UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Visions of the Caribbean Metropolis: Crime, Home, and the Aesthetics and Politics of Insecurity in Urban Jamaica

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Anthropology

by

Kimberley Danielle McKinson

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Bill Maurer, Chair
Associate Professor Mei Zhan
Associate Professor Keith Murphy

2017

DEDICATION

For my partner in life and in love, Richard Welsh.

For my heartbeat, pride and joy, Solomon Welsh.

For my mother, Karlene McKinson,
a phenomenal woman who always makes me feel
like I can conquer the world.

For my ancestors, on whose shoulders I stand.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the physical manifestation of what has been a very long journey that was filled with conversations, interactions and relationships defined by vibrant intellectual exchange, constructive criticism, sagacious mentorship, kindness and love. There are many individuals to whom I will be forever indebted.

A great number of people in Kingston entrusted me with their stories and welcomed me into their personal and professional lives. Their words and experiences have informed the ways in which I have written about security and insecurity. In standard anthropological practice they are referred to as informants or interlocutors and their true identities remain hidden. I like to think of these folks as my fellow urban travelers who walked with me through the city, teaching me and generously revealing to me the complex and enchanting wonder that is Kingston. I will always be indebted to them for without them, the work that I do would not be possible.

I was fortunate to have a doctoral committee whose members were always willing to give encouragement and generous critique on my writing and ideas over the past six years. I first shared my interest in thinking Caribbean history through metallurgy with Bill Maurer when I was a very green doctoral student and I am infinitely grateful for his enthusiasm, encouragement and support. For me, Bill will always be an example of a scholar *par excellence*. Experiencing his creativity and brilliance, intellectual generosity and kind mentorship was an honor and a reminder of the kind of scholar I must always aspire to be. Conversations and classes with Mei Zhan greatly inspired me to situate my project and thinking in relation to literatures on the body and embodied practice. Her constructive feedback always motivated me to be a more rigorous scholar. Keith Murphy nurtured my interests in materiality and was a constant source of intellectual, professional and personal guidance. Our conversations and meetings were always safe spaces from which I drew strength.

I am happy that during my early days at the University of California, Irvine (UCI) I wandered over to the School of Humanities and took a class with Nahum Chandler. In him I found a preeminent scholar and mentor who not only nurtured my interests in critical black historiography and black intellectual thought but who always believed in me. Our Critical Historiography and Social Theoretical Enquiry (CHASTE) seminars remain one of the highlights of my graduate career. Indeed, "Forward ever, backward never."

At UCI conversations and courses with professors such as Winston James, Valerie Olson, Kristin Peterson and Loretta Livingston greatly informed the present iteration of my project. I will always be grateful to my colleagues at UCI and at other institutions who provided feedback on drafts, comments on presentations or simply just a listening ear. In particular I must mention Leah Zani, Taylor Nelms, Josef Wieland, Georgia Hartman, Alyse Bertenthal, Anna Zogas and Jessica Cooper. I am greatly indebted to Heather Thomas whose kindness helped to get me to the finish line. Norma Miranda, who is the absolute

best at what she does, made coordinating the logistics and paperwork that comes with writing up from a distance truly manageable.

In Jamaica, reasoning sessions with Herbie Miller in his office at the Jamaica Music Museum in Kingston amongst the instruments and memorabilia of the greats always inspired me to think deeply about my larger purpose beyond the Ph.D. I will always be grateful to Anthony Harriott for his generosity in welcoming me to the Institute of Criminal Justice and Security at the University of the West Indies, Mona and providing me with resources on the ground. Additionally, Orville Simmonds, Bishop Gary Welsh and John Azar all helped to make this research possible.

I was lucky to have been connected with Paulla Ebron as an undergraduate student at Stanford University. Her mentorship, support and best wishes that have spanned a decade are invaluable to me. Deborah Thomas always found the time to provide feedback and edits and to counsel me from a distance. She has indeed been an inspiration in more ways than one.

Special thanks must go to a number of family and friends who never failed to make me feel loved and supported as I toiled away at this research project. Grandma Thelma, Aunty Marie, Uncle Pete, Mrs. Anderson, Monique, Danielle, Aunty Gail, and Kimmy Welsh lifted me up in many ways. I will always be grateful to Mommy Pat, Lloyd, Michelle and Javone Welsh for support with my son, Solomon before and during fieldwork. My sister, Kristen McKinson returned to Jamaica while I was conducting fieldwork. She was a confidante in what was a trying year and I will always be grateful for her love and generosity. To my father Joseph McKinson I owe my fascination with history, geography and studying culture. His advice that I ought to always keep my eyes on the prize has always been a guiding mantra. There are few words that can truly express the indebtedness that I owe to my mother, Karlene McKinson. Her love has fuelled me, her sacrifices have inspired me and her strength is a reminder to me in moments of doubt of the fire that flows through my veins. I will forever be grateful for her example.

My son, Solomon Welsh was in my belly as I worked on grant proposals, kept me company during fieldwork and was a constant source of laughter, love and light as I completed this dissertation. His kisses and hugs nourished me infinitely and he was and continues to me my greatest inspiration. Finally, the gratitude that I owe to my partner and the true love of my life, Richard Welsh, is undeniably limitless. He has been my truest friend and his never-ending support has helped to make me into the woman I am today. His strength of character, vision, brilliance and fierce loyalty to me and our family is a wonder to behold. It has been my immensely great fortune to have his love and to have him walk by my side.

Generous funding for this project came from the National Science Foundation, the University of California Center for New Racial Studies, the University of California Collaboratory for Ethnographic Design, as well as the Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, the School of Social Sciences and the Department of Anthropology at the University of California, Irvine.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Kimberley McKinson

2010	B.A. in Cultural and Social Anthropology, Stanford University
2011	Social Sciences Merit Fellowship, University of California, Irvine
2012-2014	Pre-Dissertation Research Fellowship, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Irvine
2012-2014	Teaching Assistant, School of Social Sciences, University of California, Irvine
2012	Summer Grant, Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies, University of California, Irvine
2013	M.A. in Anthropology, University of California, Irvine
2013	School of Social Sciences Dean's Workshops and Reading Group Series, University of California, Irvine
2014	National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Research Improvement Grant
2014	Graduate Research Grant, University of California Center for New Racial Studies
2014	School of Social Sciences Dean's Workshops and Reading Group Series, University of California, Irvine
2014	Summer Grant, Center for Global Peace and Conflict Studies University of California, Irvine
2014	Associate Dean's Fellowship, University of California, Irvine
2015	Association of Black Anthropologists Johnnetta B. Cole Travel Award
2015	Visiting Scholar, Institute of Criminal Justice and Security, University of the West Indies, Mona
2016-2017	Graduate Student Assistant Researcher, University of California Consortium for Black Studies in California at UC Irvine
2016	School of Social Sciences Dean's Workshops and Reading Group Series, University of California, Irvine

2016	Summer Research Fellowship, University of California Collaboratory for Ethnographic Design
2016	Associate Dean's Diversity Dissertation Completion Fellowship, University of California, Irvine
2016	Associated Graduate Students Travel Award, University of California, Irvine
2016	Travel Award, Caribbean Studies Association
2016	Instructor, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Irvine
2017	Ph.D. in Anthropology, University of California, Irvine

FIELD OF STUDY

Urban Anthropology, Crime, Security, Slavery, Postcoloniality, Jamaica.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Visions of the Caribbean Metropolis: Crime, Home, and the Aesthetics and Politics of Insecurity in Urban Jamaica

By

Kimberley Danielle McKinson

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Irvine, 2017

Professor Bill Maurer, Chair

The popular and academic perspective on cities of the Global South like Kingston, Jamaica is that they are rife with violence. While crime in many ways does organize life in Kingston, the city, like many cities the world over, is very much shaped by a contemporary preoccupation with security and insecurity. A casual visitor to Kingston will notice how much concerns about security and insecurity permeate life in the city: metal Neighborhood Watch signs mark the entrances to various communities, billboards advertising electronic security dot the urban geography and stylized metal gates and burglar bars protect homes. My dissertation explores the socio-geographic and discursive practices that highlight the ways in which security and insecurity are currently organizing social life in Kingston. I suggest that in Kingston, contemporary ideas about security and insecurity are shaping and being shaped by long-standing narratives about the nation, race, citizenship, discipline and the home. Based on eighteen months of fieldwork conducted in Kingston between 2012 and 2016 with local residents, government officials, NGO representatives, metal artisans,

and police and electronic security specialists, this research connects the practices of these actors and demonstrates how they discursively, socially, technologically and aesthetically envision and re-envision Kingston as they negotiate their aspirations of security and fears of insecurity in the city. Grounding this dissertation is an historical architecture, which seeks archivally and materially to connect Kingston's contemporary security moment to a longer history of diasporic political and cultural practices that link black geographies across space and time. As such, this dissertation investigates Kingston as a Black Atlantic city; one whose securityscape lives with structural legacies of the past that continue to impinge on and interpenetrate the paradigm of security, surveillance and discipline of the present. This dissertation not only contributes to theoretical discussions of urbanity, security, and materiality and their relationships to emergent notions of citizenship, but also to newer Africana Studies scholarship that positions the transmission of Afro-diasporic cultural practices relationally within the context of broader cultural shifts.

INTRODUCTION
Colonial Legacies and Postcolonial Destinies: Reading Security and Insecurity Spatiotemporally

On this island things fidget.
Even history.
The landscape does not sit
willingly
as if behind an easel,
holding pose
waiting on
someone
to pencil
its lines, compose
its best features
or unruly contours.
Here, landmarks shift;
they become unfixed
by earthquake
by landslide
by utter spite.
Whole places will slip
out from your grip.

Kei Miller (2014)

Drawing on the Spyglass of Anthropology

In December 2006, I returned to Kingston for the first time after having left the island in September to start university in the United States. My giddiness on the flight back home was palpable – I was homesick. I longed for family and home. Home had changed since I had last been on this island. While I was away, my family had moved from the cramped townhouse that we had rented for four years and settled into a new three-bedroom house located in a middle-class section of the city. I was looking forward to seeing for myself, the new spacious verandah and front yard, two luxuries which we had been unable to call our own for the past four years. More than anything else, I was looking

forward to my new room. Not lost upon me was the fact that my younger sister and I had spent all our lives in the same bedroom. For the first time in our lives we would be able to lay claim to our own individual rooms. Still, I had been away for four months and my sister and I had missed each other terribly. And so, on the night of the 30th, a few days before I was scheduled to depart for school again, my sister lamented that it had been so long since we had last slept in the same room. She suggested that we sleep together that night. I don't know how long I had been asleep for when I felt her violently shaking me and whispering my name in the darkness of the room. She asked if I heard that shouting. The voice was angry. It was coming from our parents' bedroom down the hallway. I grabbed my sister and told her that we needed to hide. I quietly opened the door to the bedroom closet and we got inside. We stood completely still with the door pressed close to our faces. Against my sister's wishes and my better judgment, I left her in that closet and felt my way through the dark house that was so new to me, in search of a phone. I returned safely and beside my sister once again, made a call for help. The press of each button sounded nauseatingly loud in that small closet. Then, we both heard the sound that seemed to pierce the stillness - that loud slam of our parents' door. Heavy feet were making their way toward us. My sister's breathing was now loud and fast. *"Breathe softer,"* I whispered.

He must have seen us sleeping peacefully earlier for we heard him immediately start to violently search the sheets in the bed. Next it was on to my desk where things were being snatched. The heavy feet rushed out of the room. We heard the metal gate to that spacious front yard slam in the night air. The night was still and the house was now silent. Shortly after, there came another set of footsteps down the hallway. These were not heavy, but timid, unsure and afraid of what they would find. It was our parents who let out haunting

wails when they saw that empty bed with its messy sheets. They wailed because they thought that their worst fears had come to life. They imagined my sister and I lying dead, all alone in some forgotten part of the city. That anguish is what my sister and I had heard in their screams. We finally left our hiding place and shouted that we were alive and ok. Light from the dawn would soon be upon us. It was the last day of 2006 and in a few days I would be on another plane, on my way back to the United States. I would not see Kingston again for some six months. I welcomed the distance. I was no longer homesick, not for Kingston nor for some perfect new home. On the contrary, I was, for perhaps the first time in my life, sick of home. When I did return, gone was the house with the big front yard and verandah. In its place was an apartment on the third floor of Block 3 of a gated complex. The first floor entrance to each block featured a gate made of metal grill painted white which only residents could access by key. There was a big black gate to the complex and a guard positioned there who opened and closed it for all people entering and leaving. We all felt much more safe here, convinced that it would take a very determined thief to rob an apartment on the third floor.

Of utopias urban scholar Lewis Mumford wrote that,

> "it is our utopias that make the world tolerable to us…but when there is a breach between the world of affairs and the overworld of utopia, we become conscious of the part that the will-to-utopia has played in our lives..." (Mumford 1922, 11).

Mumford reasoned that it was through the city that man had long envisioned his utopia. In elaborating on this idea of the city as utopia, Mumford (1965) suggested that the utopian nature of the city mimics the balance, order and perfection of the cosmos. Yet, my memory of my family's break-in speaks more clearly to a rupturing of envisioned balance and perfection. In my memory, both Kingston and the domestic space are sites of trauma. They

are fractured spaces that are left less than whole. I tried for very long to not write about this event. I tried very hard to make it into a non-event. I tried until I could try no more and one day, ten years later, the words poured seamlessly out of me. I had no control over them. They conjured the images of the past brilliantly in my mind, as if this event had happened not a decade ago but, ten days earlier. This conjuring reminded me that this brief moment which had been molded into a memory, lived with me and would continue living with me, in my mind and in the very muscles of my body. As it has been for countless native anthropologists before me, applying what Zora Neale Hurston (1990) called the "spyglass of anthropology" to home has always been a very complex process. Like Hurston's own recollection of re-encountering the folklore of her youth, my memory fit me like a tight chemise. This memory complicates for me the very idea of home, that is, the utopian aspirations and dystopian realizations that mark both the city and domestic space as home, as well as the emotional vertigo caused by being both sick for and sick of home. Reflecting on this memory of my family's break-in and the subsequent relocation to a gated community crystallized in my mind the ways in which not so much violence, but rather, narratives of security and insecurity, become intertwined in the home and in a city like Kingston. Like memories, these narratives become written onto our bodies, buildings and land; they in essence, live with us and amongst us.

Abraham (2009) has suggested that one cannot speak of security without speaking of what he terms, security's inseparable shadow - insecurity. He makes note of Dillon's (1996) excellent distillation of the etymology of security in order to further prove his point. For Dillon, inherent in the meaning of the word security is a "radical ambivalence" (Dillon 1996, 116). That is, security is always defined as a lack of insecurity. Turning to the Latin

root of the word security helps to contextualize this radical ambivalence. Dillon notes that the Latin *"sine cua"* or *"securitas,"* that is "freedom from doubt or without concern" is at the root of the English word security. The very articulation of the word security in terms of negation, or insecurity, at work in the original conceptualization remains at play in the use of the word today. For Dillon, this is in fact, not a dialectical struggle. Rather, the relationship between security and insecurity is a "conflict of unequal opposites which are rooted and routed together" (Dillon 1996, 120) or, as Abraham beautifully writes, both security and insecurity are always "simultaneously present, locked in a clumsy *pas de deux*, each circling the other, taking turns to lead and follow" (Abraham 2009, 22). For Abraham then, this means that we must read security not as a noun, but as a verb, not as a stable condition of being safe but as a continuous process of securing safety. I argue that what such a reading calls for is attention to the temporal nature of both security and insecurity and a recognition of the ways in which they inhabit and move across space and time.

Thinking spatio-temporally with and through security and insecurity is at the core of this dissertation which examines the ways in which perceptions and concerns about security and insecurity and not simply, spectacular crime, are shaping the contemporary urban experience in the Kingston Metropolitan Area (KMA) in Jamaica. The KMA comprises the parishes of Kingston and the suburban section of the parish of St. Andrew. The area spans between 60-70 square miles and is situated on the leeward side of the Blue Mountain range. This dissertation investigates the socio-geographic and discursive practices, artifacts, technologies and infrastructures that highlight the workings of a vast and interconnected web of security and insecurity currently organizing social life in the city. In ethnographically examining the KMA, I suggest that in the city, ideas about security and

insecurity are shaping and being shaped by long-standing narratives about the nation, race, citizenship, discipline and the home. Based on eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the KMA between 2012 and 2016 with local residents, government officials, NGO representatives, metal artisans, and police and electronic security specialists, this research connects the practices of these actors and demonstrates how they discursively, socially, technologically and aesthetically create and circulate narratives and embodied practices of security and insecurity, effectively imagining and re-imagining citizenship and belonging in the postcolonial Jamaican nation. Grounding my ethnographic research is also an historical architecture, which seeks archivally and materially to connect Kingston's contemporary security moment to a longer history of diasporic expressive, political and cultural practices that connect black geographies across space and time. Thus, central to this dissertation is an investigation of Kingston as a city of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993); one that lives with structural legacies of the past that continue to impinge on and interpenetrate the paradigm of security, surveillance and discipline that characterizes the contemporary moment. At the core of this dissertation is a preoccupation with meditating on questions related to race, nation, citizenship, material culture, memory and critical black historiography in Jamaica, with a fundamental reference to the larger Caribbean region and the African diaspora. I engage these thematics within the context of conversations and debates within urban anthropology, Caribbean studies, Africana studies, postcolonial studies, critical black historiography and critical theory. As such, this dissertation reflects a commitment to reading the Caribbean as a space that both disrupts and opens up new ways for engaging anthropological epistemologies. In this way, this dissertation situates the Caribbean region as a critical site from which to theorize and problematize broader

geopolitical and cultural shifts in the 21st century.

Complicating the Narrative of Violence

With a population of only 2.8 million people and a landmass of roughly 4,200 square miles, Jamaica's global notoriety far outweighs the country's small size. For many far outside the limits of this small nation, the name Jamaica conjures up images of white sand beaches, melodious reggae music, athletes with lightening speed talent and tantalizing jerk cuisine. The Jamaican Patois[1] saying *"wi likkle but wi tallawah"* or "small yet strong" sums up perfectly the local belief that this island nation dominates at whatever it does, despite its diminutive size. However, it would be perfectly fair to say that over the past five decades, Jamaica has also come to regrettably dominate in the area of urban violence. For many, the island has become just as notorious for crime and violence as it has for its sun, sea and sand. Crime and violence in Jamaica have steadily escalated since the nation gained independence in 1962 (Moser and Holland 1997). The homicide rate was approximately 7 per 100,000 people in the 1950s and the 1960s. By the 1980s, this figure had risen to 23 per 100,000 (Phillips and Wedderburn 1987). In 2005, Jamaica was regarded as the most murderous country in the world with a rate of 58 per 100,000 people and in 2006 BBC Caribbean dubbed the tiny island nation "the murder capital of the world" (BBC Caribbean 2006). According to the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), the island's official police force, there were 1,207 reported murders in 2015, which put the murder rate at approximately 43 per 100,000 people (Jamaica Constabulary Force 2015). Criminal justice and public health data show that some of the countries with the highest homicide rates in the world

[1] Jamaican Patois also known as Jamaican Creole, is an English-based creole language with West African, specifically Akan influences.

can be found in the Americas, most notably, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Venezuela, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, which all consistently record homicide rates over 40 per 100,000 population (Malby 2010). Much of Jamaica's crime is concentrated in its urban socio- economic and cultural epicenter, the country's capital, Kingston. However, it should be noted that increasingly, the second city of Montego Bay has become a hotbed for criminal activity due to the growth in illegal activities related to a transnational multi-million dollar advance payments fraud scheme, known locally as the "lottery scam."[2] Gayle (2016) has noted that Jamaica's violence is so high that it displays characteristics of civil war, though it should be recognized, that the island has never been officially declared a nation of civil war. If one truly grapples with these staggering statistics it becomes clearly evident why in 2014, 49.8% of Jamaicans listed security as the most important problem facing the country (Harriott, Lewis and Zechmeister 2015, 13).[3] Recognizing the negative impact that crime has on Jamaica's human and economic development and foreign investments, the Jamaican government pledged that as a part of its Vision 2030 National Development Plan, Jamaica will reach developed status by that year and be the "place of choice to live, work raise families and, do business." Clearly articulated in this vision is a goal for public safety and security in order to make Jamaican society "secure, cohesive and just" (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2009).

It would be quite easy to suggest that Jamaica's high crime rate is a direct result of

[2] Montego Bay, Jamaica's second city and a popular tourist destination is located on the north coast of the island. The city's lottery scam has defrauded American senior citizens living primarily in the northeast United States of some US$5.6 million to date (Caribbean Policy Research Institute 2012). For additional discussion of lottery scams, see Bourne et al. (2013)

[3] The study, an assessment of democratic governance in the Americas in 2014, listed 67.7% of Trinidadians, 65.2% of El Salvadorians and 50% of Uruguayans as believing that security was the most important problem facing their nations. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the study revealed that only 4.5% of Haitians believed security to be the most important problem facing Haiti.

the nation's struggles with. It is estimated that one fifth of the population lives daily below the poverty line. This however is one of the persistent fictions regarding the causes of crime and violence. It has been empirically proven that there exists no direct relationship between poverty and crime (Gash 2016), better said, poverty does not cause crime. Robotham (2003) has argued that to understand the root causes of crime and violence in Jamaica one must pay attention to important factors, notably i) demographics, that is, the fact that males in the high-risk 15-29 age group are responsible for a significant portion of violent crimes in the island; ii) Jamaica's increased urbanization and the growth of inner-city communities across the island; iii) high levels of unemployment; iv) low levels of education and; v) the growth in inequalities between the haves and the have nots in Jamaican society. Inequalities in the contemporary postcolonial nation, in particular, color and class divisions, remind one of the lasting structural legacies of Jamaican plantocratic society. In addition to these factors, partisan political violence has also historically[4] contributed to Jamaica's reputation for being one of the most murderous countries in the world. It was in the late 1960s and 1970s when crime, or what Headley (1996) has called Jamaica's "persistent bogeyman," first began to rear its head prominently. Political violence between the People's National Party (PNP) which was founded in 1938, and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) which was founded in 1943[5], has forever tainted politics in the country and has left an indelible mark on the nation's inner-city urban landscape, which has effectively been carved up into political strongholds governed by criminal strongmen. Explicitly implicated in this violence is the Jamaican state, whose political representatives

[4] For a discussion on the pre-1962 historical roots of political violence in Jamaica, see Wilmot (1977) and Sives (2003).
[5] The People's National Party was founded by the Honourable Norman Washington Manley and the Jamaica Labour Party by the Honourable Alexander Bustamante.

have fostered the link between politics and crime and nurtured political violence in the name of winning at the polls each election season. It is fair to say that the death, destruction and discipline that this political violence has wrought on the island and in particular on Kingston, has shaped generations of Jamaicans and will continue to shape many more to come. Thomas (2011, 2016), meditating on the historical and temporal place of violence in the modern postcolonial Jamaican nation, has described Kingston as a city defined by exceptional violence. She argues that not only is this exceptional violence foundational to Jamaican ideologies of community and citizenship but it also renders time as a concept that is lived not in a linear fashion, but, in a simultaneous manner where what we take to be the past, present and future are both mutually constitutive and coincidentally influential. This scholarship has significantly contributed to the robust literature on violence and crime in Jamaica (Clarke 2006b; Eyre 1994; Harriott 1996; Headley 1994; Jaffe 2013; Lemard 2006; Levy 1996; Moser and Holland 1997; Robotham 2003), itself, a part of the larger extant literature on urban violence (Agostini et al. 2007; Moncada 2013; Moser 2004; Winton 2004).

These theorizations and scholarship on urban violence in Jamaica are invaluable however, I believe that it is worth asking, what this over-emphasis on urban violence forecloses. I argue that such a perspective forecloses attention to the ways in which Jamaicans are not just consumed by violence in the city. That is, violence is not the only organizing principle in the high crime city. I suggest that security and insecurity are a part of the complex, complicated and multi-layered history of violence in Jamaica, both before and after independence in 1962. And so, this dissertation is an unequivocal response to Goldstein's (2010) call for an anthropology of security, and to this I would add, insecurity, a

call to which scholars within the discipline have begun to respond to (Albro et al. 2012; Holbraad and Pedersen 2013). This dissertation is a declaration that violence does not tell Jamaica or Kingston's whole story. In calling for a critical anthropology of security Goldstein argues that security concerns intimately affect the subjects of anthropological work. Thus, he challenges anthropologists to devote more analytical attention to the ways in which a security paradigm has come to function as a framework for organizing contemporary social life in many societies. A major critique of Goldstein's is that anthropology has for far too long focused on the state as the singular locus of security. He suggests that the discipline must be more attentive to alternative voices and local actors. Such a shift in the theoretical and ethnographic approach to security will allow for a deeper understanding of what security means, how it is produced, what it includes and what it excludes in the struggles of everyday life. Goldstein's articulation begs the question, what is required of anthropology for it to illustrate how security and insecurity are both produced and lived in a postcolonial Black Atlantic city like Kingston? It requires I contend, a recognition that security and insecurity play out in much the same way that time does in the postcolony, which Mbembe (2001) describes as the interlocking and entanglement of presents, pasts and futures. The entanglement of times in the postcolony, that is, the "multiple durées made up of discontinuities, reversals, inertias, and swings that overlay one another, interpenetrate one another and envelope one another" (Mbembe 2001, 14), offers itself as a theoretical tool with which to contemplate how the various temporalities that defined security and insecurity in Jamaica during slavery, colonialism and even the more recent post-independence period overlay each other and are performed in the present-day cityscape. Attention to security and insecurity in this way reminds us that they

have long shaped urban Kingston, just as exceptional violence has. Moreover, ethnographically interrogating security and insecurity in Kingston in this manner allows as Dillon notes, an engagement with them as verbs and as continuous processes rather than as singular and stable events.

Mapping a City of the Black Atlantic

If we study security and insecurity bearing in mind how it is that they are produced and lived across space and time, then Kingston, as an historical securityscape that overlaps and overlays with the temporal processes of both the postcolonial nation and the Caribbean region reveals itself to us. My use of the term securityscape draws on Gusterson's articulation of the term, which he uses to describe "asymmetrical distributions of weaponry, military force, and military-scientific resources among nation-states and the local and global imaginings of identity, power, and vulnerability that accompany these distributions" (Gusterson 2004, 166). As Albro et al. (2012) rightly note, such a definition prioritizes the state and the role that it plays in producing violence. They argue instead for a reading of the securityscape as constituted by "heterogeneous, hybrid, interconnected state and nonstate, public and private, agencies and resources, which variously organize professional expectations, notions of expertise, activities, and goals, through which technology and training are distributed, and knowledge circulates" (Albro et al. 2012, 11). It is in this spirit that my invocation of Kingston as a securityscape eschews a singular focus on violence and militarization at the hands of the state. Rather, my reading of the securityscape considers how multiple actors, artifacts, technologies, infrastructures, practices and language are implicated in the making and the un-making of the city as a

space of security and insecurity. By reading Kingston's securityscape as an historiographical subject-object, I pay attention to the genealogies inherent not only in the human bodies that have and continue to inhabit the city spatially, but also to the genealogies inherent in land, architecture, buildings and inherent too, within the postcolonial nation and the larger region. I read these as spaces of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993), that is, spaces shaped by modern, social, political and cultural forces that were precipitated by the transatlantic slave trade and crystallized within the bounds of the plantation geography. And yet, accounting for the genealogy of Kingston is not just a simple cartographic task. It is one that requires the mapmaker to be comfortable with disrupting space. Moreover, it requires the mapmaker to be comfortable with the fact that not all space and not all genealogies are mappable. For, as Kei Miller (2014) reminds us, on the island of Jamaica, things fidget and become unfixed, even history.

In 1692, Port Royal, then Jamaica's commercial hub with a population of 8,000 was utterly destroyed by an earthquake of apocalyptic proportions. To this day, Jamaican children are told tales about how the Earth opened up and swallowed whole, people, some 3,000, and buildings, indeed everything in sight. In 1692, the earthquake was taken to be biblical retribution against a city that was infamously known for its piracy and as "the wickedest city on Earth." When the earth settled and grumbled no more, in true mythical fashion, a colonial city of distinction rose across the harbor like a phoenix from the ruins that had been left behind. It would herald a new urban order on behalf of Britain in the Caribbean, a region that over the next three centuries would come to sweeten both the coffers and the teacups of Europe. Indeed, this new city was to be the king's town and its name would ring out as, Kingston. As a newly emergent city in the 17th century, Kingston

was birthed when Britan was beginning to consolidate her colonial power in the Caribbean and as a particular brand of British plantation slavery, that was distinct from the Spanish institution, was beginning to take economic, cultural and political hold of the region. As a new city, Kingston's urban landscape thus began to take form alongside the slave plantation. Moreover, the disciplinary order of the plantation would come to indelibly mark Kingston's development as an urban colonial city (Clarke 1975).

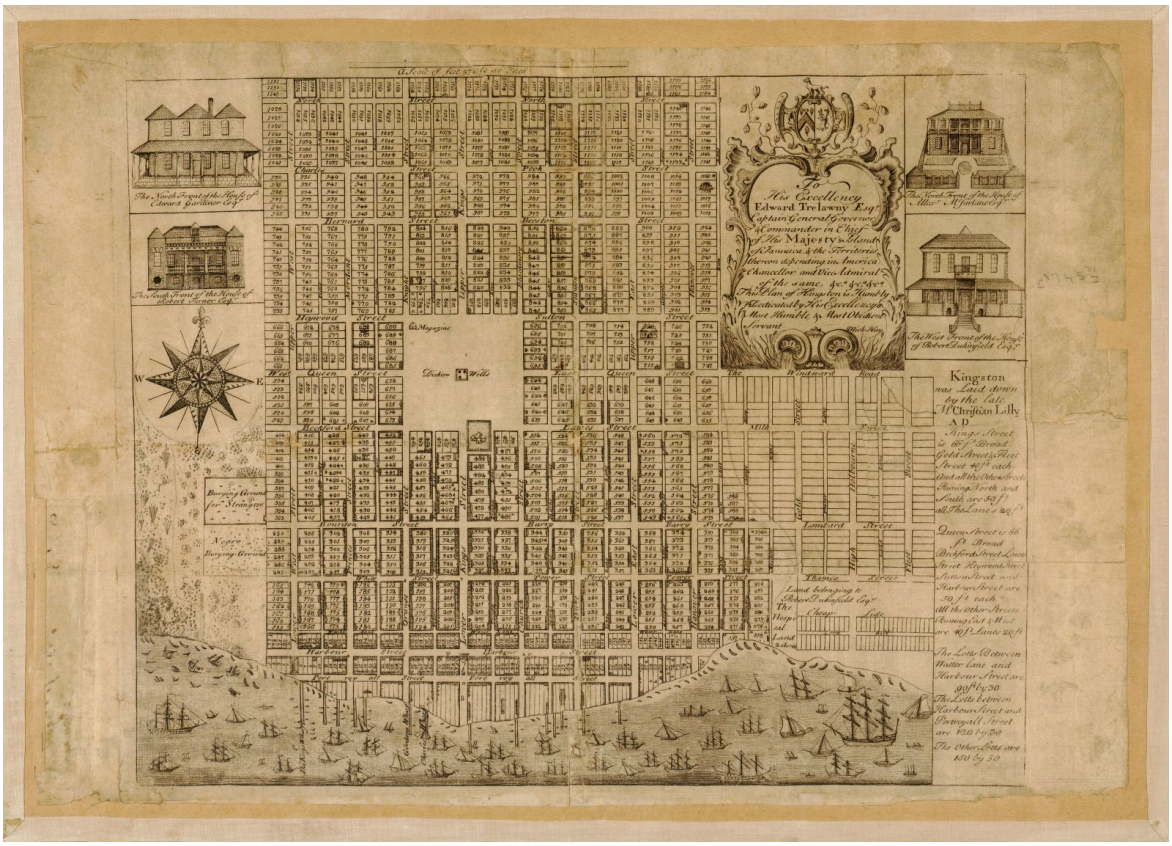

Figure 1. 1745 Plan of Kingston

The intial layout of Kingston, designed by surveyor John Goffe and which remains in the heart of the city today, consisted of streets laid out in the form of a gridiron with straight and parallel lines and uniformed dimensions (Nelson 2016). This plan of the city is depicted in Michael Hay's 1745 map of Kingston (Hay 1745) which was commissioned by

then governor of the island Edward Trelawney. The development of Kingston was supervised by military engineer Christian Lilly who modeled the city's grid off of other English colonial urban plans such as the Londonderry in Northern Ireland. It was also in Ireland that Lilly had served in various movements to quell Irish resistance. Governor Trelawney, to whom the 1745 map was dedicated, is recognized as the British governor under whom the treaty that ended Jamaica's First Maroon War[6] (1731-1739) was signed (Mann 2016). Kingston's gridiron formation reveals the need for a white, colonial and slave-holding class to control both people and space, and in particular, order the movement and activities of black bodies. Kingston's geo-history (Soja 2000) reveals that the very plan of the city was tied to questions of discipline, governance, order and disorder. Recognition of the geo-history of space takes geography and history to be inseparable. As such, an engagement with the geo-history of Kingston means a willingness to take it as both an historical and spatial phenomenon. These questions continue to be animated in an urban landscape deeply marked by race and class spatial divides that have shaped a plantocratic system of sociality (Clarke 2006a).

