely Kingston and St. Andrew. My search to uncover the existing literature on the effects of community violence on children in Jamaica gave rise to few studies. Prior to 2004, Samm-Vaughan, Jackson and Ashley (2004), found no previous research conducted on the "nature and extent of the exposure to violence in children's daily lives, particularly younger children" (p. 15), an indication of the youthful stage of research on community violence and its effect and thus, the need for more research.

The nature and depth of the studies conducted following 2004, however limited, gave enlightening insights into the field of community violence in Jamaica and will contribute to the aims of this study. As explained in the definition of community violence, a few of the Jamaican researches have not yet separated some crucial aspects described as community violent events nor have most of the studies separated violence in the school from the community. However, the Jamaican researchers gave a descriptive analysis on, the violent exposure of

children within schools (inflicted by teachers and peers) and in the community and its effects in depth. The studies also clearly showed representation of the Jamaican population based on the sample used and the randomization utilized in selecting the study population.

Samm-Vaugh et al. (2004) applying a specific look at the Jamaican context to their study included cultural specific ways of inflicting violence such as stone throwing and the use of acid. The sample student population was compiled of children from public primary school, private primary (preparatory) school as well as high school. Jamaican children are all exposed to high levels of violence inclusive of physical violence such as robbery, shooting and gang wars. More boys than girls experienced greater exposure to violence as witnesses and victims. The experiences of witnessing violence occurred mainly within their communities as well as within the school environment. The leading six witness exposure for children were fights, stone throwing, arrests by policemen and serious threats. The leading victim exposure were fights, stone-throwing, threats, and stab-wounding. Primary school children reported the highest prevalence of lifetime exposure as witnesses and victims of violence, which chiefly occurred in the child's own community or in another community.

Baker-Henningham, Meeks-Gardner, Chang and Walker (2009) measured youth exposure to school and societal violence, inclusive of corporal punishment, community violence and peer to peer violence, and its effect on academic achievement among primary school students in Jamaica. The relationship between being exposed to all three violence types resulted in children having poorer achievement scores. Boys reported as significantly under achieving as compared to girls; and boys were exposed to higher levels of aggression among peers and punishment from teachers than girls. All children regardless of gender have been exposed to community violence, with 84% of the children being exposed to two or more type of violence. The exposure to community violence consisted of hearing of a killing, seeing a dead body, afraid of someone in your community or yard, seeing someone pointing or shooting a gun other than the police. Other measures included, someone personally known to the child being shot, stabbed or raped.

Meeks Gardner, Powell and Grantham-McGregor (2003) focused on aggressive and pro-social behavior in boys from primary and all-age schools. One of the variables used in measurement was exposure to violence from within the neighborhood. They reported higher exposure to violence among the more aggressive boys. Although the population of boys was

from neighborhoods with high criminal activities, the more aggressive boys lived in the more violent communities. In these communities mothers reported that most of the men carried guns for protection. These boys knew of four or more people that were shot in the neighborhood within that year. These boys witnessed more fights with knives and guns, knew of someone that had been shot or stabbed, and had seen the body of a person killed by shooting or knifing.

Consistent in all three studies are the levels of violence that children in the urban areas of Kingston and St. Andrew are exposed to. The experiences of exposure to violence are from three main sources; corporal punishment in schools, aggression among peers and community violence. Children of primary school age were the most affected (Samm-Vaugh et al., 2004). The effects on academic achievement were lower for higher exposed children (Baker-Henningham et al., 2009). The more aggressive boys lived in the more violent communities (Meeks Gardner et al., 2003). The field of exposure to violence in urban areas of Jamaica has many areas to be researched. Implications of the seriousness and the effects of exposure have only been tapped within the Jamaican society. It is my aim to begin by filling the void in the research on exposure to violence within the community in shaping children's identity.

From a phenomenological perspective, meaning originates from the children's own lifeworld, where people make sense of their own existence and where multiple individuals are in constant interaction with each other. This will be the material for analysis. The dialogical self theory will be applied to analyze the varying identities as emerging from the children living in a situation of community violence. The phenomenological researcher is interested in studying the way that individuals use words; in this case to recognize identities, from the children's expressions of their lived experiences. An exploration of the way in which children use words, allows the researcher to unveil the children's construction of meaning that is derived from experience, thus, giving way for knowledge about the interpretation the child makes of his or her immediate experiences and surroundings. The interpretation of the child's surrounding world leads to discovery of the eventual multiple characters developed in response.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Approach

Phenomenology

Ashworth and Cheung Chung (2006), studying Edmund Husserl, the founder of phenomenology, stated that the aim of phenomenology is to clarify the meaning of the most basic concepts, by explanation of the structures of experience. The science of phenomenology is based on the study of phenomena. According to Sokolowski (2000), phenomenology is “the study of human experience and of the ways things presents themselves to us in and through such experiences” (p. 2). Phenomenology, as a philosophical movement, deals with the understanding of appearances. Sages (2003), states, in appearance, all things, though looking the same, are really different. Grounded on phenomenology is the discipline of phenomenological psychology. Phenomenological psychology is an empirical science, qualitative in nature, which investigates the lifeworld or the world of experiences (Karlsson, 1995). Ashworth and Cheung Chung (2006) rationalized that any psychology with a phenomenological approach will be qualitative and focuses on meanings, with firm emphasis on the phenomenon within an individual’s lifeworld. According to Karlsson (1995), the foundation for phenomenological psychology is the essence of consciousness, which is the subjective experience of an individual or “the role of the subjective (subject & consciousness) in giving meaning to the world” (p. 48). In this sense, Ashworth and Cheung Chung (2006) says, we are investigating each individual’s personal and unique awareness and perception of their universe. The phenomenological psychologist maintains that each individual is a conscious agent, in a process of streams of continuous consciousness, rather than a passive receiver or recipient of stimuli in their world (Karlsson, 1995). The focus in phenomenology is to get at the meaning an individual gives to reality, as interfacing between culture, the environment and the individual. Consequently, in phenomenological research,

The aim is to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience and are able to provide a comprehensive description of it. From the individual descriptions general or universal meanings are derived, in other words the essences or structures of the experience (Moustakas, 1994, p. 13).

The researcher's focus is thus on what the individual emphasizes and not what the researcher deems as important. Thus, phenomenology stresses the importance of the way an individual perceives, as well as understanding the way of perception in the lifeworld.

The act of perceiving by an individual is knowledge as it appears to consciousness. Consciousness is intentional. *Intentionality*, the core foundation of phenomenology, describes that "every act of consciousness we perform, every experience that we have, is intentional: it is essentially 'consciousness of' or an 'experience of' something or other" (Sokolowski, 2000, p 8). Hence, humans once in a state of awareness are involved in the process of intending to something or to someone, because the act of consciousness is associated with an object be it internal or external, real or at least partly imagined (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006). In light of the lifeworld, phenomenology aims to describe the special kinds of intentionalities of the lifeworld both individual and partly shared.

The *lifeworld* is the world we live in (Sokolowski, 2000), and the way things are actually lived and experienced in the environment and circumstances in which they occur (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006). Ashworth and Cheung Chung continues, that the lifeworld takes into consideration lived experiences, the lived environment and the lived conditions and excludes investigations of specific isolated aspects of something an individual has experienced which is far removed from the full context in which the event has been experienced. In phenomenology, the process of being scientifically objective is obtained by careful study of the lifeworld as expressed by the person itself in their own words.

Intersubjectivity rather than abstract objectivity is the act in which the researcher maintains fidelity to the phenomenon. Intersubjectivity is the understanding of the experience of another based on the experience of our own (Sokolowski, 2000), or an act of empathy (Moustakas, 1994). It is therefore represented as a good relationship between the interviewer and interviewee that is achieved only in an atmosphere of good rapport where the participant feels listened to, understood and not forced, allowing for openness and an authentic description of their experience. The researcher has a certain degree of intersubjective comprehension of the individual's environment, cultural, historical and social context, which is gained by the closeness of the researcher to the phenomenon and the context. The more personal experience the researcher has of the environment the better the researcher is able to see the implied meaning of the interviewee. Interviewing is going back to the things themselves, capturing experiences as

they are lived. Phenomenology produces ecological validity³ from collected data from the individual's lifeworld. The data from the lifeworld means understanding the phenomenon exactly as the participant experienced it. A phenomenon is that which presents itself to the consciousness of the perceiver, exactly as it is given, inclusive of the nuances and shadings. Meaning is thus raised from the behavioral patterns or the conscious acts (Karlsson, 1995).

According to Karlsson (1995), in the act of intentionality in consciousness we are in the act of bestowing *meaning* to an object. Our consciousness is always directed towards something. In this way we are engaged in two simultaneous processes, we are in the ever streaming acts of consciousness and the intended object to which the act points. Meaning is found in the simultaneous process. The object meaning is dependent on how it has been determined by the individual in a subjective attitude and cannot be ascertained through the researcher's objective definition of the intended object (Moustakas, 1994). Gaining meaning from the intended object or the subjective experience, is achieved in the concept of the Epoché. The concept of the Epoché means to "bracket past knowledge about the experienced object, in order to experience this instance of it freshly" (Ashworth & Cheung Chung, 2006, p. 84). The Epoché means staying from judgment or the ordinary way of perceiving things. In the *natural attitude*, the researcher is judgmental (Moustakas, 1994) and has personal assumptions about the experience (Ashworth & Cheung Chung 2006). The researcher in this state is operating in the everyday stream of consciousness where things are taken for granted (Moustakas, 1994).

For the Epoché to take place there must exist a break in consciousness that surrounds the individual's experience and how the individual is experiencing the phenomena. This turn from the natural attitude to the *phenomenological attitude* is necessary for the application of the phenomenological reduction. The *phenomenological reduction* is a re-conducting from the natural targets of our concerns, a suspension of the intentionalities we now contemplate towards its origin in the lifeworld. Sokolowski (2000) summarized, "the *epoché* in phenomenology is simply the neutralizing of natural intentions [...] when we enter into the phenomenological attitude, we suspend our beliefs, and we bracket the world and all the things in the world" (p. 49). The two concepts, *noema* and *noesis*, are engaged when we are in the phenomenological attitude, when one observes and studies what is taking place within the natural attitude. The

³ Ecological validity refers to how well a study can be related or reflects every day, real life situations.

noema is the meaning constituted, while the noesis is the meaning giving psychological act. Hence they help in leading back to the manifold of appearance or identity.

According to Sokolowski (2000), the *identity* of an object or experience is to be found in the act of *perception* and *memory*. We perceive an object in a mixture of absence and presence. When the object is given, some parts are revealed, others are concealed. Looking at the object we see the sides present, and we imagine and perceive the absent sides. Identity of the object is given through different forms of dimensions, profiles, forms and aspects. The dynamic combination of presence and absence projects the manifold of appearances. Identity, however, is given to us as a whole completed part and does not show up considering only one of the parts. Identity can thus be given in the act of remembering. In memory and the act of remembering, another set of manifolds, or appearances of presence and absences, are given. A more radical absence is involved in the act of remembering. Remembering creates a new form of identity to an old perception of an object, but still presenting the same object. The dynamic process of remembering interacts with memory and perception in the brain. It is not simply conjuring up a picture of an old image or object in one's mind. Picturing is looking at one object that illustrates another. It is visualizing the object directly in the way it is presented to us. Memories come alive by the act of perception. One remembers the object itself, which comes back to life and is relived. Memory consist of earlier stored up perceptions which when recalled or remembered are perceptions and not pictures, at that moment of recollection we bring the intended object as they are present in that time. Thus, remembering in phenomenology is recapturing or reliving an earlier part of our conscious life as intentionality. Memories allow one to live in the past while living in the present. A new dimension or horizon of the past is presented to us through the process of remembering (Sokolowski, 2000).

Recollection of the past can be problematic. In the event that someone has done something they are ashamed of or has been involved in a traumatic incident, then the memory of the experienced can present itself repeatedly and one is unable to rid oneself of its past. Also, memory does not exist independently of the imagination, and thus, in remembering an event, imagination can tamper with the object in perception. But because memories are not bullet proof of imagination, it does not mean that they are always wrong in the way of perceiving. What occurs is,

New manifolds, a new possibility of identity, [are] introduced by memory, and new possibilities of error arise as well. It is the task of phenomenology to bring out the structures in question and to distinguish them from those at work in perception and in other kinds of intentionality (Sokolowski, 2000, p. 69).

Consequently, in examining the past of the children, it is important to note that imagination projected into the memories are not considered as lies but are another dimension or horizon of identity to be un-covered and described. In examining the children's experience from their memory, the identity given is in absence and presence. What a child chooses to reveal to the researcher is the present identity and what is concealed is the absence of the identity (Sokolowski, 2000).

As a final point, I will make reference to *imagination* and *anticipation* in contrast to memory. In reality, memory and imagination are fundamentally very similar, but memory operates with belief whereas imagination is enveloped by a kind of suspension of belief. Imagination takes with it an imaginary object from a real perception of memory that is projected into new and unfamiliar situations that have not yet occurred. Thus, in imagining, the world of perception becomes new and the perceived objects can be taken into new imagined scenarios, but the object remains the same throughout the imaginary journey created. The freedom in imagining is restricted on what we can fantasize about as there exist a part of our imagination that tends to remain realistic and moves fantasy back into the mode of belief. It is the kind of imagination when we are planning something, when we imagine ourselves in some future condition. This anticipatory type of imagination centers the displaced self back from the flights of pure fantasy. We are anticipating a future instead of reviving an old experience. The anticipation of the future goals are set, pros and cons are weighted and from there decisions are made (Sokolowski, 2000).

Phenomenology, as the main theoretical background and method, was adopted in my research, not to diminish other psychological disciplines with a focus on personality and identity, which may take a more clinical approach. On the other hand, when working with people affected by traumatic situations and how they create meaning in these occurrences, another approach may prove beneficial. Phenomenology thus seems to be the more functional approach in my research on exploring multiple identity creation by Jamaican children in the face of community violence, stressing the children's perception of reality and how they deal with their situation. The phenomenological approach explores how activities, objects, situations, experiences, relationships appear or how they construct meaning, for a specific child. Every child subjectively

creates meaning from their experience of the world rather than as an objective fact, and as such I intend to understand the subjective experiences of the child. Understanding that there is no objective fact in experiences, two experiences will not look or be the same, as experiences from one child to another may be completely different. Thus, the meaning the children give to the world can be studied, and understanding the children's subjective experience can be achieved. In studying experience, we are in essence studying the children's value systems, emotions, motivations, and all the things that are deemed as important for them. When entering the world of the children, the researcher attempted to understand the children's inter-subjectivity. Two different children's experiences are not alike even when experiencing the same community violence. Phenomenology opens up the multiple ways of experiencing and the identities to be revealed. Phenomenology takes into account the context and the influences of people's culture. Knowing what is important and essential for the child unlocks a deeper way of knowing how to aid, because the focus would have been on the child's subjective experience of reality.

Dialogical Self

Dialogical Self theory, postulated by Hubert J.M. Hermans, has roots in the context of story making and story-telling. The concept of dialogical self helps to clarify and give body to the nature of self-narratives. According to Hermans and Kempen (1993), "the dialogical self is formed out of the construction and reconstruction of encounters with others and the reciprocal influences of multiple others" (p. xiii). The dialogical self is a collaboration of the pronouns *I* and *Me*, which are useful in the comprehension of the subjective and objective features of self-reference. Sentences such as "I am a girl", "I am a student", "I am happy", illustrate variability of references. The multiplicity of references for *I* can be best demonstrated in the notion of the comprised roles of the social self. The performance of the roles is reflectively a *me*. Every individual is an actor performing multiple roles that are responding and completing the role performances of others. In the proclamation of an *I* there is a *you*, which is part of the social context that ultimately enters into the construction of the self. This notion is attached to the notion of the multivoiced self that is illustrated in the complexities of, for example, decision-making one has to perform, and most forwardly in the context of moral conflict (Hermans & Kempens, 1993).

The multivoiced self is a composition of *real* and *imagined* actors that populate the narratives providing the guide for self-construction. In the utilization of dialogical self theory, the researcher aims at demonstrating the conflicting and multiple characters or identities emerging from dialogical, dramatic and narrative descriptions of the children. The voices of the children are simultaneously individual and societal utterances aiding the description of the factors that are continuously shaping their characters positively and negatively in the backdrop of living with community violence. With the aid of the theoretical and methodological capacities of phenomenology, which aims at unfolding the multi-levels of consciousness and meaning that a person can experience in everyday life within their cultural environment, dialogical self theory highlights the depth of the character creation as meaning is being produced. Phenomenology identifies the meanings given to the I and Me positions and employing dialogical self theory unearths the multivoiced self and society in each positions each child displays (Hermans & Kempens, 1993).

Dialogical self theory, rooted in the narrative approach, provides access to the self as a dialogical phenomenon offering the opportunity to transcend the positivistic approach to psychology. This approach opens the possibilities of studying the human mind in reality from a narrative and story perspective with emphasis on the role of *imagination*. The lifelikeness of narrative thinking is seen by demonstrating the structures of perception, emotion and action within narration. The role of imagination or *imaginal dialogues* exists beside real and actual dialogues with real persons which are an essential part of our narrative construction of the world. Imaginal others are divided into three groups, first – media groups, never seen face to face but interacted with, second – imaginal replicas of parents, friends, family members and other social personnel, treated as if present, and third – imaginary figures from dreams and fantasies. There is no distinction of a private world from a public world as each is inhabited by imaginal and real people. Preceding the emergence of the dialogical self are actions, memory, imagination and language. To act is to interact with others. Memory influences experience, making it possible for an individual to bring events of the past into the present situation; as well as to contract situations at different moments in time. Imagination opens the emergence of new structures by combining real events that are not copies of the perceived reality. Language therefore becomes the vehicle for sharing memory and imagination to others. Hermans and Kempen (1993) states, “by the specific combination of language and imagination, child[ren] and adult[s] have the possibility to

construct a narrative about the world, and a self-narrative in particular, in which other people play their roles as if they were other *I*'s" (p. 72).

Understanding the notion of dialogue, the *dialogical* relationship must be established. Take this statement "life is good and life is good" (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p. 40) as an example. These two phrases are related in terms of identity. They are one and the same statement. From the dialogical perspective, they are two phrases uttered by voices of two spatially separate people in communication expressing a relationship of *agreement*. The first is a statement and the follow up is a confirmation. Hermans and Kempens (1993) shows, in a statement, "life is good" and "life is not good" (p. 40) from the dialogical sense they are uttered by voices of two spatially separate speakers in communication that are in a dialogical relationship of *disagreement*. Dialogical relationship facilitates *openness of consciousness*. "Openness is an intrinsic feature of dialogue and its recognition a necessary condition for the understanding of life: the genuine life of personality can be penetrated only dialogically, and then only when it mutually and voluntarily opens itself" (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p. 41). The notion of dialogue opens the possibility of the inner world of an individual by transforming the inner thought of a particular character into an utterance that spontaneously reflects the utterance of the imaginal other. In utterance every word once entered into a dialogical relationship is *double voiced*, one toward the object of speech and toward another word originating from another person's speech (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

The *concept of identity in the self* as proslated by Hermans and Kempens (1993) refers to Stuart Hall (1992) concept of identity (as cited in Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007), and William James (1890) theory of the self and Mikhail Bahktin (1929/1973) (as cited in Hermans, 2001b; Hermans, 2001a). Hall's (1992) analysis of identity was based on a centered unified and decentered self compiled of different parts that are highly dependent on the environment creating contradictory identities pulling the individual in various directions. As a result, identity is continually being shifted however over a lifetime the individual feels a unified identity based on the narrative of the self (Hermans & Dimaggio, 2007). Hermans and Dimaggio focusing on the concept of decentralization in the individual called this self multivocal and dialogical.

Consistently, James (1890) theory of the self was of the same concept of unity but also of the multiplicity of the self (Hermans, 2001b). James explaining the formulation of the self states, "the self is – as *I* – distinct from other people, but as social *Me* – the perspective of the

other is included as part of the self” (Hermans, 2001a, p, 48). James theorizing the self recognized that the body was inclusive of the self or the *I* and *Me*. The *I* and *Me* are inseparable from the body as well the *I* is inseparably from the *Me*. The *I* is continually organizing and interpreting experiences in a subjective way. The *I* have three features: continuity, distinctness and volition which hold the explanation for the identity. Identity is to be found in the feature continuity, where the self regardless of the continually organization and interpretation of experiences manifest itself through a sense of personal identity and sameness through time. Identity is projecting through the self as being continuous and exhibiting sameness throughout time. Thus, experiences are manifested as a present self and a self of the past. An individual’s thought of them self in the present and the past are identical. Thus “identity finds its source in the activity of the thinker” (Hermans, 2001a). Consequently, identity which is continuous through time is to be found in the the *I* which is inseparably from the *Me*. (Hermans, 2001a). The second and third feature of the *I* also represents how identity is projected. According to James various parts of the self is united by a distinct volitional *I*, that assures the identity of the self through time as well as its continuity. In making conscious decisions or in the act of decision making our sense of identity is secured over time and permanence. In conclusion, identity projection through the self is to be found in the *I* that experiences in the present and the past which is inseparable from the *Me*, inclusive of my conscious acts of decision making that secures the sense of sameness over time and permanence.