The image of the city as a dystopic space that forecloses opportunities for well-being and humanity has long been theorized in classical urban studies narratives. Prominent amongst these narratives is the classic essay by German sociologist Georg Simmel "The

[6] Maroons were enslaved Africans or individuals of African descent who ran away to escape enslavement and in order to secure their freedom. In the Caribbean, Maroon communities thrived best in colonies such as Jamaica, British Guyana and Suriname where a significant amount of forested and mountainous land surrounded plantations. As runaways, maroons were not physically restricted to enslavement on plantations but neither were they legally free. Indeed, they were only able to fully embody and enjoy their freedom, or what Brereton and Yelvington (1999) term their quasi-independence, in the mountains. It was Jamaican Maroon leader Cudjoe who signed a treaty with the British colonial government that effectively ended the First Maroon War. Under the treaty the colonial government would recognize the independence of the island's Maroon communities. In exchange, one of things Maroon leaders agreed to, was to no longer hide runaway slaves.

Metropolis and Mental Life" (1950). Here Simmel argued that the 18th century was defined by the call for the liberation of man from the ties of politics, religion, morality and economics in order to allow for a return to his original natural virtue. Simmel went on to argue that the 19th century, in addition to promoting man's liberty, sought to promote his individuality. This shift towards individualism was a feature of modern life or, as Simmel put it, the resistance of the individual to "being levelled down and worn out by a social-technological mechanism" (Simmel 1950, 409). For Simmel, it was the violent stimuli of the modern metropolis that not only nurtured modern man's senses of liberty and individualism but also created psychological conditions that contrasted significantly with the flowing rhythm of rural life. Thus it was the metropolis that nourished a calculating modern mind, suspicion, cold and uncongenial behavior and loneliness such that it became common to "not even know by sight those who have been our neighbours for years" (Simmel 1950, 415). Following in the tradition of Simmel, Louis Wirth (1938), one of the leading scholars of the Chicago[7] School, would go on to describe the dystopic qualities of the city as impersonal, superficial, segmental and often leading to suicide, crime, delinquency, mental breakdown and disorder. Indeed, for Wirth the great contradiction of the city lay in the fact that frequent and close physical contact was often paired with immense social distance.

The Caribbean has, from as early as the 16th century, been marked by processes of globalization at the hands of mercantilist, capitalist and colonial systems (Jaffe 2008). In

[7] The Chicago School's model of the city was an ecological and evolutionary one. These scholars, most prominent during the 1920s and 1930s, viewed the city as consisting of ecological zones in a series of concentric circles surrounding the central core. Key works include: Park, Burgess and McKenzie (1925), Zorbaugh (1929) and Cressey (1932). This school influenced later trends in urban studies most notably the Institute of Communities Studies in the 1950s that examined the city as made up of communities based on extended kin relations (Bott 1957; Marris 1962; Young and Willmott 1957) and trends in the 1980s that saw a focus on political economy (Hannerz 1980; Susser 1982).

this way, the region has long been characteristically urban. Nonetheless, the urban spaces of the Caribbean have in large part, been ignored by classic urban scholarship. As *the* landscape that was central to the construction of the "savage other" (Trouillot 1991, 1992), the Caribbean was for a very long time, taken to be the "exotic" site of the anthropological field and not western enough as Trouillot argued, to be of concern to sociologists preoccupied with urban civilizations. However, when Simmel, at the turn of the 1900s, was meditating on the negative impact of urban life on the well-being of modern man, the Caribbean was already dealing with a dystopic reality that had been left behind by more than two centuries of plantation slavery. Moreover, this dystopic reality did not only manifest in rural areas in the region but in newly emerging urban spaces as well. In Jamaica, it is worth recognizing that the disciplinary order of the plantation society was not limited to sprawling estates in the island's rural areas. Brodber's (1975) description of 18th and 19th century Negro yards in the city of Kingston where urban slaves lived is distinguished by its attention to slavery in an urban space.[8] She argues that in fact merchants in Kingston possessed slaves – sometimes as many as small rural planters – who labored along wharves and the city's waterfront. Negro yards became the urban equivalent of the plantation slave quarters and housed not only slaves but also the newly freed who could not yet afford to establish independent households. These yards facilitated the development of domestic and community life and as such were heavily policed spaces. Bailey (1976) highlights a 1770 slave law which stipulated that owners of Negro yards in Kingston had to give an account of the number of huts, slaves, and freedmen living there.

[8] For a study on the link between slavery and urbanity see Wade's *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860* (1964).

Additionally, architectural features such as entry points had to be specified. The colonial authorities feared that these yards would come to harbor thieves, the idle and runaways and would thus threaten urban peace and the security of the city. Moreover, because the Negro yards were distinguished by the fact that they could house both slaves and the recently freed who had transitioned from the rural areas to the city, there was the fear that these spaces would disturb the traditional relationship between master and slave.

When Wirth was writing in 1938 about the dystopic qualities of the American city, many cities in the Caribbean had already long been in the throws of a certain kind of urban decay characterized by squalor and poverty, the result of colonial neglect. The Report of the West India Royal Commission, more commonly known as the Moyne Report, published in 1945, would later go on to describe in horrifying detail the dystopic reality which charactrized life in the British West Indian colonies precisely when Wirth and the Chicago School were at their intellectual peak. In *Squalid Kingston* (2000) Moore and Johnson vividly detail home life amongst Kingston's urban poor during the post-emancipation period. Their work is a collection of six series of articles printed in the Jamaican press[9] from 1890-1920. The colonial authors of the articles overwhelmingly focus on the squalor, unemployment, poverty, starvation, prostitution, disease and death which they argued plagued communal yards in Kingston. These authors strolled through the city seeking out the yards and gathering what they present as ethnographic and empirical data. By lamenting the lack of cleanliness that characterized the bodies and homes of the city's poor the authors situate the black body and black domestic space as un-hygeinic and un-civilized. One series titled "Glimpses within the dark recesses of our communal life"

[9] The articles appeared in the Jamaica Gleaner and in the Jamaica Times.

described a "typical hut" that housed three people. The author describes coming upon the hut as he or she[10] was "retracing…steps back to – civilization" (Moore and Johnson 2000, 112), that is, back to the part of city shielded from poverty and squalor. The dwelling was described as no more than six and a half feet high and constructed of burnt zinc and kerosene tins. The crevices the author noted were stuffed with old cloth and paper and the door was the only means of ventilation. The author describes the many infants in arms and writes that the mothers were timid to face his or her camera. Oblivious to the intrusive gazes of both him/herself as well as that of the camera this author reinforces the idea that for the black urban and poor resident in colonial Kingston, "privacy of the private was rather tenuous" (Hartman 1997, 161). In many ways, this gaze of the camera was a precursor to later surveillance technologies that have today come to feature prominently in Kingston's securityscape.

And so, by the time that Peter Tosh crooned "flee the city, it's getting shitty, it's full of out-a-quity" on his record "I am that I am" released on his 1977 album Equal Rights, Caribbean cities like Kingston had already been long dealing with the sedimentation of centuries old urban dystopia, or perhaps better said, insecurity. In Kingston in particular, this insecurity began to be explicitly linked to a spectacle of crime and violence which emerged in the 1970s. In response to this high crime urban environment, narratives of safety and security and the fear of insecurity have come to define Kingston's urban landscape. A casual visitor to Kingston will notice how much security permeates life in the city today: metal Neighborhood Watch signs mark the entrances to various communities, private security response teams weave their way through the city's traffic, billboards

[10] The author of this series used the initials W.G.S thus, the gender is unknown.

advertising electronic security protection dot the urban geography and stylized metal grills, gates, and burglar bars protect homes and properties. These fortification, security and surveillance practices are grounded in I suggest, a uniquely Jamaican worldview about security and insecurity, one that is orienting urban residents in the contemporary postcolonial nation as well as in both space and time. The preoccupation with security and insecurity that is evident in the discourse and infrastructure of present-day Kingston is not something that is new to the city. Neither is it a simple reflection of the security moment in which we currently find ourselves where discourses of terror, security and safety shape contemporary local and global engagements. Rather, I read Kingston's contemporary securityscape as the most recent spatial instantiation of a security durée that spatio-temporally interpenetrates and overlaps with narratives, technologies and artifacts of discipline and governance steeped in a history of slavery and colonialism that significantly predates the present historical moment defined by the high-crime city.

Architecture of the Dissertation

The architectural arrangement of this dissertation allows for a constant tracking back and forth between multiple spaces in Kingston city. In this way, the reader ought to consider herself or himself a wayfarer and take this dissertation as an invitation to reflect on the ways in which in Kingston, concerns about security and insecurity animate life in the city and reveal the urban space to simultaneously be one of both ill and genius, one of uncertainty but also, innovation.

Chapter 1 examines the 2010 state-led incursion into the western Kingston inner-city community of Tivoli Gardens in search of reputed criminal strongman Christopher

"Dudus" Coke. The incursion resulted in the deaths of 73 residents. In late 2014, a formal enquiry was commissioned in order to ascertain the truth of what occurred in 2010. The incursion and the enquiry raise questions about how violence, policing, surveillance and security play out in the national imaginary. In this chapter, I juxtapose the incursion and enquiry alongside the birth of the post-colonial nation and the birth of Tivoli Gardens as a modern community in the 1960s. I connect these historical moments in order to trace and narrate the relationship between governance, discipline and citizenship in the post-independence past and present as well as consider the way in which insecurity was foundational to the postcolonial nation.

In Chapter 2, I examine residential architecture in Kingston, with particular attention given to the proliferation of metal. By interrogating the aesthetics and politics surrounding metal stylized grills and burglar bars that secure the windows, verandahs and yards of contemporary Jamaican homes, I argue that metal is a key marker of the shifts in the security environment in urban Kingston. I contend that in Kingston, the city's metal "prison architecture" is predicated on a set of beliefs about security as defined by a politics of enclosure and exclusion. However, closer attention to the metal aesthetics of Kingston's residential bars and grills reveals the presence of West African *adinkra* symbols, patterns which symbolize Akan proverbs that represent the ideology and cosmology of the people. I argue that the metal in Kingston's fortress landscape cannot only be viewed as a set of artifacts that facilitate enclosure and exclusion but rather, as objects of cultural retention. This retention is predicated on the exposure of Kingston to an Afro-diasporic system of cosmology. By invoking an Akan cosmology, the metal in Kingston I suggest, opens homes to pathways of energy that affirm black spirituality and humanity.

Chapter 3 investigates the world of electronic security in Kingston. As urban residents move through Kingston, they are bombarded with advertising from private electronic security companies. Jamaica has close to two hundred registered private security companies. A growing number specialize in the provision of electronic security technologies, which include panic buttons, alarms and motion detectors. Drawing ethnographically on fieldwork with electronic security specialists and on visual advertising located throughout the city, this chapter explores how electronic security is complementing and supplementing the metal fortification of homes in Kingston and is re-making the city through sensorial circuits. I argue that these technologies are facilitating the virtual disciplining of bodies and contributing to the perception of security as a private good and a cost to be incurred by the individual.

Chapter 4 is based on fieldwork in the inner-city and high crime community of Queen Town (pseudonym). I examine the initiatives Queen Town's Community Development Committee (CDC) targeted towards issues of safety, housing and unemployment in the community and place these in conversation with the Unite for Change anti-crime campaign of the Ministry of National Security. With an explicitly stated epidemiological approach to crime prevention, Unite for Change attempts to reduce crime through "re-socialization" programs in order to establish new norms and habits. I reflect on how this community and state approach to crime and security through an attention to individual and community norms and values is re-defining ideas about citizenship, nation-building and the nation in the post-colonial present.

Finally, in the Epilogue, I situate my study in light of the long history of security in Jamaica and reflect on the future of urban space and security in Jamaica and in the global

South. I also reflect on whether and how the securityscapes of emerging cities impact the urban form more broadly – just as the Caribbean colonies were proving grounds for the techniques of industrial capitalism, might emerging cities become the model for the remaking of the city, and concomitant shifts in the notion of citizenship itself?

CHAPTER 1
The Incursion and its Hauntings: Modernity, Citizenship, and the Birth of a Nation

Living in a Shadow

Daniel Goldstein (2010) writes that, after the attacks of September 11, 2001, public consensus in the United States was that "everything had changed" (Lipschutz 2009). Such thinking he contends, took 9/11 to be a watershed moment that caused not just the United States, but the entire world to enter a security moment "characterized by increased surveillance of security threats, expansive government powers to investigate security breaches, armed intervention in places abroad that supposedly fostered terrorism, and restriction on individual liberties and freedoms in the name of protecting personal and national security" (Goldstein 2010, 487). Goldstein firmly rejects this trope by effectively examining the relationship between security discourse and practice, human rights and neo-liberalism. He contends that security, rather than a gut reaction of global proportions to a terrorist attack that seemingly changed everything, is instead, characteristic of a neoliberalism that predates 9/11. His argument is one that urges us to think about 9/11 as the continuity or extension of political interests rather than as the beginning of a new period. I am in agreement with Goldstein's argument and yet, I am hesitant to so immediately dispense with 9/11 as an interesting problem of thought. That is, I believe that there is more that we can learn from 9/11 - as an historic moment in time - that can contribute to our understandings of security and insecurity in the Caribbean. The 9/11 attacks on the United States triggered a global tectonic shift that greatly changed ideas about nation-space, borders, risk, and the embodiment of terror. In terms of a global

cultural memory, 9/11 was a calamitous moment that became seared in people's minds. Many remember where they were when the news began to spread like wildfire. Many have vivid memories of watching the horrific images of the Twin Towers burning and subsequently crumbling. Many can still easily recall what then seemed like apocalyptic images of arguably, the world's greatest city covered in smoke and ash. Many, even those thousands of miles away felt as if they were not only witnessing history being made, but also, living in it in a way that they had never lived in it before.

Even if 9/11 didn't suddenly change everything, this attack on the United States certainly contributed to the manifestation and mobilization of a security and anti-terror rhetoric and ethic in the 21st century. As Griffith (2004) remarks, 9/11 helped to usher in a new age of counter-terrorism.[1] The Caribbean, a region with deep historical, political, economic and cultural ties to the United States, certainly felt the effects of the global shift caused by the attacks. In his 2002 address at the inaugural session of the 32nd General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS), held in Bridgetown, Barbados, then Prime Minister of Barbados Owen Arthur remarked that "we all live in the shadow of September 11" (Arthur 2002). His words, spoken less than a year after the attacks, would come to foreshadow the impact that 9/11 would have on the Caribbean. In terms of direct human casualties, the region lost some 160 Caribbean migrants in the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. 9/11 would also cast a direct shadow on the economies of the region. According to the Caribbean Development Bank, "9/11 reemphasized the

[1] Khalili (2012) has argued that liberal states have historically and consistently acted in illiberal ways in their counterinsurgency confinements. Her text analyzes the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the US War on Terror – what she describes as the two main liberal counterinsurgencies of our day. She places this analysis alongside attention to Abu Ghraib, Guantánamo Bay, CIA black sites, the Khiam Prison, and Gaza, and links them to a history of colonial counterinsurgencies from the Boer War and the U.S. Indian wars, to Vietnam, the British small wars in Malaya, Kenya, Aden and Cyprus, and the French pacification of Indochina and Algeria.

structural weaknesses of economies in the region and their vulnerability to external shocks" (Caribbean Development Bank 2001, 22). The attacks had a particularly detrimental impact on the tourism industries of the region. In addition, agriculture, foreign exchange earnings, aviation and employment were also negatively impacted.

However, this shadow to which Arthur refers, speaks to something more than just short and medium term negative economic effects; rather, it evokes a kind of ominous haunting that would linger for years to come and which would affect multiple spheres of life outside of the United States. Fifteen years after 9/11, this haunting is perhaps best seen in approaches to regional security and the attitudes and rhetoric surrounding securitization in the Caribbean. Following the 9/11 attacks, the United States introduced various racialized security and counter-terrorist programs and measures in the Caribbean in order to prevent future terrorist attacks on the US homeland. Given the geographical proximity of the Caribbean to the mainland United States, the region has long been historically imagined as being in the United States' "backyard." This positionality of the Caribbean is indeed a direct reference to the United States' own imperial attempts to not only carve out a sphere of influence in the Americas but also, to manifest what it has long taken to be its own providential destiny.[2] In April 2001 at the Summit of the Americas, a re-affirmation of these hegemonic principles emerged with the proposal of the Third Border Initiative (TBI) by US President George W. Bush. This initiative, coordinated and led by the US in partnership with the Caribbean, aimed to improve economic, diplomatic, education,

[2] My language here is a direct reference to the 19th century Manifest Destiny doctrine, that is, the widely held belief in the United States that the nation's expansion throughout the Americas was not only justifiable but also, inevitable. Miller (Miller 2006) has argued that historians have generally agreed that there are three main themes to the United States' Manifest Destiny: i) The special virtues of the American people and their institutions; ii) America's mission to redeem and remake the world in the image of America and; iii) A divine destiny under God's direction to accomplish this wonderful task (Miller 2006, 120).

health, security and law enforcement cooperation. The TBI explicitly revived rhetoric concerning the importance of the Caribbean as the United States' critical and potentially vulnerable "third border" (Griffith 2004; Haughton 2009; Villafuerte Solís 2007), a border both imagined and actualized, and one that served to both bridge and divide. In effect, only a few months before the 9/11 attacks, the Caribbean had already prominently figured into conversations regarding the security of the US homeland. Shortly after 9/11, the TBI was expanded to focus more directly on issues related to US homeland security. Villafuerte Solís (2007) notes that in 2002, then US Secretary of State, Colin Powell remarked that "While the world has focused intensely on Central and South Asia in recent months, neither President Bush nor his administration has lost sight of our commitment to America's "Third Border" (Villafuerte Solís 2007, 323). Moreover, Villafuerte Solís contends that for Powell, the most important component of the new initiative was security. Indeed, in that same speech, Powell stated that "It [the TBI] will help Caribbean authorities enhance the safety and security of their airports, which are vital for maintaining a flourishing tourist industry" (Villafuerte Solís 2007, 324). The TBI resulted in an increase and intensification of programs aimed at strengthening the anti-terrorist capabilities of police and military in the Caribbean as well as the adoption of anti-terrorist resolutions and legislation in the region. This marked difference in the formulation of the TBI before and after 9/11 is worth noting. After 9/11, the TBI more explicitly framed the Caribbean as a site of potential criminality and terror.

The TBI provides a clear example of the exportation of US fears and insecurities through foreign policy. I suggest that this initiative signaled too, the Caribbean's direct importation, from the US, of a discourse steeped in racialized notions of security and

insecurity. The TBI effectively extended the reach of the United States' post-9/11 "security moment" onto the shores of the nearby Caribbean. Indeed, foreign policy does not just operate within an isolated sphere of geopolitical statecraft. Rather it seeps into everyday social life, often becoming localized at the point of contact. This localization of an external discourse of terror and fear communicated through the TBI is highly relevant, for in the Caribbean, countries like Jamaica had been struggling internally, for some three decades, with high inner-city crime and concerns about extrajudicial violence. 9/11 brought these conversations about safety, security and terror into sharper relief. Both 9/11 and the TBI allow one to consider how an external discourse grounded in the need to eradicate insecurity through robust securitization practices, can travel across space and time to become indigenized. The wisdom of Owen Arthur's words about living in the shadow of 9/11 now reveals itself. His words do not just speak to an immediate aftermath and effects. His words ask us to question what it means to spend time living in a shadow. Moreover, what does it mean to live in a shadow that endures? Just as Caribbean nations like Jamaica continue to be haunted by the shadow and cultural memory of 9/11, so too do they continue to be haunted by the historical shadows and cultural memories of slavery, colonialism and post-colonialism. In order to truly examine security and insecurity at work in a city like Kingston, a framework that is attentive to continuity is necessary.

In post-slavery and post-colonial societies like Jamaica, black bodies have historically been the target of surveillance and violent policing. As a former plantation society, Jamaican life during the period of slavery was characterized by the calculated repression, de-humanization, and un-making of black bodies (Spillers 1987). This microscopic governance of black bodies continued into the post-independence period as

the then fledgling government attempted to create productive and lawful citizens. Indeed, when one considers Jamaica's slavery and post-independence history it becomes evident that the post-9/11 "security moment" is perhaps, the most recent manifestation of a preoccupation with surveillance, policing - both by state and self - and discipline. As a durée, the contemporary security moment in Kingston is not new, neither is it divorced from the afterlives of discipline and governance that organized life and in particular, black bodies, during previous historical moments. Detailed attention to contemporary securitization allows one to deeply consider how life in the city is being shaped by understandings about space, policing and surveillance, and how these in turn are shaping ideas about color, race, citizenship, belonging, inclusion, and exclusion in the 21st century. To study Kingston's contemporary security moment is to understand security as a long durée.

This chapter is organized around a major event of extrajudicial violence that has tremendously defined Kingston's post-9/11 security moment and has revived spirited debates about the relationship between poor, urban residents; the police; and the state: the 2010 incursion by the island's security forces into the inner-city community of Tivoli Gardens. I use this chapter, which is organized around two historical vignettes, to foreground my ideas about ambivalent temporalities and non-linear chronology, which are prominent themes in the dissertation. I track back and forth between these historical moments in order to trace the relationship between violence, discipline, the home and citizenship and consider how they were not only central to the forging of the independent Jamaican nation but also, continue to be very important in helping to animate Jamaica's present security moment. In the first vignette, I narrate the events surrounding the

incursion into Tivoli Gardens and reflect on its aftermath and the ways in which it highlighted deep-rooted concerns about security and the policing of the inner-city community and home in Jamaica in the 21st century. In the second vignette, I historically juxtapose the utopian founding of the independent post-colonial Jamaican nation with the utopian founding of Tivoli Gardens as a modernist residential community in the early 1960s. I reflect on the ways in which the magnitude of these two historical moments continue to cast a shadow on the contemporary Tivoli Gardens community as well as present day articulations of citizenship, security and insecurity in Jamaica. Indeed, in addition to perfectly crystallizing the contemporary global security moment that we now inhabit, the Tivoli Gardens incursion is interesting to consider in the historical and racial moment that Jamaica now finds herself in, 53 years after independence, when concepts like race, racism, and color are being re-inscribed in new ways.

2010: The Dudus Nightmare

In September 2009 the Jamaica Gleaner, one of the island's leading newspapers published an article titled "Dudus Nightmare." The article quoted a local Jamaican intelligence officer who warned that the failure of then Prime Minister Bruce Golding to comply with the US State Department's extradition request for local don or criminal strongman, Christopher 'Dudus' Coke was likely to have potentially ruinous consequences and ramifications for both the safety of the Jamaican public and the economy. Coke was the area strongman of the garrison community known as Tivoli Gardens and leader of the notorious Shower Posse, also known as the Presidential Click. It has been said that the name Shower Posse derived from the gang's tendency to inundate their enemies with

bullets, which would often rain down like showers from the sky.[3] In Jamaica, a garrison community is regarded as one where "the dominant party and/or its local agents/supporters are able to exercise control over all significant political, economic and community related social activities" (Figueroa and Sives 2002, 83). These communities are usually aligned with one of the country's two major political parties, the People's National Party (PNP) or the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and failure by a resident of the community to support the dominant party can often result in physical harm or death. Such a community operates in essence, as a state within the larger Jamaican state and it is the don, a male[4] often with criminal ties, who is taken to be the de facto ruler. In a garrison community, the don functions as an extra-legal actor who, because of services of goodwill to his community and his ability to maintain order, is often seen by residents as a philanthropic community leader. In no uncertain terms, as an extra-legal actor who governs through collaboration with illegal actors as well as legal state actors, the don complicates the sovereignty of the Jamaican nation-state (Jaffe 2012, 2013).[5] Coke was being charged by the United States with trafficking guns and drugs between Jamaica and the US. The Jamaican government's now infamous nine-month delay in acquiescing to the United States' extradition request sparked public outrage in the small island nation. Golding, in defending his delay, remarked in a sitting of the Jamaican Parliament that

[3] Harriott and Katz (2015) have argued that the Shower Posse represents not a typical criminal group but rather, an example of a high intensity and high impact case. The authors liken the Shower Posse to a mafia group given its power as well as the fact that it is one of Jamaica's oldest and most resistant criminal groups with connections to global criminal networks.

[4] To my knowledge, there is no known evidence of a female don in Jamaica.

[5] Jaffe, in her article "From Maroons to Dons: Sovereignty, Violence and Law in Jamaica" (2015) offers an historicization of the don through the figure of the maroon. In Jamaica, Maroons (runaway slaves) often provided military assistance to the British. Jamaica's Maroon community is known to have helped to quell the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. Jaffe argues that at different historical moments, the Jamaican state has in fact actively condoned active insurgents and effectively collaborated with outlaw actors and thus has often complicated the sovereignty of the state.

"constitutional rights don't begin at Liguanea," a clear reference to the US embassy's location in Kingston. For many, Golding's actions and his comment reflected well the country's history of political ties to crime. Also, for many, it was no coincidence that Coke was the don for Tivoli Gardens, a community that has been a historical bastion of support for the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) each election season, and which was at the time led by Golding who was also the Member of Parliament for the community. The Coke affair festered until it finally erupted on May 24, 2010 when the island's security forces, on the command of Prime Minister Golding, invaded Tivoli Gardens in search of Coke. The island was placed under a state of emergency and all of Kingston came to an abrupt halt. At the end of the three-day incursion, Coke was still at large and seventy-three Tivoli residents were dead. Coke was captured a month later - outside of the community - and extradited to the United States where he was incarcerated and sentenced to 23 years in a New York federal prison. In May 2017, it was reported in the Jamaican press that Coke had been moved to a low-security prison facility where he would serve the remaining years of his sentence.

In the wake of the 2010 Tivoli incursion, the Independent Commission of Investigations (INDECOM) was established with the stated goal of investigating actions by members of the local security forces that result in the abuse of rights, death, or injury to civilians. Additionally, from December 2014 to February 2016, the island witnessed proceedings of the Western Kingston Commission of Enquiry (COE), which featured testimonies from Tivoli Gardens residents, police and army officers and politicians in an attempt to ascertain what exactly occurred in May 2010. While conducting fieldwork in Kingston in 2015, I witnessed just how much the enquiry's proceedings, which were

publicized on the radio, television, and in local newspapers, captivated the nation. From vigorous debates about the salaries of the commissioners to what the press described as the vibrant witness personalities to the graphic accounts of property destroyed and innocent lives gunned down, the enquiry will be remembered as a defining moment in Jamaica's modern post-independence history precisely because amidst the hustle and bustle of daily life, Jamaicans from all walks of life paused to tune in, if only intermittently, to hear, listen to and reflect on vivid first-hand testimonies that detailed the horrors of state violence. Jamaicans were forced to confront the nation's garrison political culture, brutal policing and the violence spectacularized that played out in the island's most prominent garrison community.

Following the end of the enquiry proceedings, an official 493-page report documenting the incursion, its aftermath and impact as well as a list of recommendations was subsequently released by the enquiry's three commissioners[6] and tabled in Jamaica's House of Representatives in June 2016.[7] While the establishment of an oversight organization like INDECOM and the commissioning of the enquiry can potentially be read as the state's commitment to truth and reconciliation, questions remain as to whether these initiatives can not only elicit the truth but also usher in a cultural shift away from state violence and militarism in Jamaica. Unfortunately, this skepticism is warranted. State violence is not a new phenomenon in Tivoli Gardens and the violence of the 2010 incursion

[6] The commission was chaired by Sir David Simmons, a distinguished jurist and politician from Barbados. He once served as Chief Justice and Attorney General of Barbados. The commission also included jurist Justice Hazel Harris and criminologist Professor Anthony Harriott.

[7] The purpose of the Commission of Enquiry was to ascertain the facts surrounding the incursion into Western Kingston, the events preceding it and its aftermath. Additionally, it was expected that the commissioners would make recommendations as regards future behavior and practice of the state and security forces. That is, from the outset, it was expected that no individual or entity would be criminally charged for involvement in the incursion.

into the community was only made more spectacular by the repeated incidents of state violence that have taken place there and have soaked the community over the years in its own blood. In July 2001, twenty-five residents of the community were killed and some sixty injured during what was termed "a police operation" by local security forces to reportedly seize weapons harbored in the community. The following year, an enquiry was commissioned again.[8] Fifteen years later Jamaicans found themselves in a frighteningly similar situation attempting to account for lives violently lost at the hands of the state.

The narrative surrounding the 2010 Tivoli incursion in both local and international media was one of spectacular violence. Newspaper stories with headlines like The Guardian's "The Battle for Kingston, Jamaica" (McGreal 2010) told the tale of a savage and bloody clash between Tivoli's worst criminals and the security forces. Articles described the Tivoli residents who protested that they were ready to lay down their lives for Coke. The famous image of a Tivoli protestor carrying a worn cardboard sign with the message "Jesus Die for Us, We Will Die For Dudus!!!" made its rounds in print and online media. This rendering of Kingston as a spectacle of violence has very much defined critical urban anthropological and criminological scholarship on the city. Key works have provided commentary on the emergence of the figure of the criminal don in many Kingston inner-city communities in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a time when poverty, unemployment, poor housing, and criminality started to become rampant in these areas (Gray 2004; Gunst 1995; Harriott 1996; Thomas 2011).

[8] The island's security forces, the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) and the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF) reported that during this police operation which lasted from July 7-10, 2001, they came under attack from armed men and responded using lethal force. Locally, there was public outcry that a formal enquiry be commissioned given the use of deadly force by the JCF and the JDF. Amnesty International sent delegates to observe the 2002 enquiry and in 2003 produced a report in which they unequivocally condemned the enquiry for failing to consider criminal proceedings in violation of international standards and for being structurally biased in favor of the Jamaican state (Amnesty International 2003).

It was during this historical moment that the relationship between post-independence politics and criminality started to breed the image of a kind of spectacular violence in the city. Of course, the Tivoli incursion was in many ways a moment of brute extrajudicial violence. The enquiry's proceedings and the final report revealed that the militarism of the security forces encapsulated all manners of horrors, from the forced invasion into the community, the month-long 6 pm curfew enforced by arrest, the leveling of bombs onto residents' homes, and the murder of innocent young men, to aerial surveillance of the community through a mystery plane that was later revealed to belong to the United States. This barefaced and brutal militarism and, especially, the justification of it is what motivated then Minister of National Security Dwight Nelson to unashamedly proclaim to local media that "*we are going to hunt them down as they ought to be hunted down and bring the full brunt of the law on them."* Such language is eerily reminiscent of President George W. Bush's declaration in his first speech on 9/11 at the Emma E. Booker Elementary School in Sarasota County, Florida that the United States would launch an investigation "*to hunt down and to find those folks*" who committed the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Both Nelson's and Bush's rhetoric invoking the racialized trope of the hunter called on, and called for, a de-humanizing of suspected individuals and a willingness to compromise at all costs their humanity in the name of ensuring the security of the nation and, by extension, the security of citizens the state was willing to protect. At the end of the Tivoli Gardens incursion, the "them" who deserved to be hunted down like wild animals were revealed to be innocent and criminal Tivoli Gardens residents alike. Thus, I suggest the incursion was much more than just an example of state violence but it was tied to a

larger project of disciplining and restricting the personal freedoms of Tivoli's poor, black, and urban residents in the name of safeguarding national security.

Moreover, this project was a defining moment in Jamaica's recent post-independence history because it was instrumental in re-inscribing socio-historical ideas about citizenship and belonging in the city. Golding's comments in Parliament prior to the incursion reveal as much, for in defending his use of emergency powers, he asserted that,

> *"The operation being carried out under emergency powers, are extraordinary measures but they are an extraordinary response to an extraordinary challenge to the safety and security of our citizens…The government is aware that the imposition of a state of emergency limited, though it is to the Corporate Area, has negative implications in terms of international media coverage and this effect on tourism marketing. It is, however, a necessary measure to address our present challenge and every effort is being made to minimize those negative effects."*

Golding's comments illustrate why the incursion was not just another example of spectacular violence in Kingston but truly crystallized the post-9/11 security moment that Goldstein describes: the incursion was a necessary evil, one required to protect the safety and security of the island's citizens as well as the economic well-being of the nation. The state incursion into Tivoli Gardens clearly illustrates that the Jamaican state very much framed the security of the nation as being tied to the introduction of insecurity into an inner city community. This introduction of insecurity into Tivoli Gardens I contend, was dependent on a willingness to compromise the citizenship of Tivoli's residents, that is, effectively imagine them as second-class citizens. Given Tivoli's death toll as well as the militarized and surveillance measures employed against the community, a simple but profound question must be asked in relation to Golding's comment: *which* Jamaican citizens deserve to have their safety and security protected or compromised? The initial local reaction to the incursion points in the direction of an answer to this question. Innocent

lives were lost in Tivoli, yet, in the immediate aftermath of the incursion there was no national outpouring of grief, no demonstrations, no words of solidarity screamed into loudspeakers. Why?

The Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), referred to the Tivoli Gardens invasion as Operation Key West while the Jamaica Defense Force (JDF), the military arm of the security forces, referred to it as Operation Garden Parish. However, in everyday public discourse in Jamaica, the events that came to pass in Tivoli Gardens in May 2010 came to be known as the Tivoli incursion. The very use of the word incursion points to the fact that this event in essence, played out in the national imaginary, like an attack on an enemy. In her discussion of the violence that characterizes life in Brazil's urban *favelas* da Silva (2009) argues that the modern Brazilian sovereign state is dependent on an investment in violence for its own self-preservation. She contends that the country's *favelas* are spaces that have become marked by raciality and that criminality has become written onto the black and brown bodies that occupy these spaces. Subject-hood for these bodies she argues becomes imagined not through citizenship and belonging within the state but through criminality and violence. The very presence of these bodies as perceived threats means that violence and de-humanization of the *favelas* at the hands of the state comes to be performed *a priori.* In this way, *favelas* have become legitimate spaces for the deployment of the violent security apparatuses of the state. Crucial to da Silva's analytical reasoning is the idea that violence is in fact rooted in law and the modern state. Thus, she argues that it is through violence that the sovereign Brazilian state both punishes subjects and is dependent upon for its own self-determination. For da Silva, such an ethical-juridical schema inscribes the

black and brown residents in Brazil's *favelas* as racialized criminal others – essentially people that possess no-bodies and are therefore nobodies.

For many middle and upper-class Jamaicans, an inner-city community like Tivoli Gardens will always be a bastion of criminals. Sadly, all residents in Tivoli, whether law-abiding or not, are generally lumped together and seen as unscrupulous elements of society. This lack of respect for life in Tivoli can be traced back further than the present security moment. It is rooted in the legacy of a racist, colorist, classist, and exclusionist plantocratic system and, later, post-independence politics that has condemned poor, black bodies to inferiority. This legacy has meant that even in Jamaica, where there is a black majority, black leadership and black wealth, still, there is a valorization of certain bodies and spaces--those regarded as "uptown," affluent, and aspirationally white - and a chastisement of others - those viewed as "downtown" or, poor, black, and criminal. In Jamaica, a nation with all citizens living daily with this legacy of a stratified plantocratic society there is no denying that class and color shape which spaces are visited by the police and which are invaded. Indeed, in quite factual terms, the Tivoli enquiry and report revealed the truth of what happened in the community in May 2010. However, I would suggest that Tivoli's truth is not a simple recounting of events, dates, and names. It is a deeper one that demands of Jamaica an interrogation of why some citizens deserve to have their rights to security, life, private homes and by extension, their citizenship compromised. Such an interrogation requires a willingness to examine how historical practices of surveillance, policing, discipline, governance and power continue to haunt poor, black and urban residents in Kingston. In order to historically contextualize the militarism,

surveillance tactics and policing that took place in Tivoli Gardens in 2010, a re-engagement with Jamaica's immediate post-independence history is necessary.

1962: Out of Many, One People

On August 6, 1962 after 307 years of being bound by colonial shackles, Jamaica became an independent nation. The Union Jack was officially lowered and the lustrous black, green and gold flag, symbol of the fledgling nation, was reverently hoisted into a Jamaican night sky. In 1962, ubiquitous optimism and the new motto – or rather, myth – of being "Out of Many, One People" temporarily masked the color-based and social divisions that permeated Jamaican society. Of course, Bhabha (1999) reminds us of the fallacy of the many as one narrative of modern social cohesion and the fact that this narrative must be dismantled. It was during this era of unbridled optimism and hope that Tivoli Gardens was to emerge as a modern community in western Kingston. Tivoli Gardens rose from the ashes and rubble of Back-o-Wall, a long stretch of wasteland located beside the Kingston harbor. With its dilapidated board and mud houses, non-existent electricity and plumbing, Back-o-Wall which housed some 1,500 residents on 40 acres was regarded as the worst slum in the Caribbean at the time. It clearly was not a symbol of the new modern nation.

The metamorphosis of Back-o-Wall into the newly designed Tivoli Gardens was envisioned by the young Edward Seaga, a light-skinned Jamaican born in the US to Jamaican parents of Syrian descent and educated at Harvard. In 1962, Seaga, who was a member of the center-right Jamaica Labour Party, was elected Member of Parliament for Western Kingston. He would later go on to lead the JLP, lead the country as Prime Minister (1980-1989) and hold the Western Kingston seat for 40 consecutive years. Seaga

envisioned Tivoli Gardens as a comprehensive urban community development model that would not only take "the man out of the slum but the slum out of the man" (Seaga 2010b).[9] The community was designed and birthed as a modern utopian community, and in this utopia, Seaga was not only loved but was also a demi-god. An early promotional film from the 1960s shows Seaga dressed in a suit, sunglasses and with perfectly coiffed hair, touring parts of the newly built community. Like a Jamaican Messiah, little black and barefoot children flock to him to join him on his walk through the community. The camera pans intermittently to the newly constructed and freshly painted apartment buildings and houses. Archival footage from these early years shows the construction of modern apartment blocks, duplex units, a maternity center, a basic school, a community center and a play field. Seaga transformed the area from a series of decayed shacks whose only notoriety came from being "behind a wall" and converted it into the modern, utopian urban community of Tivoli Gardens, named not insignificantly, after a famed European garden, one of the most majestic in the world. But perhaps more importantly, this footage also shows an adoration for the non-black Seaga by Tivoli's poor and African descended residents and as such visually highlights the complex politics of racialization that took form in the post-independence landscape. As a light-skinned man in a majority black country, Seaga was able to claim an elite and privileged status. The social, political and economic capital he wielded effectively marked him as white.

These early promotional films show Seaga giving to Tivoli Gardens and its residents a stake in the newly formed and modern nation of Jamaica. This imagining of Tivoli Gardens as a utopian community in Kingston city is rooted in a long philosophical tradition

[9] See also, Seaga's autobiography *Edward Seaga: My Life and Leadership Volume 1, Clash of Ideologies, 1930-1980* (2010a).

that has fixated on the urban space as the site of human order as well as maximum human liberty. This characterization of the city is certainly evident in various architectural and planning movements in Europe and the United States which first emerged in the 1800s.[10] In the post-independence period, Tivoli Gardens was Jamaica's first truly utopian urban community, grounded in a Western idealized modernity and perhaps more importantly, predicated on post-colonial expectations. The very architecture and plan of the community revealed the agenda of modernity haunted by the legacy of the colonial experience (Rabinow 1995). In the 1960s, even before the onslaught of garrison politics and extrajudicial violence was to plague the community, Tivoli's utopian status as well as its residents' ownership in newly independent Jamaica was to be impacted by techniques of surveillance and discipline. The Tivoli Gardens home is important to consider here. One of the promotional films for the community from the 1960s shows a family consisting of a father, mother and three children preparing to eat dinner in their home. As the father and his children take their seats at the table in the dining room of the small home, the mother gives each a plate and then afterwards takes her own seat. A prayer is said and all bow their heads in reverence. This particular clip is less than five minutes long and it is worth asking why it was included in the promotional footage. What is the symbolic importance of what appears to be a perfectly curated Jamaican family at the dinner table performing the ritual of blessing their food? Brenner (1998), in her analysis of the relationship between modernity and the domestic sphere in Java, has argued that the nuclear family often goes hand in hand with efforts at creating a specifically modern nation. The Tivoli Gardens

[10] Most notably they include Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement of the late 1800s, the City Beautiful movement in the mid nineteenth century which was driven by the philosophy of American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Le Corbusier's "Radiant City" project in 1924 and Frank Lloyd Wright's Broadacre City concept introduced in the early 1930s.

promotional film reveals that in postcolonial Jamaica, the home as well as the family emerged as critical sites where a civilized sense of respectability would be both bred and surveilled. This respectability, dependent on a hetero-normative gender politics and on a specifically Judeo-Christian ethics, speaks to the emergence of the urban Kingston household as a space where discipline, surveillance, citizenship and belonging were negotiated in the new nation.

Such policing of black domesticity was prevalent in the Caribbean and in the United States in the post-emancipation period. Recently freed slaves were subjected to lessons of hygiene in order to curb what was perceived as their natural bodily inclination towards criminality, and disease (Hartman 1997). Domesticity was taken to be a sign of civilization, settlement, and rational desire, and so the well-being of the body and the household came to be linked with moral refinement and civilization. Moreover, it was the well-ordered home that came to be associated with the shift towards a free self who now had a claim to both property and humanity. Still, for the ex-slave, the domestic space did not represent a fortified domain of limitless freedom. At any moment, a female slave could have her children taken from her "home" and sold to the highest bidder. At any moment, a male slave could have his wife stolen from his "home" to have her body satisfy the lust and fascination of a white planter. Moreover, it was this slave "home" that was consistently monitored by the plantocratic state, for above all else, it was a critical breeding ground and thus integral to the economic stability of the slave society. As such, the ex-slave's domestic space was at best, a liminal one, fixed between the public and the private. The liminality of this space derived from its fragility because it was the ultimate scene of surveillance and discipline. This was violently played out in the Tivoli Gardens of 2010. Indeed, for the ex-

slave as it was for the 1960s Tivoli Gardens resident, even in the home, privacy was at best an aspirational ideal. This "microphysics of colonial rule" (Stoler 2006, 9) dictated that concerns about morality, cleanliness, cultural competence, and nationalism be linked to the most mundane and pedestrian everyday activities. Indeed, as Stoler asserts, matters of the intimate are critical sites for the consolidation of colonial power. She also argues that management of these domains provides a strong pulse on how relations of empire are exercised (Stoler 2006, 4). Stoler reminds us that intimacy and domesticity are intrinsically linked and very much implicated in the performance of colonial power. In post-independence Tivoli Gardens, the private and urban domestic space came to be of critical importance in the state's projects of discipline and governance.

The need for the post-colonial nation to be populated by disciplined citizens was signaled on that historic independence day that was filled with infinite optimism. In his message to the newly independent nation, Jamaica's first Prime Minister, Sir Alexander Bustamante remarked, "independence means the opportunity for us to frame our own destiny and the need to rely on ourselves in so doing. It does not mean a licence to do as we like. It means work and law and order." For Bustamante, an independent Jamaica was one to be defined not by a past marred by colonialism and slavery. Instead, it would be defined by a postcolonial present and future that would be shaped by lawful and orderly citizens. Bustamante imagined a postcolonial destiny separate from its colonial legacy. Still, by emphasizing that the postcolonial nation be governed by law, work and order his comment reveals that even in the new order, the language of the old persists. Jamaican independence brought a re-purposing of these tenets as well as the rhetoric and strategies that had once dominated the colonial landscape. As the rhetoric and techniques of discipline and

governance became re-imagined and re-inscribed in the post-colonial space, there emerged alongside it a sense of nationalism that privileged class, whiteness and respectability and effectively silenced Afro-Jamaican person-hood. This historical silence and the failure to acknowledge the ways in which colonialism and slavery had shaped and functioned in Jamaican society meant that in the nationalist agenda, a deep engagement with race, color and class were excluded from discourses on nationhood, citizenship and selfhood. This nationalist agenda in post-colonial Jamaica illustrates well Cohn's (1996) contention that the establishment of the nation-state is dependent on not just controlling bodies and discourse in the present but also dependent on controlling and representing the past. What this means is that in postcolonial Jamaica, the nationalist narrative defined respectability in terms of middle-class status and shaped citizenship through the historical silencing of the afro subject and experience. Bogues (2002) has argued that this silencing was the result of an attempt to "construct a subject and nation-state rooted in conditions of colonial governmentality…[and that this] decolonization project created a postcolony rather than a postcolonial condition" (Bogues 2002, 26). Fashioning Jamaica's post-independence project in this vernacular meant that as the nation progressed in her journey of self-governance, the race and class divisions which had defined the population centuries earlier would only continue to fester. Tivoli Gardens, once a symbol of a modern utopia, one inscribed nonetheless by colonial thinking about space and belonging, would ultimately come to feel the effects of this festering. The 1970s brought with it the onslaught of a host of socio-political issues stemming from economic instability and political warring between the People's National Party and the Jamaica Labour Party that effectively helped to breed poverty and criminality in the community and imbue its residents with what I describe as a

second-class or compromised citizenship. It is this political machine that has helped to breed a lack of respect and value for life and person-hood in Tivoli Gardens, such that, a violent incursion in 2010 was justified in the name of national security but, when seventy-three lives were lost, there was no national uproar. This is the Tivoli Gardens that exists today in the national imaginary. It bears little resemblance to either its 1960s self or the famed Italian gardens. Today, the community is made up of individuals involved in the wholesale, retail, cosmetic, masonry, and carpentry industries. These individuals have displayed a sense of resilience in the face of over five decades of poverty and violence. Nonetheless today, Tivoli Gardens is most recognized as being the mother of all Jamaican garrisons and featuring a concrete jungle of once modern, but now dilapidated residential structures, which, over the years have come to be decorated with bullet holes.

A Black Sense of Place

In her essay "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place," Katherine McKittrick mobilizes the analytic *urbicide*, that is, the deliberate death of the city as a means of explaining the "ongoing destruction of a black sense of place in the Americas" (McKittrick 2011, 951). Through the notion of *urbicide,* McKittrick conceptualizes the ways in which a racialized and geographic violence, which constitutes the very fabric of "post" slave and "post" colonial landscapes, serves to mark black bodies as placeless entities, waste matter "condemned to death over and over again." For McKittrick, it is the contemporary American prison that represents a prominent geographical space that renders highly visible the work of *urbicide* on black, predominantly male bodies, written as criminal. If *urbicide* highlights the death of the city and the systematic enactment of death

upon black bodies, then Tivoli Gardens presents itself as a racial geography worth investigating. Effectively living in Tivoli Gardens has come to mean the ability to bear the burdensome weight of violence, surveillance, and policing upon one's body and one's home by the Jamaican state. Such an existence speaks to necropolitical governance by the state where "the generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations" (Mbembe 2003, 14) is the primary objective of power, rather than autonomy. In many ways, living in Tivoli Gardens means being able to live with the constant visible and invisible, material and immaterial markers of death. Whether through curfews imposed on the community's inner-city residents or through violent incursions, Tivoli Gardens reveals well the constant performance of a community condemned to death over and over again. This repetition of death over and over again speaks to a kind of spectrality, in essence a haunting that reinforces the colonial project in the post-colonial nation. It is this spectrality of surveillance and discipline that tremendously shapes both the limits and possibilities of black corporality across the spatio-temporality and geography of the nation.

Prime Minister Bustamante's vision in 1962 that an independent Jamaica would be defined by work, law and order, revealed clearly that in many ways the postcolonial state has "expanded and not transformed the basic institutional arrangements of colonial law and administration" (Chatterjee 1993, 15). His comment signaled an attempt to create a temporal divide between Jamaica's colonial past and its postcolonial future. However, it is indeed important to study the nation as a temporal process. Bhabha argues that "the problematic boundaries of modernity are enacted in [the] ambivalent temporalities of the nation space" (Bhabha 1999, 211). I suggest that race studies scholars must become

comfortable sitting with and within these ambivalent temporalities. What I am arguing for is more than just a project of historicization, but rather, a commitment to thinking with and through layered and multiple spatio-temporalities and corporalities as intertwined. I believe that this is what will allow for a radical re-engagement with black history. Such a re-engagement must be attentive to fractured and fragmented trajectories and allow for a more nuanced understanding of the city as an architecture that organizes past, present and future bodies.

In 2017, Jamaica will celebrate 55 years of independence. For many Jamaicans, the colonial self seems like a distant relative and the slave self seems even more far removed from the preoccupations of everyday life. Still, the mundanity of everyday Jamaican life continues to be shaped by both old and new intertwined processes of discipline and racialization. As such, scholarship in racial studies must seek to continually destabilize the historiographical divide between the colonial past and the postcolonial present. Such labor emphasizes porosity and an understanding of time and space that is not finite. Turning to the archive with a renewed energy is critical here, for it is the archive - in its traditional sense, but also embodied by bodies and geography - that performs and performatively re-enacts experiences over space and time. Attention to the multiple forms the archive may take and the multiple ways in which it may be constructed can offer useful insights for thinking about the ability of black radical historiography and critical race studies to operate in new and productively counter-hegemonic ways. Moreover, such attention will allow for a reclaiming of Tivoli's humanity – the humanity of those who lost their lives violently as well as those still living – and offer new orientations for the study of Black lives.

CHAPTER 2
The Fortified Home: Middle Class Fear, Metal, and Memory in the Securityscape

Rethinking the Securityscape

Thistle Drive was worlds apart from Tivoli Gardens. When I arrived at my family's home located at number 10 in January 2015 to commence fieldwork, the Tivoli Gardens Commission of Enquiry had only been underway for one month. I, like many Jamaicans, would tune into the proceedings that were broadcast live each day by local television and radio stations from the Jamaica Conference Center located in downtown Kingston or watch clips replayed at night on the evening news. Downtown Kingston, or, "downtown" as it is known in local parlance, was once the heart of Jamaica's original business district. However, after the increase in crime in nearby inner-city communities such as Tivoli Gardens, many corporate businesses shuttered their doors and fled north to a more affluent section or, "uptown" part of the city to establish the island's new business district which was dubbed, "New Kingston." As Harrison (1997) has suggested, according to most Kingstonians' cognitive maps, the uptown-downtown divide is an important way in which they conceptualize both social class and political geography in the city. The enquiry's quasi-legal courtroom drama that featured the three commissioners serving as both judge and jury and that saw lawyers representing the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF), the Jamaica Defence Force (JDF) and the Office of the Public Defender (OPD) interrogating Tivoli Gardens residents, politicians, police officers and soldiers gripped me. The intensity of the public and media interest reminded me of O.J. Simpson's 1995 "Trial of the Century." As I listened to Tivoli Gardens' residents dig deep into the cavities of their memory banks to

exhume recollections of bombs dropping, property destroyed and stories of a community's sense of dignity and humanity reduced to bloodshed and rubble, it was evident to me that even though five years had passed, still, the community was consumed by hurt, fear and anger. Some of these testimonies were blood curling, some heartbreaking and numbing and as the residents' words were transmitted to me, I could not help but meditate on the fact that Thistle Drive, in a middle class part of the city stood in such stark contrast to Tivoli Gardens. Acknowledging this fact meant confronting my own privileges as both researcher and as someone who grew up in middle class sections of the city. Moreover, it was a visceral reminder of the socio-economic divisions between Kingston's lower, middle and upper classes, which manifested as spatial divides in the city (Alexander 1977; Austin 1984; Gordon 1987; Stone 1986; Ulysse 2007).

Just a little over six miles north of Tivoli Gardens, Thistle Drive was a part of a middle class enclave located in the larger community of Hillview. In this part of the KMA, residents did not fear horrific incursions and extrajudicial violence at the hands of the repressive arm of the state (Althusser 1971). There was no fear of violence spectacularized, raining down in the form of bullets and bombs, being leveled against one's body and one's home. Still, it was evident to me that fear reigned tacitly nonetheless. I was reminded of this tacit fear each morning at Thistle Drive. Upon waking each morning, I would move to my bedroom window and stick my hand through the metal burglar bars painted burgundy in order to crack open the wooden window louvres. In would come streaming into the bedroom the first rays of sunlight, bending their way through the louvres and metal bars, signaling the start of the new day. From this vantage point, I had a clear view of the front yard of the house with its white wooden fence that was lined with pink and orange

bougainvillea trees. The petals of the bougainvilleas were always radiant in the soft morning light, which would ultimately give way to the more brilliant and harsh Kingston sun. These metal burglar bars very much complemented the other metal work which was an important infrastructural and security feature of the home. In addition to the metal bars located on the inside of every window, the spacious verandah at the front of the house was enclosed with stylized white metal grillwork and a metal gate that was secured with a padlock. Additionally, the front yard featured a short white metal gate that marked the entrance to the modest three bedroom home. Living with metal as an important aesthetic and security feature of the home was not something that was new to me. Metal, in this iteration, that is, as security infrastructure, had been a part of my own childhood in Jamaica. I very much came of age culturally in the Caribbean, at an historical moment when the optimism that came with Jamaican independence in 1962 and the shedding of the colonial order had started to wane. In the 1990s and 2000s as a young girl from a middle class family, I both witnessed and experienced Jamaica's financial instability and the resulting economic strain, a consequence of structural adjustment policies from international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Bolles 1991; Clarke and Howard 2006; Handa and King 1997; Harrison 1997). The island's dire economic situation compounded by political instability, a result of the entrenchment of garrison politics, ultimately contributed to an escalation in crime and an increased preoccupation with home security, especially by the island's middle and upper classes.

A singular focus on Kingston's securityscape through the lens of the Tivoli Gardens incursion aligns with Gusterson's (2004) concept of the securityscape as one defined by

distributions of weaponry, military force and military-scientific resources localized in the nation-state.[1] Yet, if one travels only six miles north of Tivoli Gardens, a different animation of Kingston's securityscape presents itself. On Thistle Drive, the middle class domestic space has emerged as an important fortified landscape and metal, has emerged as a critical constituent in the urban securityscape. In this part of the city, middle class residents, in response to the city's crime rate, have barricaded themselves behind, what is perhaps best described as, prison architecture. It is metal that has become the first line of defense for Kingston's middle class and it is metal that has converted this part of the cityscape into a metallurgical securityscape. And yet, Kingston's metal is also so much more than just security infrastructure. The bars, grills and gates that middle class residents use to enclose themselves inside their homes are stylized, decorative and produced by local metalworkers and artisans. Moreover, a closer look at this metal reveals the presence of West African *adinkra* patterns. I suggest that the metal in Kingston's securityscape must be studied in light of the city's situation as an urban space of the Black Atlantic (Gilroy 1993; Thompson 1983) where afro- diasporic expressive and political cultural practices, in particular traditions surrounding iron and metal, continue to connect black geographies across space and time. Central to this argument is not only what it means to live with metal but also, what it means to work with metal. Put simply, I argue that the metal in Kingston's securityscape must be studied both as a technology of security and, as an artifact of Afro-diasporic history.

[1] For additional discussion on the anthropology of militarism see Gusterson (2007) and Amoore and de Goede (2008).

Figure 2. Heavily fortified middle class home in the KMA

This chapter is organized around the middle class home and metal, which I use to consider and complicate the politics of fear, fortification and memory in Kingston's Black Atlantic securityscape. To do this, I ethnographically situate Kingston's metal fortified home and middle class fear. I also share my ethnographic interactions with Mr. Smith, a metal artisan in Kingston in order to examine the materiality and historicity of Kingston's metal. It was Mr. Smith who described metal, the material he had worked with for most of his life, in the following way,

> *"the material has life in it and it has memory, if you're bending a piece of metal and you go so, you try straighten it and you bend it, it go somewhere else, it wants to go back to where it was. So you could possibly say its emotionally hurt and it remembers and goes back to that hurt point"*

And so in this chapter I ask, what would it mean to historically and materially re-think the middle class Kingston home and the middle class desire for security through an analysis of the stylized metal that decorate homes? What would it meant to rethink Kingston's securityscape with an explicit attention to metal and memory. To begin to grapple with these questions, I do four things in this chapter. First, I contextualize the fortification practices and middle class fear of crime in Kingston through attention to the spatial situation of Thistle Drive as a middle class enclave. Second, I offer a geo-history of the middle class home, what I term, an architecture of freedom (Nelson 2016), in relation to the history of post-emancipation land ownership in the Caribbean. Third, I return to Mr. Smith in order to consider the relationship between the artisan and metal and the material history of metal in the Caribbean. I also analyze here, the *adinkra* symbols featured in the grillwork of many middle class homes in order to consider how an Afro-diasporic symbolic system interpenetrates paradigms of security and discipline. Finally, I conclude with a discussion of how attention to the materiality and historicity of metal in Kingston can open up a space for thinking about the Caribbean fortress city as an effort at memory.

Situating Middle Class Fear in Kingston

Number 10 Thistle Drive, a modest three-bedroom, two-bathroom home was located on a lot on which there were three other residences – two other three-bedroom homes and a one-bedroom studio flat – a move by the landlord, Mr. Collins, to squeeze as much rent out of the land as possible. Every inch of the property was in use apart from a single narrow driveway to the right of the property for the residents to enter and exit by car. The property's original three-bedroom home was located at the front of the lot and

faced the hustle and bustle of Thistle Drive. My family's home, sandwiched between the original three-bedroom and the studio flat, faced the property to the right of number 10, a small gated complex of apartments that was separated from us by a low concrete wall of about 6 feet. On that property stood a guava tree which hung over into the driveway of number 10. During guava season, the tree was always laden with the perfectly ripened sweet yellow fruit which, because of the low wall, was easy to pick without much effort. However, a few months into my stay it became evident to me that I was not the only one taking advantage of the low hanging fruit. In response to a number of young men entering number 10 and climbing the wall in order to avail themselves of some of the delicious guavas, the landlord for the gated complex informed the residents of number 10 that he had made the conscious decision to increase the height of the separating concrete wall. Gone was the guava tree and gone too, was what little view I had of my neighbors, who became even more fortified in their gated complex. The new wall, about 8 feet high, was the view that I saw beyond the bougainvillea trees every morning from my bedroom window.

At the back of my family's home was a small backyard that had most of the space taken up by a clothing line and a "stringy" mango[2] tree that provided a great amount of shade. Later that mango tree was cut down because of the number of rats that it was attracting and all that was left was a fairly unattractive stump. Tall concrete wall separated the backyard from that of the original three-bedroom home and the studio flat on the property. The backyard would have been completely walled in had it not been for the chain link fence with barbed wire at the top separating us from Mrs. Best, whose home was located to the left of number 10. Mrs. Best was a woman in her sixties who lived with her

[2] This type of local mango is known for its long fibers that often get stuck between one's teeth.

blind husband and their 8-year-old grandson whom they both cared for. It was at the chain link fence that my family would often engage Mrs. Best in conversation, share news and exchange mangoes, spinach and slices of pumpkin. Mrs. Best had done no additions to her four bedroom house and her huge property consisted of 1 acre of front and backyard space that was dotted with mango, pomegranate and breadfruit trees. After my departure from number 10 in early 2016, I was informed of a robbery that had taken place in the studio flat and the three-bedroom house at the very end of the lot, in which money was stolen. In response, the landlord, Mr. Collins removed the chain link fence separating the property from Mrs. Best and replaced it with a concrete wall of 9 feet. Additionally, the entrance to number 10, which previously was a gateless opening, was replaced with an electronic gate. Later, when razor wire was added to the top of the concrete wall separating the backyard from Mrs. Best's property, I received a text message from my mother simply stating, "The premises now mirrors Fort Knox…the back wall to Mrs. Best now has barbed wire." Number 10's new look of being walled and gated in with little to no contact with neighbors was very much in keeping with the evolution of Thistle Drive where more and more original single home properties like Mrs. Best's were being demolished. From the dust and rubble would rise gated apartment complexes and communities. During my stay at number 10, one such construction project was undertaken at a property opposite Mrs. Best's home. When I returned to Kingston in 2016, the newly built apartments in this modern looking gated complex were being advertised for rent by a local realtor.