Bahktin’s (1929/1973) literary work on the other hand focused on the principle of continuity and discontinuity found in the multiplicity of voices in an internal and external dialogical relationship (Hermans, 2001b). Hermans formulated the dialogical self. “The *dialogical self* can be described as a dynamic multiplicity of I-positions in the landscape of the mind, intertwined as this mind is with the minds of other people. Thus creating a society of mind as there is no difference between “us and ourselves as there is between ourselves and others” (Hermans, 2002, p. 147). Hermans’ dialogical self reflects three important analyses, (1) the self as being multivoiced and multifaceted, (2) the self as culture inclusive and (3) culture as self inclusive. Hermans (2001b) theorized, as mentioned before, that the self has two main principal components, the ‘*I*’ and the ‘*Me*’ (p. 244). The *I* is equal to the *self-as-knower* that is continuously organizing and interpreting experience in a purely subjective manner. The *I* is characterized by three components: continuity, distinctness and volition. The continuity of the

self-as-knower is characterized by a *sense of personal identity*, which comes across as a sense of sameness across time. Self-as-knower exhibits individuality which is a feeling of distinctness from having an own identity separate from others. And personal volition is the self-as-knower in a state of continuous adaptation and refusal of thoughts (Hermans, 2001a).

The second component of the self, the *Me*, or the *self-as-known*, according to Hermans (2001a) consists of the elements considered as belonging to oneself. *Me* and *Mine* are intrinsically one and the same. The self-as-known has these three main components; material characteristics (body, clothes, possessions), spiritual characteristic (thoughts, consciousness), and social characteristics (relations, roles, fame). The I is never separate from the Me (and Mine) nor from the body, any separation of the I from the Me is a completely separate I and the same exist for the I and the body. The I is bound to the existence of the body and the Me. The interplay between the I and Me, is not an exclusive process of the individual separate from the thought of other people, but on the contrary, the social self has the capacity to taking on the role of the other, incorporating it into the self to become an integral part of the self. The concept of the self is inclusive of the I and inclusive of the Me that extends beyond the boundaries of the person's skin and bodily confinement as being closed off from the world; and as having an existence on itself. The I and Me are intricately intertwined (Hermans, 2001a). "The I or self-as-knower is portrayed as a unifying principle that is responsible for organizing the different aspects of the Me as parts of a continuous stream of consciousness" (Hermans, 2001b, p. 246). In the simplified sense, the *I* stands for the *author* and the *Me* for the *actor* or narrative figure that is being directed by the *I*. Thus the *I* as author can construct a story using imagination in which the *Me*, or the actor, or the protagonist that displays the identities of the various I-positions of the self. This narrative construction is possible because the *I* as author has the ability to imagine one's own future, reconstruct one's past, and describes oneself as an actor. Within the scope of the narrative construction is the means for organizing lived episodes, imagined actions and experienced actions (Hermans, 1996).

The *I* possessing an authorship voice acquire a dynamic diversity of relative independent *I-positions* having the ability to move across one position to another position in accordance with changes in situation and time. The *I* oscillates between different and even opposed positions, and has the imaginative capability to bestow each position with a voice to establish the dialogical relations between the positions. The voices act as interacting characters

expressing information on their respective *Me*'s creating a complex, '*narratively*' composed self (Hermans, 2001b). As a result, the *I* as author and the *Me* as actor permits one and the same individual to live in a multiplicity of worlds as a result of the plurality of voices. In the case of children, as authors of their lives, they are able to tell the story of their lived past, as the actor, that competes with the others authors in the narrative of the lived experiences. The uttered voice demonstrates the capability of the child to move from present to past, or to the future, and back. And when the child comes back, he or she has more or less been changed by the dialogical process itself. In hearing a child's narrative one can hear its dialogical voices which fluctuate between or linger in one or all of these states; past, present and future.

The final stage of dialogical self theory is the convergent relationship of the self and culture. The view of the self, previously mentioned, exists in a web of "oppositions, agreements, disagreements, contradictions, negotiations and integrations" (Hermans, 2002, p. 148). The society functions in the same way as the self, in a web of consonance and dissonance. Hermans (2002) related that the self and the society are seen as closely related or part of the same nature, as an increase in the complexity of the society causes increases in the complexity of the self. Thus, people having prolonged intense and hostile interactions regardless of differences in their cultures belong to the same society. "Words such as dissonance, contradiction, drama, collision and war make people aware of the fact that they are part of entities that consist of oppositions between goals, ideas, sounds, characters and groups" (Hermans, 2002, p. 148).

The two common grounds for the self and the society are *intersubjective interchange* and *dominance* or *social power*. Intersubjective interchange occurs because of the existence of a multivoiced society and of a multivoiced self that have the opportunity to interact. *Multivoicedness* is the simultaneous existence of different individual voices of the self, but also extends in the process of the simultaneous utterance of the individual and societal voice. Dominance or social power involves the relationship of position as it exists in the society and in the self. As some individuals or groups in a society has more social power or influence than other individuals and groups, the voices of some positions in the self are more easily heard and have, in a particular situation, more opportunity for expression and communication than others. In sum, dialogical interchange and dominance are intrinsic features of the dialogical self (Hermans, 2002, p. 148). The dialogical exchange and dominance is demonstrated in the individual speaker making utterances as of the voice of groups and institutions and not simply an individual talking.

Dialogue is more than face to face interaction and contact between people (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

The unique utterances of the individual speaker are social languages such as “social dialects, professional jargons, languages of generations and age groups languages of the representatives of various circles and passing fashion” (Hermans, 2001, p. 149). These come together to make the collective voices that goes beyond the unique individual voices of people. The process of simultaneously producing unique utterances and speaking a social language is when an individual is engaged in a multivoicedness called *ventriloquation*. Hence in the voice of a child is the national language of his culture. In the process of living in a community or culture, the developing self comes into contact with the voice of the society and are often in some degree of conflict. However, regardless of the conflicts, the developing self begins to engraft the voice of the culture into that individual’s multivoiced self as an enriching contribution. Thus the self begins to “behave like people in a community: some cooperate and form a coalition with common purposes or values; whereas others are in conflict and show a rather low tolerance of each other” (Hermans, 2002, p. 149). As such, the collective voice is being internalized in a process of reconstruction of the self in personal ways. The voices of the culture begin to speak within the individual as *I*, creating a unique combination of the personal and the cultural voices, which contributes to the “*I*”-ness of the individual.

All reconstructed voices are personalized. Meanings “belong to a cultural capital inherited and invested by new actors through history” (Hermans & Kempen, 1993, p. 73). In the concept of dialogical self the notions of intersubjective exchange and dominance as the main features of dialogical relationships are applied to the self as a multiplicity of *I* positions (p. 78). This means that an intensive exchange exist between the positions, with special attention given to the relative dominance between positions. There is interplay of positions between inside and outside world. There are positions functioning in the outside world (e.g. parents, family members, friends, teachers, colleagues etc.) and positions belonging to the inside world of the individual (deceased parents, imaginal lovers, and imaginary advisors, critics and enemies with whom the individual interacts). An intensive transactional relationship exists between the inside and the outside world in an open system. The self is not only bound to this interaction but to cultural and institutional constraints. The dominance relations is affected by the interaction between the interactive transactions of the outside world and the self which organizes the inside

world. Thus the inside world is being organized and restricted by the process of institutionalization (in family, school, church, military service, community life). What ensues is either an approval or disapproval, even rejection of some of the positions, as well as, depending on the dominance, some positions are strongly developed, while others are suppressed or dissociated (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

From the perspective of children within the dialogical self theory, they are continuously involved in dialogues which are representatives of their community (mother, father, aunt, uncle, teacher, peers) that places them in exacting positions (child, pupil, and friend), which differs according to the social situation the child is part of. Throughout these interactions the child is addressed in abstract ways that is void of neutrality. Consequently, the child can be addressed in an approving or disapproving way by those who are superior. He or she is a good child or a bad child, diligent or lazy student, a friend to trust or to not trust and the list continues. In this way the utterances of the community that states “you are” are transformed to “I am” utterances in the construction of a self narrative. These positions are not the copies of others but an imaginatively constructed and reconstructed self over a period of development. The other’s view, however powerfully, does not fully determine the child’s self, but orients it in the sense that the other’s view become a part of the continuous dialogical process of the child (Hermans, 2001b).

From the dialogical self standpoint, the researcher’s focus is on the children’s narration looking for the construction and reconstruction of their multiple encounters with their environment. Consequently, each child is viewed as an actor performing multiple roles in the act of completing the performance of those they interact with. Thus, looking at the children’s narratives from a phenomenological perspective, the voices of all actors, real or imagined (for example the media, family, teachers), will be identified from the narrative of the children. The examination of the narration will aid in the eventual emergence of the multiple identities. Dialogical self theory explains that in every utterance is a double voice or the utterance of another person’s voice. Within this concept, the society and the child are intertwined in a complex relationship. The Jamaican children are no different in the relationship that exists between themselves and their environment. Although, the children are not cognizant of this relationship, the researcher’s intention, with the Minerva as a powerful tool for in depth analysis, is to seek out the multivoicedness within the narration of each child.

Chapter Three

Geographic, Political and Social Context

Geographic Context

Jamaica is an English speaking Caribbean nation located south of Cuba and west of Hispaniola, with its closest neighbouring countries being Haiti and Dominican Republic. It is the third largest island in the Caribbean. Its capital is Kingston, and Jamaica has a population of about 2.8 million. The people are raised speaking patois and are taught English in the educational system, with compulsory education up until 18 years for all persons. The literacy rate for ages 15 and over now stands at 87.9%. Half of the population, approximately 1.3 million, are gainfully employed within the services sector (64.9%), the industry sector (17.1%) and the agricultural sector (17.9%) (United States Department of State, Bureau of Western Hemisphere Affairs, 2011).

Political Context

Despite these facts that make Jamaica a middle-income developing country with a stable parliamentary democracy, the present government of Prime Minister Bruce Golding faces several significant challenges. These include a violent crime wave fuelled by gangs and drug trafficking and high external debt. Jamaica has been plagued with high rates of crime and violence dating back to the 1970s and 1980s where violence was politically motivated as the political parties became allies with the armed gangs in order to deliver votes at election time. Jamaica, in the 1970s, was the Caribbean's largest producer and exporter of marijuana and late in the mid-1980s became involved in cocaine trafficking, serving as a transit country.

Jamaica has a constitutional parliamentary democracy stemming from its history of British colonial rule; however, the national elections have often been marred by political violence. Since before the country's 1962 independence, two political parties – the People's National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) have dominated the political system. The two parties had distinct ideologies in the 1970s and 1980s, with the PNP, under the leadership of Michael Manley (1972-1980), advocating democratic socialism and increasing state ownership of the economy, while the JLP, under Edward Seaga (1980-1989), espoused

political liberalization and privatization. Following the PNP victory in 1989, they adopted the political ideologies of the JLP and today there is minimal ideological difference between the two parties. Since 1989 the PNP enjoyed an 18 year political reign, winning 3 consecutive elections under the leadership of Percival J. "P.J." Patterson who served as the head of the government until his retirement in March 2006. Portia Simpson replaced P.J. Patterson, however the 18 year reign ended in September 2007 when Bruce Golding of the JLP was elected as Prime Minister. Bruce Golding campaigned using an anti-crime and anti-corruption platform against the PNP regime. "One of the contributing factors to the change of government was that Prime Minister Simpson's government faced growing public dissatisfaction with increasing crime and violence" (Sullivan, 2010).

Social Context

The Creation of Tivoli Gardens and the history of garrison communities in Jamaica

Jamaica has been plagued by high rates of crime and violence for many years. The 1970s and 1980s began the politically motivated violence in alignment with national elections. Conditions prior to the 1970s for the Kingston poor were the lack of adequate shelter. Housing for the destitute poor in Jamaica at the time "consisted of either huts or of materials scavenged from garbage dumps" (Gray, 2004, p. 72). Displaced persons from the countryside lived in squalor and human misery. The slum-dwellers lived in overcrowded and dump-like conditions simultaneously as politicians offered unlikely promises of considerable relief as a tactics for rallying of votes for the upcoming elections. With the political parties fighting for votes, but wanting to relieve the conditions of the poor, the PNP began building housings for the citizens irrespective of their political affiliation. The PNP with their extensive housing construction programme in the Kingston and St. Andrew Corporate Area built two housing schemes with plans to launch and start building in Tivoli Garden with the same aim of giving housing to people regardless of political affiliation.

However, with the loss of power to the JLP, the PNP "was therefore unable to establish the criterion of middle-class housing which seemed not have incurred a vicious partisanship" (Gray, 2004, p. 73). However, with the overheated and partisan atmosphere of the early 1960's the criteria for the distribution of the housing in West Kingston, namely Tivoli Gardens, was

subjected to political and partisan considerations. What ensued under the JLP leadership was a battle for the ownership of Tivoli Gardens from the PNP. To build the housing schemes, forcible evacuation of the residences loyal to the PNP ensued. After the construction was complete, despite PNP's "efforts to secure an agreement that would give apartments to the routed settlers, only persons deemed loyal to the JLP were ultimately allowed to take up residence in the apartments" (Gray, 2004, p. 74). The distribution of housing to party followers by the JLP in Tivoli was the turn of power and party control of a constituency, which set a dangerous precedence for the other party to follow and what has become known today as *garrisons*. Carl Stone first articulated the term *garrison*, when he defined it as "...a military stronghold based on political tradition, cultural values, beliefs, myths and socialization." (Carl Stone, 1986, as cited in Henry-Lee, 2005, p. 88).

The battle for the political dominance in the constituency by the JLP and PNP resulted in the rise and the employment of juvenile gangs by both parties. Initially gangs conducted their turf wars free of political influence, but the increase in political rivalry made the gangs inducted into the active political service by the parties. In exchange for securing political territory for the parties the gangs were lured with the attraction of receiving material rewards in exchange. "Party-directed incorporation of gangsters as enforcers and political gang warfare thus became pervasive features of political contestation in West Kingston by 1966" (Gray, 2004, p. 76). The result of the induction of gangs into politics was a steady growth in the increase of guns as the preferred weapon of warfare, where previously violence was linked to threats, beatings, stone- and bottle- throwing, as well as knifings. Gun trafficking became extensive in this period. The precedence for the garrison type communities had been set and has steadily grown in quantity.

Today there exist a total of eight created garrison communities. In Trench Town there is Arnett Gardens and Rema, in Jones Town there is Jones Town and Craig Town, in West Kingston there is Tivoli Gardens and Matthews Lanes, and finally in Olympic Gardens there is Cockburn Gardens and Waterhouse (see Appendix 1 for Garrison Community Description table). Tivoli Garden, however, has one distinguishing feature from the other communities. It is a closed-off community, where entry and exit to and from these communities are controlled by the so-called "top ranking" and the gang leaders who have close relationships with the constituency Member of Parliament" (Kerr, 1997). In other words, Tivoli Garden has only one main entrance and exist access to the community within (see Appendix 2 for the garrison communities).

Life in the Garrison

As stated earlier, conditions of Tivoli Gardens depicted that of slum inhabitation, with huts and garbage collected constructed housing. These earlier dwellers were mainly from the rural areas seeking jobs in the city, living in cramped spaces and places. Today, the situations of Tivoli and other garrison communities have made minimal improvements. As reported in *The Gleaner* on May 11, 2009, the Government of Jamaica in cooperation with UN-HABITAT⁴ and the European Commission under the Participatory Slum upgrading Programme (PSUP) would tackle the “squatter plague which accounts for one-third of the country’s 2.7-million population” (*The Gleaner*, 2009). The article stated the urgent need for a rapid overview of the critical urban issues such as the “mushrooming squatter settlements” (*The Gleaner*, 2009), which meant slums and dilapidated housings. Amartya Sen (1999) emphasizes that poverty should be viewed as a lack of basic capabilities rather than just having minimal income. His list of basic capabilities includes the acquisition of sufficient food; freedom from ill health, ill treatment and disease; access to a good education; social inclusion; participation in community life; employment; and clothing. Examining poverty is no easy task. As Sen (1999) has emphasized, poverty is more than just income deprivation, and includes the lack of basic social capabilities e.g. social inclusion. The conditions faced are inclusive of food poverty, which is an inability to meet basic nutritional requirements. Educational attainment stands at primary and beginning secondary levels for a large proportion of the population. Relatively low house ownership and massive land-grabbing is among the persistent problems. Water availability and main drinking water source are often external and remains a luxury as only a small population have internal facilities such as indoor taps/pipes (Henry-Lee, 2005). Amnesty International (2008) sheds light on the dangers inaccessibility to indoor water facilities;

“When the ‘war’ was happening we couldn’t drink clean water because we needed to go to the next community to pick up the clean water from the tanks, but we couldn’t cross to that section because it was too dangerous, the gang there saw anyone coming from this community as a threat to them... At night we had to sleep on the floor, all of us, the children the Grandma, all of us; covered by the mattress because sometimes the shots can go through the house and kill us.” Woman from an inner-city community, Kingston, October 2007 (Amnesty International, 2008, p. 15).

⁴ United Nations Human Settlements Programme

External latrines called pits were still prevalent until December 9, 2010 when the Delegation of the European Union to Jamaica working in tandem with the government undertook “structural improvements to the sanitary conditions” (Delegation of the European Union, 2010) The sanitation project included 13 bathroom facilities (4 single units and 9 double units) consisting of shower stalls and toilets (Delegation of the European Union, 2010). However, the fact still remains that housing are not equipped with internal sanitary facilities. In addition, although many housing were equipped with electricity, two situations have emerged. The first being the case of illegal connection as well as a minority being without electricity and, secondly, streets without public lighting (Henry-Lee, 2005).

Also in the case of Jamaican garrison phenomenon, poverty is entrenched in the roots of violence – political and turf related and intimidation – from both inside (gangs) and outside (law enforcement). The residents of garrisons are trapped between the two conflicting forces. They are ensnared between high levels of violent crime by the ruling criminal gangs and by the repression and mistreatment by the law enforcement, which should be offering protection to them. Amnesty International (2008) reported that residences of garrisons are socially excluded and are the most likely victims of violent crimes. Poorer households are at greater risk of all violent crimes, inclusive of murder and wounding. Residents with lower levels of educational achievements were just as subject to becoming victims of all crimes. These circumstances have significant impact on the children of the community, especially during times of internal war or politically driven war activities before elections.

Children cannot go out to play and are often prevented from attending school, either because the schools are closed or because it is too dangerous for either pupils or teachers to attend. Often children are so traumatized by the violence that even if schools are still functioning, they are sometimes just too frightened to leave home (Amnesty International 2008, p. 15).

Another of the horrors children face is the possibilities of recruitment by the gangs, particularly boys around the age of 12 are targeted as carriers of packages and other small tasks. Often the families of these boys are afraid to refuse, as refusals often result in punishment for the child under question and his family. One woman’s report of her neighbour’s son’s tragedy, Amnesty International (2008) stated,

Her neighbour's 12-year-old son was sent by a gang to another community, carrying a gun. The boy was robbed on his way there and he knew he was going to be killed if he came back without the gun and without the money, so he ran away. The mother was killed the following morning (Amnesty International, 2008, p. 15).

The children are trapped in the intimidation of the gangs who carry out widespread destruction of property, robbery, violence against women, children and the elderly. Gangs use this method as a means of holding the community in obedience to their reign. During such times as wars the neighbourhoods are barricaded and the entire population can be held hostage and the people are unable to leave their homes after 5pm which coincides with the time when the shooting begins against another territory or often adjacent neighbourhood (Amnesty International, 2008). A real threat and genuine fear is built up by the community and it stigmatizes and ostracizes them from the rest of Jamaica. Often persons of garrison communities live in exile from the rest of the country. During times of war public transportation as well as public utilities is non-existent. "The living conditions of some of the people in the most of the 'tribalized' communities reek of abandonment and neglect" (Henry-Lee, 2005, p. 94).

However, despite the fear inflicted by the dons of the gangs and the gangs themselves, the residence quality of life is dependent on their closeness with the don who acts as the politician's political guardian in the community. Hence, one's closeness with the area leader can guarantee freedom of movement in and out of the community, as well as access to goods and services deemed valuable. These goods and services are in the form of school fees, food and payments for medical bills and on many occasions access to housing. "In return for the don's support, residents must be prepared to pledge undying loyalty" (Henry-Lee 2005, p. 97). Hence, intimidation has become linked to acts of loyalty from within for the dons. They are the heroes that the people fear.