Due to the presence of a transportation hub located just off of Thistle Drive, near the top end of the street, it functioned in many ways like a main road. The transportation hub was always crowded with big yellow government buses, honking minivans and taxis,

drivers trying to navigate the labyrinth of vehicles and, pedestrians, adults and school children alike, making their way to their preferred form of transportation. Additionally, the presence of vendors selling everything from fish to sugarcane to marijuana, a supermarket and a small plaza which housed a pharmacy, wholesale shop and ATM added to the hustle and bustle of Thistle Drive. Thistle Drive is one of many residential streets populated by middle class residences that run perpendicular to the main arterial thoroughfare, Red Hills Road, a road approximately two miles long. Red Hills Road is a commercial district populated by a variety of businesses such as hardware stores, wholesale shops, and fruits and vegetable vendors. On Friday nights, the section of the road in close proximity to Thistle Drive is well known for the jerk and pan chicken men who cook the heavily seasoned meat in repurposed oil drums and serve it with Jamaican pepper, ketchup and hard dough bread in aluminum foil. Red Hills Road was once a hip strip in Kingston that featured bars, clubs, a vibrant nightlife and the city's first enclosed shopping center. However, a significant flare-up in crime in the late 1990s and 2000s in the nearby 100 Lane and Black Ants Lane inner-city communities caused businesses from bars to banks to close their doors and Red Hills Road to emerge as a ghost of its former self. Within the KMA, Black Ants Lane and 100 Lane are infamous for being high crime inner-city communities. A persistent reminder of what is often described in the media as the volatile nature of these communities, is the heavily armed police who constantly patrol the entrance to 100 Lane on Red Hills Road. Armed with M16 rifles, these police are, a visible reminder to all commuters traversing Red Hills Road of the potential threat that Black Ants Lane and 100 Lane pose to nearby communities.

The evolution of number 10 Thistle Drive from a set of traditional fortified middle class residences on a single lot to a makeshift gated community that still maintained the spatial autonomy (the verandahs, front yards and back yards) of the individual residences, marks it as a hybrid residential plan in Kingston's urban landscape. The property illustrates how the demand for security is shaping Kingston's urban landscape and the property offers itself as a microcosm for thinking about middle class fear and the architectural response to crime in Kingston. Indeed, the increase in fortification practices on Thistle Drive can be read as a reaction to experienced criminal intrusions, from guava thieves to house break-ins. One can even speculate that the fortification of Thistle Drive with metal and increasingly with electronic gates is a direct response to the street's spatial proximity to the 100 Lane and Black Ants Lane communities, which are seen as potential criminal threats. However, it is worth considering more deeply how actual victimization and the fear of being potentially impacted by a criminal act function in high crime cities. The literature shows that in high crime cities like Kingston, the fear of crime can be just as powerful as actual victimization. In a study conducted on the perception of insecurity in Jamaica, Harriott, Lewis and Zechmeister (2015) reported that nearly 50% of Jamaicans perceived crime and violence and related security concerns as the most serious national problem in 2014, although the island recorded only a 7% victimization rate over the period of observation. The authors conclude that crime impacts not only those who are victims of violent acts but also, those "who recognize the increased likelihood that they also might eventually be the victim of a crime" (Harriott, Lewis and Zechmeister 2015, 146). That is, high levels of insecurity may not always correspond to high or rising levels of crime. They suggest that "perceptions of insecurity are heightened in contexts in which the media

frequently reports on heinous and sometimes brazen acts of criminality, including the increasing prevalence of gang activities and violent crimes in some crime-free areas" (Harriott, Lewis and Zechmeister 2015, 146) and that levels of insecurity can often increase when there exists a lack of trust in judicial institutions and processes of the state. The findings of this study align with scholarship on urban insecurity and the fear of crime (Arnold 1991; Baker et al. 1983; Chadee and Ditton 2005; Hale 1996). Chadee's (2003) analysis of the fear of crime and the risk of victimization in Trinidad amongst the island's three major ethnic groups (Afro-Trinidadians, Indo-Trinidadians and those of mixed race) provides another example from the Caribbean. Chadee showed that in Trinidad, perceived risk is a stronger predictor of fear than actual victimization. He argues that in Trinidad, the paradox that presents itself is that, although individuals who reside in areas that are low in crime felt less at risk of being a victim of crime, still, they were more fearful of crime.

Beck's (1992) articulation of the concept of risk[3] is useful here to think through the paradox which Chadee highlights. Beck argues that prevalent in the modern day society are a number of types of risks that range from holes in the ozone to nuclear contamination to global warming. What distinguishes these risks is the fact that they are neither calculable nor controllable. According to Beck, the risks present in what he terms, the risk society, are defined by their un-predictability as well as their un-governability. In this society, pre-detection has emerged as a way to control and manage risk. Castel (1991) notes that in the risk society, pre-detection, that is, the identification and management of risks, has come to represent a new mode of surveillance. In the risk society, the main aim has become "not to confront a concrete dangerous situation, but to anticipate all the possible forms of irruption

[3] For an example of early writing on the idea of risk, especially in relation to the idea of uncertainty, see Frank Knight's *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit* (1921).

of danger" (Castel 1991, 288). Scholarship that has explored the prevalence of crime as a dominant risk in modern society (Dammert and Malone 2003; Hollway and Jefferson 1997; O'Malley 1998) asserts that in many cities, crime has become an element to be predicted, surveilled and governed. Today, this labor of prediction, surveillance and governance, once the domain of the state has come to be taken up by everyday citizens. In inner-city communities like Tivoli Gardens, where the police force is regarded as a rights-disregarding entity (Harriott 2000), the protection and security that would have normally been provided by the state, is often embodied in and through a local don. For Kingston's middle and upper classes a different dynamic is at work. In these communities, there exists widespread perception about the inability of the government to address escalated crime rates and the failure of the police to provide public safety. Las May, a veteran editorial cartoonist for The Jamaica Gleaner, the island's oldest printed newspaper, which was established in 1834, captured this general public perception of the government perfectly in a 2012 cartoon. In this cartoon a matador representing the Jamaican government stands trembling and sweating profusely with a small flag emblazoned with the words "CRIME PLAN" hanging from his hands. Looking nervously over his left shoulder the matador sees that charging towards his back is a gigantic, vicious and angry bull, whose branded skin reveals his name to be "CRIME." The sentiment that Las May relays is clear – the Jamaican government is ill-equipped to tackle the crime monster. What the image implicitly communicates is the fact that, in the face of an incapable government, the burden of security provision and of dealing with the crime risk shifts to the individual.

Investigating Kingston as a risk society allows for an engagement not only with the ways in which the high crime rate has sparked an increase in fear but also with the ways in

which residents have attempted to preemptively hedge their bets against coming into contact with criminal elements. For Kingston's middle class residents, such as those living on Thistle Drive, the fortification of the domestic space in response to the fear of crime is central to this project of managing the crime risk. The middle class home has emerged as a defensible space, where residents are using the very urban design of the home to prevent crime (Atlas 2008; Newman 1972). The fortress city is a metaphor of the city that has been well articulated by Davis (1990, 1992) and Low (2003). Modeled on Los Angeles, Davis' fortress city highlights the increasing militarization of urban space where growing distances, the use of walls and visual boundaries have increasingly become the norm. In the fortress city, crime and criminal bodies have come to be feared. As such, walls, gates and even shrubbery have emerged as ways to manage and regulate life in the home as well as life in the neighborhood. Low (2003) has explored how fortified suburban gated communities have come to thrive within the contemporary fortress city as residents seek to keep risks such as crime that could do harm to body and home at bay. Low (1996) has argued that studies on the phenomena of fortification at work in the fortress city have tended to focus on the cities of Los Angeles, Chicago and New York (Anderson 1990; Bourgois 1996). These studies continue a tradition in urban studies of giving critical attention to western cities. Within urban anthropology a notable exception here is Caldeira's (2000) ethnography of São Paulo, Brazil which illustrates how the fear of violence in Brazil's upper class community has justified a retreat into fortified enclaves.[4] The material response of the residents on Thistle Drive to crime and violence through metal security artifacts, concrete walls and electronic gates illustrates well how concerns

[4] Particularly rich investigations of this topic have been carried out in South Africa (Lemanski 2004) and Israel (Ochs 2011).

about security and safety become architecturally and infrastructurally animated in a Caribbean city of the Global South. Moreover, it illustrates the spatial implications of urban insecurity and the fear of crime. This fortification of the home and the reinforcement of it as the ultimate space of privacy marks it as a space predicated on a politics of enclosure and exclusion where bodies marked as criminal must be denied access at all costs. To fully understand this contemporary preoccupation with the security of the middle class domestic space in Kingston and the material and geographic rendering of it as a fortified enclave, an illumination of the geo-history of the middle class Kingston home is necessary.

The Black Home as an Architecture of Freedom

A recognition of the home as a social space highlights the social relations that are essential for its production. Space, in addition to being where multiple trajectories co-exist and always being under construction, is defined by the fact that it is a product of inter-relations (Massey 2005). As an intimate and everyday space[5], the home is produced and re-produced, made and re-made through our daily relations and inter-relations. It was Lefebvre (1991) who contended that the social production of urban space is critical to the reproduction of society. To this I would add, that the social production of the home[6] is fundamental to the reproduction of the city and thus also to the reproduction of society. Bourdieu's (1979) structural analysis of the Kabyle house confirms this. Bourdieu illustrated the way in which the Kabyle social universe is structured by spatial oppositions

[5] I recognize that the "home as the space of everyday life" is one of many metaphorial interpretations of this space. For example, Suk (2009) has explored the historical emergence of the "home as castle." Within Caribbean Studies, the imagination of the "home as place of origin" for diasporic communities is well established (Olwig 2007).

[6] Within anthropology there exists a tradition of giving critical attention to the home. Classic works include Lewis Henry Morgan's *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (1965) and André Leroi-Gourhan's *Milieu et Technique* (1945).

– inside/outside and east/west. Through these spatial oppositions and their symbolic meanings one can get a sense of gender roles and divisions within Kabyle society. He argued that the dark and humid interior of the Kabyle house symbolized the feminine values of domesticity and nurturing. In contrast, outside the house, the domain of men was associated with movement in the world. Outside the home, east was associated with masculinity and west with femininity. While from the outside, the home was associated with femininity, inside it was further sub-divided into masculine and feminine space. Inside the home, the polar opposites of east and west were reversed hence Bourdieu's title *The Kabyle House or the World Reversed*. Bourdieu suggested that one can think of the domestic home as a microcosm of Kabyle society.[7] It is clear that in his analysis of the Kabyle house Bourdieu was influenced by Bachelard's (1969) phenomenological study of domestic space. Bachelard wrote that,

> "over and over our memories, the house we were born in is physically inscribed in us. It is a group of organic habits…In short, the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting…The word habit is too worn a word to express this passionate liaison of our bodies, which do not forget, with an unforgettable house" (Bachelard 1969, 14-15).

If as Toffin (1994) suggests, space has no meaning except in relation to the people who occupy it, then Bachelard's articulation of the home speaks to the ways in which everyday practices performed in the domestic space not only come to mean something to us but also essentially become a part of our learned muscle memory. In this way our homes become a part of us, a part of our very identity. For Thistle Drive's residents, the act of engaging metal, through the opening and closing of gates, the locking of grills with padlocks and the squeezing of hands through burglar bars to open and close windows, was one that was

[7] It should be noted that Austin (1984) employs a similar dialectical reading of the Kingston home.

performed daily. Residents' homes, fortified with metal, repeatedly inscribed these habits and practices onto their bodies. This seemingly mundane performative act of engaging metal bars, grills and gates is central to the production of the middle class home and central too, to daily re-inscription of the middle class fear of crime.

In addition to inscribing habits and rituals in us, our homes also represent our utopian ideals and dreams. Mumford sensed as much when he wrote that,

> "...it is our utopias that make the world tolerable to us: the cities and mansions that people dream of are those in which they finally live. The more that men react upon their environment and make it over after a human pattern, the more continuously do they live in utopia..." (Mumford 1922, 11).

Whether one lives in a mansion, as Mumford references, or a middle class house on Thistle Drive in urban Kingston, our home often speaks to our dreams and to the ideal lives that we hope to lead (Low and Chambers 1989). Ghannam (2002) for example, has illustrated the home as an aspirational place through her ethnographic analysis of the spatial practices that Egyptian residents use to consciously and unconsciously resist the structure and order of the modern apartment in order to achieve their ideal domestic space. In the Caribbean, the ideals that define the home as an aspirational space are shaped by socio-historical narratives about land, a commodity that has always been intimately tied to the very humanity of black bodies in the region. During slavery, land ownership was something that could only be aspired to by slaves. Considered to be property themselves, slaves could claim no ownership of their own bodies and thus, could claim no ownership of the very land that they worked. This relationship between the black slave body and land, predicated on a lack of proprietorship which was institutionalized by slavery, explains why the slave plot or provision ground, which slaves were eventually given to cultivate food to

supplement their diet provided by their planters, was a revolutionary piece of land. On the plot, slaves could make a claim to land. By tilling and working the provision ground, the slave was able to convert it into a geography of resistance, the antithesis of the plantation. This is an argument well articulated by Wynter (1971). Mintz (1978) argues that by foregoing estate organized food production and the importation of food for slaves in order to cut costs, through the plot, planters facilitated the emergence of the proto-peasant, a hybrid of the proletarian and the peasant. For Mintz, it was the activities of the proto-peasantry that prepared slaves for their freedom and he links this figure to the emergence of the Caribbean higgler. The slave proto-peasant reveals that questions about land, property and ownership were not simply thrust upon the slaves at the dawn of emancipation. These were ideas that the slaves were actively negotiating even before freedom was on the horizon.

Though emancipation re-organized and re-produced (Hartman 1997) many of the disciplinary and surveillance practices of slavery, the watershed moment also meant that for the first time in their lives, former slaves could claim ownership of their bodies and in addition to this, lay claim to material things in the world, including land on which to construct ideas about home. The Caribbean home and yard, tied intimately to the emergence and growth of the region's post-emancipation peasantries afforded former slaves the opportunity to truly engage a sense of freedom and a black sense of place in the domestic space which slavery had forbidden. The yard and verandah have long been acknowledged to be uniquely central to cultural life in the Caribbean. In his essay "Houses and Yards among Caribbean Peasantries" Mintz wrote that "the house is far more than a fabrication of wood and thatch, the yard far more than a locale for the house. Together,

house and yard form a nucleus within which the culture expresses itself, is perpetuated, changed, and reintegrated" (Mintz 1989, 231-232). On their own land, peasants could begin to fashion a concept of "home," a notion of privacy and ideals of domesticity away from the heavily surveilled space of the plantation. Nelson (2016) has described the early post-emancipation homes that were constructed by freed blacks in Jamaica as architectures of freedom. They were he argues, "the physical evidence of an alternative black landscape, a landscape of free blacks marked most particularly by small buildings that represented neither white and elite nor black and enslaved" (Nelson 2016, 219). In the post-emancipation period, land ownership became a symbol of freedom, a symbol of one's humanity thus something to be fiercely protected. Walking on Thistle Drive, one can see that the land space associated with the home, in particular, the front yard, backyard and verandah are still integral and valued spaces and central to the middle sense of respectability. The bars that enclose people's verandahs are beautifully decorated with stylized metal. Front yards are populated with beautiful plants and backyards with fruit trees. The fierce protection of the home is most clearly manifested through the metal bars, grills and gates that enclose residents' yards and verandahs. Indeed, the metal that was used to secure Thistle Drive's front and back yards and verandahs did not just enclose bodies and keep them safe. They also enclosed spaces that residents associated with the ideals of ownership and freedom. Taken as such, metal can be read as critical to the making of middle class identity in Kingston. Metal in Kingston protects the home and bodies inside and also, secures it as an architecture of freedom. Understanding the social relationship and governance politics that surround the home and land in the Caribbean forces one to contend with the metal bars, grills and perimeters that define the contemporary Kingston

home not as simple security objects. More than just ensuring one's security, I argue that they must be studied as artifacts that help to create a sense of belonging to one's property. In this way, crime can be read as a threat to one's body and one's home, and also to one's sense of proprietorship.

Carnegie (2014), in describing the increasing fortification of Kingston's middle and upper class homes, has argued that this architectural ethos has brought about an interiorized sociability. He laments this as the loss of the verandah, a traditional Caribbean architectural feature that once served an important communal and social function in both the home and community. The importance of the verandah to Caribbean sociality is reminiscent of the importance of the front porch to the American south which Beckham (1988) described as a liminal physical space, betwixt and between the public and the private. However, I suggest that Carnegie's argument does not tell the complete story. Indeed, metal bars and grills have diminished the sociality of communities as middle class residents have become enclosed and sought to exclude themselves. However, it is important to note that people's homes are not simply surrounded by metal sheets that just serve a functional purpose. There is ample space between the bars on gates and grills. This design facilitates the stylization of the metal architecture and it also facilitates, the entrance of breeze – a necessary feature in a tropical climate. The gaps in the metal also allow for a reformed kind of sociality. It was through the gaps in my family's backyard fence that Mrs. Best would pass a mango to me, and me, a bag of spinach to her. It was through the gaps in the metal fence that Mrs. Best would inform my family about the latest prices at the market downtown and marvel at how much my young son had grown since she last saw him. This was lost with the removal of the chain link fence and the construction of the 9 foot concrete

wall. Attention to this porosity of the middle class home's metal grills, gates and fences allows for a recognition of the ways in which they have re-configured community sociality, but still allow a sense of community to persevere nonetheless. Amin and Thrift (2002) argue for an understanding of urban relations as "distanciated communities" where social, economic and cultural flows though defined by distance are no less communal. They conceive of cities as defined by what they term "light sociability." This understanding of urban relations draws on Benjamin's (1978) notion of porosity which he believed to be the inexhaustible law of life in the city. Porosity offers itself as a nuanced perspective from which to read Thistle Drive, a street that on first glance appears to be defined by fixed boundaries, due to the prevalence of metal gates and grills. Yet, how we can begin to conceive of a high crime city like Kingston through the lens of porosity, that is, through an acknowledgement of the flows that permeate the fortress city? What do we forclose when we only view homes as impermeable fortresses? It means that we only concern ourselves with what lies behind the gates while at the same time failing to consider the materiality and historicity of the gates themselves. Such a perspective allows us to ignore the ways in which in the city, multiple synergisms abound. In the following section, I will address the historicity of metal and metalwork in Kingston and how attention to the material culture of the city's metal can allow for a consideration of gates as gateways and metal as a conductor of an Afro-diasporic cosmology.

The Forging of a Metallurgical Cosmology

If black bodies on slave plantations labored to produce the modern world, then metal, was central to this system of capitalist production. Spillers (1987) describes the

calculated work of metal that was essential for the brutal disciplining of black bodies and the un-making of these bodies as wounded and lacerated flesh within plantation society. She mentions chains, knives, bullets and I would add to such a list, metal tools of torture such as bits, branding racks, coffles, rings, collars and cages. Plantation metal served to force slaves into submission through the denial of mobility. Indeed, a slave with unlimited mobility was a threat to the very disciplinary order of the plantation society. Caribbean marronage presents itself as a powerful example of this (Besson 1997; Knight 1994; Thompson 2006). I was physically able to get a sense of this labor that plantation metal performed during my visit to the Institute of Jamaica (IOJ) in Kingston. Deep in the stores of the IOJ, Jamaica's premier cultural, scientific and artistic organization, are instruments of torture that were used on Jamaican slaves. Holding in my hands a bit (to restrain the mouth), shackles and a branding tool that were used on black slave bodies viscerally reminded me that the plantation, as a black geography, was creatively and consciously tailored through metal to produce what Spillers has called, "undecipherable markings on the captive body render[ing] a kind of hieroglyphics of the flesh" (Spillers 1987, 67).

Figure 3. Mouth restraint used on Jamaican slaves in storage at the Institute of Jamaica

Figure 4. Metal shackle used on Jamaican slaves in storage at the Institute of Jamaica

Indeed, beyond disciplinary purposes, metal and metalwork served a larger trans-historical purpose within plantation economy in the Americas. Colson Whitehead's award winning novel *The Underground Railroad* (2016) beautifully illustrates this.[8] In the novel, Whitehead describes Ridgeway, a white American slave catcher and his father who was a metalworker who lived in the American south. He writes,

> "When his father finished his workday, the fruit of his labor lay before him: a musket, a rake, a wagon spring. Ridgeway faced the man or woman he had captured. One made tools, the other retrieved them. His father teased him about the spirit. What kind of a calling was running down niggers who barely have the wits of a dog? Ridgeway was eighteen now, a man. "We're both of us working for Mr. Eli Whitney," he said. It was true; his father had just hired two apprentices and contracted work out to smaller smiths. The cotton gin meant bigger cotton yields and the iron tools to harvest it, iron horseshoes for the horses tugging the wagons with iron rims and parts that took it to market. More slaves and the iron to hold them. The crop birthed communities, requiring nails and braces for houses, the tools to build the houses, roads to connect them, and more iron to keep it all running. Let his father keep his disdain and his spirit, too. The two men were parts of the same system, serving a nation rising to its destiny" (Whitehead 2016, 76)

Whitehead describes how both metalworker and slave catcher were caught up in the larger capitalist production of cotton in the American south, a production process dependent on two important technologies – the black body and the tools for harvesting. It was metal that was needed to both subdue the black body instrument and it was essential for the production of tools that said black bodies would use to reap cotton. Indeed, it is worth recognizing that the plantation was not just dependent on the black body for slave labor but also for, technological expertise. In particular, slaves themselves were used as blacksmiths on plantations. The use of slave labor in this way reveals "the transfer and cultural continuity of African metallurgical technologies to the Caribbean [and] the vital dependence on African technical expertise of the plantation and colonial economies and

[8] Infinite gratitude to Taylor Nelms for directing my attention to this section of Whitehead's novel.

their instruments of defence and coercion" (Goucher 1993). Indeed, the use of slaves as blacksmiths to forge the tools of torture that would be used to discipline other black bodies speaks to the perversion of the institution of slavery. This perversion is especially noteworthy given that, metal forging and smelting technologies contributed to the rise of several African kingdoms from as early as the sixth century B.C and it was the African blacksmith who was the embodiment of great metallurgical ritual and spiritual knowledge. Thus, if for the slave blacksmith, metal in the New World was a symbol of a perverse system of imprisonment, then, in the Old World, it was a symbol of progress and civilization.

Urban Kingston does not just present itself as a securityscape but an aestheticized one, stylized and forged by local metal workers and artisans who are virtually unrecognized in the scholarship on security studies. These artisans and workers are vitally important actors in Kingston's security ecology. Through their artisanship they help to shape and give form to security discourse and practice in the city. Mr. Smith was a metal artisan in his late sixties who lived in a middle class community in a section of the KMA known as Constant Spring. The hair on his head matched the bushy grey beard that covered his face and his weathered hands revealed stories and memories, some that perhaps even he himself had forgotten. Two gated communities were on Mr. Smith's street and he had witnessed first hand, the evolution of his street. His home had been in his family for decades and he had seen this part of the city change over the years with the increase in the national crime rate. His beautiful home with his metal workshop in the yard, stood out on the street because of the intricate and beautiful designs crafted from metal that decorated his front gate and his verandah. I sat with him one evening in 2015 on this verandah,

listening to him talk about his practice. The conversation soon switched to his great grand-father, a man whose name was Essau Steele and who, one night, when he was a child, appeared to him in a dream. He began,

> *"I never know him but I was always connected to him and when I find out first, he was a carpenter. He died inna di big 19 something earthquake downtown…but I am connected with this man and this man is connected with me through visionary dreams. And when I dreamt him and I told my mother about weh him look like and his wife, it was a Indian woman, we call her Mooma. Mooma say she shock, that's exactly how di man look."*

Mr. Smith then went on in great detail to describe what both Mooma and his great grandfather, Essau Steele, were wearing in that dream that had come to him decades before we would ever meet. He went on, *"I never see a picture of him. I dreamt him when him dead, lay down suh on like a bench and she sit down over him suh."* Mr. Smith dramatized his great grand-father's stiff dead body, which was all that remained after the fire had ravished it. He continued,

> *"Essau Steele, but if your phonetics are bad, he saw is H-E S-A-W. He saw steel. If you talk bad, he saw steel. What do I do? I saw steel. I saw steel. So the fact that he's there and he was a carpenter, Essau, and I am here, I am now sawing steel. I am looking at it that it is the spirit of his energy that has come into me for me to do what he didn't get to do."*

His metaphorical reflection on his great-grandfather as both a medium of vision and a tool to craft metal struck me as quite poetic. Mr. Smith, an artisan with no formal training, believed that this spiritual connection to his great-grandfather, communicated through this dream now enshrined as memory, was at the core of who he was as a worker of metal. Later in the evening, he spoke to me of memory of another sort. Of working with metal, that material he had worked for most of his life and for which he had a great deal of respect, he remarked, *"the material has life in it and it has memory, if you're bending a piece of metal*

and you go so, you try straighten it and you bend it, it go somewhere else, it wants to go back to where it was. So you could possibly say it's emotionally hurt and it remembers and goes back to that hurt point."

Mr. Smith's words take on significant meaning if one pauses for a moment and looks attentively at the actual metalwork that decorate Kingston's securityscape. Doing this can allow one to begin to grapple with Kingston as not just a fortress city, but as a Black Atlantic urban geography that pays homage to a black aesthetic and metallurgical tradition. This is perhaps most evident in two popular West African *adinkra* designs that mark the gates and grills of many Jamaican homes. The Akan word *adinkra* means "saying good-bye to one another when parting" (Kuwornu-Adjaottor, Appiah and Nartey 2016). The visual symbols, originally created by the Akan of Ghana and the Gyaman of Cote d'Ivoire represent philosophical concepts and truths. While the date of origin of *adinkra* symbols is uncertain, their earliest traditional use was on funeral garb. The use of the symbols on funeral wear suggests the "closing of a developmental cycle in the life of the human being, a cycle that begins with birth and closes with death, only to commence afresh in the ascent to the afterlife" (Adepoju 2010, 15). Today, these patterns can be found in jewelry, body art and architecture located far beyond the shores of West Africa, such as in Kingston's securityscape. These symbols bring together striking aesthetic patterns, mathematical form and philosophical reasoning (Adepoju 2010; Arthur 2001; Danquah 1968; Faux and Gates 2005). They offer themselves as wisdoms that speak to both the ethical and cosmological dimensions of life. Moreover, these patterns are grounded in a uniquely West African contemplation of the cosmos and the place of the human within it. The West African *adinkra* symbol *Sankofa* is common in Kingston's grillwork. *Sankofa*, sometimes

represented as a bird looking behind itself or as a stylized heart design literally means “go back for it.” The symbolic meaning of the pattern suggests that there is wisdom in learning from the past (Kuwornu-Adjaottor, Appiah and Nartey 2016). Moreover, the philosophy of *Sankofa* suggests the importance of learning from the past in order to inform one’s present and future.

Figure 5. The *Sankofa* pattern on a front yard gate in Kingston

Figure 6. The *Sankofa* pattern on a residential fence in Kingston

Another pattern that is present in the metalwork of many Kingston homes is *Nyame Dua*, which literally means, "God's tree." The *Nyame Dua* pattern symbolizes the presence of God and refers to the three-pronged stake erected in front of a home. A small earthenware pot filled with water and herbs is placed between the stake for purification and cleansing rites (Kuwornu-Adjaottor, Appiah and Nartey 2016, 28). *Nyame Dua* is thus a sacred spot in front of a house or compound where rituals are performed. It is the symbol of *Nyame* or God's presence and protection.

Figure 7. Metal stylization of the *Nyame Dua* symbol on a front yard gate

Figure 8. *Nyame Dua* pattern on the front yard and verandah grill of a home

The *Sankofa* and *Nyame Dua* patterns present in Kingston's grillwork offer a way to think about the city as cosmology. The artisanal knowledge that produces things is always interpenetrated with cosmological assumptions (Appadurai 1986). Anthropological interest in such inter-connections is well established. One thinks here of Evans-Pritchard's (1937) Azande potters, Gudeman's (1976) Panamanian sugarcane producers and Munn's (1986) Gawan canoe makers. Thomas Day, an African American carpenter who worked in Milton, North Carolina from the 1820s to the 1860s offers himself as a notable example from the Africa diaspora (Marshall and Leimenstoll 2010; Prown 1998). Day, who incorporated *Sankofa*-like patterns in some of his furniture designs reveals well the entanglement of artisanal and cosmological layers of discourse. My conversation with Mr. Smith reveals perfectly this layering of artisanship, memory and cosmology through metal in Kingston. Mr. Smith's words speak clearly to the fact that the objects crafted and produced by technological and artisanal experts are, "artifacts redolent with prior historical creativity" (Miller 2005, 12). For Mr. Smith, metal was not just a material that he worked with but something that connected him to his ancestors.[9]

In the Caribbean, attention to the ways in which cosmology and history of the past are manifested in the present through objects and practices of material culture has often been conducted through the lens of African cultural retention. A significant arm of this literature has tended to focus on the areas of music, religion and language (Alleyne 1988; Brathwaite 1971; Lewin 2000). On the question of African continuities, Herskovits argued in favor of the "tenaciousness of tradition" (Herskovits 1958, xxxvii). He, of course, explored this tenaciousness through the syncretic blending of Christian saints with West

[9] For a discussion on the relationship between materiality and ritual in the Black Atlantic, see Ogundiran and Saunders (2014).

African deities. But does African culture simply randomly survive? Must there be a niche for it in the new society? Karen McCarthy Brown (1989) illustrates this point well. She explores the role of *Ogun*, the Yoruban deity presiding over iron, hunting and war and the patron of smiths, in Haitian society. Brown contends that *Ogun's* role as hunter and blacksmith have no place in contemporary Haitian society given that neither is a significant occupation any longer. She argues instead that there has emerged a relationship between the warrior nature of *Ogun* and the importance of military life in Haiti. Such a contemporary manifestation of *Ogun* highlights well the point that to speak of African continuities in the Caribbean is not to speak of static preservation but rather to speak of an indexing of the "deliberate and/or subconscious perpetuation of certain physical and psychic expressions which have their origins among those traditional African cultures whose members were brought to the New World" (Bryan 1984, 1). Kingston's securityscape reveals the entanglement of security designs rendered as cosmological art crafted by the city's skilled metal artisans. Thinking this cosmology through homes in the city opens up space for a consideration of Kingston's metal artisans as Caribbean intuitive artists who possess, the ability to draw upon a black psyche, consciousness and collective cultural memories. These metal artisans, descended from a long tradition of black artisans working with metal that predates the "New World," reveal the flash of the spirit (Thompson 1983) in Kingston's contemporary metal securityscape.

Understood in this way, metal cannot be engaged as simply a material of Kingston's securityscape but in fact, as a conductor of history and memory. Paying attention to the rivers of history that run through Kingston's metal security artifacts allows for an engagement with the flows across space and time that they are embedded within. Studying

the metal in Kingston's securityscape is thus a process of excavating the traces and shadows of histories and memories embedded both within metal and *adinkra* that resonate in the contemporary metropolis. Thinking metal through these flows across space and time allows one to contend with the ways in which it holds within its seams histories and meanings that speak to the ontological, aesthetic and spatial connections between black geographies of the past and those of present. The intervention that I am proposing in the study of the metal that is used to fortify Kingston calls for a willingness to study materials in flux and a willingness too, to consider the ways in which life is not always defined by the relationship between matter and form, but rather matter and forces (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). This conceptualization of matter highlights it as not simply acted upon in the process of making and doing but as always caught up in processes of flow and metamorphosis. Metal lends itself to metamorphosis well. It can be melted, re-forged and re-worked to suit the purposes of the artisan. But still, as Mr. Smith reminded me, metal is capable of behaving as if it has a life and energy of its own. I read Kingston's metal artisan then, as a traveler, who intervenes in the forces and currents of metal and iron and is able to work with it to suit the present need and purpose. Such a reading of Kingston's metal takes it to be something that is alive. It is not a passive and dead thing, but a symbol of vitality (Bennett 2010). Metal workers must be read as a central part of the very materiality that they work. Kingston's artisans who work with metal are not detached from the aliveness of metal, but, through the labor of working with this material, are caught up in its flow and flux. The *adinkra* patterns that decorate Kingston's metal securityscape illustrate the ways in which, an African diaspora cosmology and philosophy are legible, though not immediately so, in the city's metal. Such a reading of the urban landscape takes

the different scales of the city as interactive rather than competitive. Moreover, it regards the Black Atlantic city as a porous landscape. On the surface, the physicality of Kingston's metal bars, grills and gates mark the city as an impermeable space designed to both enclose and exclude. Yet, an attention to the porosity of the city that is conducted through the city's metal and its *adinkra* designs allows for a considertion of the ways in which an Afro-diasporic cosmology grounded in a Black Atlantic conceptualization of humanity permeates the Caribbean fortress city.

Towards a New Reading of the Fortress City

The fear of metal gates that become broken or breached and render the home as a fragile space in the urban landscape is indeed, a fear that is live for middle class urban residents in Kingston. Being present to this fear and the always potential subversion of the utopian aspirations of the home and the city has resulted in residents not only imagining the cityscape as a securityscape, but in effect, metallurgically forging it as one as well. But, any attention to geography, including black geographies, must be attuned to the ways in which geographies are not only spatially and ontologically constituted through material artifacts and technologies, but also, historically constituted. In the Caribbean, contemporary life is never separate from the historical. In the Caribbean, vestiges of the past continue to linger in the present. I would argue that to be Caribbean, means to possess the ability to always live with the historical as a part of everyday life. And so, in studying security in post-slavery and post-colonial cities like Kingston, one must be always willing to historiographically question how the contemporary security order is spatially, temporally and materially layered with the past. Kingston's metal gates do not simply delineate the

enclosed spaces of the city's homes. These gates are also gateways that facilitate flow and pathways in the fortress landscape. Kingston's homes, fortified with *adinkra,* forged in metal by artisinal workers reveal the workings of a diasporic cosmology that interpenetrates paradigms of security, surveillance and safety with Afro-diasporic symbolic systems. I am not suggesting in fact, that retention is everywhere. What I am arguing, is that it is worth critically considering how Kingston's contemporary security moment is connected to a longer history of diasporic expressive, political and cultural practices that connect black geographies across space and time. This consideration means a willingness to take the Caribbean metropolis as an effort at memory (Scott 2008) and a willingness to recognize that there is not usually a one-to-one mapping of the past onto the present. The relationship of African diaspora subjects to the archive is never one of full recovery or recuperation, but rather one always based on improvisation, because memories are not always legible. I would argue that such a point is worth seriously considering as more and more gated complexes begin to mark Kingston's urban landscape. What will this increasing shift from the stylized *adinkra* metal, that encloses the more traditional home and verandah, to the more utilitarian metal of gated communities mean for Kingston as an effort of black memory and cosmology? Questions of this nature I believe mark the open frontier of conversations at the intersection of urban anthropology, security studies and Caribbean and Africana studies. Moreover, I believe that it is an urban anthropology present to re-imagining both the limits and possibilities of the metropolises of the Caribbean that will be well equipped to take on these new conversations.

CHAPTER 3
Panic and Alarm: Infrastructure, Technology, and Sensoriality in the City

Security as Surveillance

The Red Hills Road vicinity offers a revelatory snapshot of the spatial layering of communities of varying economic backgrounds in the KMA. Located on Red Hills Road were lower income ghetto communities such as 100 Lane and Black Ants Lane. A stone's throw from these communities was the solidly middle class street, Thistle Drive. Driving down Thistle Drive, away from Red Hills Road and ascending the nearby Red Hills, one sees a third image of socio-economic life in Kingston. The communities on Red Hills, so named for its red dirt, a sign of bauxite deposits, give one a graphic reminder of the wealth that exists in Jamaica, a developing nation. On Red Hills, one finds not a collection of slum and squatter communities, but rather, large single-family mansions and residential properties. One such community, nestled at the top of Red Hills, is Plantation Heights. Many of the community's large concrete homes feature sprawling yards and walls of cut stone and, because of their position at the top of the hill, have a fantastic view of Kingston in the daytime. At night, this view becomes even more spectacular when the lights of the city below come alive and glisten. Having a house on the hill and the view that comes with it is a privilege reserved for few in Jamaica. And yet, the spatial proximity of Plantation Heights to Thistle Drive, 100 Lane and Black Ants Lane, which are just down the hill, reminds one of the synekism inherent in urban life, that is, what Soja describes as the "economic and ecological interdependencies and the creative - as well as occasionally destructive - synergisms that arise from the purposeful clustering and collective cohabitation of people

in space, in a "home" habitat" (Soja 2000, 12). The Red Hills area in Kingston reveals well the overlapping socio-economic and spatial worlds that Kingston's residents co-inhabit. Space that is co-inhabited, that is, shared space, space that is defined by the push and pull and ebbs and flows that arise when people from different social worlds reside together or in close proximity to each other, reveals the interconnectedness of social life. In this sense, the Red Hills Road area of Kingston is both productive to think with and through about the essence of Caribbean urban life.

The name Plantation Heights gestures to one of the glaring contradictions inherent in the legacy of slavery in many parts of the Caribbean. That is, though the plantation, as an historical landscape, continues to be a reminder of a brutal and vicious past, still, the grandeur of the plantation estate, in particular, the great house, remains a source of aspiration for many Caribbean people. Because of the power dynamic that was at work on slave plantations in the Americas, the geography has lent itself to cartographic analyses that examine and excavate it from historical and archaeological perspectives (Armstrong 1990; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Delle 1998; Higman 1986, 1987, 1998, 2001; Orser 1988). The plantation great house was defined by its position as the seat of privilege on the plantation. This architecture was also crucially important in the exercise of spatial power on the plantation especially given that it was often situated slightly above the rest of the estate. This positionality made the great house something to look at and to be in awe of. It also provided its inhabitants, the white planter and his family, with the opportunity to execute intense surveillance. From this perch, a planter or overseer could look down on slaves working in the field. This vantage point also allowed the planter to see when danger was approaching. Indeed, practices of spatial surveillance through landscape and

architectural manipulation were essential to the functioning of the plantation as a geography of power and to the functioning of the great house as an architectural structure (Delle 2002; Epperson 1999; Randle 2011; Singleton 2001).[1]

I was viscerally reminded of the ties between the plantation great house and surveillance[2] when I drove past a welcome sign in the Plantation Heights community one day that read, "Welcome to Plantation Heights." Below these words of welcome was a silhouette of a red hawk and below this image, the words, "Patrolled by Hawkeye. Hawkeye Electronic Security." At the very end of the sign was the number to call the company, "926-HAWK."

Figure 9. Hawkeye sign both welcoming and warning visitors to the Plantation Heights community

[1] Indeed, it should be noted that slaves also challenged the spatial order of the plantation. For discussions on this matter, see Armstrong and Kelly (2000).

[2] Simone Browne (2015) has excellently discussed the ways in which contemporary surveillance practices and technologies are informed by the conditions of blackness.

Plantation Heights, like many affluent Kingston communities, positioned atop a hill in the metropolitan area, lives in the shadow of the plantation great house. Of course, the wealthy homes on Red Hills do not demand surveillance in the same way that the slavery great house did – they do not overlook slave bodies laboring in the fields and they are now populated by Jamaica's wealthy, black property owners. However, in these and many other upper income communities, security and surveillance are no less of a major concern given Kingston's high crime rate. Today, these affluent communities draw on the services of private security companies like Hawkeye Electronic Security. Founded in 1988, the company revolutionized the provision of private security in Jamaica and forever changed how the island's most elite families conceived of the security of their homes, properties and businesses. Driving through the Kingston Metropolitan Area today, it is rather hard to not notice how much private security discourse permeates the urban landscape. Billboards advertise the many services offered by companies, response teams or the new "private police" (Becker 1974; Cain 2004; Draper 1978; Johnston 1992), armed and outfitted for action weave their way through the city's traffic by car as well as by motorcycle, technical teams that work for electronic companies move through the city in marked vehicles and, tags labeled with the names of popular electronic security companies mark the outside of residents' gates. These visible markers of private security in the city speak to important shifts that are presently underway in Kingston's securityscape where residents are actively outsourcing their security and the securitization of their homes.

Figure 10. Weathered electronic security tag at the entrance of a residential property in Kingston

The Private Security Regulation Authority (PSRA), the institutional body that governs and regulates all private security entities in Jamaica lists the number of registered companies in the island at close to two hundred. This is a jaw-dropping number when one considers that Jamaica is a tiny nation with a population of only 2.8 million. However, in addition to having a high crime rate, Jamaica, at 1:273, also has a high rate of density of police officers per inhabitant (United Nations Development Programme 2012).[3] According to the United Nations Development Programme, there exists much debate among practitioners on the proper density of police officers per inhabitant. This statistic is influenced by factors such as the distribution of a population between rural and urban settings. However, the organization does note that Jamaica's police density is a particularly

[3] This study lists Jamaica as having the highest population density as compared to five other Caribbean nations: Antigua and Barbuda (1:114), Barbados (1:190), Guyana (1:259), Saint Lucia (1:148) and Trinidad and Tobago (1:201).

acute problem because of the country's high crime rate. Taken in context, these numbers suggest that given the crime rate, there are simply not enough police officers in Jamaica to effectively serve the needs of the population. Urban residents have started to turn to private security companies in order to make up for this deficit. This shift in Kingston also aligns with a global trend and shift towards private security where both state and non-state actors, such as residents, especially those in metropolitan areas the world over, are increasingly becoming more and more dependent on the services provided by a global multi-billion dollar private security industry (de Waard 1999; Diphoorn 2015; Wakefield 2003). In many ways, the exponential growth of this industry globally has served to subvert the power of the nation-state as the singular unit of governance (Newburn 2001). Central to this process of the democratization of governance has been the mobilization of urban residents preoccupied with their own personal security.

Techniques and practices of surveillance are inherently caught up in the world of private security. Scholars (Bogard 1996; Dandecker 1990; Gandy 1993; Giddens 1990, Lyon 1994; Staples 1997) have acknowledged that surveillance is in fact, a defining feature of contemporary modern life. Giddens who has written extensively on the subject, defines surveillance in two ways, the first as "symbolic material that can be stored by an agency or collectivity" (Giddens 1981, 169). In this regard, Lyon's study of the surveillance society emphasizes the extraction of data for the purpose of population management. Indeed, Foucault (1991) earlier suggested that during the 16th century, questions regarding the manner in which to govern oneself, how to be governed and how to govern others intensified as territorial, administrative and colonial states began to emerge. Before the 16th century, the preoccupation had been with how one could live an earthly life that would

ensure eternal salvation. Foucault linked the emergence of the art of government not only to the development of the administrative apparatuses of territorial monarchies but more importantly, to the problem of population.[4] This administrative attention to population marked the emergence of the rationality of the state. No longer was governance predicated on the values of wisdom, justice and the respect for divine laws – defining features of sovereignty (Foucault 2003). This notion of a civic humanism and exemplar citizenship which defined sovereign rule gave way with the recognition that a population had "a reality of its own, with its own regularities of birth, illness, and death, and its own internal processes that were independent of government and yet required the intervention of government" (Rose, O'Malley and Valverde 2006, 87). Foucault (1978) would later go on to characterize this as the bio-politics of the population. Giddens second definition of surveillance suggests that one must also regard it as "the supervision of the activities of ordinates" (Giddens 1981, 169). Indeed, contemporary social life has increasingly come to be shaped by the growth in technologies of observation and surveillance and the global mobilization of these technologies. Haggerty and Ericson (2000), in arguing that these technologies have come to function as a surveillant assemblage, have suggested that technologized forms of observation will only continue to shape the ways in which we live our lives and understand what it means to be human. This surveillant assemblage, they contend, is one that is diffuse, permeates all aspects of human life and is wielded by both state and non-state actors. Indeed, though the surveillance projects of diverse actors -

[4] In 1798 Malthus' influential book *An Essay on the Principle of Population* was published. This book contributed significantly to the passing of the Census Act, also known as the Population Act in Great Britain in 1800. Under this act, a national census was first conducted in Great Britain in 1801. Today, the tradition of conducting a national census every ten years remains.

private, corporate and state – function in ways that appear to be distinct, still they are always performed in interconnected ways.

In Jamaica, some of the most prominent and profitable of the island's private security companies are those that provide electronic security services to both residential and commercial clients. In fact, the number of registered electronic security companies in the island is quite small. Of the registered private security companies in the island, there are only a handful of truly successful electronic security companies. The managing director of Secure Systems, one of the island's more popular electronic security companies explained this to me well. Mr. Ibrahim was in his early fifties and hailed from a prominent and wealthy Lebanese-Jamaican family. He told me that anyone could easily start a private security company that supplied guards or watchmen. He remarked "you can start a security company out of the back of your car." He went on to clarify that all one would need is a uniform to put on a man, provide said man with a dog and tell him to post himself at X location for X number of hours. Such an operation did not require a brick and mortar building. For Mr. Ibrahim however, an electronic security company was a different beast altogether. This was so, because of all the start up capital necessary to purchase electronic security technology and infrastructure.

There exists significant scholarship that asserts that electronic technologies threaten social cohesion and solidarity and contribute to social segregation, which has intensified class, race and geographical distinctions between the haves and the have-nots in urban society (Davis 1990; Low 2003). Indeed, electronic security, which facilitates watching, observing and snooping is increasingly becoming more affordable for average citizens and raises questions about privacy, exclusion and discrimination in the city.

However, Mr. Ibrahim draws one's attention to the very physical structures at the heart of this social segregation, that is, the "defensive technologies" (Atkinson and Blandy 2016) and infrastructure that are both spatially and socially restructuring Kingston and its homes. The labor that these technologies and infrastructures of security and surveillance perform in the high crime city and home warrants greater anthropological attention. It is in this spirit that I follow three lines of inquiry in this chapter. First, I consider the labor that human actors, in particular technicians, perform in the electronic security industry, and make an argument for the consideration of these technicians - whose expert knowledge the technology is dependent on – as human infrastructure. Second, I re-think the seeing/being seen dyad which electronic security and surveillance technology is often predicated as being dependent on, through an attention to the city as a sensescape. Third, I present a visual analysis of electronic security billboards in Kingston in order to consider the ways in which the billboard, as a technology employed by local electronic security companies, is essential in helping residents to mediate their own ideals and fears about their homes as well as new ideas about what it means to be a citizen in the 21st century Caribbean securityscape. I conclude with thoughts on what the current electronic security trends in Kingston say about the future of public and private security in the Global South.

Expert Knowledge in the Electronic Securityscape

Clank, clank, clank. That was the sound that Michael's pliers made as he repeatedly knocked it against the metal burglar bar that enclosed a window in the upscale townhome, located in a gated community, in which we were both standing. He was a young installation technician in his thirties and worked for Secure Systems, a popular local electronic security

company. That morning, Michael was clad in blue jeans, sneakers and a blue t-shirt that bore the name Secure Systems. I had met up with him early in the morning at the Secure Systems head office. Over the years, the company had acquired many lots of land surrounding the property on which the head office was built. One of these lots housed the workshops of the company's installation and repair technicians who congregated there every morning in order to receive their assignments for the day. In the early morning, the parking lot of the property was jam packed with company cars and vans emblazoned with the words Secure Systems. However, by 10:00 am it was a ghost town. Teams of technicians would get into the vehicles and one by one, each would leave the parking lot in order to head out to the first assignments of the day. As technicians for Secure Systems, they all spent their working hours driving around the city from one customer's house or business to the next installing, testing, re-testing and repairing the electronic security technology and infrastructure wired through customers' properties. Michael and I took to the streets a little after the others had left and made our way to his first assignment of the day, that upscale townhome tucked away in the Golden Triangle of the Kingston Metropolitan Area. The Golden Triangle is an upscale area in the KMA located in close proximity to Kings House, the official residence of the Governor General; Vale Royal, the official residence of the Prime Minister and; Jamaica House, the offices of the Prime Minister.

Upon arriving at the townhouse, I expressed to Michael my surprise that these residents, tucked away in an expensive gated community that was secured with an electronic gate, still felt the need to have electronic security. He exclaimed that in fact, it was quite common for upper income gated community residents to install electronic security technologies in their homes. His words reminded me that for many of Kingston's

affluent families, no longer is the metal gate, even one imbued with electronic capabilities, sufficient. These families have come to depend on electronic security technology and infrastructure to add an additional layer of protection, security and surveillance to their homes, which has extended the metal fortification of the upper class home and effectively brought it into a digital sphere. One such electronic security technology that Michael was testing that morning was a vibration sensor that had recently been installed but which the company's technicians who had done the original installment in the townhouse had failed to properly test. This was a potential security threat waiting to happen and as he tested the device Michael told me, "we take security very seriously." The "we" in question was an implicit reference to Secure Systems, however later in the day I learned that Michael too, who was married, took security quite seriously as well. He told me that he, like most of the technicians on staff, was not a customer of Secure Systems quite simply because he could not afford the services and technologies which he installed for a living. Instead, he had installed a store bought alarm system in his house that he thought was sufficient. The small white vibration sensors that Michael was testing that morning were perimeter devices attached to different points on the burglar bars and grills of the home and connected via thin white cables which were wired around the interior perimeter of the property. Michael's knocking of the burglar bars with his pliers was his attempt to test whether or not the sensitivity of the vibration sensors had been correctly calibrated. The home's vibration sensors were part of an intrusion detection system that also included magnetic contact strips on doors, motion detectors in the home and an alarm keypad on the wall near the front door entrance that allowed the resident to arm and disarm the entire system. Inside the townhome, the technology and infrastructure that was a part of the intrusion

detection system was sleek and barely visible to me. However, Secure Systems technicians told me that the biggest complaint from customers was that the thin white cables wired around the interior of houses clashed with the décor and aesthetics of the home. Compromised décor was something that these residents were forced to put up with in the name of security and sleeping peacefully at night. From the outside of the townhouse, there was no major evidence of Secure Systems' electronic security infrastructure at work. The only visible sign that the home was protected by electronic security was a tag boldly bearing the name Secure Systems which was bolted to the outside of the home. All around Kingston, these tags which are used by many electronic security companies, are visible markers that are deliberately used to distinguish homes. They function as warning signs that the property in question is protected by some force field of electronic security, invisible to the eye from the street, but very much at work. It is both a sign that one is being watched and a suggestion that one, who may have criminal intentions, ought to proceed with caution or be deterred altogether.

Secure Systems is one of a handful of electronic security companies performing in what is, a very valuable Jamaican market. The city's high crime rate combined with perceptions about the inability of the local police to offer protection has led to the growth of a section of the population, primarily the upper class, but increasingly, more and more upper middle class residents, willing to shell out money on a monthly basis for companies like Secure Systems to protect their homes and their families using a variety of security and surveillance technologies and infrastructure. With some 8,000 customers located principally in the Kingston Metropolitan Area, St. Catherine parish and more recently in the north-coast city of Montego Bay, the company attracts many of its upper middle class and

upper class customers with savvy billboard advertisements plastered strategically around the city, flexible payment plan options and a highly marketed free security survey. This security survey, also known as a risk assessment, is the assessment conducted at every property before technology is installed in the home or business in question. During the risk assessment, a representative from Secure Systems surveys the property, discusses with the potential customer her security wants and needs, and provides a quotation. Central to the risk assessment too, is the determination of whether or not the community in question is safe enough for response team members to enter, in the event of an alarm or intrusion. Mr. Edwards, a senior member of staff in the company's Monitoring Center told me that the company did not send a response team into an area that was considered "high risk." He did not elaborate on what "high risk" meant, still, it was clear that this was an implicit reference to notably high crime communities, in particular, low-income inner-city neighborhoods. The many electronic security services offered by Secure Systems included panic systems, surveillance systems, video alarm systems, car tracking systems, fire detection systems, and CCTV systems that used and mobilized a variety of technology and infrastructure such as alarm buttons, remotes, vibration sensors, motion detectors, contact strips, cameras, monitors, trackers, electronic gates, voice recorders and metal detectors. This technology and infrastructure have altered the materiality and aesthetics of many of Kingston's upper class homes and turned them into digital fortresses. As Busch rightly notes, "if the worn floorboards and beat-up wicker porch have not been universally replaced by the lethal and graceful curlicues of razor ribbon, their place is being taken by the blinking red light of home alarm systems" (Busch 1999, 113). The sleekness and hidden nature of electronic security infrastructure does not evoke the same ostentatious and

militarized aesthetic that metal fences armed with barbed wire and spikes do. And yet, these technologies are always at work blinking, sensing, detecting and watching in the city and in the home and always unobtrusive in the performance of their labor. The technology and infrastructure provided by companies like Secure Systems is predicated on securitization and surveillance that always aims to be inconspicuous. Both inside the home and in its immediate exterior vicinity, the labor that these technologies and infrastructure perform is dependent on invisibility.

Perhaps what most distinguishes the epistemological perspective of Michel Foucault is his attention to the historicization - or the tracing of the historical emergence - of human nature. As Rabinow rightly notes, for Foucault "there is no universal understanding that is beyond history and society" (Rabinow 1984, 4). In concerning himself with the question of how human beings as subjects are made – through dividing practices, disciplinary scientific classification and through the self-inscribing process of subjectification - Foucault's projects of historicization illuminate well, the nature of modern subject-hood. His description in *Discipline and Punish* (1995) of the evolution of punishment is worth considering here. Foucault describes modern punishment, as embodied through the birth of the 19th century prison, as dependent on the historical shift from the hyper-visible to the invisible. Hyper-visible punishment, such as the act of dragging a criminal body violently and publicly through the street for show was replaced with the less visible and less gruesome modern prison architecture. In the prison, both punishment and the criminal body were out of sight. Moreover, in the 19th century prison, the criminal body was subjected to a regimented order that was dependent on disciplinary techniques heavily grounded in surveillance practice. In many ways, Foucault's description of punishment as a

shift from the hyper-visible to the invisible aligns with shifts that are currently taking place in Kingston's securityscape where upper class and upper middle class urban residents are using electronic security technology and infrastructure to complement and supplement the metal fortification performed by burglar bars, grills and gates. If metal burglar bars are symbolic of hyper-visible security practice in the city, then electronic security illustrates well what happens when security becomes invisible and hidden. In essence, when security turns inward and becomes out of sight. And yet, this shift is also one where residents have also started to become more dependent on security technology and infrastructure imbued with a greater sense of agency. Once installed, metal bars, grills and gates are only capable of keeping some individuals out and others in. Electronic security infrastructure is not only capable of this but is also capable of performing the labor of surveilling, watching, observing, sensing and detecting.

In the upper income Kingston home, electronic security infrastructure is everywhere – on grills, lining the perimeter of walls, on doors and by entrances. This technology is everywhere silently working and yet, because it is hidden, it feels like it is simultaneously nowhere at all. Yet, what happens when electronic security technology malfunctions and requires repair at the hands of a skilled technician, such as Michael? It is in these moments that a home's electronic security technology and infrastructure, that which was once invisible to the eye, that which was once out of sight and indeed, out of mind, becomes less so and one becomes acutely aware of the labor that they perform. Heidegger's (1962) description of the workman's hammer is useful to consider. He describes the working hammer, which functioning properly as it ought to, as an example of the invisibility of tools in our every day lives. In this state, he argues that they are ready-to-

hand. However, when tools become broken and malfunction and are incapable of performing their true function, Heidegger contends that they are present-at-hand. In this state, the hammer becomes phenomenologically transparent. Within anthropology, there have been recent calls (Anand 2011; Appel, Anand and Gupta 2015; Green 2017; Howe et al. 2015; Larkin 2013; Simone 2012) for scholars to re-think more vigorously the materiality of infrastructure, from water pumps and oil pipes to highways and cellphones, and their place in everyday social life. Appel, Anand and Gupta (2015) ask, what would it mean to bring infrastructure out of the background and into the foreground of ethnographic research and theory? Such as shift of infrastructure from the background to the foreground of our research agendas would mean they argue, attention to infrastructure as a critical site through which socio-political systems are performed but also, as susceptible to failure, malfunction and breakdown. When electronic security technology and infrastructure function normally, that is, when they silently watch, sense, surveil and detect, they conform to residents' expectations of the invisibility of this infrastructure. In this state, residents are mostly oblivious to the work that electronic security technology and infrastructure perform in helping to mediate their relationships with their homes and the city in which they live. In this state of invisibility, electronic security infrastructure effectively helps to manage residents' fear of crime. When this infrastructure malfunctions and is in need of repair by an electronic security technician, the invisibility of this ready-to-hand infrastructure becomes interrupted. Falling into a state of malfunction, breakdown and disrepair is in the very nature of infrastructure. Electronic security technology becomes weathered over time and must be serviced and repaired, metal gates rust and must be re-painted. The susceptibility of infrastructure to rust, decay and malfunction, in

essence, ruin caused by over-use and even non-use, reminds us of the true ephemerality of the infrastructures that undergird the very homes and societies in which we live. Moreover, it is continual repair that ensures that "order and meaning in complex sociotechnical systems are maintained and transformed, human value is preserved and extended, and the complicated work of fitting to the varied circumstances of organizations, systems, and lives is accomplished" (Jackson 2014, 222).

Jackson (2015) argues that attention to the ongoing process of repair that is essential to the effective functioning of infrastructure highlights the actors, moments and sites that are often silenced by narratives of design. Indeed, vital to the electronic security industry in Kingston are the repair technicians who work at companies like Secure Systems. These technicians, such as Michael, are imbued with expert knowledge and repair electronic security technology and infrastructure when they become present-at-hand due to wear and tear or when they need to be serviced in order to ensure continued productivity. The functioning of electronic security infrastructure is dependent on the labor of these technicians who are often occluded from the invisible workings of the electronic security network. The relationship between technicians and the electronic security infrastructure that they service and repair marks these technicians, I argue, as an extension of the very infrastructure that they work. I suggest that we must read the technicians as infrastructure themselves. Such an argument draws on Simone's (2004) articulation of people as infrastructure in an attempt to better understand the ongoing reciprocal exchange between electronic security infrastructure and technicians. Haggerty and Ericson's (2000) description of the surveillant assemblage is now worth re-visiting. The authors emphasize the ways in which security permeates human life and is wielded by

state and non-state actors. To this I would add that the surveillant assemblage is also dependent on human and non-human actors working in tandem. Attention to the link between technicians and electronic security technology such as sensors, wires and cables that all exist in the world of electronic security in Kingston illustrates the field of relations that overlap and overlay human and non-human worlds. A recognition of the interplay between these two worlds allows one to consider how both technicians and the infrastructure they repair are constituted with, by and through their relationality with each other. Theorizing the technician alongside infrastructure reveals the ways in which both are just as important as residents, artisans and state actors in configuring Kingston's urban securityscape.

Reading the Securityscape as Sensescape

The intrusion detection system that I watched Michael test and service was one of the more popular packages offered by Secure Systems and used by Kingston's urban residents. The electronic security technology and infrastructure in this package included no cameras or monitors but vibration sensors on window and verandah grills, magnetic contact strips on doors, motion detectors in the home and an alarm keypad for the resident to arm and disarm the system. In the event of an intrusion in the home, for example, if the burglar bars that metallurgically fortified the home had been cut, the vibration sensors, once armed, would trigger a loud siren. The triggering of the vibration sensors would also send an electronically transmitted alarm message to Secure Systems' 24-hour Monitoring Center. At the Monitoring Center, a Secure Systems team member, upon receiving this electronic alarm message, would, via the verbal communication of codes via radio

technology, dispatch an armed response team, usually of two, to the property. Secure System's intrusion detection system was independent of telephone and power lines and all customers with this system also benefitted from roadside assistance, escort services, ambulance response and party patrol services. Another package offered by Secure Systems and perhaps, the company's most popular package because of its affordability, was the panic system. Included in the panic system were wireless panic buttons that were strategically placed in a resident's home and remotes that featured a single panic button. This system also included a medical alert button. When a resident, upon seeing an intruder present in the home or sensing danger, pressed a panic button, a silent high speed radio transmission was sent to Secure Systems' Monitoring Center in milliseconds. Unlike with the intrusion detection system, with the panic system, no loud siren was sounded. At Secure Systems' Monitoring Center, a team member, upon recognizing the silent and electronic distress signal coming from the property in question would immediately dispatch an armed response team to the premises. Like the intrusion detection system, the panic system package also came with the benefit of roadside assistance, ambulance response, escort and party patrol services at no additional charge. The technology that made up Secure Systems' intrusion detection system and its panic system allowed residents to arm and secure their homes and properties. Not only does this technology help to undergird the securityscape but, it is an essential infrastructural component in Kingston's surveillance society.

Central to the proper functioning of the intrusion detection and the panic systems, was Secure Systems' Monitoring Center. If the company's installation and repair technicians represent expert knowledge in the field, then Secure Systems' Monitoring

Center team members represent its in-house expertise. Secure Systems' 24-hour Monitoring Center was housed at the company's head office property in a large air-conditioned room. Taking up much of the space in the room were two long rows of uniformed cubicle desks and chairs divided into individual stations for the center's team members. The room also featured a small private office to the far right-hand side that belonged to Mr. Price, the center's supervisor. During peak hours, which lasted from around 9:00 in the morning into the late evening, the center usually had anywhere from eight to ten team members, who worked in shifts, on site. Each shift usually had 1-2 team leaders who helped to coordinate the activities of the center. At his or her station, each team member was equipped with a desktop computer that allowed for easy access to customers' personal data as well as access to the software programs that electronically intercepted, registered and analyzed incoming alarm messages. At the front of the room were four large monitors mounted onto the wall. The two screens to the left showed live surveillance footage of Secure System's head office property while the other two screens projected codes in green, red and yellow fonts that were constantly being updated and that represented the live activities of the two electronic security software programs that were used by Secure Systems to track and intercept clients' alarm messages. The first program, the Security Information and Management System (SIMS) monitored alarms installed in homes and businesses while the second, the Cognitive Reader Network (CRN) transmitted radio signals which the SIMS program then interpreted. During peak hours, the Monitoring Center was filled with non-stop energy and action. Team members often made calls to customers whose properties had registered an alarm message in the system in order to check that all was well. There was also constant back and forth chatter via radio technology

between Monitoring Center team members and response team members on the road and those based at the company's strategically located response bases in various parts of the city. Speaking into hand-held radio devices, Monitoring Center team members would verbalize codes that would then be transmitted to response team members. The codes informed the response team of the nature of the alarm for example, panic versus intrusion, in question. In addition to this constant bustle in the room, one would hear the fast click clacking of fingers on keyboards, telephones ringing and casual laughter and chatter bouncing back and forth between Monitoring Center team members who shared the same shift.