Crime and violence in Jamaica

Recently, Jamaica's stability was challenged in late May 2010 after Prime Minister Golding agreed to extradite to the United States an at-large suspected drug kingpin and gang leader, Christopher 'Dudus' Coke. In August 2009, the United States had initially requested Coke's extradition, after a New York grand jury had incriminated him for narcotics and arms trafficking. The Prime Minister and his government denied the request maintaining that the evidence obtained from the wiretapping was illegal. The U. S. increased pressure to extradite

Coke using the State Department's March 2010 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report (INCRS). It questioned the Jamaican government's reluctance in extraditing Coke and the lack of cooperation to law enforcement with the United States. It also questioned the depth of corruption within the government because of Coke's alleged ties with the ruling party (Sullivan, 2010). Finally, in response to the extradition for the alleged drug lord, the government, seeking to execute a warrant for Coke, deployed police and soldiers. However, Coke's supporters in the West Kingston neighbourhood of Tivoli Gardens, attacked several police stations on May 23. The government's response to the attacks on the stations was to declare the country as being in a State of Emergency. They deployed the police force and the soldiers to West Kingston seeking to execute a warrant for Coke, whose armed and ready supporters responded for battle with erected barricades and roadblocks to battle the security forces. Seventy-six people were killed in the ensuing violence; this included two policemen and a soldier (Sullivan, 2010).

On June 22, 2010, an elusive Coke, driving with an evangelical preacher, was captured during a police checkpoint. Both Coke and the preacher claimed to have been on their way to the U.S. Embassy as Coke had decided to turn himself over to the U.S. authorities. On June 24, Coke was extradited to the United States and on June 25, Coke was arraigned in U.S. Federal District Court in New York for operating a large marijuana and crack cocaine drug trade from Jamaica. It is upon this background that the experiences of children will be described, searching for meaning and identity creation.

Chapter Four

Methodology

Phenomenological Scientific Approach

The present study uses a cross-disciplinary method based on psychological theory and a fieldwork methodology from development studies. The methodology section is purely qualitative as the phenomenological scientific approach has direct implications on how material is gathered and affects the way in which the researcher later evaluates and makes interpretation of the obtained data. The phenomenological method aims at the formation of concepts and schemes from bottom to top, making generalizations from specific subjects and cases. I believe the phenomenological approach will result in an efficient way of doing research regarding my subject matter. My aim is to provide a good theoretical background and a good informative foundation. With a phenomenological approach in my research, I have utilized descriptive results: the subjects' descriptions of their experiences, through compositions and by “one pon one” talks⁵, have all been studied using a phenomenological approach. My aim has always been focused on getting deeper into the subjects' experiences of their reality.

Through my field work I have been able to indwell in their talks with me as well as share their experiences and opinions, getting a better understanding of particular individual experiences. When interacting with humans, we can regard their way of appearing, feeling and behaving as either facts or as meanings. The principal thought in phenomenology is that one can detect the meaning given to an object by the person to whom it appears from the way of the conscious appearance of the object. When searching for meaning, the individual life-world is always context specific for meaning is derived from the experiences in relation to the surrounding world (Sages & Jakobsdottir, 1999). Meaning is from the life-world and from the partial intersection where many individual life-worlds overlap with each other. In the shared world surrounding individuals an experience can be both unique and representative. Thus for this study, understanding of the contextual factors surrounding the children, which have effects on the perception of life, is of significance, as cultural differences all have differing roles to play.

⁵ Jamaican dialect, Patois, for interview, reflecting a more informal and relaxed environment

In the present study, phenomenology is a useful tool of analysis, allowing for the understanding to be achieved. The software, Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA), developed by Roger Sages, is a competent and powerful tool in the work of text analysis. Sages, Lundsten, Lahlou, Kurk and Moscarola (2002) explain that the MCA is a tool of exploration in the pluralities of the meanings lying in the texts and implied by them. Thus in the utilization of the MCA-Minerva it is possible to analyze in depth any kind of text data in a precise and truthful way. In this way the analyzed text opens up “information on the possible world situations that the gathered text allows to produce opened by the person’s meaning constitution on his/her ways of expression, of existence” (Sages et al, 2002). In the study of identity the MCA-Minerva “allows for the exploration of the individual’s life world, his/her concerns, what talks about how he/she expresses it in terms of entities, predicates, modalities, horizons of understanding and expectations” (Sages et al, 2002). The MCA-Minerva is specific and unique in this sense. It allows for the exploration of meaning in different modalities. This will be discussed further later in this chapter.

However, I would like to give attention to the importance of conducting fieldwork in my research. The phenomenological researcher is interested in understanding people’s experience in context and hence the natural setting is the ideal place where the researcher’s highest possibility to discover and uncover the area to be known concerning the phenomenon of interest (Maykut & Moorehouse, 1994, p. 45). In the case study of the Jamaican children, all aspects of culture are essential in order to conduct research about the impact of culture and the way children interact with the world. Since personal meaning is linked to the context (Maykut & Moorehouse, 1994), fieldwork is an opportunity to achieve a better understanding of the youth living with violence and to provide also a better understanding of how the youth in the garrison community are dealing with very hard living conditions and emotions directed to their past, present and future. This study, as stated previously, has an exploratory and descriptive focus in search for identities for children living in garrison communities in Jamaica. The data collection is done through fieldwork, using a qualitative methodological framework, where one searches for meaning that emerges from the obtained data. The material that is suitable for phenomenological study is meaning constituted from the individual subjectivity. To be subjective is equivalent to constituting meaning. Hence the children’s subjectivity is given importance because meaning is

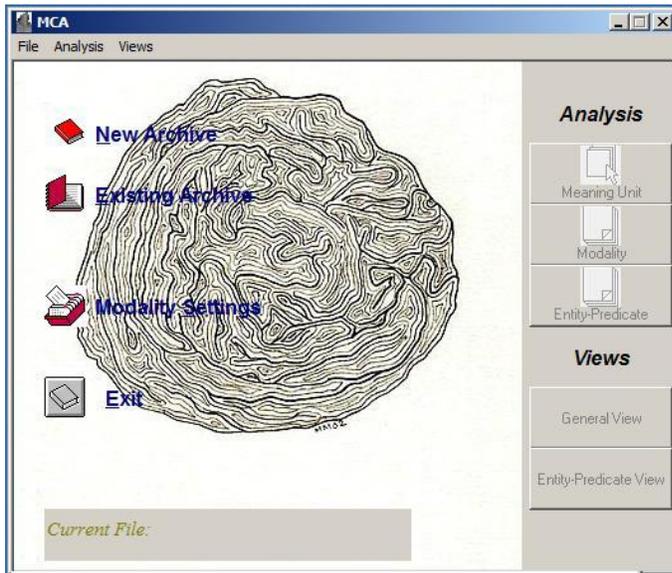
being constituted within a specific context from which the researcher can make suppositions about what could be at play on a general level above the individual.

The point of qualitative research is, as a necessary part of scientific endeavour, the desirability of objectiveness, but by finding, for each type of research, the most appropriate ways of reaching it. *Indwelling* (to live within), or to walk a mile in another person's shoes is more rewarding but even necessary for the actual research problematic. To understand a world one must "enter into the world, observe and wonder; experience and reflect. To understand a world you must become a part of that world while at the same time remaining separate, a part of and apart from" (Maykut & Moorehouse, 1994, p. 27). In the act of indwelling the researcher becomes the instrument for gaining understanding about the topic at hand, rather than striving for objectivity. In this way when the researcher becomes the *human as instrument* then is he/she able to capture the plurality of nature of human experience. However, in the act of indwelling, the object is appearing from one dimension and all sides are not visible to the researcher and will never be visible. It is noteworthy to state that in the act of interview one can indwell in the narrative of the person's experience as well as in the actual lifeworld. Hence, in the collection of data the interview or other forms of narrative becomes suitable material for phenomenological analysis. The investigation in the act of indwelling is exploratory but aims at gaining deeper meaning from having a focal point of interest. In this sense, my focal point of interest is identity and its multiplicity in children.

Meaning Constitution Analysis (MCA) – Minerva Software

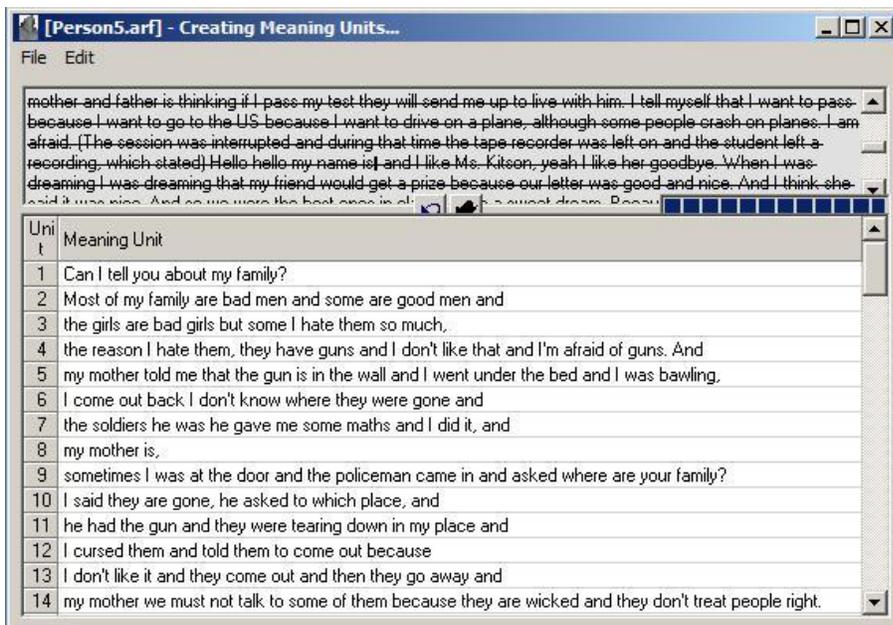
The Minerva software aids in the suspension of the natural attitude to the application of the Epoché which is the beginning of the phenomenological analysis. The systematic process of the Minerva software begins with the text to be analyzed. The phenomenological analysis consists of three steps: the preparation phrase, the interpretation phrase and the intentional analysis phrase. Before the phenomenological analysis, the Minerva opens up with an introduction screen with each phrase to choose from.

Introduction Screen



The Preparation Phrase

This is the first step of the phenomenological analysis of breaking the text (interview) into smaller meaning units which allows for bracketing as well as leaves “less room for uncontrolled interpretation” (Sages & Lungsten, 2002) which opens up the text for further analysis in the modalities section.



The Interpretative Phrase

The second step involves an association of the text into seven modalities (belief, function, time, affect, will, property and subject). The modalities give an understanding of the individual’s way of experience. The time modality, for example, expresses categories of time such as past – “something took place in the past” (Sages & Lundsten, 2002), present, future and goes further to examine a mixture of time such as present/past – “something took place in the past but has effects in the present time” (Sages & Lundsten, 2002), present/future, always recurrent or empty.

Modalities		
Current		
a	Belief	doxa-affirmation
b	Function	perceptive
c	Time	past
d	Affects	negative-retrospective
e	Will	engagement
f	Property	not stated
g	Subject	I

Intentional Analysis Phrase

After the assignment of the modalities the smaller text unity is further partitioned into entities and predicates which gives the partial intention. Entities are the remaining word of the partial intention which expresses something that exists for the subject who’s experiencing it while the predicates expresses the individual’s way of indicating the entity (Sages & Lundsten, 2002).

Unit	Pure Meaning	Partial Intention	Entity	Predicate
53	When I was dreaming I was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letter was good and nice. And	I can dream	I	that can dream
		I was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letter was good and nice	I	that was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letter was good and nice
		I can dream of winning a prize	I	that can dream of winning a prize
54	I think she said it was nice. And	I think my friend said it was nice	I	that think my friend said it was nice
55	so we were the best ones in class.	I was dreaming we were the best ones in class	I	that was dreaming we were the best ones in class
		I can dream of being the best one in class	I	that can dream of being the best one in class
56	It was a sweet dream. Because	The dream was sweet	The dream	that was sweet
57	I am acting like I'm in, you know when some people are in a letter and there writing.	I am acting like a person that is writing in a letter	I	that am acting like a person that is writing in a letter
58	I was in the letter and I was telling my family, and I told my family about the prize I won and	I was in the letter and was telling my family about the prize I won	I	that was in the letter and was telling my family about the prize I won
59	I was telling my friend and she said she would not mind if she got one too because her letter is nice.	I was telling my friend of the dream	I	that was telling my friend of the dream
		I can tell my friend of the dream	I	that can tell my friend of the dream
		My friend said she wouldn't mind if she got one too because her letter is nice	My friend	that said she wouldn't mind if she got one too because her letter is nice
60	when I woke up I told my family about the sweet dream I dream.	I woke up and I told my family about the sweet dream I dream	I	that woke up and told my family about the sweet dream I dream
		I can have a sweet dream	I	that can have a sweet dream
61	My family they said they like the	My family said they like the dream	My family	that said they like the dream

Personal Background and Indwelling

At this point I would like to interject my initial contact with children living in violent communities. In the year 1988, at the age of nine, I had my initial contact with life in a community referred to as a *ghetto*. I noted the difference between the communities. The homes were not surrounded by concrete walls with bush edges as was the case in my community, instead they were surrounded by high galvanized zincs called *zinc fences*, which restricted outsiders and even neighbours, and as the family grew, so did the amount of rooms. Houses were constructed from wood and zincs as building concrete walls were costly. Initially, what looked like fun as a child, with children playing on the streets and neighbours sitting on the sidewalks, discussing, talking and laughing, changed with my age. Sitting on the sidewalks meant joblessness, lack of opportunity to go to school or scouting for one's enemy. Families building upon the house or shacks was a sign of how densely populated one yard could be. The realities of poverty were now more visible to me.

Years later, after a Bachelors degree, I returned to the inner city, as an adult, teaching children between ages 4 to 16 years under the guidance of the Welfare Department of the local church for a total of four years. This personal experience is important in this context because it afforded me the opportunity to have extensive knowledge of the life of Jamaican children living in violent communities and the situation that they are facing. As pointed out in phenomenology, a researcher must have a certain degree of intersubjective comprehension of the individual's environment, cultural, historical and social context, which is gained by the closeness of the researcher to the phenomenon and the context, and the more personal the researcher is to the environment the better the researcher is able to see the implied meaning of the interviewee. For many years, I have indwelled in the life-world of the children, but never as the human instrument. My experiences have helped me in conducting fieldwork and achieving more depth in my interviews. The chances however exist for this individual experience to have been unconstructive in a phenomenological context. Had I approached the children from my subjective viewpoint, I could have affected my research and the results. With the use of Minerva as the tool of analysis of the main source of information, I have been shield off from such predispositions and separated from my previous judgments.

Participants and selection for deriving data

The recruitment of participants for this study was random. The motivation for this is to capture a mixture of children not based on intelligence, goal orientation or emotional condition as all children living in a garrison community are affected by the conditions of their environment regardless of intelligence, future goals, emotions and any other factors. The important factor in the selection was that the children were from the specific community, namely Tivoli Gardens. During the preparatory work for this study, connections were made with the primary schools. The first point of contact was the principal of the primary school. In Jamaica, it must be noted that the ethical responsibility for children are given to the school system, and thus the first point of contact is with the principal of the school. The principal was informed of the nature of the study through a project description (see Appendix 3), which was sent prior to the first meeting. After receiving consent to have access to the children of the selected school, the parents were then informed during a parent-teacher conference of the nature of the study. Letters of consent were then sent out to the parents via the students after the parents had been informed (see

Appendix 4). Following the initial contact with the principal, I was introduced to several class-teachers from whom I would select the participants. They were informed of the research and asked for their participation in administering the composition to their entire classes. All the students were asked to write an open-ended composition. Below is the formation of the question:

- Write a composition about your life (you can write about your family, community, school, play or activities).

This type of question, that aims for free expression, is compatible with the phenomenological approach guiding this study. Proceeding from the knowledge that, the questions asked would more or less determine the answers (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994) the questions here were designed to be as open as possible. This left room for discovery of how children made meaning out of their situation, in their own way, with their own expressions. Guiding the method for conducting data is the research question which was to discover how Jamaican children constitute meaning in relation to their situation and their lives, from this one can determine the children's identity. As Hermans stated, from the I, or the *self-as-knower*, is to be found the sense of personal identity, and each child will exhibit their own individuality and distinction.

The ages of the students under the study were 9 -11 years. The participants were selected from Grades 4, 5 and 6 consisting of a total of approximately 240 students; only 13 were reported as belonging to Tivoli Gardens. From the student composition, all the students from the Tivoli Gardens community were withdrawn according to age. The students under the study ages 9 – 11 years were selected for study based on the ability to communicate through writing and within the primary school systems those within the ages 9 to 11 years are in the preparation process for the Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT). As stated previously, regardless of excellence in writing each student had the equal opportunity to be selected, hence the selection was randomized. Six students were selected, respectively, 1 girl and 1 boy age 9, 1 girl and 1 boy age 10 and 2 girls age 11. Initially, the study would cross examine the difference between boys and girls in identity, but due to the small school size and population of the study, there were no boys ages 12. However, cross examination will take place within each age group. In the conduction of the open-ended interviews, students were “*asked to speak of their lives, past, present and future and their experiences as well as to ask questions.*” Also they were informed of being able to ask the interviewer questions at any point. The informal interviews were conducted in the school setting away from other students and teachers.

Chapter Five

Outcome – Section I

The outcome section will be divided into two parts. From the first part, the findings emerging on the multiple identities for each individual child, a total of 6, will be presented. The analysis of each child begins with a brief introduction of the child; this includes their mannerism during the interview as well as a general view of the child’s way of speaking about themselves. After the each brief introduction a table of the different I-positions and Me-positions based on the temporal dimension (positive or negative retrospective) will be illustrated. All the children’s lived experiences will be presented in modalities from past, present>past, present, present>future and future. Following the table, and at the end of each modality the child’s identity formation will be summarized. And concluding each section will be a general summary of all the minor summaries. The second part of the outcome will present the similarities and differences that emerged between the age groups.

Part One

Sasha

Sasha is a 9 year old female. She now lives with her mother, stepfather, sister, and sometimes with her friends. She speaks of her father who she does not live with. She speaks of her siblings only in the act of doing activities with them. She wrote a short composition but was eager to be a participant for interview. She seems to be very confident in her speech. She seems to be sure of what she is speaking and does so mostly in a straight forward way. She expresses more in a way that indicates herself as the actor rather than the author. She seldom speaks about herself from a group perspective.

Sasha’s Past:

Past

Negative retrospective: *Me* – who was at Friendship primary where I moved from. *Me* – who lived with my father first then my mother take me. *Me* – who my mother burn with hot water. **Bruce Golding** – who take away Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke. **Bruce Golding** – who buy us cheap bag and give to the children. **The other principal** – who they told to leave because she

beat the children who use their lunch money outside.

Positive retrospective: *Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke who when he was here would keep treats.*

Me – who would get school bag, book and other things, Mrs. Smith – who became the principal after; who taught six grade and became the principal.

The negative aspect of Sasha’s past is in relations to an incident involving her mother and father. *Me – who lived with my father first then my mother take me; who my mother burn with hot water.* Sasha seems to be allocating some blame to her mother for her moving away from her father and could possibly be saying if she lived with her father, she would not have been burnt nor would the accident have occurred. The following negative aspect of the past is in association to the extradition and the prime minister as seen from Sasha’s perceptive. *Bruce Golding – who take away Christopher Dudus: who buy us cheap bag and give to the children.* The result of taking away the local don and trying to fill his role was inadequate in Sasha’s opinion. Golding’s provisions measured up as being insufficient. In this aspect she refer to herself as part of a group alluding to the knowledge of the effect of the extradition on the community as a group. Sasha suggests that the other children may have agreed with her in saying the commodities were unsatisfactory.

The other negatively related aspect of her past is of *the other principal – who they told to leave because she beat the children who use their lunch money outside.* She narrates this account disapprovingly because she made a contrast with the constructive view she has of her current principal *Mrs. Smith – who became the principal after; who taught six grade and became the principal; who took the job as principal.* In many respects, she refers to the awareness of the right and wrong of being a principal and although I am not aware of whether the incident occurred or not, for Sasha, being a principal means not beating the children. Sasha having made this connection may later determine her own actions. For her the example of the other principal is highlighting the correct actions *Mrs. Smith – who took the job as principal.* The positive dimensions of her past are of the recent incident involving Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke. She relates that *Christopher Coke – who when he was here would keep treats; me – who would get school bag, book and other things.* In the local don giving to Sasha, her I-position has begun an internalizing process. Sasha looks to the local don as a provider and iconize his image, which is typical of the relationship between the community people and the don. On the contrary she speaks negatively of the Prime Minister.

Summary: What can we learn about Sasha from her past? Sasha has possibly blamed her mother for leaving her father and burning her. She has rejected the provisions of the Prime Minister and possibly the leader himself. She rejects the other principal with her harsh disciplinary actions. She has accepted Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke as an icon because he gave great provisions. She has made Mrs. Smith an icon because she took the job as principal and taught grade six and possibly shown her a better example of being a principal.