Secure Systems' Monitoring Center was the essential in-between infrastructure that connected residents and their homes to the rapid response of the company's response teams, which functioned in essence as private police. It was through the center that transmitted alarm messages and signals of distress were picked up, interpreted and acted on. Secure Systems' Monitoring Center thus functioned much like the company's central processing unit. The center received and deciphered coded alarm messages, precipitated by some sensorial trigger registered and sent out electronically from infrastructure located in a customer's home. A team member would then act on these distress messages by transmitting verbal coded messages via radio technology in order to dispatch response teams. Secure Systems' Monitoring Center was in itself, an infrastructure equipped through both its team members and its software programs to receive external input, conduct data calculations, assessments and sensory processing and finally, send out communications in response to the input, that is, an alarm message received. The three-way relationship between the resident who suffers a home intrusion, the electronic security infrastructure

such as vibration sensors and panic buttons installed in the home in question and, the Monitoring Center is one based on sensory perception, transmission and communication and not, watching and observing. If we take quite simply the idea that surveillance is defined as the monitoring of an individual, then Secure Systems' intrusion detection and panic system present an image of the surveillance society as one dependent on sensory detection, transmission and communication and not just, the politics of vision. This altered view of the surveillance society reveals not technologies that enable watching but, technologies such as vibration sensors, contact strips and motion detectors that detect, sound sirens and transmit coded alarm messages. The Monitoring Center, via the SIMS and CRN programs working in conjunction with team members, intercepts and interprets these silent alarm message transmissions and outputs coded messages of its own to response team members who are mobile in the city. This is the sensorial security assemblage at work. This playing out of sensory perception and the transmission of these perceptions and signals by both human and non-human actors caught up in the electronic security arm of Kingston's securityscape reminds us that thinking about security and surveillance only in terms of the visual practice of watching and being watched is limiting because it privileges the sense of sight as vital to the operation of the surveillance society. Such a perspective ignores the ways in which the sensory perception, transmission and communication capabilities of both human and non-human actors help to organize the very ways in which security plays out and is lived in the city.

Inherent in the idea that security and surveillance in the city are primarily dependent on technologies of watching is the panopticon design, which Lyon (1994) argues has come to function as a leitmotif in surveillance studies. Designed by English social

theorist Jeremy Bentham in the late 18th century, the panopticon, as an architectural design, remains relevant to any discussion on security and surveillance in the contemporary city. Bentham's design has greatly shaped how we have come to theorize the relationship between visual order and power. In Bentham's design, inmates of a prison were to be observed by a single guard in a watchtower and would not be able to tell when they were being watched. What such a design meant was that inmates would be forced to behave as if they were being watched all the time and thus, would be forced to police their own bodies continuously. Bentham's use of the word panopticon to describe his design is a clear reference to *Argus Panoptes*, the monstrous many-eyed giant in Greek mythology who was said to have one hundred eyes. Bentham described the design of the panopticon prison in the following way,

> "The building *circular*—A cage, glazed—a glass lantern about the Size of *Ranelagh* —The prisoners in their cells, occupying the circumference—The officers in the centre. By *blinds* and other contrivances, the inspectors concealed […] from the observation of the prisoners: hence the sentiment of a sort of omnipresence—The whole circuit reviewable with little, or if necessary without any, change of place. *One* station in the inspection part affording the most perfect view of every cell." (Bentham 1798)

The panopticon design and its focus on omnipresent surveillance were central to Foucault's (1995) conceptualization of the order and discipline that are not only forced upon one's body by an external authoritative force but also the discipline that subjects impose on their own bodies when they believe that they are being watched by some external and invisible power. Foucault extrapolated from this idea of the panopticon and came to understand governmentality in terms of technologies of domination that exist alongside technologies of the self in mundane spaces such as the school and hospital. These institutions reveal the pedestrian ways in which discipline and governance can become manifested in everyday

spaces. Central to Foucault's analysis of techniques of discipline that structure these everyday spaces is the visual ordering that is central to the panopticon model. He rightly noted that "the panopticon is a machine for dissociating the seeing/being seen dyad: in the peripheric ring, one is totally seen, without ever seeing; in the central tower, one sees everything without ever being seen" (Foucault 1995, 201-202). Simon (2005) has argued that it is not just horror that is an important part of the panopticon equation, but the combination of horror and vision. Indeed, watching and being watched is inherent in both the design and the power logic of the panopticon - the inmate, the individual being watched, by virtue of his or her own lack of vision, is forced to submit to the gaze of the guard, the individual who possesses the power of sight and also, the advantage of having his or her operations be hidden from view.

Much of the scholarship on the panopticon and the ways in which its design has shaped contemporary surveillance practices have focused on this question of omnipresent vision and the role that it plays in establishing social control. This emphasis on the seeing/being seen dyad, as Foucault called it, is evident in discussions on the labor performed by electronic security technology and infrastructure such as CCTVs, video cameras and recorders and monitors, many of which are offered by electronic security companies such as Secure Systems. These technologies and infrastructure facilitate the activities of watching, observing and surveilling in the name of protecting bodies, homes and properties. And yet, what is interesting and worth noting is that in Kingston, these technologies are not the most popular amongst residential customers. For most of Secure Systems' residential clients, the most affordable and thus, the most popular electronic security packages are the panic system and the intrusion detection system. In order to

provide effective security and surveillance in the home, these packages are dependent not on the seeing/being seen dyad that Foucault associated with the panopticon model, but rather, sensory perception and the transmission and communication of signals. Scholars such as Norris and Armstrong (1999) have argued against the idea that the totalizing vision of the panopticon has become reproduced in urban streets with the introduction of camera technology. The authors contend instead that surveillance is in fact, not dependent on constant and permanent visibility. Additionally, Yar (2003) has gone as far to suggest that Foucault's thesis pathologizes the relationship between subjectivity and visibility, and overlooks the complexity that is inherent in visual experience. He writes that "this epistemologico-scientific treatment of visibility marginalizes…the other (hermeneutic, emotional, communicative) possibilities it affords" (Yar 2003, 260). However, I believe that it is worth pushing Yar's argument even further. Our knowledge of the world is comprised of more than just visual knowledge. In fact, the dominant influence that Foucault's engagement with the panopticon has had on security and surveillance studies has not only privileged an engagement with the high crime city through over attention to visual experience and visual order, but, I suggest that it has done so at the expense of giving valid attention to other dimensions of both human and non-human sensorial experience. Put in simple terms, it is worth reminding ourselves that in the city and the securityscape, the visual works alongside other sensorial experiences.

The primary way in which we often engage, envision and imagine the urban landscape privileges the city as, what Diaconu 2011 calls, an "object of visual delectation." Benjamin's flâneur immediately comes to mind, the urban resident walking and strolling through the city, watching and observing urban life. Indeed, the flâneur was the

quintessential observer. However, a singular focus on the sense of sight occludes the synesthetic nature of the city that in turn informs how security is lived in the city. Attention to the ways in which security and surveillance in the securityscape manifest as multi-sensorial experiences performed by human and non-human actors can open up space for a re-engagement with the synesthetic nature of the city, that is, the city as a sensescape. Envisioning the securityscape as a sensescape calls for a recognition of the fact that the very aesthetics of Kingston's urban geography, as embodied for example, through human actors - such as Secure Systems' residents, technicians and Monitoring Center staff - and non-human actors - such as electronic security infrastructure like sensors, detectors and alarm buttons - are all caught up in the multi-sensoriality of the city. The sensorial experience of these actors is at the core of the aesthetics of security at work in the electronic securityscape. Indeed, Susan Buck-Morss (1992) reminds us that aesthetics, from the ancient Greek word *aisthitikos*, refers to that which is perceptive by feeling. In this way, *aisthitikos* refers to the sensory experience of perception. The original idea of aesthetics was thus not art, but reality, as Buck-Morss notes, corporeal nature. The original meaning of aesthetics is therefore fraught with preoccupations about a "sense of corporeal sensorium" (Buck-Morss 1992, 6). The original meaning of aesthetics has little to do with art and beauty and it is better situated in the world of instincts. What does such an acknowledgement mean for the world of surveillance studies? Indeed, what does it mean for a consideration of a contemporary aesthetics of security? It points to the inter-connected and inter-dependent operations of electronic security clients, workers and security infrastructure, operations that are situated perfectly in the world of sensorium and not simply, a world dependent on the visual ordering of bodies in space and time. To solely

engage the world of electronic security through the visual would be reductionist at best and would fail to see the ways that these actors disturb taken for granted assumptions about the intimate functioning of the surveillance society. They remind us that in the surveillance society, both things and people are simultaneously caught up in sensory circuits that allow for perception of the environment in order to reduce insecurity and ensure security.

The Billboard as a Critical Visual Technology

In the previous section I argued that a singular focus on electronic security in Kingston through the lens of vision, that is, an over-emphasis on the act of watching and being watched, is at best, a short-sighted way in which to engage the labor that electronic security technology and infrastructure perform in many of the city's homes. My envisioning of the securityscape as a space caught up in sensory transmission, interpretation and communication highlights it as not just as a landscape – something defined by a gaze - but as a sensescape, undergirded by sensory circuits. Nonetheless, it would be premature to simply abandon the question of vision and how it operates in Kingston's securityscape. As regards the place of electronic security in Kingston, it is worth considering I believe, the ways in which billboards, used by the city's competing electronic security companies, function as very important visual technologies in the urban landscape. These outdoor advertising structures permeate Kingston's urban environment and they are one of the primary ways in which electronic security companies such as Secure Systems and Hawkeye advertise their services, products and packages to commuters moving through the city. However, more than just advertising products offered, these billboards, strategically

positioned in the public sphere, often feature narratives that speak to the fears and the ideals that commuters associate with their homes, the most private of spheres. In this way, Kingston's electronic security billboards can be read as important visual infrastructures that help to mediate residents' relationships to both the city and their homes.

King Alarm was perhaps, the most popular electronic security company in Kingston and the company that seemed to invest the most in billboard advertising, as evidenced by the sheer number of the company's billboards that seemed to gradually be taking over both upper income and lower income parts of the city. In the Barbican area of Kingston, near the upscale community of Jacks Hill, the company placed two of its billboards side by side. These billboards were not extremely large and tall, but medium-sized and short and were situated on the side of the road in close proximity to a traffic light. Commuters who stopped at a red light easily had these billboards in view which, because they were not very tall, were easy to see from inside one's vehicle without having to crane one's neck upwards. The billboard to the left showed a gray home two-story home with a blue roof and garage. Wrapped around the house was a silver chain that was secured with a similarly colored padlock that featured a blue crown, King Alarm's logo. Behind the image of the chained house was a gray background, which resembled a textured stainless steel sheet metal. Above the image were the words "WE ARE SECURITY" in bold lettering and below it, King Alarm's name, logo, slogan, "The Obvious Choice!" and the company's telephone number and website. It is noteworthy that the two story home in the image, complete with garage closely resembles the architecture of homes found in affluent Kingston communities such as Jack's Hill and Plantation Heights. In the past few years, this image of the home secured with chain and padlock had been rolled out as a part of King Alarm's most recent marketing

campaign. The image was not only displayed on billboards, but also on bus stops around the city. It was also featured on some of the company's response base buildings, where the image was enlarged and used to cover the entirety of the exterior of the buildings.

Figure 11. King Alarm billboards in the Barbican area of the KMA

What is perhaps most interesting about this image is the fact that there is no visual reference to electronic security technology or infrastructure whatsoever. Rather, this billboard, advertising the services of an electronic security company shows the home protected by a thick chain and padlock. The only subtle reference that links the chain and padlock to the world of electronic security is King Alarms' logo, a blue crown, on the center of the padlock. The image does not show invisible and sleek electronic security technology at work but rather, clunky and hyper-visible metal security products. The visibility of metal

here is reinforced with the presence of the stainless steel sheet metal background. The visible absence of any image of an electronic security product and the visible presence of metal security products likens the labor performed by the former to the labor performed by the latter. Indeed, the metal chain and padlock are home security infrastructure with which all Jamaicans are intimately familiar. Moreover, they are synonymous with protection, safety and strength, that is, it is difficult to cut and breach them – they mark the home in the image as something of a fortified castle. King Alarm suggests to the viewer glancing at this billboard from his or her vehicle that the company's electronic security products are capable of fortifying a home much like metal does and capable of making one feel just as safe in one's home as metal grills, gates and burglar bars do. The image illustrates that it is King Alarm's security infrastructure that will make you feel safe in your castle and protect it from any harmful or destructive exterior force. Additionally, through the written message "WE ARE SECURITY," King Alarm communicates to the viewer the sense that it is not the government or the police that is the bastion or provider of security but rather they, a private entity, are.

To the right of this billboard in the Barbican area was another that showed four members of a young black family consisting of a father, mother and young son and daughter. Piled on top of each other on what appears to be the floor of their home, the family appears happy and content. Each member stares at the viewer and shows off brilliant smiles. Above them are the words "WE ARE SECURITY" and to the left of the family portrait, an alarm keypad with the message "Armed and Safe with King Alarm" displayed on the monitor. As with its neighboring billboard, King Alarm's name, logo, slogan, "The Obvious Choice!" and the company's telephone number and website were printed at the

very bottom of this billboard. Taken side by side, the two billboards are striking and offer an interesting contrast. The image of electronic security technology at work that was missing in the billboard to the left is visibly present in the one on the right, in the form of an alarm keypad. Indeed, if the billboard to the right shows the interior of the happy family's home that is secured electronically with an alarm keypad, then, the billboard to the left shows the exterior of the family's home, securitized with a metal chain and padlock. Read together, both billboards show that King Alarm both gives one the physical sense of protection and fortification that Jamaicans are used to getting and feeling from metal, but it does this through the sleekness of technology such as the electronic alarm keypad. Moreover, the images show that this sleek technology is capable of doing just as much work and just as much heavy lifting as metal chains and padlocks. The billboards suggest that electronic security, as illustrated in this instance by a digitized keypad, is representative of security infrastructure cosmopolitanized. The visual narrative paints metal burglar bars and grills as the clunky technology of the past and electronic security technology as belonging to the here, the now and to the future.

Many billboards advertising the services and products offered by electronic security companies in Kingston heavily feature images of armed guards. One such billboard advertisement from Hawkeye, located in another part of the Barbican area showed three security guards dressed in all black army fatigues. The guards appear to be ready for combat. The guards on the left and the right don black helmets and are armed with high-powered rifles. Their stance is wide and their fingers are positioned on the triggers of their guns, which look primed and ready for immediate action. The guard in the center wields no gun instead, his hands remain crossed over his chest. He wears no helmet, but a black

military beret. All three are stern-faced and stand confidently staring down at the commuters driving below them. Above them, the words "PROTECTED AND SAFE" are printed boldly. "Protected" is colored red while "And Safe" is colored in blank ink. Behind the guards is positioned a Hawkeye vehicle with the words "Hawkeye Armoured" on the exterior of the hood. To the far right of the billboard is the Hawkeye logo, the name of the company with an image of a hawk emblazoned over the letter "H." Below this is the language "Securing What Matters Most" which is followed by the company's telephone number, website address and Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and You Tube logos.

Figure 12. Hawkeye billboard in the KMA

This presence of a Hawkeye armored vehicle in this image clearly suggests that on one hand, the billboard must be read as an advertisement for Hawkeye's armored car service where armed guards are hired to transport a client's cash and valuables. However,

it is the image of the guards and not the vehicle that is foregrounded in the shot. The viewer's eyes are first drawn to the guards and their militarized appearance. Their serious face and their weaponry tell the viewer that, not only are they capable of ensuring security but also, of using deadly force in the event that they need to in the name of protecting a customer. Their stance reminds you that they are ready to protect you and secure what matters most to you. The "what" in "Securing What Matters Most" that deserves to be secured of course depends on who it is that is gazing back at the billboard. Perhaps a rich businesswoman will envision these guards safely transporting her millions or perhaps a single mother will envision these same guards responding swiftly to her home in the event of an intrusion detected by one of Hawkeye's electronic security technologies. In Kingston, guards such as those represented in Hawkeye's billboard are quite familiar to the city's commuters. They are the new private police and they drive around the city in company cars and on company bikes dashing here and there in order to respond to break-ins and intrusions. Unlike the state police, they are recognized as being efficient, punctual and equipped with the latest technology. This is what Hawkeye's guards, perched above the city's moving traffic on the Barbican billboard represent. They are the human incarnation of the hawk, the company's namesake – they are swift, have excellent eyesight in order to conduct high-level surveillance and, armed with their high-powered rifles are prepared to efficiently take down any criminal "prey" that dares to threaten a Hawkeye customer.

In Kingston, electronic security billboards are caught up in the circuits of movement in the city and they allow for a more complex and complicated engagement with the ways in which vision operates in the securityscape. These billboards are strategically placed and imposing. Pedestrians and commuters cannot help but glance at them and take them in.

Moreover, it is near impossible to escape their gaze. The ways in which these billboards reproduce and circulate images throughout the city speak to the functioning of what Poole (1997) has called, the notion of a visual economy. She describes the concept as useful for thinking about "…visual images as part of a comprehensive organization of people, ideas, and objects…[an] organization [that] has as much to do with social relationships, inequality, and power as with shared meanings and community" (Poole 1997,8). As a visual technology, the billboards used by Kingston's electronic security companies have served to commodify and objectify, certain visual representations of the home, safety and protection throughout the securityscape. There is, for example, a certain persuasiveness to the visual rendering of King Alarm's home fortified with chain and padlock on massive billboards, bus stops and buildings across the city. The image is a simple one, however, some of the most iconic images are those that are most simple. They become not only easy to recognize but also possess the ability to connect to individuals across a wide cross section of society. The image of the fortified two-story house speaks to the ideal and aspirations of middle class commuters and the fears of upper class commuters in the city. The image gives these ideals and fears visual signification moving them from an abstract to a visual domain. This billboard image has facilitated the dissemination of a very specific understanding of the Kingston home – it is something of social value that must be acquired, protected and secured at all costs. The image speaks with authority to its viewer. Indeed, not only do the electronic security billboards that dot the urban landscape reproduce and circulate images throughout the city but also, they are crucial to the regulation of the very ideas associated with the images that they display. The consumption of these images and visuals by individuals moving through the city is essential to the making of the securityscape.

Sobchack (2004) reminds us that in our relationships with technologies of visual representation such as films, photographs and paintings, we are carnal beings. That is, we are all constantly being made and remade by these representations and technologies. We are also very much complicit in this making of ourselves and of others. However, rarely are we ever conscious of this self-making. The very nature of these technologies is that, as objects, they make us into embodied subjects while also simultaneously blinding us from the truth of their workings. Indeed, as Sobchack notes, visual technology forces us to constantly re-define subject-object relations. In Kingston, the relationship between electronic security billboards and the city's commuters begs the question, who or what possesses the power of the authoritative gaze? Is it the commuter gazing at the billboard or rather, the gazes that emanate from the billboards themselves that directly implicate commuters in their lines of vision? I suggest that the authoritative power of the gaze is one that is constantly shifting. In this way, commuters, through the act of looking at these billboards, not only project their urban residential hopes, but the actors that they lock eyes with – that happy, smiling family and those security guards ready to protect and serve – remind them that their hopes are not just far away dreams but potential realities.

The Open Frontier

In metropolises around the world, private electronic security has made its mark on the securityscape and is here to stay. In Kingston, one need only drive around the city to see the many billboards advertising the myriad products, services and packages offered by competing companies – visual proof that electronic security companies have not only taken a hold of the city's urban landscape but also, caught pedestrians and commuters up in their

gazes as well. For many Kingston residents, using electronic security technology and infrastructure to protect their homes and families is becoming more the norm rather than the exception. The simple truth is that in Kingston, the private provision of security has most certainly "become a ubiquitous feature of modern life" (Abrahamsen and Williams 2008, 539). The technology and infrastructure offered by private electronic security firms have not only altered how the city is engaged but dramatically changed the private sphere of the home, bringing it into a digital domain. Moreover, this infrastructure and technology have served to reinforce the blurring of the lines between the public and the private as well as between the analog world of metal fortification and the digital world of electronic security. The industry has ushered in a whole new set of actors and expertise, embodied in both human and non-human entities, that remind us that the securityscape is always being produced and reproduced, made and remade, not just by residents preoccupied with security but also, by technology, infrastructure, software programs, technicians, private police and other individuals who possess the expert knowledge that keep the gears of this industry moving. These actors illustrate that the securityscape is a synesthetic world shaped by a multiplicity of sensory circuits that move through the city.

The hold that Kingston's private electronic security companies have on the city is undeniable and these companies reveal what the future of security and policing will look like in the city and, in many cities in the Global South. They must be taken as important markers in any consideration of what the open frontier will hold and also, how it will be lived by both state and non-state actors. In this regard, two things are abundantly clear. The first, is that policing and the provision of security in future securityscapes of the Global South will only become more and more dependent on electronic infrastructure and

technology. In Kingston, the metal fortification of the home with bars, grills and gates will not become obsolete. However, I do believe that electronic security technologies will increasingly come to have a greater presence in many homes. One would expect too, that the democratizing trend that has brought many middle class residents into the private electronic security industry as customers will only continue. I anticipate that gradually, local governments will also be forced to adopt technology, infrastructure and best practices used by private electronic security companies. In fact, this move is already underway in Kingston. In 2016, the US Embassy in Kingston partnered with the Jamaica Constabulary Force (JCF) to donate 120 body-worn cameras to the force. The partnership was hailed as an attempt to improve the JCF's human rights record as well as accountability and trust with the Jamaican public. The launch of this partnership came two years after King Alarm, the island's most popular electronic security company, spent over J$20 million to outfit its response guards with high-end body cameras. In this instance, the private is leading the public.

The second matter of concern that is quite clear is that Kingston's securityscape and those of many developing nations will increasingly be defined by the commodification of security. Though many private electronic security companies in Kingston have started to offer flexible payment plans and have begun to market to middle class families, the fact is that still, there are many families that remain disenfranchised in this industry. Lower income families, for sheer economic reasons are excluded from having electronic security technology in their homes. As the electronic security industry grows from strength to strength and the technology contributes to increasing social segregation in cities, it is worth asking whether or not there should be concern that security is becoming a

commodity. Indeed, what of security as a public good accessible to the collective? What news modes has this and will this continue to usher in? Questions of this nature have already begun to preoccupy scholars (de Groot and Engerer 2011; Engerer 2011; Krahmann 2008). In many ways, these are the question awaiting scholars on the horizon. It is probably in cities like Kingston where the very answers to these questions will begin to reveal themselves.

CHAPTER 4
Uniting for Change: Towards Security as a New Social Norm

Before God and all mankind,
I pledge the love and loyalty of my heart,
the wisdom and courage of my mind,
the strength and vigour of my body in the
service of my fellow citizens;
I promise to stand up for Justice, Brotherhood and Peace,
to work diligently and creatively,
to think generously and honestly,
so that Jamaica may, under God,
increase in beauty, fellowship and prosperity,
and play her part in advancing the welfare
of the whole human race.

Jamaican National Pledge

Divine Intervention

In April 2013, Jamaicans were taken aback when the idea that the crime monster was out of control and that the government had no resources or imminent solution to tame it, was communicated and confirmed by none other than Peter Bunting, the then Minister of National Security. At the 13th Annual Prayer and Thanksgiving Service for the security forces held at a local university, Bunting was quoted as saying,

> "I am convinced that the best efforts of the security forces by itself will not solve the crime problem in Jamaica, but it is going to take divine intervention, touching the hearts of a wide cross section of the society. I am not embarrassed to say that right now as Minister of National Security, I am going through a kind of a dark night of the soul. We are trying very hard as a Ministry; I see the men and women of the security forces trying very hard, I see the leadership both of the police and the military working hard and so much effort is being made and yet so little headway, such slow headway is coming out in the statistics."
>
> (Jamaica Gleaner 2013)

The backlash that Minister Bunting received was both swift and severe. If the man leading the charge against crime in the country – who also travelled with his own bodyguard

protection – believed that only assistance from a divine and greater being or force could curb the violence in the country, then how did he expect people to sleep soundly at night? What hope was there for the average citizen to feel safe in his or her own home? However, eight months later in December, an intervention of sorts came. This intervention was not divine in nature, but came in the form of a new campaign that was launched by the Ministry of National Security (MNS) and dubbed, Unite for Change. The catchy tagline for the national campaign was "Moving Jamaica from Concern to Action." Unite for Change was marketed as an anti-crime and security movement aimed at "empowering each Jamaican citizen to take back Jamaica from the clutches of criminal elements." A major feature of the campaign was a specially designed cell phone application, the Stay Alert app, which would allow anyone who downloaded it onto their Android phone the opportunity to use its features. These features included the *Alert* feature which allowed residents to get security alerts from the police, the *iReport* feature, which allowed residents to report incidents of crime, the *Panic Mode* feature, which allowed residents to seek assistance from the police and, the *The Law* feature, which allowed Jamaicans to be informed about their rights. To the Jamaican public, Unite for Change was marketed as a three pronged epidemiological approach to crime predicated on, i) interrupting the transmission of crime by isolating instances of "infection" through a crime control operation known as Operation Resilience; ii) preventing the future spread of crime by improving the capacity of the security forces and; iii) re-normalizing the society towards anti-crime behavior using socialization programmes to displace dysfunctional elements in [Jamaican] society and establish new norms.

In 2015, the Ministry of National Security hosted a highly publicized and well attended one-day Unite for Change conference under the theme "Do The Right Thing: Volunteer to Protect Our Children" which was held at the Jamaica Conference Center (JCC). The JCC was built in 1982 as the venue for the preparatory meetings of the International Seabed Authority, an inter-governmental body based in Kingston. Located in downtown Kingston's business district along the city's waterfront, the JCC has a wonderful view of the Caribbean Sea, and on that windy day that I was there for the Unite for Change conference, the sea was wild and rough, but nonetheless, spectacular to behold. During many of the weekdays in 2015, the JCC had been used to host the Tivoli Gardens Commission of Enquiry, whose weekly proceedings and testimonies had revealed to the Jamaican public, the brute and deadly military force and invasive surveillance techniques that had been leveled against the Tivoli Gardens community at the hands of the Jamaican state. However, when I entered the JCC for the Unite for Change conference, all the ghosts that had been excavated and resurrected during the testimonies delivered during the Commission of Enquiry seemed to have been vanquished, at least temporarily. On that day, the energy inside the JCC was not grim but buoyant. The conference brought out busloads of local volunteers decked out in bright yellow Unite for Change t-shirts and smiles, NGO leaders, police officers, activists, school children dressed in uniform and high ranking politicians including the then Minister of National Security, the Minister of Justice, Mark Golding, the Minister of Culture, Lisa Hanna and then Prime Minister, Portia Simpson-Miller, who told the crowd gathered to hear her speak in the auditorium filled to capacity, that they were all there to take a stand for Jamaica. Inspiring posters decorated the walls of the main auditorium with calls to action such as "KEEP CALM and Unite for Change" and "PEACE

Mek It WORK FI WI" ("Peace Make it Work for Us"). Throughout the day, the various groups of attendees chatted, mingled, watched performances, listened to speeches from politicians and roamed the JCC, hopping from one session to another. Each of the day's four sessions, which included multiple and concurrent panels, had been titled to reflect a line from the Jamaican National Pledge.[1] The National Pledge is often recited daily at local schools, at public events and on special occasions and requires all Jamaicans to stand with their hands stationary at their sides. It is a solemn promise of devotion to the nation. The Unite for Change sessions were titled: i) "I Promise to Stand Up For Justice, Brotherhood and Peace;" ii) "I Promise to Work Diligently and Creatively;" iii) "I Pledge the Strength and Vigour of my Body" and; iv) "In the Service of my Fellow Citizens." Like the Unite for Change conference, each session was a call to civic duty and a reminder of each Jamaican citizen's responsibility to serve the nation and her fellow brothers and sisters.

The Unite for Change conference presented a radically different vision of Kingston's securityscape and the actors at work within it. The very aura of the conference was not one of looking to militarization, as embodied through state and non-state actors, architecture and technologies, in the name of stymieing the crime monster. Rather, present at the conference were actors who held varying positions in Jamaican political and civil society who had come together in the name of ensuring not only the security and safety of the nation but also, a commitment to a collective vision of imagining a better and more united Jamaica. Indeed, as an attendee myself, I was not consumed by a vision of Kingston as a crime-infested dystopia that was dangerous to live in. Instead, I was asked to envision a more utopian Kingston and Jamaica, built on a sense of *communitas*. This picture of Jamaica

[1] The Jamaican National Pledge was written by the Rev. Dr. Hugh Sherlock (1905-1998), one of the original composers of the Jamaican National Anthem.

that was metaphorically painted through the conference activities and events, was an image of a crime-free one and, one where social change could be effectively and deliberately leveraged to ensure a better and more whole future Jamaica for all. What is fascinating about the Unite for Change campaign is that it dared to imagine an alternate reality for Jamaica; one where trust, communal values and civil citizenship reigned. The stated ideals and goals of the campaign, which included a vision for Kingston as the nation's primary urban center, very much go against the traditional scholarly reading of the city. Indeed, a significant arm of both classic and contemporary urban scholarship have taken the true nature of the city to be defined by impersonal interactions, a lack of solidarity, crime, disorder and social distance. Unite for Change, as a national campaign that was launched and celebrated in a city notorious for urban crime and violence, thus raises interesting questions about how both the state and urban residents, in the face of a high crime and a seemingly dystopic metropolis, become caught up in projects that seek to re-make the city and seek to re-imagine the future of the city. Unite for Change was in fact, an instance of urban imagination that had come to life. Moreover, the campaign's re-envisioning of Kingston's security was tied intimately to new aspirations for modern Jamaican citizenship at a very particular historical moment in Jamaica's postcolonial project, when the Jamaican nation found herself 53 years post-independence.

Taken together, Unite for Change, its goals, activities, implications and consequences are worth considering from an anthropological perspective because it can shed immense light on what Jamaicans take to be at stake for the nation at this particular juncture in time as it grapples with urban insecurity and the ramifications of this on what it means to be Jamaican in the 21st century. It is with this in mind that in this chapter I do the following.

First, I examine the ways in which the Ministry of National Security's anti-crime re-socialization campaign was predicated on the re-crafting of postcolonial citizenship around the theme of responsible parenting. Second, I examine the ways in security acts as a traveling signifier through ethnographic attention to the community development activities in the community of Queen Town. Third, I examine how the project of nation-building is being taken up by urban, poor residents and allowing for new articulations of security. I conclude with thoughts on the poor, urban resident as the embodiment of radical subject-hood.