Sasha’s Present->Past:

Present->Past

Positive Retrospective: *I – who my father and mother tell me I have two cousins who run for Jamaica; Me- who run because I have two cousins who run for Jamaica. I- who like to play race like running; Me – that only one time came in second; me and my cousins – who race in the yard.*

Negative Retrospective: *I – who will tell you why I don’t go out on the streets. Me – that don’t go out on the streets. The streets – that have rapers who rape children. Christopher Dudus – who when is here the raper man did not come; Christopher Dudus – who when he is gone the raper man start to come in.*

Always recurrent: *Me – who when I am running always win;*

Sasha’s present is intricately tied to her past both positively and negatively. She is affected especially by those in authority whose influences organize her thoughts and actions. *I – who my father and mother tell me I have two cousins who run for Jamaica; Me- who run because I have two cousins who run for Jamaica.* It should be noted that Jamaica is informally referred to worldwide as the sprint capital of the world, and thus her endeavours of becoming a runner, may also be derived from the distant society. It has dictated her play time activities as well as her competitive nature as a participant, *Me – who like to play race like running; who when I am running always win; me- that only one time came in second; me and my cousins – who race in the yard.* However, her present realities are *I – who will tell you why I don’t go out on the streets; because the streets - that have rapers who rape children.* Her surrounding is deemed dangerous and thus internalized and generates a response. Her foregone conclusion is a result of *Christopher Dudus – who when is here the raper man did not come; who when he is gone the raper man start to come in.* This fear-filled Sasha is different from the aspiring and ambitious Sasha that endeavours to run internationally. But now we see why she is limited to racing in the yard because of fear.

Summary: Sasha's present as affected by the past has created a girl whose identity depicts an ambitious and competitive athlete who always wins. She is influenced by the knowledge uttered or her parents that may have been reinforced by the larger society. But her intentions of being a world class athlete is restricted due to the capture of the local don, this has released the rapists. Thus in fear Sasha is limited to racing in the yard.

Sasha's Present:

Present

Positive: **I** – who love to cook and clean the house; **I** – who love to cook because one of my brothers is a chef; **Me** – who cook dumplings and baked beans. **I** – who love music; **I** – who love to listen to music; **Me** – who hear sensible things in music; **Musicians** – who sing sensible things about children. **Catch a belly** – that is when a girl carries a baby. **The price** – that one pays for not learning to listen to what mama says is the hard way.

Aspiration /Positive: **I** – who likes to become the teacher and give the children work;

Engagement: **Me** - who play school on Saturday and Friday; **Me** – who shake the belt after noisy children; **Me** – who tell them to be quiet and to sit down; **Me** – who be the teacher to my friends and my sister; **Me** – who give them work.

Negative: **Christopher Dudus** – who is the president of Tivoli Gardens; **Bruce Golding** – who take away Christopher Dudus' money. **The police** – who catch Christopher Dudus. **The police and Bruce Golding** – who hear that Dudus is going abroad to the US; who go to the airport to find Dudus. **The streets** – that have rapers. **Rapers** – who are raping children; **I** – who will tell you why I don't go out on the streets; **Me** – who don't go out on the streets.

This conscientious girl now described in the present is working because of constructive influences from closer family members, *I – who love to cook and clean the house; who love to cook because one of my brothers is a chef; me – who cook dumplings and baked beans.* Thus doing house chores are symbolized actions. Apart from house chores she describes music as a passion and a positive factor in her life. *I – who love music; who love to listen to music; me – who hear sensible things in music; Musicians – who sing sensible things about children.* The lesson she has learnt from the song taught her about, *catch a belly – that is when a girl carries a baby, and the price – that one pays for not learning to listen to what mama says is the hard way.* She is describing herself as being a sensible person who can recognize sensible information. Her sensible character is extended by her aspiration in the present that directs her play time activities, *I – who likes to become the teacher and give the children work; Me - who play school on Saturday and Friday; me – who shake the belt after noisy children; who tell them to be quiet and to sit down; me – who be the teacher to my friends and my sister; me – who give them work.*

Sasha, the teacher, is operating directly opposite the other teacher that was told to leave because she had beaten the children. She has begun to create an identity against the nemesis action of the other principal, choosing rather to shake the belt than to beat with the belt. Sasha's present world has been shaped by, *Christopher Dudus – who is the president of Tivoli Gardens*. He is so important in her life, she narrates about the area that mostly affects her. The actions of *Bruce Golding – who take away Christopher Dudus' money and the police – who catch Christopher Dudus*, can be seen as impinging on Christopher Dudus' role as provider. *The police and Bruce Golding – who hear that Dudus is going abroad to the US; who go to the airport to find Dudus*. Here Sasha is demonstrating the length at which they went to capture her icon, as well as relating her knowledge of the facts/news of the time. Sasha is not only influenced by family members or teachers but by the news broadcast. Christopher Dudus is esteemed highly as provider and doer of good, against her own Prime Minister who is viewed negatively and unsatisfactory as provider. Christopher Dudus is the protector influencing her decisions to come and go in and around the community. Sasha's present reality is, *the streets that have rapers; Rapers – who are raping children; I – who will tell you why I don't go out on the streets; Me – who don't go out on the streets*.

Summary: Sasha in the present is conscientious and hard working, inspired by her brother to perform house chores as a passion. She has begun building a web of connections for her to follow and do. From music she proclaims that she hears sensible information and rightly so. She inspires to be a teacher that does not beat. She is up to-date on the current news information concerning her icon, and is definitely blaming Bruce Golding and the police for causing the lack of safety on the streets. She is restricted in freedom to move about her streets.

Sasha's Present->Future:

Present>Future

Negative: *The raper man – who start to come in when Christopher Dudus is gone and Christopher Dudus – who is coming out of jail; who cannot come to Tivoli Gardens; who has gone to the US; Police - who are going to come for Christopher Dudus.*

The decisive factors for her future based on the present are, *The raper man – who start to come in when Christopher Dudus is gone and Christopher Dudus – who is coming out of jail; who cannot come to Tivoli Gardens; who has gone to the US; Police - who are going to come for*

Christopher Dudus. Sasha’s present future without the don does not seem bright as she may be preoccupied with the thought, who will protect and provide for me?

Summary: Sasha’s future is dependent on the present reality and may be a reason or cause of worry. In narrating in details on the capture of the local don and being taken to the United States, Sasha may believe her future is blighted slightly.

Sasha’s Future:

Future
<p>Wish positive: <i>I-that have to be a bright girl; I - who want to be in five grade. I - who want to become a monitor; I - who want to get a monitor badge. I – who wants to become a principal. I-who wants to become a principal, must work from first grade to second grade to four grade, five grade and to six grade. I - who ask the way to become a principal. I – who have to go to college and university</i></p>

Her aspirations for the future are built on education. She sets goals for the near future, *I-that have to be a bright girl*. She stresses the ‘have’ indicating that it is a must that she is intelligent because *I – who want to be in five grade*. She must be intelligent because *I – who want to become a monitor*. And again she stresses that she must be brilliant as a student because *I – who want to get a monitor badge*. The ultimate goal is being a monitor but she has something to show with pride of her achievement. She also sets goals for the distant future, *I – who wants to become a principal*. She demonstrates good understanding of her dream of achieving those goals with a step by step illustration, *I-who want to become a principal, must work from first grade to second grade to four grade, five grade and to six grade*. She is guided by the example of the current principal *Mrs. Smith – who became the principal after; who taught six grade and became the principal; who took the job as principal*. In her calculation, the natural succession to becoming principal begins as a teacher of all the grades. This may not have been so for Mrs. Smith, but what we see here is a Sasha who demonstrates some critical analytical skills. To strengthen her decision process, she questioned *I - who ask the way to become a principal*, who upon hearing the answers, makes another addition to the principal formula, *you – who wants to become a principal must work the first grade to the second grade, four grade, five grade to six grade*. She conceptualizes her process to getting there and later formulated, *I – who have to go to college and university*.

Summary: Sasha is a planner. She has short-term goals and long-term goals. Her long and short term goals revolve around education. She puts a demand on herself to be intelligent in order to

become a monitor, to receive the monitor badge and to become a principal in the long run. She is a critical thinker able to quickly calculate what the task takes to accomplish her dream. She maintains Mrs. Smith has her role model.

General Summary: Sasha is the girl who has been scarred physically but may also have been scarred mentally. She respects her local don and sees the Prime Minister negatively. She is the girl that doesn't like the teacher who has beaten the children. Instead she set her current principal as an example. She is an aspiring and ambitious athlete but fear-filled about the streets. She is industrious and hardworking, aiming at being a good cook at home. Her immediate future goals are becoming a monitor but she aspires to become a teacher who role plays, and has all her ambitions and dreams set on becoming the best possible principal she had. She believes she knows the way to becoming a principal and narrates it as so. But the reality is she is trapped inside her yard.

Andrew

Andrew is a nine year old boy. He speaks of his mother, brother and sister as the only family that exist. While speaking of his life he speaks also of his friends. He wrote very minimally in the composition. He gave his consent to participate in the interview. After my first interview, I requested for a second interview and he refused to be interviewed. He speaks much but only of a past activity where he gives a detail narration. He is very calm in expressing himself and aims for understanding. He talks much about himself as belonging to a group, as an actor in the narration he presents and he speaks with plural voice.

Andrew's Past>Positive Retrospective:

Past

Positive retrospective: *We – that have teachers here. Counsellors – that are not teachers; that don't teach the children, Counsellors - that are someone that take care of you right there at the camp. Counsellors – that protect us from something deep. Counsellors – that take us on hiking sometimes; that take us to picking fruits to eat sometimes. Me – that danced and went to the semi-finals. My friend and I – that danced and went to the semi-finals. You – that want to dance by yourself you can dance by yourself. My friend and I – that almost won but because we did not practice well that's the reason we did not win.*

Counsellors – that give us racing too. Counsellors – who gave us that finished second and first medal and trophy. Me – that did finish second. Counsellors – that gave us potato race

competition. Me – that won the potato race competition. I and three boys – that were finishing the race; I – that didn't know the way; Me - that just ran behind the three boys. We – that went to church also. The first church – which we attended, did not have demons in it; that did not give us rosary chains and those sorts of things. My mother – that is a Christian. My mother – that loves to use olive oil on her forehead; that loves to rub down our head with olive oil.

The positive aspect of Andrew's past is comprised of the role of authorities. *We – that have teachers here; that he specifically pointed out were counsellors – that are not teachers; that don't teach the children, specifically stating their role as, counsellors – that are someone that take care of you right there at the camp; and for Andrew care meant, counsellors – that protect us from something deep.* For Andrew's experience at camp, he emphasized repeatedly, the role of the counsellor as caregiver, protector and provider. Hence, the question to the counsellors of this action, *We – that said sir are we not going to get food;* and the counsellors that reaffirms the concerns of the boys by answering, *they – that said tomorrow everything will be done.* Andrew's depicting of "everything being done" is an indication of the importance of the role that has been internalized. The tasks of the counsellors are, *they – that take us on hiking sometimes; that take us to picking fruits to eat sometimes.* At the camp Andrew described several competitive activities one could compete in. Originally, he stated that he performed alone, *me – that danced and went to the semi-final.* Later, he includes his friend as his dancing partner, *my friend and I – that danced and went to the semi-finals.* He shows that there were choices, *you – that want to dance by yourself you can dance by yourself* but he chose to dance with his friend. The result of his choice was *my friend and I – that almost won.* He explains, the reason, *my friend and I – that almost won but because we did not practice well that's the reason we did not win.* He indicates an understanding that training/rehearsal brings success. He is cognizant of his choice to actively participate with a friend. He could possibly have believed that in working together he had a greater chance but this is not necessarily the plain truth.

Andrew chose to compete in two other events and performed excellently, *they – that give us racing too; me – that did finish second; they – that gave us potato race competition and me – that won the potato race competition.* He is aware of the prizes to be won if he succeeds *they – who gave us that finished second and first medal and trophy.* He never once acknowledged that he received a trophy or a medal for his excellent performance. Later, Andrew reverts to speaking of himself as passive actor, he states, *I and three boys – that were finishing the race; I – that didn't know the way; me – that just ran behind the three boys.* He proclaims this as a form of

defence against not knowing. He may be seeing himself as not being knowledgeable and hence unable to lead. He does not declare that he lost the race but only that he had to follow. Is Andrew affected by a lack of know-it-all, hence choosing rather to passively follow others? When Andrew is given the opportunity to assert his own position, as a champion, he hints to the prize, but he never declares ‘I’ that won the trophy or medal.

Andrew talks of his experience at church in terms of demons as a way of possibly rating good and evil. Andrew states, *we – that went to church also; the first church – which we attended, did not have demons in it; that did not give us rosary chains and those sort of things.* How Andrew determines that the church has demons may be directed to the rosary chains and other sort of things. The experience of going to church can be positive without the presence of evil. Andrew has a judging scheme. Andrews’s scheme for judging may come from, *my mother – that is a Christian.* Andrew’s mother clearly has an important role in his religious life. His mother also actively involve Andrew in her religious rituals, *my mother – that loves to use olive oil on her forehead; that loves to rub down our head with olive oil.* Here we gain understanding that olive oil is among the good things one can have in a church or home.

Summary: Andrew emphasizes the roles of authorities, as providers, protectors and caregivers, in his camping experience. He prefers to perform as a group, but he knows that there are choices to do things individually. In individual performances Andrew is a champion. He is knowledgeable of the effects of practicing and training to succeed. When he is not knowledgeable, Andrew does not take the leadership position, but does not consider himself a failure because he chooses to follow. He has a judging scheme for good and evil that is directly affected by his mother who is a Christian. They are his guide in deciding if a church is good or evil. Objects and things can be demonic and demonic objects are evil.

Andrew’s Aspiration:

Past

Aspiration expected: *We – that said sir are we not going to get food. Counsellors – that said tomorrow everything will be done. We – that are to leave the next day and we took a long time to come; We - that even took a plane because it is far.*

We see a glimpse of aspiration in Andrews’s narration of his past, *we – that are to leave the next day and we took a long time to come; that even took a plane because it is far.* He obviously has a dream of travelling beyond the island of Jamaica. This may be so for he

remembers that *the camp – that have different dorms; dorms – that are name Grenada*. Here we glimpse the desire to break out of the past through travel. In recounting his past Andrew speaks of going to more than one camps, *Brown’s Town – that is a different camp; I – that am talking about a different camp now*.

Summary: Andrew aspires to travel, and more specifically to fly on an airplane. He remembers the names of the islands in the Caribbean. He remembers the names of the camps. He speaks of his intra-island travels. He has a desire to travel. His travel experiences are a source of joy for Andrew. He may have chosen to specifically speak of his travels because they mean the most to him now in this time of his life.

Andrew’s Past > Negative Retrospective:

Past

Negative retrospective: *We – that when we do rude things they lock us up and run come back around. You – that are not to go hiking alone. You – that don’t bring your counselor they can chop you up. My brother – that nearly got chop up and some other little boys. My brother and my friends – that nearly got chop up because they went by themselves. My brother and my friends – that because they didn’t listen. My brother and my friends – that did not ask if they could go; that if they did ask they would have gone. The next church – that is a wicked church. The next church – that even gave the children rosary chain. The rosary chain – that are demon chains. The next church – that hide the rosary chain under the cheese ball. The rude children – that take the rosary chain. The next church – that gave us the rosary chain and put olive oil on our forehead. I – that didn’t take the rosary chain; that took the olive oil. I – that did not know that it was a different olive oil the next church gave to us*

Andrew narrates of undesirable behaviour within the context of the group, *we – that when we do rude things they lock us up and run come back around*. Andrew’s way of presenting the information indicates an importance to the meaning. He did not indicate what the rude things are but he indicates that when the rude things are done they have consequences. The identity Andrew portrays speaks about the importance of knowing consequences. Andrew begins to relate other more specific negative incidents that show impact on how he may choose to perform an action. In narrating, he speaks of the rules and the regulations of the camp, *you – that are not to go hiking alone*; and the consequences of those disobedient acts are *you – that don’t bring your counsellor they can chop you up*. Andrew is aware of the rules and regulations of the camp, his next decision, based on the rules received, are important to observe. The following narrations explain more, *my brother – that nearly got chop up and some other little boys; my brother and my friends – that nearly got chop up because they went by themselves*. He shows that he is not a

partaker in acts of disobedience, when he shows others doing the wrong action that excludes him. Andrew shows some autonomy, by choosing to not even follow his brother. He has demonstrated that he has learned from his previous disobedient act. Andrew may have weighed the severity of the actions to disobey against the punishment in doing so. Andrew is in direct opposition to *my brother and my friends – that because they didn't listen*. Andrew may see himself as a follower of rules, one that obeys, and one that chooses to obey. Andrew related that his brother and friends had an alternative, *my brother and my friends – that did not ask if they could go; that if they did ask they would have gone*. For Andrew to relate this he implies that obedience is in asking for permission.

Returning to Andrews judging schema, he views one church as being good and *the next church – that is a wicked church* because *the next church – that even gave the children rosary chain; the rosary chain – that are demon chains*. Andrew's schema for deciding on the status of one church over another may be based on what he has heard. Already we can see that he views himself in light of a group, thus we can assume that what he judges may be based on a superior person in his life. Andrews also makes his own judgment based on what he experienced, *the next church – that hide the rosary chain under the cheese ball*, possibly further concretizing his belief. Andrew thinks only, *the rude children – that take the rosary chain*, and he is not a rude child because he did not take the chain. Andrew is saying I am not rude. Andrew is convinced of his personality as not being rude, *the next church – that gave us the rosary chain and put olive oil on our forehead*, but Andrew also say I am good because I follow the religious rituals of my mother. But he can be seen later as being confused, *I – that didn't take the rosary chain; that took the olive oil*. Andrew states, *I – that did not know that it was a different olive oil the next church gave to us*. There is a bit of confusion for Andrew, he sees the action of taking olive oil as good because it is what his mother loves to do, but if those actions are carried out by a church that he deems evil, then their actions, inclusive of the olive oil, also become evil. He almost seems regretful of taking the olive oil.

Summary: Andrew's negative experience shows a conscious person. He knows about the importance of consequences. He understands rules and regulations and he consciously knows how to choose between right and wrong, or being obedient and disobedient. He is now a follower of rules. I am a follower of rules. I am obedient. I know consequences. He also has his judging schema for good and evil based on superiors and his mother. He tries to avoid being the rude

child. I am not a rude child speaks his narrative. But Andrew can be confused in trying to make the right decisions concerning good and evil but he makes the right decision concerning clear and concise rules and regulations.

General Summary: Andrew displays identities similar to that of a disciple or follower. He adheres to leadership and he emphasizes the role authority plays in his life. He chooses to obey rules and regulations even against following those closest to him. He is a keen observer and learns from the example of others as well as from punishment. He is a team player but he also demonstrates that he can take the initiative and perform on his own. He is a great competitor who understands the reward for diligence. In trying to pattern his mother, he becomes confused in decision making of creating a scheme for good and evil.

Kim

Kim is an 11 years old female. She lives with her aunt, grandmother, cousins and her big sister. Her grandmothers also live in close proximity and she says that she sleeps at two places. Her father and mother are living in England. Kim wrote a longer composition and was eager to be a part of the interview. During the interview she was a bit distracted by the sights of the numerous drums that were in the interview room. She moved back and forth to the drums and played during the interview. In her low bass voice she speaks with confidence and a tinge of excitement. She expresses herself in more of the way of an actor but also as a recipient.

Kim's Past:

Past

Negative retrospective: *We – that were selling at the market saw two men fighting; the knife – that cut me. Me – that was admitted for 10 week there. He – that rushed me to the hospital and plenty blood coming from my neck; the blood – that was going fast from my neck. The man – that says that is what I deserve. The man – that say that this happened to me because I am not hearing. I – that walk to the market because the house was hot and the knife cut me. I- that once stayed at my cousins. We – that were playing sword war with cardboard sword. My cousin – that took a box and put it over my head. I – that could not see. Me – that the little boy that pushed me into a wall.*

Her past can be described as filled with accidents, *we – that were selling at the market saw two men fighting; the knife – that cut me.* Very casually she speaks of the knife cutting her. There is no given description of how the knife happens to cut her or if she ran to the scene of the

fight, or if she might have involved herself in the fight. In her composition she wrote, *me – that was admitted for 10 week there*. Her description of the incident was *he – that rushed me to the hospital and plenty blood coming from my neck; the blood – that was going fast from my neck*. What stands out from her narration is this particular statement *the man – that say that is what I deserve; the man – that say that this happened to me because I am not hearing*. Can it be that by repeating the statement she disagrees with him. By way of an excuse, Kim states the following, *me – that walk to the market because the house was hot and the knife cut me*. Her defence against the accusatory voice of not listening was a hot house, maybe thinking a walk would cool her down but this resulted in being cut. Again Kim relates another accident involving her cousin, *I- that once stayed at my cousins; we – that were playing sword war with cardboard sword; my cousin – that took a box and put it over my head; I – that could not see; me – that the little boy that pushed me into a wall*. Kim as actor and recipient of disaster displays an almost helpless girl that is caught in the way of disaster.

Summary: Kim is an accident prone girl that has been accused. She displays an almost helpless girl in the face of serious dangerous situations.

Kim's Always-Recurrent:

Present->Past

Always recurrent: *I – that sometimes walk away from the children that wants to fight me. I – that don't want to get into a big war. The fight – that sometimes gets into a big war. I – that always do my work. The children – that always try to beat me because I get my work right. The children – that say I should show them. The teacher – that changes my position if another student and I have a problem. I – that everything happens too;*

Kim displays the attitude of one that turns away from quarrels that are directed to her when in the classroom setting, *I – that sometimes walk away from the children that wants to fight me*. Why does she say sometimes, so there are other occasions where she cannot walk away from a fight suggesting an internal conflict between her I-positions. Her rationale for turning away sometimes is, *I – that don't want to get into a big war*. She already has the concept that fights lead to wars and the best way to prevent such occurrences is to walk away from *the fight that sometimes gets into a big war*. She has the concept also of herself as a good student, *I – that always do my work; against the children – that always try to beat me because I get my work right*. She suggests a level of envy or jealousy from her classmates because of her being a good

student and possibly a bright one as she gets her work right. Once again Kim is a vulnerable actor being preyed upon for being good. Against the bullying tactics of her classmate, *the children – that say I should show them*, Kim demonstrates some resilience, *I don't want to show them my work*; but relies mainly on *the teacher – that changes my position if another student and I have a problem*. We can sum up Kim's view of herself in the way of being a recipient as, *I – that everything happens too; against my sisters – that nothing happens too*. In making the comparison between herself and her sister, she once again may be viewing her herself as being unfortunate, unlucky, at the mercy of bad occurrences. Her thoughts reflect a deep seated I-position that is not in control.

Summary: Kim considers herself a good student, possibly envied by her classmates for doing her work well. Her power to resist rests in the nearest authority figure, the teacher. Kim displaces a girl that is not in control.

Kim's Present>Positive:

Present

Positive: *I – that love to work. I – that love to dance. I – that love to sing. I - loves to be with friends. I - that like to eat out.*

In the present reality for Kim the positive aspects are around her daily activities and artistic things, *I – that love to work; that love to dance; that love to sing*. She is also the girl that *loves to be with friends; that like to eat out*. There is a difference between her loves and likes. She loves to do the daily activities but she likes the non-daily activities. Could the difference exist because activity is readily accessible and the other activity is not easily accessed and possibly conditional?

Summary: Kim in the present depicts a girl that expresses her love for doing activities. They give her a sense of fulfilment and joy as the love depicts passion for or towards something.

Kim's Present->Future:

Present->Future

Aspiration Positive: *I – that wants to be a drummer **The six graders** – that can play the drums; **the drums** – that are only for six graders. I – that am in five grade. I – that can join them and play with them. I – that get to play when I get to six grade.*

Negative: ***The school** – that doesn't want me to play the drum. I – that am too short. I – that in the meantime am watching the six graders play*

I – that wants to be a drummer. Kim demonstrated the *me-positions* in the interview when she played consistently and with passion. The negative aspects of Kim's present to future dreams are *the school – that doesn't want me to play the drum* because *I am too short*. Is she referring to her height or to her being short of being in the sixth grade as only the *six graders – that can play the drums; the drums – that are only for six graders; I – that am in five grade*. But what is clear is her aspiration to be a drummer at the school that has two hindrances being short and not being in the sixth grade. Kim took the opportunity to play the forbidden drums during the interview, possibly to show that she could and can play. Kim's solution to her present problem is, *I – that in the meantime am watching the six graders play*; It seems as if she is just biding her time, waiting to see what will happen when the time comes around and she is in the sixth grade, will they accept her or reject her. *I – that can join them and play with them. I – that get to play when I get to six grade*. For Kim her future is drawing close and hindered by her being short of height or of being in the fifth grade but she will wait in the meantime.

Summary: Kim's present future is to become a drummer. She demonstrated that she is already a drummer. But needing validation she waits on the school's approval. She believes her rejection in the now is due to her height or something other as well as not being in the sixth grade. Kim demonstrates patience.

General Summary: Kim portrays the image of a victim of misfortune, one who is wrongfully accused and also a helpless girl. She portrays a weaker defender, struggling between making war and peace. She knows the consequences of fights. But in stating that she sometimes does not fight demonstrates that she can stand up for herself. Authority is important when she is the vulnerable good student caught between her classmates. Artistically inclined her near future dream is dependent on being in the sixth grade for which she patiently waits.

Christopher

Christopher is a 10 year old male. He currently lives with his mother and sister. They are the only two people of which he speaks of. In his brief composition he speaks of his absent father living in the United States and other relatives that are also living there. He appears very soft spoken and shy. He speaks barely above a whisper. When told of the freedom to choose the topic of discussion, he chose to talk of a recent incident involving mainly his mother and sister. He is

the only child that cried in the interview after which he was unable to continue. He was distressed.

Christopher’s Past > Negative Retrospective:

Past

Negative retrospective: *I – that did not see the event; my mother – that told me of the event. I – that was in Portmore when I heard that the police and soldiers hit my mom. I – that heard that the police and the soldier hit my mom. The police and the soldiers – that came one day down to my house and began shooting. The police and the soldiers – that came into Tivoli and destroyed my house. The police and the soldiers – that destroyed everything inside my house. The police and the soldiers – that pushed down my mother and boxed her. The police and the soldiers – that came into my house and searched. The police and the soldiers – that searched everybody’s house. I – that was 10 years old. The event – that happened on May 24, 2010. The police and soldiers – that destroyed the television too. The police and the soldiers – that threw the television outside.*

Christopher seems to be engage with one thought that concerns his mother an event she related to him, *I – that did not see the event; my mother – that told me of the event. I – that was in Portmore when I heard that the police and soldiers hit my mom.* We see a child that believes the words of his superior and recites them as the truth of what has happened. Christopher has only heard by word of mouth, but is confident enough to retell the details of a most horrendous event in his mother’s life that has ultimately become his life’s story as well. *I – that heard that the police and the soldier hit my mom.* As told by his mother to Christopher, he recaps, *The police and the soldiers – that came one day down to my house and began shooting; that came into Tivoli and destroyed my house; that destroyed everything inside my house; that pushed down my mother and boxed her.* Christopher after this point in the interview began speak with tears in his eyes, as his mother being hurt was obviously most painful and affected him deeply regardless of his absence. He has the capacity to sympathize with his mother. Christopher identifies not only with his mother but with the community at large, *the police and the soldiers – that came into my house and searched; that searched everybody’s house.* Christopher at the time of the event states, *I – that was 10 years old,* but at 10 years old he remembers the exact date, *the event – that happened on May 24, 2010.* At the time of the interview November 2010, 6 months later, Christopher is demonstrating a lasting and accurate memory system obviously prompted by a distressful situation. Christopher later in his narrative recalls how *the police and soldiers – that*

destroyed the television too; that threw the television outside. The television is a vital part of Christopher’s life, but the reason is not yet known.

Summary: Christopher is affected by the abuses his mother has received at the hands of the police. He speaks of his mother’s memory as his own. He is able to sympathize with the plights of his community after his own home has been affected. He has a keen memory for the event and date. The destruction of the television is highlighted as important to Christopher.

Christopher Present->Past Always Recurrent:

Present->Past

Always recurrent: *The police and soldiers – that are still down in my community up to this day; that are still searching people house. The police and soldiers – that are still searching to find this person; that cannot find this person. The police and soldiers – that are not going anywhere. I – that am sad; I – that feel it.*

Christopher shows some amount of displeasure with the continued presence of *the police and soldiers – that are still down in my community up to this day; that are still searching people house; that are still searching to find this person; that cannot find this person; that are not going anywhere.* Christopher again shows sympathy for the community for he realizes that not only I but others are facing the same reality. What puzzles me is that Christopher does not name the person they are looking for. Although this is public knowledge, does it mean that he despise the person because he is the cause of the abuse his mother has faced? Expressed in very simple terms are his emotions, *I – that am sad; I – that feel it.* “I feel it” is a Jamaican expression that when used expresses a deep hurt, way down “inna the bottom of mi heart”. His way of expressing is from the culture, another way the society influences children.

Summary: He shows displeasure at the continued presence of the police in his community. Can we assume he despises the local don, seeing him as the cause for his mother abuse? He is deeply emotionally distressed.

Christopher’s Present>Positive:

Present

Positive now: *I – that only play football. My friends and I – that play football down the road, inside the high school. Me – that joined the school football team. Me – that play right wing for the school football team. The school – that is nicer when I’m there.*

He can be seen as a studier of football, *I – that only play football; my friends and I – that play football down the road, inside the high school*, a sign of diligence and determination in future orientation. Besides occupying himself with football, Christopher makes a most profound statement, *school – that is nicer when I'm there*. This statement gives a clear preference for the atmosphere at school over the atmosphere in his community, that is filled with *the police – that are still down in my community up until this day*. The statement is expressed as a sign of his dissatisfaction with the current situation. And the me-position has chosen a safer heaven school, a place of not just learning to Christopher.

Summary: He is only interested in the sport football. He plays with his friends in many locations. He finds the school environment a safer and nicer place to be than in his community.

Christopher Future:

Present->Future

Aspiration expected: *I – that want to be a footballer when I grow up. Christian Reynaldo – that is from Manchester United and Real Madrid. Christian Reynaldo – that is my favourite football player.*

Not many things are spoken of as being positive, but he makes it clear what he has a passion for, *I – that want to be a footballer when I grow up; me – that joined the school football team; me – that play right wing for the school football team*. His ambition is to be a footballer, so in ensuring that future goal he joined the football team and is knowledgeable of football positions. He has also a role model *Christian Reynaldo – that is from Manchester United and Real Madrid; that – is my favourite football player*. He comes into contact with an imaginal media figure and he is inspired by him. He directs his future goals according to this imaginal figure. I would like to highlight why Christopher was distressed at the television being destroyed by the police. The destruction of the television may coincide with the inability to watch his imaginal figure, Christian Reynaldo. These two are uniquely tied together. He has no other way of encountering this imaginal figure.

Summary: He wants to become a football player in the future. His dreams are inspired by the imaginal media figure, Christian Reynaldo, who is Christopher's favourite player. In achieving his dream he became a part of the school football team.

General Summary: Christopher is a boy suspended in the present by his past. He shows how greatly he has been influenced by his mother’s narration. He is a ventriloquist, making the utterances of his mother. He demonstrates a keen memory as fuelled by a distressful event. He is a sympathizer, sharing in the actions of his community. He is deeply emotionally stressed by the event. He has great displeasure at the continued presence of the police man. He is a football player, play in many locations with friends. He finds safety and peace being in the school environment than at home. His future goals are directed towards one thing and one thing only, becoming a football player. He is inspired by an imaginal other, from the media, namely Christian Reynaldo who has organized and oriented his thought.

Janice

Janice is 11 years old. She lives with her mother and writes that she has numerous amounts of siblings. Janice writes simply of her likes and best friend. She has an eager and bubbly character. She wrote a brief composition but expressed such excitement at being interviewed. She speaks with a sense of knowing it all. She expressed her wishes and desires. Her voice is one of an author and not an actor. She seldom refers to herself as part of a group.

Janice’s Past->Negative Retrospective:

Past
<p>Negative retrospective: <i>My family – that is mostly bad men: that are also good men. My family – that are also bad girls. I – that hate some of the girls so much. I – that hate my family because they have guns. I – that don’t like that they have guns. I – that am afraid of guns. My mother – that told me the gun is in the wall. Me – that went under the bed and bawled. Me – that bawled. Me – that came out from under the bed. I – that don’t know where they went. I – that was at the door and the policeman came in. The policeman – that asked where is your family. Me – that answered my family is gone. The policeman – that asked to which place. The policeman – that had the gun. The policeman – that were tearing down in my place. Me – that cursed the policeman. Me – that told the policeman to come out of my house. I – that don’t like it (when the policeman come in, ask and tear down my place). The policeman – that come out and go away after.</i></p>

Janice began to talk about her past, about her family members, in a negative way, one that reflects a contradiction; *my family that are mostly bad men: that are also good men; my family – that are also bad girls*. Not only does she speaks of her family has having a mixture of

good and bad people, she uses strong emotional words to express her feelings towards them, *I – that hate some of the girls so much*. The target of her specified hate, as she clarifies is, *I – that hate my family because they have guns; that don't like that they have guns; I – that am afraid of guns*. So her fear of guns, has lead her to develop a negative mental coping strategy of hate towards her family members. So it can be said then that those whom she considers good may not be among the family members that have guns. She continues with her repertoire, *my mother – that told me the gun is in the wall*. I am not clear on what she meant by this statement, could she be alluding to her mother as being bad, but she never says, instead her actions are *me – that went under the bed and bawled; Me – that bawled; Me – that came out from under the bed*. After resurrecting from under the bed, she says, *I – that don't know where they went*. We are not certain of whom that did depart, nor are we certain of what relation it may have to her mother telling her where the gun is. Or could it be her mother acted in protection of possible invaders with guns? What is certain is her reaction to persons with guns, she hates them, and she hides and have strong emotional outburst at the presence of them.

This shy, timid and emotional Janice is complete opposite of the Janice we are about to experience. The tempo of her story starts out calmly, *I – that was at the door and the policeman came in; The policeman that asked, where are your family; Me – that answered my family is gone; The policeman – that asked to which place*. Previous the sight or hearing of the word gun has had Janice fleeing in tears, but here she is confronted with, *the policeman – that had the gun; that were tearing down in my place*. What we will witness about Janice in confrontation will depict her (me-position) as bold, brash and brave, *me – that cursed the policeman; Me – that told the policeman to come out of my house; I – that don't like it (when the policeman come in, ask and tear down my place); the policeman – that come out and go away after*. Obviously, Janice is afraid of something but not a policeman with a gun. No longer is Janice timid but self-assured and forthright.

Summary: Janice is shy, timid and has emotional outburst when confronted with family members that have guns. She has a strong negative emotional reaction to those family members. She has a classification system for family members, those with guns are bad, those without are good. But when in confrontation with policemen with guns she is bold, brash and brave, a defender of her family. She displays contempt for the police.

Janice Present>Past – Always Recurrent:

Present->Past

Always recurrent: *My mother – that says we must not talk to some on the policeman. My mother – that says we must not talk because the policeman are wicked. My mother – that says we must not talk because the policeman do not treat the people right.*

Previously, one would have expected Janice to run and cower in fear because she is taught, *my mother – that says we must not talk to some on the policeman; my mother – that says we must not talk because the policeman are wicked; my mother – that says we must not talk because the policeman do not treat the people right.* This instruction to not confront or converse with policemen has been internalized to Janice in a different way, because she not only talks to them, she displays contempt at their questioning and at their presence at her door. What has happened to the instruction received? Janice has acted in defiance to her mother’s instructions. Janice’s superior, her mother, has little influence over what Janice will do. Janice defiant act is a sign of not much influence from her immediate superior on her me-position. Can we allude to an independence of thought against superior influence?

Summary: Janice displays autonomous thinking against her mother’s warning concerning her conversing with policemen. She has acted defiantly to her mother’s command.

Janice’s Present->Past Negative:

Present->Past

Negative: *I – that says okay let me tell you something about myself. I – that like myself. I – that sometimes don’t hate myself. I – that don’t like myself; I – that don’t like myself because I am always bucking my toe. Bucking your toe – that is not a good thing. I – that get confused. I – that get confused sometimes when I am doing my work; I – that gets confused and don’t know why.*

Janice present to past dilemma concerns mainly herself. Janice displays another side of her personality; she depicts a girl with internal dialogical conflicts. Her way of initiating this conversation began, *Me – that says okay let me tell you something about myself;* and she continues, *I – that like myself* and *I – that sometimes don’t hate myself.* First, she speaks almost as if giving away a secret; it appears somehow that she knows that what she will say is at variance or inconsistent. She speaks directly of not liking who she is. This is evidence of mental turmoil, a girl torn between two internal conflicting opponents and both are emerging in

dialogue. What is interesting is that Janice never said I love myself as love and hate are nemesis. She uses the word like, a less stronger word signifying that it can oscillate easily from one position to another, which is hate. And the stronger of the two may be the hate. To confirm her beliefs, she says a second time, *I – that don't like myself; I – that don't like myself because I am always bucking my toe*. We are given a reason for the contempt in which she holds herself, *bucking your toe – that is not a good thing*. Bucking her toe could be her symbolic signal that something is wrong with her. Who told her that bucking one's toe is bad and that it should be a reason to hate and dislike one's self? Is this action a confirmation of her identity?

Janice offers another reason, *I – that get confused*, she adds, *I – that get confused sometimes when I am doing my work; that gets confused and don't know why*. The work Janice is referring to is school work. She is saying that while doing school work she becomes confused and being confused evokes feelings of dislike of who she is internally. Janice may believe that she should not become confused when doing school work and thus because of this she has developed strong dislike and hate against who she is. Janice present and past condition illustrates that there are many things that are confusing her, that has resulted in her forgone conclusion of her herself. An oscillating character from *like* to *dislike* to *hate* to *confused*, although she offers reasons for her hatred she still has yet to discover a specified object of hatred within. She can only generalize to her hatred.

Summary: Janice is a confused girl. She sometimes likes herself and sometimes she hates or dislikes herself. Two reasons for her confusion and emotional distress are bucking her toe, symbolical signal, and her school work. Janice is a girl who's identity is in internal dialogical conflict.

Janice's Present:

Present

Negative now: *The policeman – that are keeping us as slaves. We – that have to come in early. The policeman – that give us time to come in. We – that must respect the policeman time. We – that must respect the policeman. The policeman – that give us until 6:00pm in the evening to come in. I – that have to show the policeman passport and license if I don't return. The adults – that if they don't return have to show the policeman passport or licenses. The children – that are not charged by the policeman. We – that must not fight the policeman. We – that if we fight the policeman will bring us in.*

In the present Janice’s dilemma is not a preoccupation with her mental distress, but with, *the policeman – that are keeping us as slaves*. She compares her and her community’s present situation to slavery. And these are the things that have led to her comparison, *we – that have to come in early; the policeman – that give us time to come in*. The restrictions of freedom on her and the community is slavery. Plus, they must pay homage, *we – that must respect the policeman time; we – that must respect the policeman; the policeman – that give us until 6:00pm in the evening to come in*. Only in the present do we hear Janice making a connection with her community in saying we and us. Now we see her individualized again, *I – that have to show the policeman passport and license if I don’t return*, but what she meant was that *the adults – that if they don’t return have to show the policeman passport or licenses; the children – that are not charged by the policeman*. On June 8, 2010, the Jamaica Gleaner reported “New Visa System Greets Tivoli Gardens.” The system required all residents going in and out to have a permit. Briefly I will display the voice of one citizens speaking similarly to Janice. “They said we were under hostage (under Chistopher ‘Dud’ Coke), but a now we under hostage.”⁶ Here we see the plight of the community becoming the plight of the individual. Janice continues to narrate; she speaks as if they are resigned to their fate, *we – that must not fight the policeman; that if we fight the policeman will bring us in*. How is Janice interpreting fight, because previously she fought against them with words, or is she alluding to the use of weapons in battle as a means of fighting?

Summary: Janice is frustrated with the present security system that is affecting her and her community. She thinks of the system as synonymous to slavery. These are the words uttered also by the community. Although she may not see herself as a slave she is able to identify with the term in relations to the system. She believes that her fate and the community’s are closed.