Re-establishing Values, Norms and Attitudes

The Unite for Change conference and much of the campaign's overall marketing was centered on the third of its stated goals, namely, to "re-normalize the society towards anti-crime behavior using socialization programmes to displace dysfunctional elements in society and establish new norms." Central to making the Jamaican public aware of this third goal was the release of targeted promotional materials by the Ministry of National Security that included billboards, a Unite for Change song, posters and television ads. A key theme in these visuals was the way in which responsible parenting in homes and communities across the island could ultimately reduce Jamaica's crime rate and moreover, ensure that Jamaica's youth would live to see their future. In support of this theme, the Ministry of National Security rolled out billboards and posters across the country that took a pro-parenting stance and emphasized effective parenting and community togetherness as a way to tackle crime and violence and bring safety to homes. One popular image showed a solemn faced teenaged boy in his khaki school uniform with the words "MY BIRTHDAY

WISH IS TO SEE MY NEXT" branded in block letters beside him. Another featured a beautiful little black girl with her head playfully tilted to the side and with bright hazel eyes filled with innocence. Her piercing gaze tugged at the viewer's heartstring. Written below her were the words "WHEN I GROW UP I WANT TO BE ALIVE." These images and other like-minded ones which began to populate Kingston's cityscape, reminded the city's residents that they had to come together to fight the scourge of violence that had taken hold of the country, if for no other reason, then for the sake of the nation's children who embodied the very future of the nation.

The campaign's pro-parenting television ads followed a similar thematic line of argument. Consider for a moment, the following. Imagine that you are Jamaican and you and your family are in your living room one evening when the following ad beams through your television set. The camera focuses on a young woman who says, *"It's been 11 months,"* then it shifts to a young Rastafari man with dreadlocks who remarks, *"7 years."* Another young man proudly tells you *"12 years"* and finally, a woman standing beside a young boy and girl, who declares, *"since I became the most important person in the world."* You realize that all these adults have something in common. They are parents who have taken on the responsibility of shepherding a young child through this world. The parents speak to you once more. The Rasta father, with his young smiling daughter now beside him says in the Jamaican dialect, patois, *"Is a big responsibility fi know seh her future is in I hands*."[2] The older mother stares at you honestly and says *"I want to prepare them for life's journey so that as they grow they know the difference between right and wrong."* A young father walking with his teenaged son comments, "*I have to make sure I keep him out of bad*

[2] "I" in this instance is the Rastafari pronoun for "me" or "my."

company because if I don't raise him right, the streets are going to raise him." Then the parents all solemnly declare, one by one, *"if I fail, she fails," "If I stumble, he falls," "Knowing I'm responsible for their future, and they're responsible for Jamaica's future."* Again you see that young father, he playfully nudges his teenaged son and promises, "*I'm going to make sure he stays on the straight and narrow*." And then, finally you hear once again, from the young Rasta father who completes the declaration, "*because to the world, I'm just another person*." The camera zooms out and you see the Earth floating in the universe. It morphs into the sweet, smiling face of a little girl, and the voice continues, "*but to my child, I'm the whole wide world*." The ad ends with the Unite for Change logo and the tagline "Moving Jamaica from Concern to Action." The message from the Ministry of National Security is clear - it was through proper, respectable and effective parenting in homes and communities that Jamaica would take care of and protect her children and contribute to the security and safety of communities. In this way, each Jamaican child would have the opportunity to live to see his or her future. These images suggest that the nation's children and thus, her future, were dependent on every citizen, whether a biological parent or not, mobilizing in the fight against crime. The Unite for Change campaign pitched respectable parenting as model behavior and moreover, as something worth aspiring to. This campaign, positioned good parenting as central to the health of the Jamaican nation and thus, characteristic of a good Jamaican citizenry. Spearheaded by the Ministry of National Security, the pro-parenting emphasis of the Unite for Change campaign effectively linked responsible parenting to not just the security of communities, but also, the security of the nation. In this way, security, as embodied through good parenting was newly situated as both a national social value as well as a social norm.

The discourse surrounding the Unite for Change campaign, in particular, its emphasis on national and community security through the re-socialization and re-normalization of behaviors grounded in respectable parenting was very reminiscent of Jamaica's Values and Attitudes campaign which was launched by then Prime Minister, P.J. Patterson in 1994. Due to inertia, Patterson's campaign never ever quite got off the ground (Grey 2008), and yet, in many ways, Unite for Change, launched two decades later, stood firmly in its shadow. Patterson was Jamaica's sixth Prime Minister and first rose to the position of head of state in 1992, as leader of the People's National Party. Thomas (2004) has rightly noted that Jamaica's urban poor regarded Patterson as the country's first black prime minister. In 1997, he boldly re-instituted the national celebration of Emancipation Day (August 1). At independence in 1962, the tradition of celebrating the slaves' emancipation had been discontinued in favor of the national celebration of independence (August 6). With this simple yet profound political act, Patterson would come to re-assert the presence and worth of the black slave - the very subject who had been excluded from the nationalist agenda at the dawn of independence - in the national historical narrative and memory. On February 15, 1994, Patterson launched a National Consultation on Values and Attitudes which was attended by various civil society actors in Jamaica. At this event, Patterson gave an opening speech titled, "Promoting Better Values and Attitudes." In his speech, Patterson lamented the erosion of values in Jamaican society. He attributed this erosion to a number of factors including, the legacy of slavery and colonialism in Jamaica, which he believed had created a Jamaican populace lacking in self-confidence and a sense of true self-worth. Moreover, he argued that, "the fight for scare benefits and spoils has contributed to a polarized society in which we operate like hostile tribes which seem to be

perpetually at war, rather than working to realize a common goal." Addressing the group before him, Patterson pleaded "for a commitment to restore a sense of decency, to exercise discipline and to conduct our affairs based on the Christian principles of loving our neighbours as ourselves" (Patterson 1994). Patterson's speech was a passionate call for a return to the virtue and culture of civility in Jamaican society, which he believed was at risk. By re-establishing civility and decency as highly regarded norms and values in Jamaica he believed that Jamaican society would ultimately move from a place of vulnerability and fragility to a place of strength.

Earlier, noted Jamaican political scientist Carl Stone (1992) had meditated on the very question of Jamaican values and norms and the relevance of this subject matter to social science theory, in particular, theory invested in elucidating the character of Caribbean society. Stone's clear distinction between a value and a norm is useful to consider in order to better understand the messaging that was being conveyed in the Ministry of National Security's effective parenting campaign. Stone describes a value as something that individuals strive for, aspire to and attached meaning to, and a norm, as rules of behavior that express a commitment to a society's value system. He argued that a part of the task of understanding values, norms and behavioral traits in Jamaican society was to relate them to specific historical periods, in particular, the socio-economic structures of slavery, the post-emancipation plantation era and the post-war modernization period. Integral to this task for Stone, was an attempt to predict the directions in which future social change in certain values and norms would be likely to occur. Thus, he noted that lamentations about the absence of values and norms in Jamaican society, as evidenced by an increase in crime, violent behavior, the breakdown of parenting

in family life, corruption in public life, obscenity in the media, youth indiscipline and low work production, were in fact, instances of misunderstood changes in values and norms associated with past historical moments that gave rise to specific values and norms.

The social sciences have long taken social values and norms to be the glue of society and as integral to the shaping of individual behavior and the cementing of social solidarity. Indeed, within anthropology, figures such as Tylor, Boas, Radcliffe-Brown and Sahlins and within sociology, figures such as Durkheim and Weber, have explored the relationship of norms and values to culture, social learning, cultural change and the regulation of social behavior. This conversation has been particularly rich within the Caribbean where anthropologists have drawn on this theoretical heritage to explore the dialectical functioning of cultural norms, values and ideas about reputation and respectability in Caribbean societies (Besson 1993; Freeman 2014; Maurer 1997; Olwig 1993; Sutton 1974; Yelvington 1995). The reputation-respectability paradigm as it is known within Caribbean ethnography, was developed by Peter Wilson (1973) in his study of the island of Providencia off the coast of Colombia. Wilson argued that reputation and respectability function as two diametrically opposed value systems in the Caribbean. He described respectability as representative of the value system of the Europeans who colonized the region. For Wilson, this value system emphasized the institution of marriage, education, the domestic space, moderation, self-restraint, and industriousness. Social hierarchy in spaces such as the church and school was highly regarded. Wilson equates respectability with women. Reputation on the other hand, Wilson took to be the one and true value system of the Caribbean that he contended was based on equality and personal worth. He emphasized the space of the street as integral to the functioning of reputation, which he

further associated with manhood and fatherhood. Since Wilson, Caribbeanists have worked with, through and against the original formulation of the reputation-respectability paradigm and have shown that in the Caribbean, men and women engage in the balancing act of participating in both worlds, that is, men value respectability just as much as women compete for reputation (Boucher 2011). Drawing on this paradigm, Olwig (1995) for example has shown how Methodist missionaries in Nevis permeated an ideology of respectability that became an organizing principle amongst the recently freed slave population. More recently in Barbados, Freeman (2014) has illustrated the ways in which a certain neoliberal ethos has brought about changes amongst the entrepreneurial female middle class population, in particular, changes in women's values and aspirations both inside and outside of the home.

The idea of respectability, as articulated by Wilson and others, was central to the Ministry of National Security's Unite for Change campaign and its heavy emphasis on good parenting. On the surface, the campaign appeared to be grounded in an anti-crime and an anti-violence message. It was after all, spearheaded by the Ministry of National Security. And yet, under the rubric of security, the Ministry of National Security tied the very security of the nation to an ethos of respectable parenting. Indeed, in so doing, the Ministry also transferred some of the responsibility of ensuring national security from off of its own shoulders. Ensuring safe and secure communities and a safe Jamaica was now to be a community and national effort. The very targeted marketing of the Unite for Change campaign linked Jamaica's national security to the security of communities across the nation and to the parenting exercised in the homes in these communities. The re-investment in good parenting in each and every household was positioned as necessary in

the fight against crime. It was effective and respectable parenting that would ensure that Jamaica's youth would not get caught up in the world of crime, would not be fatally harmed by criminal elements and would live to see the future which they deserved. This emphasis on good parenting, as grounded in respectability, civility and decency, situated it as both a cultural value (an ideal worth aspiring to) and a cultural norm (a set of rules to shape national and individual behavior). The deliberate linking of this parenting ideology to security similarly positioned the latter as a newly articulated value and norm. By positioning security in this light, the Ministry of National Security suggested that to be unconcerned with respectable parenting was to be unconcerned with security and to be unconcerned with security was in truth, to be un-Jamaican. Being invested in respectable parenting and thus in the security of communities and the nation was tantamount to being a good citizen.

Security as a Traveling Signifier

At first glance, the logic of the Unite for Change anti-crime campaign that intimately linked national and community security with respectable parenting may appear perplexing. It is worth considering why the Ministry of National Security, the ministry charged with creating a safe and secure Jamaica through the enforcement of law, order and the maintenance of secure borders, in essence, ensuring public safety and the provision of security as a public good, was able to successfully and convincingly undertake a campaign with a prominent respectable parenting message. One could ask why this message was not being promoted by the Ministry of Culture, Gender, Entertainment and Sport, formerly the Ministry of Youth and Culture, whose mission in part, dictates that it is mandated to lead

social transformation and enhance social well-being. Indeed, why was the Ministry of National Security able to link the concept of security so easily and seamlessly to the norm and value of respectable parenting? At the core of this questioning is a single inquiry: what is it about the concept of security that allows it to behave and move in this way? Abraham (2009) has similarly questioned the nature of the word security to move with such abandon. He surmises that the word security is a parasitic word and a traveling signifier, one that is used to speak to multiple scales of human activity. Abraham references Dillon (1996) who, in his articulations on the political philosophy of the concept security, remarks that, "motility is as integral to words, then, as it is to human being. For words also travel and constitute a record of journeys made…Each – the human and the word – possess a career, describes a history, travels a measure of existence, does more than is knowingly intended and signifies more than they can know" (Dillon 1996, 113). Indeed, being mobile is in the very nature of words. This mobility makes them socially and politically alive and able to move across space and time and write both the past and the present (Gluck 2009, 3). Moreover, words as Tsing notes, "allow us to insert ourselves into discourses, institutions, and social relations…[and] offer special insight into the remaking of worlds at different scales…" (Tsing 11, 2009). The mobility of the security concept, that is, the very logic of the term, is what allowed it to be used by Jamaica's Ministry of National Security in an anti-crime campaign with a pro-parenting message meant to cultivate a sense of community solidarity and civility. It is worth noting however, that the word itself does not only move in the service of statecraft. In Kingston, it was evident to me that in poor, urban communities, the very communities that are often the target of the state's anti-crime campaigns, security acts as a traveling signifier mobilized by residents in multiple areas of

urban social life. Attention to the labor that the security concept performs in this regard reveals more nuanced ways in which it is lived in the securityscape.

Queen Town was a low-income, urban community located in the south central area of the Kingston Metropolitan Area. The community was near the heart of downtown Kingston and had a population of close to 12,000. Queen Town was populated with a number of wholesale shops, bars and homes, most of which were dilapidated and featured wood and corrugated zinc as the primary building materials. These homes were not populated with burglar bars, grills and gates. A single road divided Queen Town into two warring districts, one supported the People's National Party (PNP) and the other has historically been aligned with the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). Due to the constant flare-ups of violence in the community, police officers who were based at a nearby police station patrolled the community regularly by car. However, during the times when there were no flare-ups in violence, the inherent communal nature of the neighborhood was undeniable. Children would play football in the streets and men and women would spend time outdoors chatting and socializing in order to escape the heat and feel the cool breeze brought by the nearby Caribbean Sea. Because of the community's association with crime and gang activity, Queen Town had over the years, been the target of many violence prevention and social interventions, projects and programs spearheaded by local and international non-governmental and international organizations. The most substantial project of this nature had been the building of a J$39 million community center which was funded by the Jamaica Social Investment Fund (JSIF), the European Union and the Citizen Security and Justice Programme (CSJP), a violence prevention initiative of the Ministry of National Security that was very active in the community. Queen Town community

members had assisted with the construction of the spacious community center which was completed in 2014 and which featured a computer lab, kitchen, a meeting hall and classroom areas. The community center was the central hub of Queen Town and a regular site for community meetings, events, weekend classes for children and workshops. The perimeter walls of the community center included two simple works of graffiti art. The first, an image of a black woman in a head-wrap looking outwards who had the words "NOT JUST A GHETTO" painted beside her. The other, an image of a diamond along with the community's name and the words "Diamond In The Rough."

Figure 13. Graffiti art at the Queen Town community center

Ms. Andrea was always a constant presence and friendly face in the community center. She was a short, brown-skinned woman in her fifties with short hair that was beginning to gray. Ms. Andrea, who had lived in Queen Town her entire life, was the head of

Queen Town's Community Development Committee (CDC) and was in many ways, the face of the community. Everyone knew Ms. Andrea and she knew everyone by name. As a result of this, she was the primary liaison for the community, in particular, in the community's dealings with external organizations such as the CSJP. Because of this work, Ms. Andrea had long been tied up in both external (state) and internal (community) interventions to address perceived insecurities in the Queen Town community. These interventions allowed her to experience personally the ways in which security, as a concept moved and performed socially and politically in Queen Town, and, attached itself to the many scales of activities that defined community life. As a young 19 year-old woman living in 1970s Kingston, Ms. Andrea had wanted to join the army. She laughed as she told me that growing up, she had simply just always loved the army. She got her chance when then Prime Minister, Michael Manley of the People's National Party initiated the Home Guard program. The very idea undergirding the Home Guard was citizen policing, that is, communities were encouraged to protect themselves. Though the program consisted of everyday citizens and community members, still, they received proper military training. Ms. Andrea received her training at Up Park Camp, a military base for the Jamaica Defence Force and often went to a firing range where she learned how to shoot a gun. As a Home Guard officer she received a gun, baton and badge and worked in Queen Town alongside the police conducting patrols. One afternoon in the community center she spoke to me about the respect that prevailed in Queen Town in the 1970s and the fact that the Home Guard represented for both sides of the community, the People's National Party side and the Jamaica Labour Party side. She lamented that today, "people show less regard to the police" and as such, today, "the Home Guard would get a warm time." Ms. Andrea's time in the Home Guard was fairly short. The

program was discontinued she noted, a little before the bloody 1976 general election. She remarked that it was after the disbanding of the Home Guard that dons started to emerge in Queen Town, filling the security gap that had once been filled by Manley's initiative. After her time in the Home Guard in which she was an agent of security for the Jamaican state, Ms. Andrea transitioned to community task forces in Queen Town that were charged with improving relations with the police. This led to her involvement with the community's consultative committee and finally to her work with the Community Development Committee which was launched in 2011. For Ms. Andrea, community development and activism went hand in hand with her earlier Home Guard work of bringing security to and reducing violence in Queen Town, much in the same way that for the Unite for Change campaign, national security was intimately linked to respectable parenting.

During the summer of 2015, Ms. Andrea helped to coordinate a workshop in the Queen Town community center in collaboration with the Social Development Commission (SDC), a local governmental community development organization that assisted communities with training and capacity building. Leading and moderating the session was Mr. Davis, the representative from the SDC. At the front of the meeting room was a large board on which Mr. Davis had taped brown paper. Drawn on the brown paper was a table featuring rows and columns intended for the workshop members to list the main issues affecting Queen Town and suggestions for actions plans for each issue. The table had been drawn in black ink and listed eight category columns, namely, i) Priority/Rank; ii) Problem/Issue; iii) Problem Description; iv) Project; v) Beneficiaries; vi) Estimated Costs and Partner; vii) Project State and Completion Date and; viii) Indicator of Success. During the workshop, the twelve individuals present that included community members and

outside persons who had been invited, brainstormed aloud and discussed the primary issues plaguing Queen Town and the best ways to approach and solve them. As soon as an issue was agreed upon, Mr. Davis who stood at the front of the room, scribbled it onto the brown paper. The community members present listed "Poor Parenting" as the number one issue affecting Queen Town. In the problem description column was written, "parents are often teenagers, children on corners in illegal activities." Following this, "Unemployment" was listed as the second priority issue for the community. The unemployment issue was described using the following language, "large percentage of community is un-skilled or uneducated, those that are skilled have limited job opportunities." The community members present suggested that limited job opportunities for Queen Town residents was as a result of the stigma that came with living in Queen Town, a community known for its violence. Reggae singer Etana tackled this very issue in her 2008 song "Wrong Address" which was a local hit. Etana sings about the plight of a young woman who resides in a high crime community and upon applying for a job is turned away simply because of her home address. Etana croons,

Tried to get a job today but
When dem see the application dem say
If this is really where you reside
Please step outside
She asked them why
And they replied

We don't want no trouble
We don't want no trouble, no day
Cause lady where you come from
People die there everyday
For our safety that's where you should stay

The singer then goes on to lament that even though the young woman graduated at the top of her class, still, Jamaican society persisted in looking down on her. The third priority issue was listed as "Impact of Crime and Violence" and described as "murder, shootings, gang warfare, [and] delinquency plaguing community and preventing people from moving in and out freely." "Poor Housing Infrastructure" was listed fourth and community members complained about "old dilapidated structures with external and shared sanitary systems." Finally, "Limited Recreational Area" was listed as the fifth issue that required urgent attention and started a discussion about the inadequacy of the current basketball court at the community center and the far distance for young people to get to the closest football field. Community meetings, workshops, classes and community development programs such as this one that was co-hosted with the SDC were common fare at the Queen Town community center. For example, during the school year, Ms. Andrea and many of her female friends who were involved in the CDC would wake at 4:00 in the morning to cook breakfast for school children in the community as a part of Queen Town's breakfast feeding program. Additionally, during my time in Queen Town in 2015 I witnessed Ms. Andrea help to spread the word and organize a training workshop and informational session led by a local solar power company on the topic of empowering the community through renewable energy and skills training. The event was a tremendous success that filled the community center to capacity with young people from all corners of Queen Town.

Figure 14. Young men at a skills training workshop held at the Queen Town community center

The issues that Queen Town residents like Ms. Andrea listed during the SDC workshop and showed through the various events they participated in, as being of great importance to the community, such as unemployment, good parenting, proper housing, child hunger and sustainable energy were in fact indicative of issues that were perceived to contribute to insecurity in one way or another in the community. Indeed, the reduction in crime and violence was only one way in which residents envisioned the security of their community. The events, meetings and skills training sessions hosted in the community center, Queen Town's social hub, provided residents with the opportunity to engage their own visions for a safe and secure Queen Town. In this regard, Queen Town residents took security to encapsulate a reduction in violence as well as the social security of the community through attention to good parenting, energy security, food security, economic

security and housing security to name but a few. These visions for Queen Town brought to life through programs such as skills training workshops and breakfast feeding programs were opportunities for community members to ensure that the future generation of Queen Town would have a sustainable and safe community in which to live. At the core of the development work of Ms. Andrea and her community members was a desire to make Queen Town secure in a holistic way. In addressing security in this nuanced and multi-faceted way, Queen Town's residents believed that they could get their community to not just survive in urban Kingston, but to thrive in the city.

Re-building the Nation in the 21st Century

For both the Ministry of National Security - through its Unite for Change campaign - and the residents of Queen Town - through their various community development activities - the idea of security, in its multiple forms, and its inseparable shadow, insecurity (Abraham 2009), were intimately tied to visions about citizenship and nation-building in Kingston and in Jamaica. The Unite for Change campaign positioned security, as embodied through good parenting and volunteerism as critical to the making of the modern and respectable Jamaican citizen. Such a citizen was envisioned to be not morally bankrupt, but decent and civil, in essence both a community builder and a nation builder. I suggest that for the Ministry of National Security, this behavior, centered on the elimination of dysfunctional behaviors and re-socialization towards anti-crime and security norms and values, was taken to be critical to equipping Jamaican citizens with the tools to combat the violence of the city. I would also argue that this emphasis on security as a social norm and value was taken to be critical to re-envisioning the postcolonial nation a little over half a

century after independence. The postcolonial project has always been dependent on the crafting of formerly colonial subjects into citizens. The crafting of these new citizens, in essence from clay, in the vision and likeness of the new postcolonial project, was also dependent on the articulation of a clear set of guidelines as regards which behavior and qualities would characterize the nation. There is an exclusionary politics inherent in this enterprise, that is, the idea of stipulating the terms of belonging within the bounds of the nation inherently includes some and excludes others. As an arm of the state, the Ministry of National Security, in promoting respectable parenting as integral to national and community security, was caught up in this politics.

In Jamaica, articulating the terms of citizenship in the postcolonial nation has always been an exercise encumbered by competing imaginings. Bogues (2002) has suggested that the contemporary crisis in the postcolonial Caribbean, characterized by moral bankruptcy, violence and corruption can be traced to the collapse of the modern nation-state project constructed during the period of decolonization. Particularly critical of Norman Washington Manley[3], a major architect of Jamaica's independence, Bogues argues that Manley framed Jamaica's nationalist agenda through the lens of a creole nationalism. This creole nationalism was one predicated on middle class status. The region's middle classes represented the educated few who were increasingly occupying positions of influence and would in the postcolonial period come to assume the positions once occupied by the British. In the 1930s their living conditions and work and educational opportunities were far superior to those of the working classes. Bogues argues that Manley's creole nationalism is noticeable for its historical silences, that is, it failed to mention the ways in

[3] Today, Manley is honored as a National Hero of Jamaica.

which colonialism and slavery had functioned in Jamaican society. The implications of such dangerous silences meant that matters of race, class and color were often ignored as the postcolonial project was crafted. Indeed, as Bogues rightly notes, "any nationalist struggle that downplayed or ignored slavery could not tap into all the complex imaginings required for the new nation" (Bogues 2002, 9). In Jamaica, while certain historical experiences and archives were silenced, it was westernization that was celebrated. Such western aspirations, which carried over into the postcolony certainly spoke to ideas about what kind of citizen would be created, what citizenship would look like, what middle class leadership would look like as well as ideas about respectability. Manley's creole nationalism silenced the Afro-Caribbean subject and experience. What shaping Jamaica's independence project in a creole nationalist vernacular meant, was that, with the birth of the postcolonial nation would come the same race and class divisions which had defined the population for generations. These would only continue to fester. Contextualizing the Ministry of National Security's anti-crime Unite for Change campaign in relation to the Values and Attitudes campaign of the early 1990s allow for a consideration of the ways in which the Jamaican state continues to be caught up in processes of reinforcing middle class values such as respectability, respect and civility. Moreover, by drawing on the language of respectable parenting and the need to keep Jamaica's children shielded from the dangers of the street, the campaign was directly implicated in projecting oft-repeated images about violence prone communities like Queen Town. Such communities are often read, as was melodized by the singer Etana, as enclaves of criminality and centers of urban death and ruin. For the Ministry of National Security, it was communities like Queen Town and indeed, like the nearby Tivoli Gardens, which were in need of crime reduction and

moreover, an infusion of certain values and norms grounded in anti-violence, good parenting, decency and civility.

At the community meeting and workshop held in Queen Town's community center in the summer of 2015 during which residents actively participated in putting the issues affecting the community on paper and verbalizing action plans for each, no direct mention was made of the Unite for Change campaign or the campaign's emphasis on respectable parenting. And yet, the fact that Queen Town community members listed "poor parenting" as an issue of primary concern for the community shows the often totalizing and homogenizing ways in which the norms articulated by the state can often operate. However, anthropologists have long shown that individuals are not merely passive actors interminably tied to the norms and behavioral expectations dictated by a culture. The actions of rational and self-interested individuals are central to the emergence of norms in any society. Poor, black and urban residents in communities like Queen Town may in fact have been maligned by the Ministry of National Security and historically excluded from the post-colonial project. Nonetheless, they sought to combat insecurity in their community by articulating their own set of communal values and thus, asserting their own brand of citizenship. The residents exemplified a civic humanism (Pocock 1985), that is, exemplary, active and positive citizenship. Their public engagement and commitment to a communal and public good was demonstrative of a more utopian as well as a more egalitarian imagining of Kingston. Indeed, Queen Town's residents forcefully championed, on their own terms, their own visions for how they could both belong and contribute to the nation.

Not Just a Ghetto

A textured understanding of the social relationships and governance politics surrounding urban security and insecurity in Kingston forces one to contend with the Ministry of National Security's Unite for Change campaign as not simply another anti-crime security strategy proposed by a government dealing with a high crime rate. I suggest that at stake in Unite for Change's articulation of security, that is, an articulation dependent on the re-socialization of Jamaicans towards pro-parenting norms and values, is a project of re-imagining citizenship and nation-building in the contemporary postcolonial city. This project was dependent on reinforcing the stigma of violence and thus un-respectability, surrounding poor, urban communities like Queen Town. This logic of the state, manifested through an anti-crime campaign by the Ministry of National Security ultimately leveled a politics of social exclusion against Queen Town. At the core of such politics is the demeaning (Gray 2004) of inner-city communities like Queen Town in Jamaica. And yet, Gray reminds us of the agency of the Jamaican lumpenproletariat. Jamaica's urban poor are actively involved in forms of resistance that ultimately influence and mark Jamaican social and political life. What would it mean to consider the politics that exist in these communities? It would mean according to Thomas (2012), a willingness to consider that "potentiality exists in many ways, and not just through the kinds of revolutionary political mobilization we are trained to recognize" (Thomas 2012, 132). She calls for harder looks at the efforts and mobilizations that emerge in communities, that are often initiated and led by women, and that tackle community issues, even if they do not convert into revolutionary movements.

Such an approach to telling the story of a community like Queen Town would require a commitment to recognizing Queen Town residents such as Ms. Andrea as radical political subjects in their own right. Indeed, such a reading is necessary in order to re-define the stigma that communities like Queen Town are just violent enclaves. As Queen Town's own residents visually reminded anyone who visited the community center, Queen Town is "NOT JUST A GHETTO." The residents' activism and community development programs was their way of seeking to articulate their own visions and ideas about citizenship, democracy and nation-building in modern Jamaica while also transcending the label of "ghetto." Their various workshops and meetings were their way of unsettling the power of the state and the imposition of external norms and value systems. In effect, Queen Town residents confronted the very limits of the democracy of the postcolonial nation and illuminated the radical possibilities that can emerge from within poor urban communities.

EPILOGUE
Writing the World from the Caribbean Metropolis

Some thirty years ago, the anthropologist Faye Harrison called for an African diaspora perspective in urban anthropology. Her call was an attempt to bring the pioneering work of St. Clair Drake, in particular, his text *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945) which he co-authored with Horace R. Cayton Jr., into the mainstream of urban thought in anthropology. Drake was a student at the University of Chicago when the Chicago School was at its intellectual peak and it was while he was there that the 809 page *Black Metropolis* was published. In the text, Drake paints a vivid and clear picture of Black life in Chicago giving detailed attention to ethnic, class and racial issues as well as matters of central importance to the Black community including employment, politics, housing and labor migration. Moreover, as Harrison notes, Drake presented a very original diaspora paradigm that allowed him to apply both a diachronic and global perspective to the study of black life in order to consider the impact that historical ties to Africa and the legacy of slavery have on economic and socio-cultural development. Indeed, *Black Metropolis* remains a landmark study on urban life and race and yet as Harrison argues, the work of Drake, in addition to other pioneering black scholars to whom he was indebted, most notably W.E.B. Du Bois[1], "belong to an intellectual tradition too little known, understood, or appreciated beyond the boundaries of Black and Pan-African Studies" (Harrison 1988, 111).

[1] Indeed, Du Bois' *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899) was originally published some twenty-five years before the Chicago School was at its peak and remains a pioneering work of urban sociology. Yet, both Du Bois and this seminal text remain peripheral in urban sociology and anthropology.

What I have illustrated in this dissertation is that Kingston as a city of the Black Atlantic, is a space that lives with historical legacies of insecurity that have come to shape how modern urban residents conceptualize their homes, their communities and their sense of belonging within the postcolonial nation. Nonetheless, in the face of crime, violence and rampant insecurity many Kingstonians are using their metropolis to open themselves up to local, regional and global possibilities, in essence, new modes of existing within the bounds of the nation and the world. This dissertation is an attempt to get at the "true historicity" (Mbembe 2001) of Kingston city. Kingston is a city that I have long been intimately familiar with. I know its sounds and smells and it will forever be my point of center. However, it was only in 2015 while I was conducting fieldwork that I began to write the world from Kingston, a Caribbean metropolis.[2] This dissertation, which situates the ways in which security and insecurity take form in urban Kingston both in the present moment and across space and time is a documentation of this process and is thus, an historical archaeology of the present. As I was writing the world from Kingston in 2015, acutely aware of my own insecurities and those of my interlocutors in the high-crime city, black communities in the United States were erupting in protests over the killing of un-armed black men and women by police officers. Like the Tivoli Gardens Commission of Enquiry that was taking place in Kingston at the same time, these protests were a reminder of the multiple ways in which black bodies in the Black Atlantic continue to live with insecurity as a part of everyday life. As I mentally juxtaposed was I was living and seeing in Jamaica alongside what was happening in the United States, it became obvious to me that Harrison's call for an African diaspora perspective in anthropology to illuminate the nature of urban life globally, was

[2] Here, I borrow Mbembe and Nuttall's (2004) phrasing of "writing the world from the African metropolis."

not only still relevant, but urgently so. I believe that the Caribbean is a key part of this conversation.