Janice’s Future:

Future

Positive prospective/Probability: *My father – that is away in the US. My father – that is wonderful. My father and brother – that loves me very much. My father and brother – that will give me everything. My father – that give me all I want. My father – that says if we pass our test GSAT he will give us everything that we want. My mother and father – that is thinking if I pass my test they will send me to live with my father; I – that tell myself I want to pass. I – that want to pass because I want to go to the US. I – that want to go to the US.*

⁶ <http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100608/lead/lead4.html>

Wish positive: *I – that want to tell you about the schools I want to pass for; I – that want to pass for Camperdown, Excelsior, or Mona, or Alpha or Mico,*

Doxa-affirmation: *I – that know how to do my work; I – that should (know how to do my work).*

Where does Janice stand in the future? Janice's future status is dependent on an absent father that she adores, *my father – that is away in the US; that is wonderful; my father and brother – that loves me very much; that will give me everything; that give me all I want.* But the acts of love she will allude to are conditional on her future achievement. *My father – that says if we pass our test GSAT he will give us everything that we want.* For every Jamaican child, to gain entrance into high schools they have to take the GSAT examination, and those with the better score are placed in the top schools. Janice has her list of five schools that is a requirement to be placed on their examination sheet, *I – that want to tell you about the schools I want to pass for; I – that want to pass for Camperdown, Excelsior, or Mona, or Alpha or Mico,* all of which have outstanding reputation for achievement, sports, the arts etc. The old colonial education system has a great impact on the choices children make and how they decide what schools are good or bad. This system is further reinforced by parents that offer incentives to the child if they attain the achievement. Janice is confident of her future, she states, *I – that know how to do my work; that should (know how to do my work).* If we go back to Janice in the past, she is confused about knowing how to work. But now she presents another identity that has the will and desire to achieve in the future, which is fuelled by, *my mother and father – that is thinking if I pass my test they will send me to live with my father; I – that tell myself I want to pass; I – that want to pass because I want to go to the US.* Janice has now built up an I-position based on what has been presented to her as her options. But she is not without objections, *I – that want to drive on a plane although some people crash on planes; I – that am afraid.* She is contemplative, looking at the advantages and disadvantages. She is bold enough to let us in on her thought process. She wants to go but also shows her fears of flying. She is never without conflicts.

Summary: Janice's future intentions are based on her ability to achieve on the examinations, which will fulfil the conditional terms given by her parents. She states that she knows how to do her school work and that she should. But her future thought of travel and living with her father is obstructed by her fear of flying.

Janice's Imaginative:

Present>Future

Wish positive/ Imagination: *I – that when I was dreaming. I – that was dreaming. I – that was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letters were good and nice. **The dream** – that was sweet. I – that can dream of winning a prize. I – that think my friend said it was nice. I – that was dreaming that we were the best ones in class. I – that can dream of being the best one in class. I – that am acting like a person that is writing in a letter. I – that was in the letter and was telling my family about the prize I won. I – that everything I dream about I get a prize for.*

I wish to break from my normal narration to relate Janice's imaginative capacity as she related in the interview. This brief moment of sheer joy at being the prize winner for the composition was she shared with the interviewer. It confirms the dialogical self theory. The imaginal I-positions can dream and imagine itself in the past, present or future.

I – that when I was dreaming; I – that was dreaming; I – that was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letters were good and nice; the dream – that was sweet; I – that can dream of winning a prize; I – that think my friend said it was nice; I – that was dreaming that we were the best ones in class; I – that can dream of being the best one in class; I – that am acting like a person that is writing in a letter; I – that was in the letter and was telling my family about the prize I won; I – that everything I dream about I get a prize for.

According to Hermans & Kempen (1993), “openness is an intrinsic feature of dialogue and its recognition a necessary condition for the understanding of life: the genuine life of personality can be penetrated only dialogically, and then only when it mutually and voluntarily opens itself” (p. 41). The notion of dialogue opens the possibility of the inner world of an individual by transforming the inner thought of a particular character into an utterance that spontaneously reflects the utterance of the imaginal other. (Reference back to your own paper pages)

General Summary: Janice displays a girl with strong multivoiced characters in competition. Her strong emotions sway back and further between, love, like, dislike to strong dislike or hate for her. Her emotions are double voiced, one towards the object of speech, herself and the other towards her imaginal other, her family. She is timid and afraid, yet she is bold, brash and brave. She is self-assured and forthright and a defender of her family. However she is confused. She

places herself along with the plight of the community. But she vocalizes that their fate may be sealed. She desires to achieve on the coming examinations but is fuelled by the conditions offered by her parents. She wants to fly on a plane but news from the outside world of flight crashes makes her hesitant. Janice’s “openness” in expressing her imagination has lead to a genuine insight into the life of her personality.

Natasha

Natasha is 11 years old. She lives with a fairly large family consisting of her mother, two aunts, her grandfather and grandmother, a sister and three cousins. Her composure is that of a quiet, pensive and soft-spoken person. She wrote an adequate composition describing her movement from school to school, of friends and of a trip. When asked if she wanted to be interviewed, she hesitated and then consented. At being told that she could speak freely, Natasha went immediately to issues of her heart.

Natasha’s Past:

Past

Negative retrospective: *My mother – that is not such a nice person. My mother – that uses the money my father brings for me every time. My mother – that uses it to buy something for my sister and not for me. I – that get \$100 for my lunch money. The building – that around the next side there’s a tree. They – that say that duppy harbor the tree. Me – that full water. Me – that full water round the side of the building with the tree. The ground – that is nasty. The people – that live in the community tell things. The people – who live in the community tells me that the duppy is there. I – that don’t believe that the duppy is there. I – that don’t like Tivoli because it is too ghetto. The war – that is going on in Tivoli. I – that don’t like it. I – that don’t like the bomb, tear gas and gunshots. I – that have an example. Me – that was eating last night. Me – that was going to put the plate in the kitchen. Me – that had to lay on the ground and crawl on the ground to put down the plate. The soldiers – that think if they see any moving object outside they shoot you. Me – that crawl because gunmen use to spar behind the building. Me – that was using the bathroom. Me – that peek a little through the window and I see gunmen. Me – that see gunmen itch-up at the corner with guns. I – that was kind of afraid. My grandfather – that was sort of stubborn made me kind of afraid. My grandfather – that was looking through the window. My grandfather – that was still looking through the window even when the soldiers are behind the window. I – that am afraid that my grandfather would get a shot or a shot would get him; I – that get afraid when someone stands up. I – that am afraid because the soldiers are on the rooftop.*

Positive Retrospective: *My favourite time – that is when I went to twin sisters and brother’s cave. Me – that went to Twin Sister and Brother’s Cave.*

Issues of Natasha's heart began with her mother, a fairly frustrating situation for her, *my mother – that is not such a nice person*. Natasha's displeasure at her mother stems from, *my mother – that uses the money my father brings for me every time*. Natasha may see her father as the provider and her mother as the one who misuses her monetary security. Natasha utilizing the word *every time* paints the image of a repetitious situation that has led to her frustration. Natasha is a careful observer of her mother's action that are not geared towards her, *my mother – that uses it to buy something for my sister and not for me*. She grasps that her mother's lack of thoughtfulness towards her affects direct issues such as, *I – that get \$100 for my lunch money*. To give clear picture of what Natasha receives, 100JMD is equivalent to 1.18USD or 7.39SEK⁷. Natasha's frustration to her mother considers not only her nutrition, but also her mother's disregard for her education, *I – that tell my mother to buy books for me sometimes; my mother – that don't buy the books I tell her to buy for me*.

Natasha recognizes that this situation occurs occasionally when she uses the word *sometimes* but none the less they are at the top of her dissatisfaction. The first identity Natasha presents is displaying an I-position that is dissatisfied and a me-position that expresses her displeasure. Natasha also spoke of confrontations with ghost like figures in her community that leaves her afraid, *I – that see something like ghost; that saw someone in full black; the person – that leaned out and the building and came back in; that was coming closer to me as I was coming closer; I – that was afraid*. Where does Natasha's belief or thought about ghost like figures emerge from? She explains much after speaking of a place in the community that she has regular contact with, *the building – that around the next side there's a tree; they – that say that 'duppy' harbour the tree; Me – that full water; me – that full water round the side of the building with the tree*. Natasha's belief in ghost like images may have been implanted by the others whom she refers to initially as they. Who are the "they" to which she is referring to? In clarification of her narration, she states that *the people – that live in the community tell things; the people – who live in the community tells me that the duppy is there; I – that don't believe that the duppy is there*. The people of the community are the "they" she refers to. Natasha is being influenced into believing in ghost like images because of the sayings of the community people. However, what could have been a real person in her encounter in the apartment and one that could potentially harm her, she concludes is a ghost or 'duppy'. There is a dialogical internal self that battles with

⁷ www.xe.com 13May, 2010

believing the voice of the community and a side of her that does believe it after her own confrontation. She is engaged in a dialogical multi-vocal experience.

Natasha has another discontent, which is with her community, *I – that don't like Tivoli because it is too ghetto*. She examines her feelings and they are centred and targeted towards *the war – that is going on in Tivoli*. Her conclusion of the community and the war is, *I – that don't like it*. Her specific displeasures are *I – that don't like the bomb, tear gas and gunshots*. The war traps her into doing unusual actions, *I – that have an example; me – that was eating last night; me – that was going to put the plate in the kitchen; me – that had to lay on the ground and crawl on the ground to put down the plate*. Natasha's freedom has been curtailed, restricted and debased by *the soldiers – that think if they see any moving object outside they shoot you; me – that crawl because gunmen use to spar behind the building; me – that was using the bathroom; me – that peek a little through the window and I see gunmen; me – that see gunmen itch-up at the corner with guns*.

Natasha's only positive experience in the past is related to a field trip which she describes as, *my favourite time – that is when I went to Twin Sisters and Brother's Cave; me – that went to Twin Sister and Brother's Cave*. Natasha's only moment of joy that she shares is outside of the community that she dislikes.

Summary: Initially Natasha presents a girl that is dissatisfied with her mother's actions towards her. She is a keen observer and shows great concern for her nourishment and schooling. She has conflicting thoughts on ghost like images, caught between believing the people of the community and her own thoughts and between what she has seen. Natasha is very unhappy living in a community with war and the consequences of war (teargas, bombs and gunshots). She is restricted in her freedom of movement and debased by the actions of the police and soldiers that see moving objects as targets. She is also cognizant of the idling figures of the gunmen that as aided in the restriction of her freedom. All these as caused her to dislike Tivoli Gardens. She finds happiness in excursions outside of Tivoli Gardens.

Natasha Present->Past:

Present->Past

Negative: *I – that study when the war is going on. I – that feel confused, angry and sad. I – that am not really afraid. I – that am angry when they came. The war – that was so big. They – that killed many innocent people. The man – that they should take to court and put in prison then there wouldn't be any problem. I – that am confused. I – that don't understand why they*

burn some people's house.

Always recurrent: *The soldiers – who every time we were going to school, search our bags. The soldiers – who every time we were coming from school search our bags. The soldiers – that are still in the community even after the war. The war – that calm down. The soldiers – that came to the building and search when the war calm down.*

Amidst the turmoil and chaos in Natasha's community she has to operate as normal, *I – that study when the war is going on.* While trying to study, Natasha is bombarded psychologically and emotionally, *I – that feel confused, angry and sad.* The war leaves her confused when trying to study, as her thoughts may not be focused on the present action. She describes that *I – that am not really afraid; but I – that am angry when they came; the war – that was so big and why they – that killed many innocent people.* The confusion comes when trying to focus on studying but images of the war may present itself. The anger comes following the confusion and not understanding why the war became such a big event, and the sadness is connected to the multiple killings of innocent people. Boggled at the past situation, she tries to understand why they did not act in a different way, Natasha presents her solution, *the man – that they should take to court and put in prison then there wouldn't be any problem.* Natasha expressed, *I – that am confused; because I – that don't understand why they burn some people's house.* The war has left many incomprehensible thoughts in Natasha's mind, which shows her compassion for those affected by the war.

Her emotions extends to her community as well as to a situation closer to home, *I – that was kind of afraid; my grandfather – that was sort of stubborn made me kind of afraid; my grandfather – that was looking through the window; that was still looking through the window even when the soldiers are behind the window.* Unable to control the situation around her, Natasha's only resolution is to fear. She further explains her fears that is based on the fear of losing someone dear to her, *I – that am afraid that my grandfather would get a shot or a shot would get him; I – that get afraid when someone stands up; I – that am afraid because the soldiers are on the rooftop.* Natasha is placed into an almost helpless situation because of the war. She struggles with emotional and mental worries. Natasha expresses the implication the past has had on her present situation as recurring, *the soldiers – that every time we were going to school search our bags; that every time we were coming from school search our bags; that are still in the community even after the war; the war – that calm down; the soldiers – that came to*

the building and search when the war calm down. Although the war is over, the conditions continue to exist in the form of security checkpoints that even students are subjected too.

Summary: Natasha presents her identity as confused, angry and sad because of the war, the consequences of the war that bombards her ability to concentrate while studying. Her thoughts are captured on the inconceivable acts of the war, the shedding of innocent blood and the burning of the homes of innocent people. She is also afraid for her life, being debased to crawling on the ground. Her movement is restricted on two levels in her own apartment and in entering in and out of her community on her way to school. She is afraid for the life of her grandfather, which fills her with worry.

Natasha's Present:

Present

Negative: *I – that don't like the house I live in because cockroaches are in there. I – that just don't like living there. The house – that sometimes have lizards coming inside. The house – that is filled with cobwebs and sometimes rat bats. Me – that polish the room sometimes. Me – scrub the bathroom. Me – that throw away the rubbish. Me – that take down the cobweb out of the room. Me – that ask, where do you live? Me – that ask what is your house like? I – that hear about places hear about those places.*

In the present, Natasha is disgruntled at her living conditions, *I – that don't like the house I live in because cockroaches are in there.* Natasha was asked to explain further her dissatisfaction with her present situation, she is unable to identify why and stated, *I that just don't like living there.* In an attempt to put in plain words a clear picture of *the house – that sometimes have lizards coming inside; that is filled with cobwebs and sometimes rat bats.* Trying to make the situation for herself better, Natasha cleans, *Me – that polish the room sometimes; me – that scrub the bathroom; me – that throw away the rubbish; me – that take down the cobweb out of the room.* In an attempt to make her situation better, Natasha cleans, scrubs, dust her house. She works hard at eradicating her discontent. Natasha is the second child that used her opportunity to ask questions. Those questions were *me – that ask where do you live.* And *me – that ask what is your house like?* Her questions suggest a desire for something better. She wants another image of something better. In response to my answer her statement was, *I – that hear about places hear about those places.* This is an indication of her thinking there may be a better place than here.

Summary: Natasha is an industrious person. She labours hard to eradicate those things which cause her to dislike her living conditions. She desires a better life and thus ask about others in order to create her own image of places beyond her grasp in the present.

Natasha’s present>future:

Present->Future

Wish positive/Possibility: *My father – that said if I pass for a big school he would give me a laptop. Big schools – that are Excelsior, Camperdown, Mona and Saint Hughes. I – that get homework. Me – that do the homework.*

Natasha is concerned about school, and she is preoccupied with the thought of excelling because of an incentive promised by *my father – that said if I pass for a big school he would give me a laptop*. Natasha choice of words “big schools” indicates an advancement if she can achieve placement to one of her choices of *big schools – that are Excelsior, Camperdown, Mona and Saint Hughes*. As shown before, the government has its classification grading system that places the students with higher scores into the better schools and this is Natasha’s ultimate goal in the present and near future. And Natasha is striving because she relates *I – that get homework; me – that do the homework*.

Summary: Natasha is working on her assignments from school because of her desire to get a good placement in one of her choices of big schools, and also as a means of getting an incentive promised to her by her father.

Natasha’s future:

Future

Wish positive: *I – that say inside the house is sometimes safe. I – that when I’m inside talk to myself. I – that say to myself when I get older I would like to have a better life. I – that say to myself when I get older I would like to turn out to be something good. I – that say to myself when I get older I would like to become a doctor, a teacher and a nurse.*

Disgruntled, dissatisfied, afraid, and a confused Natasha has a solution, in “openness” she narrates her plan for the future, *I – that say inside the house is sometimes safe, I – that when I’, inside talk to myself; I – that say to myself when I get older I would like to have a better life; I – that say to myself when I get older I would like to turn out to be something good; that say to myself when I get older I would like to become a doctor, a teacher and a nurse*. Even a window

of opportunity to witness Natasha's future goal, she presents also that dialogical conversation with her imaginal self that desires to be someone better, that will not remain in her present state.

Summary: Natasha wants have a better life. This better life can only be achieved by becoming a doctor, a nurse or a teacher. Natasha's future is dependent on her becoming a better person

General Summary: Natasha's closed self is towards her mother, whom she believes has not acted correctly towards her. She is conscientious of life especially school and nutrition. She is afraid of ghost like images, and claims to not believe in them but has heard of their existence from the community people. She has strong dislikes against her community and the war because it restricts her freedom of movement, creates fears of being shot, and causes confusion when attempting to study while thoughts of detangling the causes of the war barrages her. She is disgruntled at her present unsanitary living conditions. Thus it makes her work hard at keeping it clean. She displays curiosity for a better life and living conditions. She dreams and talks to herself, of being a better person, having a better life and becoming something great such as a doctor, nurse or teacher.

Chapter Six

Outcome – Section II

The results from the phenomenological analysis using the MCA software were interpreted with dialogical self theory. The multiplicity of the I and Me positions were looked at in-depth showing the multiple characters each child has developed in the first analysis section. In this section, the main findings, regarding shaping factors, will be presented. These are the results of a comparison between the lived experiences of the six children depending on the concept of age. A horizontal comparison will be done within each age group searching for eventual emerging common themes. Further, the similarities and differences in the factors that have shaped the identities of the children will be looked for between the age groups. The outline for part two of Section II will be divided into three segments; the comparison between the children ages 9, the comparison between the children ages 10 and the comparison between ages 11 will be presented. Each segment begins with a general summary of the emerging shaping factor as stemming from the multivoicedness from dialogical self theory.

In identifying the similarities and differences between the age groups, the distinction of the development in the multivoicedness from one age group to another as well as the sources behind the creation of the multivoicedness will eventually emerge as revealed by each child and simultaneously by each age group. Each child brings a unique source of material, although each child is experiencing the same context; they are all experiencing the context in different ways. Interpreted with the dialogical theory, the origin of the multivoicedness from the children will allow for the emergence of the shaping factors.

Part Two

Shaping factors in the nine year olds

Across the nine year old age group, the most significant shaping factor for their identity is the role of authority figures. The dominant emerging figures from the voices of the children are from the family, school, the community, friends/peers, politicians and counsellors. The role of both negative and positive traits of the authority figures can be internalized into a perception of

either good or bad. Depending on the perception, the child makes a decision whether there is acceptance or rejection of the authority figure. Dialogical self theory states that between the child and the society there is an intensive transactional relationship between the inside world and the outside world of the self, or the child, and dominance is affecting this relationship in the sense of organizing the inside world of the child. What therefore ensues is either an approval or disapproval, even rejection of some of the positions. Those approved are strongly developed and those rejected may be completely repressed.

➤ *Role of Authority – Providers, Protectors and Caregivers*

Within the nine year old group shaping factors in identity was the role of *authority figures*, specifically those who were deemed as *providers, protectors and caregivers*. Between Sasha and Andrew, authority figures played an important role in how the I-positions will be displayed and organized into the self. For Sasha, an influential figure that may be deemed unsuitable according to the standards of the world was deemed worthy to have created a voice in her identity. Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke, was seen as protector and provider. The local don was voiced as the president of the community, but in this utterance is the double voice of the community, that also iconize Christopher ‘Dudus’ Coke. The role he plays emerges from his ability to make provisions to vital areas of the children’s life, whose future depends on it. In keeping treats the children are given books and school bags. As protector, his authority governs over what is permissible and impermissible in her community. Coke protects her from sexual abuse, by keeping away rapists or in her own words “the raper man.” Rejection of outside voices from being incorporated into the self emerged from the possible nemesis of Coke, the Prime Minister, Bruce Golding and the police force. Bruce Golding’s act of providing is mediocre and unsatisfactory, for a young girl whose future depends on it. He has not only failed in providing but has erred in taking away her icon with the help from the police force. The police force may be deemed as respectable authority figures in society, and should provide the protection to the citizens, but for Sasha they have only opened her world to more threatening dangers. She shows that the role of authority figures in the creation of her identity is dependent on protection and provision. The need to feel protected and the act of providing are among the factors influencing her identity for basic life and protection.

From Andrew, the shaping factors in his life are consistent with Sasha’s view on the ability of persons to protect and to provide, and in addition, to be *caregivers*. Counsellors who

are not teachers are someone who take care of you right there at the camp. They protect from something deep, but this has a deeper meaning. Authority figures are needed to protect from the deep things Andrew may not be aware of that may possibly affect his life. But in Andrew's case authority figures help to stabilize the actions of obedience and disobedience. He looks to the counsellors for direction in his me-positions. With this firmly instated, we can examine how he demonstrates this. Being instructed not to go hiking without a counsellor, Andrew shows the actions of his brothers and friends that disobeyed and were almost killed. He shows that the role of authority figures in the creation of his identity is dependent on the need for rules, regulations and laws to guide action and right outcome in decision making. According to both students multiple identity are influenced by those authority figures that are seen as capable of guaranteeing the basic need such as protection, provision and being a caregiver.

➤ *Role of Authority Figure – School Environment*

Authority figures from the *school environment* emerged as being influential in the identity Sasha displayed. In the goal of becoming a principal, carefully calculated steps were given in her perception of how to become a principal. Among these she gave a clear picture of what she evaluated as right and wrong for a principal. Choosing to elevate one principal to a role model and to demote another to being rejected based on their actions. Sasha alludes to an understanding of being discharged because of wrongful actions. And thus looks to another person for guidance, without the person's knowledge. Her future aspiration depends on the right action from the right person. Her aspiration of being a principal possibly one who does not beat their student is based on the right action from a good principal. It is not only important that the authority figures provide protection and provision but that they are perceived by the student as basically having good actions and not bad.

➤ *Role of Authority Figure – The family*

Another shaping factor for children's identity comes from *the family*. Sasha and Andrew showed that family, especially parents, whether mother and father or single mother are important in the identity to do actions at home and at church. Sasha choose to become a great cook at home because of her brother who is a chef, while Andrew choose not to take a rosary chain because of his mother's religious beliefs and practices, consequently, that made him decide that one place of worship was demonic and another was not. Children show us that not only in the proximal

society are they being influenced, but from the actions of those distal family association. Sasha's cousins, who are national athletes running for Jamaica as spoken from her parents has reinforced her me-position as a champion and a runner who always wins. Proximal and distal family members equivalently impact on identity. Looking at the proximal relationship, Andrew's mother's value system is among the ways that Andrew evaluates his decision process. Her actions directly affect how and what choices he makes in judging right and wrong, good and evil, although they may create confusion for him in his choice. Emerging is the fact that parents for the children are basically right and good and thus their actions, words and decisions are deemed worthy to incorporate into the identity of the child and eventually influencing the child. Among the proximal family influences, Andrew demonstrates that seeing wrongful actions from his brother does not determine his own action. Instead he has the power to choose based on the rules from authority figures not to perform in the same direction.

➤ *Differences in Shaping factors – Friends, Music, Student Leadership*

Among the differences in identity and shaping factors emerging were the influences of the *student leadership, music* and *friends*. From Sasha, student leadership and music has emerged as a shaping factor in identity. *Student leadership* also emerge as a shaping factor in identity in the future. Becoming a monitor is among the aspirations of Sasha. Monitors are from the student body, and as students display leadership in school, they are influencing the identities of others around them to strive for achievement and success. *Music* emerged as a positive factor, teaching a child to listen to one's mother to stay away from the companies of boys so as to not become pregnant. To not listen is a hard way to learn. From Sasha's narration of the impact of the song, a song can be influential when it is both positive and negative; she has chosen to be influenced positively.

The *role of friends* in identity shaping was demonstrated strongly from Andrew who spoke mainly with the voice of the people, the society and the group. We that danced, we that went to camp, and we that went to church. It was as if Andrew had disappeared from the picture. But what is apparent is that Andrew is being influenced to act as a group. He presents us with the picture of choosing to dance alone or choosing to dance with a friend, he chose the latter. Teamwork is highly valued as influential to his me-position. But not only does he show us that teamwork is vital but that effort in teamwork is important for success. Not to disregard, Andrew

and his efforts showed more success over the teamwork, but for Andrew being a part of a group is deemed more satisfactory.

Shaping factors in ten year olds

The emerging factors shaping identities in children ages 10 are from their perception of misfortune, the school environment, family, and the media. The relationship between the self and society function on two premises, intersubjective interchange and dominance, or social power, which forms multivoicedness. The concept of multivoicedness is a simultaneous existence of different individual voices of the self, but also extends to the process of the simultaneous utterance of the individual and the societal voice. As some individuals or groups in a society have more social power or influence than other individuals and groups, the voices of some positions in the self are more easily heard and have, in a particular situation, more opportunity for expression and communication than others. The process of simultaneously producing unique utterances and speaking a social language an individual is engaged in a multivoicedness called *ventriloquation*. Hence in the voice of a child is the national language of his culture. In the process of living in a community or culture, the developing self comes into contact with the voice of the society and are often in some degree of conflict. Another important concept which will relate to shaping factors of identity is the role of imagination or *imaginal dialogues* that exists beside real and actual dialogues with real persons which are an essential part of our narrative construction of the world. Imaginal others are divided into three groups, first, media groups, never seen face to face but interacted with, second, imaginal replicas of parents, friends, family members and other social personnel, treated as if present, and third, imaginary figures from dreams and fantasies. There is no distinction of a private world from a public world as each is inhabited by imaginal and real people.

➤ *Role of Conflicts – fights and war*

The emergent shaping factor in the life of ten years olds was the *event of conflicts*, namely, *fights and war*. These conflicts were by way of *mishap* or *criminal upheaval*, involving the community that has been directed towards the child or to a close family member and are seen here as having the potential to shape lives. Kim demonstrates conflict on the proximal and direct level while Christopher displays conflicts from the distal level, all having the capability to affect the identity formation in children. Kim on two occasions displays a helpless girl in the face of

mishaps, such as knife stabbing or being pushed into a wall. In her narrative of being knifed her I and me positions were one of helplessness. She quotes I – *that everything happens too*. Kim's constant struggle in school is to fend off minor fights from her peers, although not always successful. What is materializing is that Kim has an identity struggle between being a good girl that works hard at school and being a bad girl that sometimes does fight. What is evident is her reliance on the immediate authority figure in helping her to make the choice between fighting and not fighting as well as she is reliant on her immediate authority figures for protection. Her awareness of fights and its potential to become a war keeps her walking away or resorting to the authority figure for help. In concordance, Kim's identity has been shaped from her experience of being knifed at the market where she became the victim. From Kim's narrative, her own perception of misfortune has constantly emerged as having the force to organize identity. Hence the occurrence with the knifing and being pushed into the wall are seen as misfortune to a helpless girl, but has the ability to construct one's identity of being victims, and moreover, helpless victims.

In the case of Christopher, we see the concept of ventriloquation demonstrated. Christopher's identity, in contrast, has been shaped by conflict as a by-product of his mother's *victimization* at the hand of the national police force. Christopher was not present at the event but his recollection of the event as being narrated to him by others serves as an identity shaping factor. Also, the by-product of conflict are shaping factors in identity such as the continued presence of the national police force in the community as a measure of security to the people, but also as a form of threat when there are unwarranted searches. Christopher who was not present during the time of his mother's physical abuse, nevertheless, has been deeply affected. Christopher narrates of his mother being hurt by the police and of the police destroying the television. The utterance of Christopher is the utterance of his mother. The words "*I heard that the police and soldier hit my mom*" are clear indication of the dominance of society in organizing the self. One only needs to hear what has happened to believe and to organize the experience into the inside world. Christopher's imagination has taken over even in narrating the story as he gives an account of something he himself did not see. In the act of ventriloquation, his own unique utterance is the special voice of his mother. Christopher displays intersubjectivity in his act of sympathy with the other community members who experienced *the police and the soldiers – that came into my house and searched; that searched everybody's house*.

➤ *Differences in shaping factors – school student body and media*

Among the differences in identity and shaping factors emerging were the influences of the *school student body* and imaginal others from *the media*. Kim demonstrated that the school student body and the immediate school atmosphere are significant in shaping identity. With schools offering optional extra-curriculum activities to its students they are creating in them desires that have the potential to shape their characters. The school musical team impacted on Kim's identity, which had the force to construct her leisure time activities at home among her family and friends as well as in front of the interviewer. Although Kim demonstrated that she was a drummer to the interviewer, validation was needed by being a part of the school musical band. Kim who wants to be a drummer is looking up to those who are doing so as parts of the school musical band and that have already done what she aspires to do. For Christopher, imaginal media figures emerged as being influential to Christopher future aspiration of becoming a football player. He states that he joined the school football team, he plays in the community and all he does is only play football. It is such a powerful image that he recalls that during the event of the unwarranted search in his home the television was the only electrical appliance that was destroyed, which was an act of equating importance to the imaginal figures to his identity formation.

Shaping factors in eleven year olds

Several factors emerged from the 11 year old age group. The voicing of emotions, imaginal conflicts, perception, and a multivoiced society are among the factors that are seen shaping the identity of 11 year olds children. Hermans & Kempen defined emotions as happening inside the body, stating that "It is something that I feel inside of me" (p. 18). Emotion should be understood as part of a pattern and be perceived as a patterned whole. The areas making the whole pattern are the actors, the setting and when the action takes place. Emotion is then a combination of the actor, the setting and the when of the action. All features are an integral part to the emplotment of an emotion narrative (Hermans & Kempen, 1993).

The unique utterances of the individual speaker are social languages, such as "social dialects, professional jargons, languages of generations and age groups languages of the representatives of various circles and passing fashion" (Hermans, 2001, p. 149), which all come together to make the collective voices that goes beyond the unique individual voices of people.

The children exhibit multivoicedness or *ventriloquation*. In the voice of a child is the national language of his culture. In the concept of dialogical self the notions of intersubjective exchange and dominance, as the main features of dialogical relationships, are applied to the self as a multiplicity of *I* positions (p. 78). This means an intensive exchange exist between the positions, with special attention given to the relative dominance between positions. There is interplay of positions between inside and outside world. There are positions functioning in the outside world (e.g. parents, family members, friends, teachers, colleagues etc.) and positions belonging to the inside world of the individual (deceased parents, imaginal lovers, and imaginary advisors, critics and enemies with whom the individual interacts). An intensive transactional relationship exists between the inside and the outside world in an open system.

➤ *Role of Emotions*

Janice and Natasha have displayed strong show of *emotions*. They range from love to hate, from confusion to dissatisfaction as well as fear. These emotions have the tendency to create in their identity confusion towards the self and their actions. As stated above, emotions are not concepts to be studied outside of the actor, the setting and the action. Janice opens her interview stating that she has good and bad family members that she hates or loves. Those she hates are owners of weapons, because she does not like guns, and it aroused in her fear, when one was present in her house. Natasha's emotion of fear is centred on the presence of soldiers that have surveillance in her community. They are said to target moving objects, they are situated on the ground level and on the rooftop, with her grandfather's abstinence to obey, she fears for his life in being shot directly or indirectly. Janice and Natasha are both confused when doing school work. Janice cannot explain why she is confused. Natasha on the other hand begins to contemplate on the why's of the war and then, when doing her school work, becomes confused. Natasha, when thinking of the war, and why some houses were burnt and why the war became so big, feels angry, sad and again confused. Even her futile attempt to understand why they didn't just take 'him', choosing not to say Christopher 'Dudus' Coke, to court and arrest him makes her confused. Another of Natasha's emotional distress is centred on her living conditions, which she describes as being home to spiders, lizards, and cockroaches. This condition makes her dislike living in her community; it makes her work hard at keeping it clean and it creates a tangle of emotional distress.

➤ *Role of Imagination*

In displaying the dialogical nature in personality and becoming the storyteller the children's identity flourishes because they are allowed the private moments to dream on a large scale, where some dreams are accomplished in the long run and other dreams are driving forces to succeed in the present and in the future. Janice and Natasha continually strengthen the notion of the dialogical self, as they narrate about their private dreams, goals and aspirations, both in the short and the long term. Janice becomes the story teller and shares how she dreamt of herself and her friend in the imaginal world. Acting as the lead actress, desiring to be the best writer, her voluntary narration opens up *the concept of imagination*. Janice narrates,

I – that was dreaming that my friend would get a prize because our letter was good and nice. I – that think my friend said it was nice. I – that was dreaming we were the best ones in class. I – that can dream that we were the best ones in class. The dream – that was sweet. I – that am acting like a person that is writing in a letter. I – that was in the letter and was telling my family about the prize I won. I – that was telling my friend of the dream. My friend – that said she wouldn't mind if she got one too because her letter is nice. I – that woke up and told my family about the sweet dream I dream. My family – that said they like the dream. My family – that said the letter that you wrote was nice. My family – that read the letter to me.

Janice's imaginal self became the winner of this interview. Natasha demonstrates the same when she opens up and says that she talks to herself and say that when she grows up she wants to have a better life and turn out to be something good like a doctor, a teacher and a nurse. She imagines herself in a better situation, a better place, being a better person than the one she is here and now. Her imaginal self is a doctor, a teacher and a nurse.

➤ *Role of the family and community*

In the case of Janice, as displaying interplay between the inside and outside world, her proximal *family* environment is seen as having the most impact on her. She states that her mother instructs her not to converse with the police as they are not good. But despite the instructions, Janice showed her own individual voice as well as being influenced by the society to defy her mother by cursing a police officer that came to interrogate and search her apartment. However, at some point in Janice's life she has seen someone display this attitude. Another way in which the societal dominance was displayed was in Janice's perception that she is plagued by misfortune, and her measurement of her misfortune by the numerous times that she 'buck har tuhoe.' In

Jamaican culture, to ‘buck yuh tuhoe’ is an indication or a measure of misfortune. This is equivalent to what people refer to as old wives’ tale. Natasha, simultaneously, has been influenced by the *community* in believing in the existence of ghosts although her claims are that she does not believe. However, she narrated that she believes she had seen a ghost. We are not here to discredit her claims but to understand the dominance of the voice of the community and how much they influence the perception of Natasha.

The influence of *family on future aspirations* emerges as a factor that impresses identity in Natasha and Janice. In a short period of time, Janice and Natasha will be doing the national primary school leaving examination, Grade Six Achievement Test (GSAT), and the utterances of incentives by the parents are influential in their desires to succeed. Natasha is offered a laptop while Janice is offered the chance to live with her biological father. Both are able to say the names of the school they aspire to attend and the incentives they were offered.

➤ *Role of War – Past, present and continuous*

Another area of similarity between Natasha and Janice are that both demonstrated clearly how they have been affected by *war; past, present and continuously*. In the past for Janice she has had encounters with the police force that are seeking information of person’s whereabouts as well as encounter with the continual presence of the police force that has security check points for entrance into the community. Janice states “I go home, I play and I must return in by 6pm if I don’t return I have to show them, for the adult, passport or licenses. For children they don’t charge children.” In this context she refers to the security system as a system of slavery. Natasha shared the same experience of being searched by the police while going and coming from school. Natasha states, “every time we were going to school the soldiers search our bags going and coming from school. They are still in the community even after the war.” Natasha expresses another dislike concerning the war which speaks directly of the bombs, the teargas and the gunshots, the killing of innocent people, as well as the burning of houses which existed during the war. She states, “Tivoli, I don’t like Tivoli because it is too ghetto, sometimes when the war is going on down there, I don’t like it. The bomb and tear gas I don’t like it and the gunshot.” Other incidences of the effects of the war are in the form of the continual presence of the soldiers in the community who are searching for gunmen, but targets any moving objects on the outside of the apartment complex. This action by the soldiers creates fear in Natasha. Both students have had encounters with the security forces in their apartments and they have led to strong reactions

from the girls. Janice displays boldness in the face of this threat and Natasha displays a certain level of timidity and fright.

➤ *Difference in shaping factors – Relationship of Agreement and Disagreement and Leisure Activities*

Among the differences in identity and shaping factors were the influences of the relationship of agreement and disagreement and favourite leisure time activity. In dialogical self theory, *the relationship of agreement and disagreement* were presented. Janice expressing emotions of dislike and hatred centred towards herself at first was a statement, but later it became a confirmation, and still later on there were disagreements again as she expressed liking herself. This relationship between agreement and disagreement concretize the presence of dialogical self theory. Janice is making dialogical utterances. Janice demonstrates the openness of consciousness. Dialogical relationship facilitates *openness of consciousness*. According to Hermans & Kempen (1993), “*openness* is an intrinsic feature of dialogue and its recognition a necessary condition for the understanding of life: the genuine life of personality can be penetrated only dialogically, and then only when it mutually and voluntarily opens itself” (p. 41). Through Janice’s openness, which was done on mutual terms and voluntarily, we begin to understand life and personality as being dialogical.

On the other hand for Natasha, the need for escape from the dreadful life, such as surveillance and the unhygienic surrounding of her home and the garrison community, happened in her *leisure activity*.

Natasha expressed at the end of the conversation what made her happy. She states,
My favourite time – that is when I went to Twin Sisters and Brothers’ Cave. We – that had to go down many stairs. I – that was scared. The water – that was very deep when we reached. We – that found slippers in the cave. They – that told us that in slavery that the twin sisters ran and drown in the water. The slippers – that belonged to the twin sisters. We – that explored the caves. The caves – that were really dark. Cactus – that was outside the caves. I – that remember the caves. I – that had a lot of fun.

This experience has helped in defining her identity and her happiness. For Natasha time away from Tivoli and the war and having fun is important to maintaining a healthy identity.

Conclusion

The analysed data indicates that children living with a situation of community violence have multiple identities showing a strong relationship between the children and the society that influences their past, present and future. In the creation of the identities, several shaping factors emerged as having an effect, such as the existence of war, the role of the family and school. War had the potential to create children who were willing to recreate the past displaying emotional distress such as an inability to act or having resilience to fight back or just a reaction of fear, anger or confusion. The perception of the family in the creation of identity was a strong factor influencing future goals and dreams, but had the effects of influencing decisions concerning right and wrong actions. The perception the children presented of school on the factors influencing their identities were positive. School as an institution, had a great impact on moulding character and guiding future dreams and goals. It was useful in the creation of passion and vision, ranging from leadership to career to sportsmanship.

From the outcome based on the age group of 9 year olds, the role of authority as providers, protectors and caregivers were perceived by the children as strong influences on their identities. This authority figure did not need to be considered acceptable by outside standards as long as they were deemed as good by the children. Such figures could be icons to the children once they met the standard of protector, provider and caregiver. Authority figures were needed to provide rules and regulations needed to guide the action of the children, especially in the area of being obedient or disobedient. From the school environment, the nine year olds made clear distinction between leaders based on the leadership style they displayed. Therefore a leader or principal could be elevated to a higher status while another could be demoted because of cruelty to children. Among the family membership, parents, whether single or nuclear, were among the shaping factors for the me-positions. These me-positions strive to become world class achievers or just strong decision makers.

Within these shaping factors actions and words are important. To hear or to see the words or actions of parents greatly impacted how the child's current me-position would be organized when the time arose to be or to act. The ability to influence was regardless of proximal or distal family association. Among the differences in the shaping factors, student leadership, music and friendships emerged as having an effect. Student leadership organized the child's desire for

achieving success as well as in becoming leaders themselves, while music, when positive in message, had the power to influence action, and friendship influenced achieving as a group over self attainment, regardless of winning or losing, placing greater impact on teamwork than total winning.

The voices of the ten year olds demonstrate that the event of conflicts, such as fights and war, has the potential to shape identity. These conflicts, whether on the proximal or distal level, create helpless victims in the child or deep emotional wounds. The ten year old child faced with conflict on the proximal level struggles between being good or bad and being disciplined or a fighter. On the other hand, the ten year old child faced with conflict on the distal level becomes the ventriloquist who applies the power of their imagination to the event being narrated, as well as an immobilised child that only feels sadness. However, the voice of the ten year old children confronted with warfare illustrates the capability to display intersubjectivity or empathy to those affected by the same insecure situation. Among the emerging differences, having the ability to influence identity, were the school student body and imaginal media figures. Children were motivated to practice independently and become musicians because of the extra-curriculum activities that were offered by the school. They practiced at home for their family and friends, but validation is needed by being a part of the student body group. This is a form of achievement. Other children organized school and community activities that directly suited how imaginal media figures influenced their identities, such as wanting to become football players.

The shaping factors on identity emerging from the eleven year olds were the role and display of emotions. The continuum for the emotion extended from one extreme to the other. These were love and hate, confusion and dissatisfaction and the strongest emotion surfacing was fear. Certain objects were associated with the emotion of love and fear, such as weapons, that were in direct view of the children, as well as weapon used in the name of protection, but viewed as being targeted against themselves and family members. Strong emotions of confusion were also displayed by the eleven year olds. Confusion arose from meditative thoughts on their insecure situation and was easily transferred to disorientation when completing school assignments. Eleven year olds displayed high levels of meditative thinking and contemplation on their surrounding situation, often in the search for a solution, but ending in dislike for the environment.

The eleven year olds power of imagination emerged strongly as an influential force in the identity creation. The ability to have ambitious, bold and fantasy filled dreams emerged as inspiring aspirations and goals. The power to imagine one's self in a better place with a better life, with a professional career, takes on meaning as motivation to depart from the life now lived in the future, but offering temporary relief from the present lived life. According to the eleven year olds, this imaginal self in an imaginal role receiving an actual prize is attainable in the present. At eleven years of age, the bolder children are displaying some level of autonomy in thinking and action against the influence of family and showing a fight against what they deem as slavery or injustice. The influence of the community with their folk tales and ole wives' tale emerged as being powerful enough to cause the generation of the eleven year olds to believe in what some classify as superstition, but what the children consider as measurements and forms of protection as what they claim are ghost could have been dangerous persons. Another way of influence from the family was seen in the incentives offered to children to achieve in education. At the time of the interview, these incentives were not given, but they were powerfully motivator for the children to aim for the highest achievement. Incentives are strong motivators.

A similarity emerging as having strong negative impact on the identities of eleven year olds was the role of war; past, present and continuous. Past warfare was not forgotten in memory and was recall with distaste and with strong dislike. The tactical choice of artillery were despised and considered negatively by the children. In the present and continuous, they rejected the presence of the military force in their communities treating them as slaves and instilling fear and terror with their surveillance. The war had direct affect on the types of emotions they displayed such as fear, timidity, fright or audacity. Continuing with emotion in the relationship of agreement and disagreement emerged as being a difference among the eleven year olds. This relationship is a state of confusion concerning the decision to love or to hate one's self. In contrast, another eleven year old finds solace in adventure outside of the dangerous realm of the community which brings the emotions of happiness and fun. Only in this atmosphere of pleasure are sinister atmosphere thrilling and exciting.

The analysis indicated that multiple institutions have the effect of influencing how children perceive themselves and how they interact and reason with themselves in decision making. Among those institutions making an impact, the following were prominent: school, community, government, camps, church and the music industry.

The effect of community violence on identity formation was evident as many children reflected on the war's past and present effects. The perception was that community violence is an emotionally disturbing event that leads to anger, inability to cope, fear and confusion when studying where involved. Many children struggle to adapt, not to the general society, but to the life that surrounds them. This was one of the biggest struggles they faced. Children spoke out against the unhygienic environment, filled with pollution. The voice of the children cried out against the daily harassment of the national security that was a recurring issue although that may not have directly affected them. However, others were exhausted with the security vigilance that places themselves and family members in immediate danger.

The past, the present and future were very strong contingents in the lives of the children living with a situation of community violence. The past plays a role effect on the formation of the identity as the children's perceptions of the past are attached to strong negative emotions due to the effects of violence in the community. Their perception of the present is also continually connected to strong negative emotions. However, the perception of the future is illustrated by positive emotions and reflections outside of the sphere of the violence within the community. Future aspirations are in connection with other institutions, mainly school and hopes of a better life and future.

When working with Jamaican children it is important to take into account the importance of school and the hope of a better future and life as this fuels their present actions. An important aspect of their identity is based on what they can accomplish in the future.

Subsequently, the main shaping factors for the Jamaican children are:

- The role of authority figures having the capacity to provide, protect and be caregivers
- The role of the school institution, from the head leadership to the student body, as well as extra-curriculum activities
- The role of the family to motivate for the future and to guide in decision making
- The effects of past violent community events as well as present and continuous policing activities

Accordingly, the minor shaping factors for Jamaican children are:

- Friends
- Music
- Imaginal others from the media

Discussion

The Jamaican government drafted The Child Care and Protection Act of 2004, ratifying the Convention of the Rights of the Child 1989, for the care and protection of every Jamaican child, a child being a person under the age of eighteen years. The new laws protect against abuses ranging from physical, sexual and emotional abuse. Within these laws the duties of the parents are given as being the sole provider for care and protection of children. The laws also include identifying when a child is in need of care and protection. Among the care and protection factors were children whom had no parent or guardian, had exposure to danger such as dangerous company, or exposure to danger in connection to physical or mental health, as well as children living in destitute or extreme poverty and finally children living on the streets. The law states that those children they consider “in need of care and protection are children who are in danger of being, or have been abandoned, neglected or abused.” Under the same law they embrace the concept of the “Best interest of the Child”, highlighting the safety of the child, the child’s physical and emotional needs, and level of development (Child Development Agency, 2005). However, the law has instated no help towards children living with continued violence or community violence that threatens their security.

Within the field of community violence, much research has been conducted on posttraumatic stress disorder, externalizing and internalizing problems, educational outcomes, and resilience and protective factors facing families, mainly mothers and children affected by community violence (Lynch, 2003; Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008). However, within the field there is a lack of research on social factors shaping identity concerning children living in violent situations. It is important to have knowledge of social factors that foster for healthy outcomes in children as perceived by themselves, despite living with community violence, as many of these children become successful adults. Thus it is important to identify those factors that are effective in shaping their character from childhood to adulthood.

Studies on resilience highlighted family and community cohesion as the most important factors for forming resilience in children (Aisenberg & Herrenkohl, 2008). However, more needs to be researched when families are forced to live in isolation out of fear from other threats such as the police, then, what other factors is there that are stabilizing the character or identity of the child? The children are showing that there are other ways in which their identities are being

affected positively as well as negatively. Child care laws and projects that give assistance to the children living with the aftermath of community violence should begin to redirect their focus of help by addressing how to promote positive identities.

For Jamaican children living in a context of community violence, the role of school, family, and authority figures are all critical positive factors in moulding children's identity. This study intends to highlight the importance of considering the proximal factors when working with children and when redirecting assistance for healthy and positive identities in children as perceived by the children. The claims and the voices of the children are more important than applying assistance to them without first knowing what they are telling us, and what those factors are that can help them the most. Phenomenology as a tool for understanding the meaning of the voice and experience of the Jamaican children has been very efficient. The research has led to finding out problems and solutions.

The conclusion of this research highlights the importance of in-school educational activities. The children of Jamaica perceived the need for positive identity from educational leadership activities. The children also perceived the need for role models in teachers and principals as vital for them creating positive identities. They also perceived to an extent that teacher's exhibit intervention techniques and finally that teachers were caregivers. Thus it is recommended that there is training for teachers working in precarious communities on being role models to their children. The need for leadership training among the student body and extra-curriculum activities was also perceived as being important by children. With these areas of schooling activities identified, assistance should aid in building up the after-school activities or acquiring activities designed to build leadership such as Girls and Boys Scouts with the aim of building independence and positive attitude and action in children. Children are seeking responsibility and feel the need to assert themselves as leaders taking initiative. Is it possible that the children are asking to be heard, and their voices to be a part of the discussion of what benefits them?

Furthermore, children are looking to their family and its members for guidance in helping to create positive images. The awareness of self knowledge⁸ is vital to children. Children construct their identity from the teachings or words, thoughts and actions of the family; passed

⁸ In philosophy, 'self-knowledge' commonly refers to knowledge of one's particular mental states, including one's beliefs, desires, and sensations. It is also sometimes used to refer to knowledge about a persisting self—its ontological nature, identity conditions, or character traits. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/self-knowledge/>

down to them and incorporated into their self knowledge. It helps in the construction of their hopes, dreams, and in decision making. From mothers to fathers, to brothers and distant cousins, family members are big stakeholders in the formation of identity for children living in violent situations. These decisions are made based on former teaching or observations and are reaching outside the home into foreign situations. Thus in the aftermath of violence in communities, assistance can be given to educating the family on the importance of projecting positive imagery to the children as well as the focus should be on keeping the children's identities strengthened and motivated. These identities vary from wanting to be a cook, a runner, an abider of rules, or strength in their values and moral system.

Children perceive that protection, provision and caregivers were important in their lives. In a time when the sanctity and safety of their homes are invaded, children are responding by asking for home security and feeling of security. With the possible of the death of a family member, or the invasion of homes, or the abuses of family, these crucial pillars of wellbeing and safety are threatened, directly affecting the stability of their identity. Therefore, the education of family members should entail how to ensure that each family member minimizes their risk of endangerment as well as ensuring the safety of the family after one's home has been invaded and the sanctity desecrated minimizing the feelings of insecurity with the child.

The most threatening factor to children's identity is the concept of the war. This concept entails the actual war and the aftermath of the war. Consistent across the identities of the children were emotional displays, ranging from anger, fear, and confusion to distress or an absence of emotional response to the war itself. The triggering factor for these emotional disturbances was a result of the continual presence of the security and the vigilante system. Students perceived this security as a threat to themselves, their family and as a form of slavery that restricted their freedom of movement within their own homes and within their community. The protection of the security forces were only interpreted by the children as life threatening resulting in emotional instability.

Moreover, children affected deeply are those with direct contact with the brutality of the security forces. In addressing the child care laws governing the safety and the best interest of the child, the researcher would recommend that the government address the right conduct of the security forces placed for peace and safety. These children perceive the actions of soldiers and police as brutal and harmful and ultimately devastating on their identities. Thus, government

laws and actions should address the proper treatment of the community and its children, which include handling the inhabitants as humans with rights, thus physical abuse and possibly the removal of weapons inside homes should be considered. The enforcement of the right action of the security forces also entails treating the inhabitant's property with respect and not lowering their actions to vandalism. It is incumbent on the government that the security forces are re-trained in their treatment of children and adults in violent situations.

Other areas brought forth clearly by the children's perception are those issues affecting the definition of community violence. According to the children's perception of those events that are deemed community violence included shootings, bomb explosions, tear gas, unwarranted house searches, physical abuse and community surveillance, all of which the children described as having a negative effect on their ability to function as normal and without fear. It is also evident according to the perception of children living in a garrison community that community entails not just the specific surrounding, but those activities that are happening within the community yard and within the homes and houses to be located within the specific community. Thus the act of being terrorized within one's home, by the national security forces meant to protect and serve the community, is an act of community violence to garrisoned children.

These acts of violence mentioned above are not to be considered place or country specific violent events. The use of warfare tactics worldwide involves the utilization of such common practices. Thus this research brings attention to other children living in violent and insecure environments such as refugee camps, in war torn countries to name a few. Issues to focus on when helping children in insecure environments are ensuring they are protected, given provision and have caregivers. The children should be educated and the education should cater to foster strong characters such as leadership and sportsmanship through extra-curriculum activities. It is recommended that children in such environment feel less threatened by the security forces sent to provide protection. As a result, threat reduction should focus on lessening the threats directed to family members as this creates emotion instability namely fear. As, children in insecure situation development, they struggle with making the right decisions in the environment surrounding them as well as in foreign situations, thus family members, school teachers, nurses, doctors, and other personnel assigned to those areas should exhibit good moral character and judgement in the presence of children. As children develop while in dangerous environment, they begin to use their imagination more frequently to dream of achieving a better life and a

better future. Ways of promoting positive imaginations and thus positive identities requires offering incentives for successful completion of task or in the area of education. From the research with Jamaican children, the eleven year olds displayed strong imaginations that were linked to their hope for a better future. The power of imagination to fuel right actions in school and achievement is need for the creation of positive identities to children in volatile settings. The issue of utmost importance to children in unstable and unpredictable environment is the ensuring that child have a sense of security.

In conclusion, this research draws attention to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights aiming at showing the violation of the law occurring in Jamaican garrison communities as a plea and an urge to the government to consider different tactics when next confronted with community violence. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 5, states “no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment” (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Under the Human Rights declaration all acts of violence and degradation that the children and their families of Tivoli Gardens have suffered should be treated as a human right issue. Other articles of importance pointing to the injustice the children have faced includes article 12, which states,

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks (United Nations General Assembly, 1948).

The arbitrary searching of homes by the security forces under the rule of the government is a direct violation of the Human Rights laws and declaration. The voices of the children are speaking in opposition to this treatment and injustice. Article 13 (1), grants “everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state” (United Nations General Assembly, 1948). Consequently, the voice of the children crying out against the slavery of the patrol system that prohibits free entrance and exit into their community is within justification.

The focus of phenomenology as a scientific method and theory is people’s perception and awareness of the individual’s lifeworld. The use of the Minerva, as a rigorous tool for in depth and systematic analysis, has been effective in bringing to light the Jamaican children’s perception of factors shaping identities from the use of their narratives. Phenomenological

research from the Jamaican children's narrative investigated the complex interaction of the different meanings to be gained. This was gained by the effective and systematic process that is unique to the Minerva, as the software requires the use of small meaning units followed by a deep analysis of the main entities and predicates in the text. These two processes opened up the meaning contained in the narrative of each child, as a way of gaining information about the perception of shaping factors by the Jamaican children. The understanding of the situation is not an easy task, but requiring time and effort going forward with a measure of uncertainty, as emerging meaning surfaced over a gradual period of time. This therefore helped in presenting what the children considered as important and not what the researcher deemed as such. With the use of fieldwork and the act of indwelling to gain the narratives of the children, as well as the use of phenomenological scientific and theoretical approach, this research has accomplished the task of understanding the perception of the garrisoned Jamaican children living in a situation of community violence.

In recommendation, future research should aim to find out if there are gender differences among the Jamaican children in the factors shaping identities. This comparison could take into account if results would be the same if only Jamaican boys or if only girls were utilized. Further research can focus on how children perceive the concept of imagination on their future while living in garrison communities. The application of these questions in research suggests meaningful topics for consideration in future studies. Another proposed research topic could focus on the family aspects such as the differences in family structure on the shaping factors of identity. How does children's identity development vary between each child living in a certain family structure?

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Appendix

Appendix 1

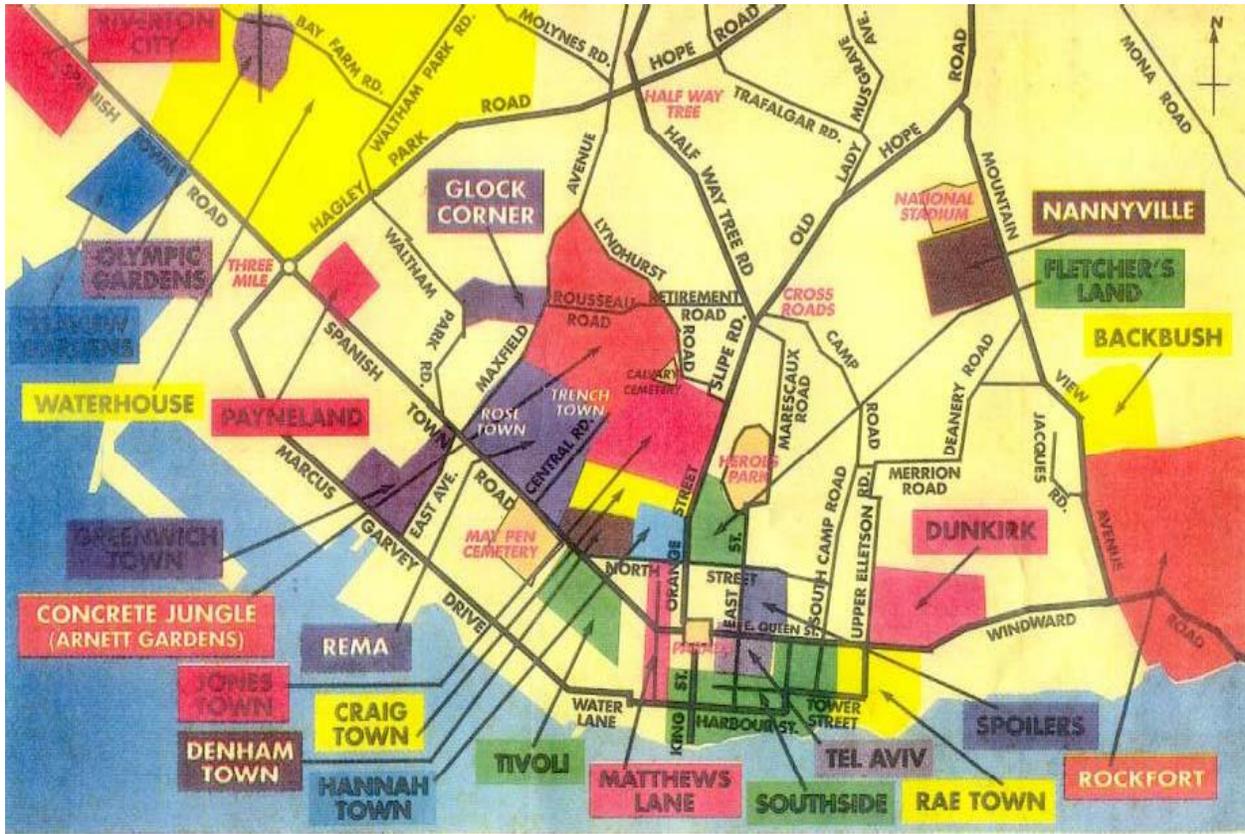
Total Garrison Communities in Jamaica⁹

<i>Community</i>	<i>Trench Town</i>		<i>Jones Town</i>		<i>West Kingston</i>		<i>Olympic Gardens</i>	
District	Arnett Gardens	Rema	Jones Town	Craig Town	Tivoli Gardens	Matthews Lane	Cockburn Gardens	Waterhouse
Socio-economic Status	Less Poor	Extremely Poor	Very Poor	Poor	Less Poor	Poor	Less Poor	Poor
Intra-City Location	Inner-city	Inner-city	Inner-city	Inner-city	Inner-city	Inner-city	Poor neighborhood	Poor neighborhood
Socio-economic characteristics	Deteriorating residential and business areas (fairly recent, 1980s)	Deteriorating residential (fairly recent, 1980s)	Deteriorating residential and business areas (1970s)	Deteriorating residential; cycles of destruction	Deteriorating mixed residential, near markets and factories	Deteriorating residential, including CBD with all major markets	Mixed residential, near factories	Deteriorating residential, near factories
Internal Spatial Division	Bifurcated into upper and lower sections (then into different housing schemes)	Bifurcated by gully (Collie Smith Drive)	Bifurcated into upper and lower sections	Differentiated by socio-economic status	Closed community with community center in the middle	Bifurcated into upper and lower sections surrounding transportation and market hub	Differentiated by socio-economic status (some housing schemes)	Differentiated by socio-economic status
Political Party Characteristics	Garrison (PNP1 stronghold)	Garrison (traditionally JLP2 stronghold, recent secession)	Politically aligned community (PNP)	Contrasting political party alignment (often caught in warfare between PNP and JLP)	Garrison (JLP stronghold)	PNP stronghold	Politically aligned community (JLP)	Politically aligned community (PNP)

⁹ Table adopted from: Duncan-Waite, I. & Woolcock, M. (2008). Arrested Development: The Political Origins and socio-economic foundations of common violence in Jamaica. Brooks World Poverty Institute, Working Paper 46. Retrieved September 06, 2010, from <http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/resources/Working-Papers/bwpi-wp-4608.pdf>

Appendix 2

Map of Garrison Communities in Kingston, Jamaica¹⁰



¹⁰ Table adopted from: Duncan-Waite, I. & Woolcock, M. (2008). Arrested Development: The Political Origins and socio-economic foundations of common violence in Jamaica. Brooks World Poverty Institute, Working Paper 46. Retrieved September 06, 2010, from <http://www.bwpi.manchester.ac.uk/resources/Working-Papers/bwpi-wp-4608.pdf>

Appendix 3 – Project Description

- **Background**

My name is Judyth Kitson and I am an Erasmus Mundus Scholarship student at the Lund University pursuing a Master's degree in Development Studies majoring in Psychology. In the autumn term 2010, I will be writing my thesis under the supervision of Professor Roger Sage from the Department of Psychology, Lund University. My interest lies in the area of young children living in violent communities and how they developed identities.

- **Aim**

My aim with this study is to grasp a deeper understanding of the impact of living with violence daily from the narrative of their experiences. Due to the recent criminal and violent events in the Tivoli Gardens community, many children may or may not have been affected by the happenings. I would like to explore why some children are and were affected and why some children are and were not affected by the violent events committed in their communities. This research will aim at understanding the multiple identities children adopt as a result of the conditions they face in their communities and how these identities are displayed in the multiple dimensions of their lives (home, school, community, church and society). I wish to understand how children, using their accounts, form psychosocial resilience when faced with the multiple dimensions of their lives. Greater understanding of the resilience of children may enable knowledge on how culture affects child development and how society can and should interact with these vulnerable children. The account of the child will be undertaken using the phenomenological approach, which focuses on the child's experience. During this process, complete anonymity will be guaranteed for all the participants.

- **Method**

A phenomenological approach, Meaning Constitution Analysis, developed by Professor Roger Sages, will be used for understanding the experiences of the children. All narratives obtained will be processed using the MCA, which makes it possible to deduce the identity of the individual behind the text, as all text will be presented in numbers and figures. During this process the child or children will be referred to as child 1, child 2 and child 3 etc. All the children's identities will be held in the strictest confidence, even from my advisor, Professor Roger Sage. Complete anonymity for the participants will be guaranteed. The thesis is

supposed to be completed in January. A report of the obtained results will be made available for all interested parts.

Thank you in advance,

Appendix 4 – Letter of Consent

Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Judyth Kitson. I am a student at Lund University, Sweden. I am currently pursuing my master's degree in Psychology and this includes writing a final research paper. I chose to do my research in my home country, specifically on children in Jamaica.

My research will focus on how children create their identities in hardship as a form of strength in the community they live. The voice and experience of the child is the basis of my research. Hearing how they make it in this world and grow daily is important to understand how their identities are formed. Thus, it is important that a one-on-one interview with your child is conducted. All interviews will be held in the strictest confidence and your child will be guaranteed complete privacy.

During this process, the children will be referred to as child 1, child 2 and child 3 etc. All the children's identities will be held in the strictest confidence. The thesis is supposed to be completed in January. A report of the obtained results will be made available for all interested persons.

I am hereby requesting permission to interview your child as part of my research project, with the use of a tape recorder, to ensure accuracy in the analysis of their experience and for a more free and uninterrupted interview.

Thank you in advance and for further details please contact me at the number listed.

Sincerely,

Judyth Kitson.

I _____ grant permission for _____ to participate in the research conducted by Judyth Kitson signed October ____, 2010.

Parent or Guardian