Speaking to Charles V in 1552, Spanish historian López de Gómara remarked that after the Creation and the coming of Christ, the most relevant and important event in world history had been the "discovery" of the New World (Hanke 1959, 2-3, 124). As Mintz brilliantly notes, "by the second decade of the sixteenth century, [the Caribbean] territories were circum-navigated and explored, their aborigines had been dominated and Spanish colonies established on the largest islands, and the entire area had been thrust into the consciousness of European monarchs, philosophers, and scientists" (Mintz 1971, 17). Indeed, these monarchs, philosophers and scientists set in motion a series of events that served to mark the Caribbean as an important colonial sphere of influence and as undeniably central in the making of the modern world. Trouillot (1992) nonetheless has argued that as a discipline, anthropology has had a difficult time engaging with and studying the Caribbean region. Historically, anthropologists have been trained to keep history at a safe distance in order to protect the timelessness of culture. Additionally, he remarks that anthropology has an obsession with pure cultures. It is the Caribbean that complicates and de-stabilizes these implicit goals of the discipline. Trouillot suggests that because the Caribbean is inescapably historical and Caribbean people live with a sense of the past and present constantly overlapping, the region has not satisfied anthropology's desire for pure cultures. Additionally, given that there is no nativeness in the Geertzian sense (1974) in the Caribbean, the region further complicates the discipline's preoccupation with its subject. Trouillot remarks that indeed, some of the attacks on the fallacy of the ethnographic present were launched from the Caribbean (Smith 1962). In this

reading, the Caribbean represents a space that disrupts and opens up new ways for thinking history and the past in anthropology. I argue that the Caribbean allows for a living inside history (Fanon 1963) and in so doing allows for the explosion old truths. Here one can think of living inside history as the very means by which to explode it from within. Such a politics allows for a project that is not just an alternative history but also, an alternative to history.

And so, what can the Caribbean teach us about the rest of the world? Given the Caribbean's central place in global history and given that the Caribbean's land, labour, people and products were so central in the making of the modern world, I want to suggest that perhaps shifts in Caribbean social life can speak to concomitant shifts in other parts of the world and globally. This is especially true as regards security and insecurity. Kingston's securityscape is not emerging. Both security and insecurity have long been historically caught up in the very land and the people of the region. Moreover, it is in cities like Kingston, where contemporary urban insecurities continue to be felt most acutely and where urban residents are making the insecure city into one of innovation and genius in the continual search for that ever-elusive state of security.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abraham, Itty. 2009. "Segurança/Security in Brazil and the United States." In *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon,* edited by Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, 21-39. Durham: Duke University Press.

Abrahamsen, Rita & Michael C. Williams. 2008. "Public/Private, Global/Local: The Changing Contours of Africa's Security Governance." *Review of African Political Economy* 35 (118): 539-553.

Adepoju, Oluwatoyin. 2010. "Adinkra." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of African Thought: Abol-impe Vol. 1,* edited by Abiola Irele and Biodun Jeyifo, 14-17. New York: Oxford University Press.

Agostini, Guilia, Francesca Chianese, William French, and Amita Sasdhu. 2007. *Understanding the Processes of Urban Violence: An Analytical Framework*. London: Crisis States Research Centre, London School of Economics.

Albro, Robert, George Marcus, Laura A. McNamara, and Monica Schoch-Spana. 2012. "Introduction." In *Anthropologists in the Securityscape: Ethics, Practice and Professional Identity,* edited by Robert Albro, George Marcus, Laura A. McNamara and Monica Schoch-Spana, 7-14. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.

Alexander, Jack. 1977. "The Culture of Race in Middle-Class Kingston, Jamaica." *American Ethnologist* 4 (3): 413-435.

Alleyne, Mervyn. 1988. *Roots of Jamaican Culture*. London: Pluto Press.

Althusser, Louis. 1971. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)." In *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays.* Edited and translated by Ben Brewster, 127-187. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Ash, and Nigel Thrift. 2002. *Cities: Reimagining the Urban*. Cambridge: Polity.

Amnesty International, Jamaica. 2003. "" …Until Their Voices Are Heard...": The West Kingston Commission of Inquiry." Accessed March 14, 2014. http://www.refworld.org/docid/3f12f2c34.html.

Amoore, Louise, and Marieke de Goede, eds. 2008. *Risk and the War on Terror*. London: Routledge.

Anand, Nikhil. 2011. "Pressure: The PoliTechnics of Water Supply in Mumbai." *Cultural Anthropology* 26 (4): 542-564.

Anderson, Elijah. 1990. *Streetwise: Race, Class and Change in an Urban Community*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value" In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by Arjun Appadurai, 3-63. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appel, Hannah, Nikhil Anand, and Akhil Gupta. 2015. "Introduction: The Infrastructure Toolbox." *Cultural Anthropology* website, September 24. Accessed September 12, 2016. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/714-%20introduction-the-infrastructure-toolbox.

Armstrong, Douglas V. 1990. *The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Armstrong, Douglas V., and Kenneth G. Kelly. 2000. "Settlement Patterns and the Origins of African Jamaican society: Seville Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica." *Ethnohistory* 47 (2): 369-397.

Arnold, Harald. 1991. "Fear of Crime and its Relationship to Directly and Indirectly Experienced Victimization: A Binational Comparison of Models." In *Developments in Crime and Crime Control Research: German Studies on Victims, Offenders and the Public*, edited by Klaus Sessar and Hans-Jürgen Kerner, 87-125. New York: Springer-Verlag.

Arthur, G.F. Kojo. 2001. *Cloth a Metaphor: (Re)reading the Adinkra Cloth Symbols of the Akan of Ghana.* Accra, Ghana: Cefiks Publications.

Arthur, Owen. 2002. "Rt. Hon. Owen Arthur, Prime Minister of Barbados on the Occasion of the Inaugural Session of the 32nd General Assembly of the Organization of American States." *Organization of American States* website, June 2. Accessed October 14, 2013. http://www.oas.org/en/media_center/speech.asp?sCodigo=02-0343.

Atkinson, Rowland, and Sarah Blandy. 2016. *Domestic Fortress: Fear and the New Home Front.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Atlas, Randall I. 2008. *21st Century Security and CPTED: Designing for Critical Infrastructure Protection and Crime Prevention*. New York: CRC Press.

Austin, Diane J. 1984. *Urban Life in Kingston, Jamaica: The Culture and Class Ideology of Two Neighborhoods*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Bachelard, Gaston. 1969. *The Poetics of Space*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bailey, Wilma. 1976. “Review of A Study of Yards in the City of Kingston.” *Social and Economic Studies* 25 (2): 168-175.

Baker, Mary Holland, Barbara C. Nienstedt, Ronald S. Everett, and Richard McCleary. 1983. "The Impact of a Crime Wave: Perceptions, Fear, and Confidence in the Police." *Law and Society Review* 17 (2): 319-336.

BBC Caribbean. 2006. “Jamaica ‘Murder Capital of the World’.” January 3. Accessed September 26, 2011. http://www.bbc.co.uk/caribbean/news/story/2006/01/060103_murderlist.shtml.

Beck, Ulrich. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity.* London: Sage Publications.

Becker, Theodore M. 1974. "The Place of Private Police in Society: An Area of Research for the Social Sciences." *Social Problems* 21 (3): 438-453.

Beckham, Sue Bridwell. 1988. “The American Front Porch: Women’s Liminal Space.” In *Making the American Home: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Material Culture 1840-1940,* edited by Marilyn Ferris Motz and Pat Browne, 69-89. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.

Bentham, Jeremy. 1798. *Proposal for a New and Less Expensive Mode of Employing and Reforming Convicts*. Bentham Mss., U.C.L., Box 116(b), Paper 653.

Benjamin, Walter. 1978. *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings.* Edited by Peter Jemetz, translated by E.F.N. Jephcott. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Bennett, Jane. 2010. *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Besson, Jean. 1993. “Reputation and Respectability Reconsidered: A New Perspective on Afro-Caribbean Peasant Women.” *In Women and Change in the Caribbean,* edited by Janet Momsen, 15–37. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

———. 1997. "Caribbean Common Tenures and Capitalism: The Accompong Maroons of Jamaica." *Plantation Society in the Americas* 4 (2): 201-232.

Bhabha, Homi K. 1999. “DissemiNation: Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation.” In *The Blackwell Reader in Contemporary Social Theory,* edited by Anthony Elliott, 211-219. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bogard, William. 1996. *The Simulation of Surveillance: Hypercontrol in Telematic Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bogues, Anthony. 2002. “Politics, Nation and PostColony: Caribbean Inflections.” *Small Axe* 6 (1): 1-30.

Bolles, A. Lynn. 1991. "Surviving Manley and Seaga: Case Studies of Women's Responses to Structural Adjustment Policies." *Review of Radical Political Economics* 23 (3-4): 20-36.

Bott, Elizabeth. 1957. *Family and Social Network: Roles, Norms and External Relationships in Ordinary Urban Families.* London: Tavistock Publications

Boucher, Lisa. 2011. "Respectability and Reputation: A balancing Act." *The University of Western Ontario Journal of Anthropology* 11 (1): 84-87.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *Algeria 1960: The Disenchantment of the World: The Sense of Honour: The Kabyle House or the World Reversed.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourgois, Philippe. 1996. Confronting Anthropology, Education, and Inner-City Apartheid: Ethnographic Vulnerability in El Barrio. *American Anthropologist* 98 (2): 1-10.

Bourne, Paul Andrew, Chad Chambers, Damion K. Blake, Charlene Sharpe-Pryce and Ikhalfani Solan. 2013. “Lottery Scam in a Third-World Nation: The Economics of a Financial Crime and its Breadth.” *Asian Journal of Business Management* 5 (1): 19-51.

Brathwaite, Kamau. 1971. *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Brenner, Suzanne. 1998. *The Domestication of Desire: Women, Wealth, and Modernity in Java*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Brereton, Bridget, and Kevin A. Yelvington. 1999. “Introduction: The Promise of Emancipation.” In *The Colonial Caribbean in Transition: Essays on Postemancipation Social and Cultural History*, edited by Bridget Brereton and Kevin Yelvington, 1-25. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Brodber, Erna. 1975. *A Study of Yards in the City of Kingston. Working Paper No. 9.* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Browne, Simone. 2015. *Dark Matters: On the Surveillance of Blackness.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Bryan, Patricia. 1984. “Towards an African Aesthetic in Jamaican Intuitive Art.” *African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review* 1: 1-20.

Buck-Morss, Susan. 1992. “Aesthetics and Anaesthetics: Walter Benjamin’s Artwork Essay Reconsidered.” *October* 62: 3-41.

Busch, Akiko. 1999. *Geography of Home: Writings on Where We Live*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Cain, Maureen. 2004. "Globality, Glocalization, and Private Policing: A Caribbean Case Study." In *The Blackwell Companion to Criminology*, edited by Colin Sumner, 417-436. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Caldeira, Teresa. 2000. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Caribbean Development Bank. 2001. *Caribbean Development Bank Annual Report 2001*. Accessed April 3, 2017. http://www.caribank.org/uploads/2013/01/CDB-Annual-Report-2001.pdf.

Caribbean Policy Research Institute. 2012. *Background Brief: Jamaican Lottery Scam.* Accessed February 11, 2017. http://www.capricaribbean.com/documents/background-brief-jamaican-lottery-scam.

Carnegie, Charles V. 2014. The Loss of the Verandah: Kingston's Constricted Postcolonial Geographies. *Social and Economic Studies* 63 (2): 59–85.

Castel, Robert. 1991. “From Dangerousness to Risk.” In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality with Two Lectures by and an Interview with Michel Foucault,* edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, 281-298. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Chadee, Derek. 2003. "Fear of Crime and Risk of Victimization: An Ethnic Comparison." *Social and Economic Studies 52 (1)*: 73-97.

Chadee, Derek, and Jason Ditton. 2005. "Fear of Crime and the Media: Assessing the Lack of Relationship." *Crime, Media, Culture* 1 (3): 322-332.

Chatterjee, Partha. 1993. *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Fragments.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Clarke, Colin G. 1975. *Kingston, Jamaica: Urban Development and Social Change, 1692-1962*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2006a. *Decolonizing the Colonial City: Urbanization and Stratification in Kingston, Jamaica*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2006b. "Politics, Violence and Drugs in Kingston, Jamaica." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25 (3): 420-440.

Clarke, Colin, and David Howard. 2006. "Contradictory Socio-Economic Consequences of Structural Adjustment in Kingston, Jamaica." *The Geographical Journal* 172 (2): 106-129.

Cohn, Bernard S. 1996. *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge: The British in India*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cressey, Paul G. 1932. *The Taxi-Dance Hall*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dammert, Lucia, and Mary Fran T. Malone. 2003. "Fear of Crime or Fear of Life? Public Insecurities in Chile." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 22 (1): 79-101.

Dandecker, Christopher. 1990. *Surveillance, Power and Modernity: Bureaucracy and Discipline from 1700 to the Present Day*. Cambridge: Polity.

Danquah, Joseph Boakye. 1968. *The Akan Doctrine of God*. New York: Humanities Press, Inc.

da Silva, Denise Ferreira. 2009. "No-Bodies: Law, Raciality, and Violence." *Griffith Law Review* 18 (2):212-236.

Davis, Mike. 1990. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. London: Verso.

———. 1992. "Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space." In *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space,* edited by Michael Sorkin, 154-180. New York: Hill and Wang.

de Groot, Olaf J., and Hella Engerer. 2011. "Who Bears Responsibility for the Provision of Security: The State or You?" EUSECON Policy Briefing No. 5.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Félix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia.* Translated by Brian Massumi. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Delle, James A. 1998. *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains*. New York: Plenum.

———. 2002. "Power and Landscape: Spatial Dynamics in Early-Nineteenth Century Jamaica." In *The Dynamics of Power*, edited by Maria O'Donovan, 341-61. Carbondale, Illinois: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University.

de Waard, Jaap. 1999. "The Private Security Industry in International Perspective." *European Journal on Criminal Policy and Research* 7 (2): 143-174.

Diaconu, Mădălina. 2011. “Foreword.” In *Senses and the City: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Urban Sensescapes,* edited by Mădălina Diaconu, Eva Heuberger, Ruth Mateus-Berr and Lukas Marcel Vosicky, 7-12. Wien: Lit Verlag.

Dillon, Michael. 1996. *Politics of Security: Towards a Political Philosophy of Continental Thought.* London: Routledge.

Diphoorn, Tessa G. 2015. *Twilight Policing: Private Security and Violence in Urban South Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Drake, St. Clair, and Horace R. Cayton. 1945. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Draper, Hilary. 1978. *Private Police*. Sussex: Harvester Press.

Du Bois, W. E. B. 1899. *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Engerer, Hella. 2011. "Security as a Public, Private or Club Good: Some Fundamental Considerations." *Defence and Peace Economics* 22 (2): 135-145.

Epperson, Terrence W. 1999. “Constructing Difference: The Social and Spatial Order of the Chesapeake Plantations.” In *“I, Too, Am America:” Archaeological Studies of African-American Life,* edited by Theresa A. Singleton, 159-172. Charlottesville, Virginia: University Press of Virginia.

Evans-Pritchard, E.E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Eyre, L. Alan. 1984."Political Violence and Urban Geography in Kingston, Jamaica." *Geographical Review* 74 (1): 24-37.

Fanon, Frantz. 1963. *The Wretched of the Earth*. New York: Grove.

Faux, Michael, and Sylvester James Gates. 2005. “Adinkras: A Graphical Technology for Supersymmetric Representation Theory.” *Physical Review D* 71 (6): 1-21.

Figueroa, Mark and Amanda Sives. 2003. “Garrison Politics and Criminality in Jamaica: Does the 1997 Election Represent a Turning Point?” In *Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy*, edited by Anthony Harriott, 63-88. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Fog Olwig, Karen. 1993. *Global Culture, Island Identity: Continuity and Change in the Afro-Caribbean Community of Nevis*. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic.

———. 1995. “Cultural Complexity after Freedom: Nevis and Beyond.” In *Small islands, Large Questions: Society, Culture, and Resistance in the Post-Emancipation Caribbean*, edited by Karen Fog Olwig, 100-122. London: Frank Cass.

———. 2007. *Caribbean Journeys: An Ethnography of Migration and Home in Three Family Networks*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1978. *History of Sexuality*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Random House.

———. 1991. “Governmentality.” In *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality,* edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller, 87-104. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———.1995. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Random House Inc.

———. 2003. *Society Must be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976.* New York: Picador.

Freeman, Carla. 2014. *Entrepreneurial Selves: Neoliberal Respectability and the Making of a Caribbean Middle Class*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Gandy Jr., Oscar H. 1993. *The Panoptic Sort: A Political Economy of Personal Information*. Boulder: Westview.

Gash, Tom. 2016. *Criminal: The Truth about Why People Do Bad Things*. London: Penguin.

Gayle, Herbert. 2016. “Core Causes of Jamaica’s Violence.” *Jamaica Gleaner*, September 29. Accessed September 30, 2016. http://jamaica-gleaner.com/article/news/20160929/core-causes-jamaicas-violence

Geertz, Clifford. 1974. ““From the Native’s Point of View”: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding.” *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 28 (1): 26-45.

Ghannam, Farha. 2002. *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation, and the Politics of Identity in Global Cairo.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1981. *Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, Volume 1: Power, Property and the State*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gilroy, Paul. 1993. *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gluck, Carol. 2009. "Words in Motion." In *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon*, edited by Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, 3-10. Durham: Duke University Press.

Goldstein, Daniel. 2010. "Toward a Critical Anthropology of Security." *Current Anthropology* 51 (4): 487-517.

Gordon, Derek. 1987. *Class, Status and Social Mobility in Jamaica*. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, Mona.

Goucher, Candice L. 1993. "African Metallurgy in the Atlantic World." *African Archaeological Review* 11 (1): 197-215.

Gray, Obika. 2004. *Demeaned but Empowered: The Social Power of the Urban Poor in Jamaica*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Green, Sarah. 2017. "When Infrastructures Fail: An Ethnographic Note in the Middle of an Aegean Crisis." In *Infrastructures and Social Complexity: A Companion*, edited by Penny Harvey, Casper Bruun Jensen and Atsuro Morita, 271-283. London: Routledge.

Grey, Sandra Melissa Nicola. 2008. "Social Capital Formation: A Case Study of the Jamaican Values and Attitudes Campaign." *Social and Economic Studies* 57 (2): 149-170.

Griffith, Ivelaw. 2004. "Understanding Reality, Interpreting Change." In *Caribbean Security in the Age of Terror: Challenge and Change*, edited by Ivelaw L. Griffith, xxiii-xxxiii. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

Gudeman, Stephen. 1976. *Relationships, Residence and the Individual: A Rural Panamanian Community.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gunst, Laurie. 1995. *Born fi' Dead: A Journey through the Jamaican Posse Underworld.* New York: Henry Holt.

Gusterson, Hugh. 2004. *People of the Bomb: Portraits of America's Nuclear Complex*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

———. 2007. "Anthropology and Militarism." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36: 155-175.

Haggerty, Kevin D. and Richard V. Ericson. 2000. "The Surveillant Assemblage." *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (4): 605-622.

Hale, Chris. "Fear of Crime: A Review of the Literature." *International Review of Victimology* 4 (2): 79-150.

Handa, Sudhanshu, and Damien King. 1997. "Structural Adjustment Policies, Income Distribution and Poverty: A Review of the Jamaican Experience." *World Development* 25 (6): 915-930.

Hanke, Lewis. 1959. *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World.* Chicago: H. Regnery Co.

Hannerz, Ulf. 1980. *Exploring the City: Inquiries towards an Urban Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Harriott, Anthony. 1996. "The Changing Social Organization of Crime and Criminals in Jamaica." *Caribbean Quarterly* 42 (2-3): 61-81.

———. 2000. *Police and Crime Control in Jamaica: Problems of Reforming Ex-Colonial Constabularies*. Kingston: University of West Indies Press.

Harriott, Anthony, Balford A. Lewis and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2015. *Political Culture of Democracy in Jamaica and in the Americas, 2014: Democratic Governance Across 10 Years of the AmericasBarometer*. Kingston: USAID/Jamaica.

Harriott, Anthony, and Charles. M. Katz. 2015. *Gangs in the Caribbean: Responses of State and Society.* Kingston: University of the West indies Press.

Harrison, Faye V. 1997. "The Gendered Politics and Violence of Structural Adjustment: A View from Jamaica." In *Situated Lives: Gender and Culture in Everyday Life*, edited by Louise Lamphere, Helena Ragoné and Patricia Zavella, 451-468. New York: Routledge.

———. 1988. "Introduction: An African Diaspora Perspective for Urban Anthropology." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* 17 (2/3): 111-141.

Hartman, Saidiya. 1997. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Haughton, Suzette A. 2009. "The US-Caribbean Border: An Important Security Border in the 21st Century." *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 24 (3): 1-20.

Hay, Michael. 1745. *Plan of Kingston*. Library of Congress. Accessed January 22, 2017. https://www.loc.gov/item/2006629864/.

Headley, Bernard D. 1996. *The Jamaican Crime Scene: A Perspective*. Washington: Howard University Press.

Heidegger, Martin. 1962. *Being and Time*. Translated by John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson. London: SCM Press.

Herskovitz, Melville. 1958. *The Myth of Negro Past*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Higman, Barry W. 1986. "Jamaican Coffee Plantations, 1780-1860: A Cartographic Analysis." *Caribbean Geography* 2: 73-91.

———— . 1987. "The Spatial Economy of Jamaican Sugar Plantations: Cartographic Evidence from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries." *Journal of Historical Geography* 13 (1): 17–39.

———— . 1998. *Montpelier Jamaica: A Plantation Community in Slavery and Freedom, 1739–1912*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

————. 2001. *Jamaica Surveyed: Plantation Maps and Plans of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press

Holbraad, Martin, and Morten Axel Pedersen. 2013. *Times of Security: Ethnographies of Fear, Protest and the Future*. New York: Routledge.

Hollway, Wendy, and, Tony Jefferson. 1997. "The Risk Society in an Age of Anxiety: Situating Fear of Crime." *The British Journal of Sociology* 48 (2): 255-266.

Howe, Cymene, Jessica Lockrem, Hannah Appel, Edward Hackett, Dominic Boyer, Randal Hall, Matthew Schneider-Mayerson, Albert pope, Akhil Gupta, Elizabeth Rodwell, Andrea ballastero, Trevor Durbin, Fares el-Dahdah, Elizabeth Long and Cyrus Mody. 2015. "Paradoxical Infrastructures: Ruins, Retrofit, and Risk." *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 41 (3): 547-565.

Hurston, Zora Neale. 1990. *Mules and Men*. New York: Perennial Library.

Jackson, Steven J. 2014. "Rethinking Repair." In *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society,* edited by Tarleton Gillespie, Pablo J. Boczkowski and Kirsten A. Foot, 221-240. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

————. 2015. "Repair." *Cultural Anthropology* website, September 24. Accessed May 1, 2017. https://culanth.org/fieldsights/720-repair.

Jaffe, Rivke. 2008. "The Caribbean City: An Introduction." In *The Caribbean City*, edited by Rivke Jaffe, 1-23. Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers.

————. 2012. "Criminal Dons and Extralegal Security Privatization in Downtown Kingston, Jamaica." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 33 (2): 184-197.

———. 2013. "The Hybrid State: Crime and Citizenship in Urban Jamaica." *American Ethnologist* 40 (4): 734-748.

———. 2015. "From Maroons to Dons: Sovereignty, Violence and Law in Jamaica." *Critique of Anthropology* 35 (1): 47-63.

Jamaica Constabulary Force. 2015. *Annual Report 2015*. Accessed January 21, 2016. https://issuu.com/jamaicaconstabularyforce2015/docs/annual_report_final _2015.

Jamaica Gleaner. 2009. "Dudus Nightmare." September 8. Accessed December 15, 2009. http://old.jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20090908/lead/lead1.html.

———. 2013. "Bunting Says He Was Misunderstood." April 15. Accessed June 21, 2015. http://jamaica-gleaner.com/power/44113.

Johnston, Les. 1992. *The Rebirth of Private Policing*. London: Routledge.

Khalili, Laleh. 2012. *Time in the Shadows: Confinement in Counterinsurgencies*. Stanford University Press.

Knight, Frank. 1921. *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Knight, Franklin. 1994. "'Black Transfrontiersmen': The Caribbean Maroons." In *Where Cultures Meet: Frontiers in Latin American History*, edited by David J. Weber and Jane M. Rausch, 123-129. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources Inc.

Krahmann, Elke. "Security: Collective Good or Commodity?" *European Journal of International Relations* 14 (3): 379-404.

Kuwornu-Adjaottor, J. E. T., George Appiah, and Melvin Nartey. "The Philosophy behind some Adinkra Symbols and their Communicative Values in Akan." *Philosophical Papers and Review* 7 (3): 22-33.

Larkin, Brian. "The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42: 327-343.

Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Lemanski, Charlotte. 2004. "A New Apartheid? The Spatial Implications of Fear of Crime in Cape Town, South Africa." *Environment and Urbanization* 16 (2): 101-112.

Lemard, Glendene, and David Hemenway. 2006. "Violence in Jamaica: An Analysis of Homicides 1998–2002." *Injury Prevention* 12 (1): 15-18.

Leroi-Gourhan, André. 1945. *Milieu et Techniques*. Paris: A. Michel, DL.

Levy, Horace. 1996. *They Cry 'Respect'!: Urban Violence and Poverty in Jamaica*. Kingston: Centre for Population, Community and Social Change, Department of Sociology and Social Work, University of the West Indies.

Lewin, Olive. 2000. *Rock It Come Over: The Folk Music of Jamaica*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Lipschutz, Ronnie D. 2009. *The Constitution of Imperium*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm

Low, Setha. 1996. "The Anthropology of Cities: Imagining and Theorizing the City." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25: 383-409.

———. 2003. *Behind the Gates: Life, Security, and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America*. New York: Routledge.

Low, Setha, and Erve Chambers, eds. 1989. *Housing, Culture, and Design: A Comparative Perspective.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lyon, David. 1994 *The Electronic Eye: The Rise of Surveillance Society*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Malby, Steven. 2010. "Homicide." In *International Statistics on Crime and Justice*, edited by S. Harrendorf, M. Heiskanen and S. Malby. Accessed January 19, 2012. https://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/Crime-statistics/International_Statistics_on_Crime_and_Justice.pdf.

Malthus, T.R. 1798. *An Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society: With Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Goodwin, M. Condorcet and other Writers*. London: J. Johnson.

Mann, Emily. 2016. "Story of Cities #9: Kingston, Jamaica – A City Born of 'Wickedness' and Disaster." *The Guardian*. 24 March. Accessed April 19, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/mar/24/story-cities-9-kingston-jamaica-richest-wickedest-city-world.

Marris, Peter. 1962. *Family and Social Change in an African City: A Study of Rehousing in Lagos*. Boston: Northwestern University Press.

Marshall, Patricia Phillips, and Jo Ramsay Leimenstoll. 2010. *Thomas Day: Master Craftsman and Free Man of Color*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Massey, Doreen. 2005. *For Space*. London: Sage.

Maurer, Bill. 1997. *Recharting the Caribbean: Land, Law, and Citizenship in the British Virgin Islands*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Mbembe, Achille. 2001. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2003. "Necropolitics." *Public Culture* 15 (1): 11-40.

Mbembe, Achille, and Sarah Nuttall. 2004. "Writing the World from an African Metropolis." *Public Culture* 16 (3): 347-372.

McCarthy Brown, Karen. 1989. "Systematic Remembering, Systematic Forgetting: Ogou in Haiti." In *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New*, edited by Sandra T. Barnes, 65- 89. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McGreal, Chris. 2010. "The Battle for Kingston, Jamaica." *The Guardian.* 28 May. Accessed June 1, 2010. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2010/may/28/battle-for-kingston-jamaica.

McKittrick, Katherine. 2011. "On Plantations, Prisons, and a Black Sense of Place." *Social and Cultural Geography* 12 (8): 947-963.

Miller, Daniel. 2005. "Materiality: An Introduction." In *Materiality,* edited by Daniel Miller, 1-50. Durham: Duke University Press.

Miller, Kei. 2014. *The Cartographer Tries to Map a Way to Zion*. Manchester: Carcanet Press.

Miller, Robert J. 2006. *Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis & Clark, and Manifest Destiny*. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Mintz, Sidney. 1971. "The Caribbean as a Socio-cultural Area." In *People and Cultures of the Caribbean: An Anthropological Reader*, edited by Michael M. Horowitz, 17-46. Garden City: Natural History Press.

———. 1978. "Was the Plantation Slave a Proletarian?" *Review* 2 (1): 81-98.

———. 1989. *Caribbean Transformations*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Moncada, Eduardo. 2013. "The Politics of Urban Violence: Challenges for Development in the Global South." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (3): 217-239.

Moore, Brian, and Michele A. Johnson. 2000. *Squalid Kingston 1890-1920: How the Poor Lived, Moved and had their Being.* Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Morgan, Lewis Henry. 1965. *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines.* Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Moser, Caroline O. N. 2004. "Urban Violence and Insecurity: An Introductory Roadmap." *Environment and Urbanization* 16 (2): 3-16.

Moser, Caroline, and Jeremy, Holland, eds. 1997. *Urban Poverty and Violence in Jamaica.* Washington: The International Bank for Reconstruction.

Mumford, Lewis. 1922. *The Story of Utopias*. New York: Boni and Liveright Publishers.

———. 1965. "Utopia, the City and the Machine." *Daedalus* 94 (2): 271-292.

Munn, Nancy. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa: A Symbolic Study of Value Transformation in a Massim (Papua New Guinea) Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nelson, Louis. 2016. *Architecture and Empire in Jamaica*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Newburn, Tim. 2001. "The Commodification of Policing: Security Networks in the Late Modern City." *Urban Studies* 38 (5-6): 829-848.

Newman, Oscar. 1972. *Defensible Space*. New York: Macmillan.

Norris, Clive, and Gary Armstrong. 1999. *The Maximum Surveillance Society: The Rise of CCTV*. Oxford: Berg.

Ochs, Juliana. 2011. *Security and Suspicion: An Ethnography of Everyday Life in Israel*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Ogundiran, Akinwumi, and Paula Saunders. 2014. *Materialities of Ritual in the Black Atlantic.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

O'Malley, Pat. 1998. *Crime and the Risk Society*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Orser Jr., C. E. 1988. "Toward a Theory of Power for Historical Archaeology: Plantations and Space." In *The Recovery of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States*, edited by Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, 313-343. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Park, Robert E., Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie. 1925. *The City*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Patterson, Percival James. 1994. "Promoting Better Values and Attitudes" (Speech delivered at the National Consultation on Values and Attitudes). February 14. Accessed September 5, 2012. http://www.valuesandattitudes.info/PMSpeech.htm.

Phillips, P. and Wedderburn, J. 1987. *Crime and Violence: Causes and Solutions*. Kingston: Department of Government, the University of the West Indies.

Planning Institute of Jamaica. 2009. "Vision 2030 Jamaica: National Development Plan." Accessed July 10, 2014. http://www.vision2030.gov.jm/Portals/0/NDP/Vision%202030%20Jamaica%20NDP%20Full%20No%20Cover%20(web).pdf.

Pocock, J.G.A.1985. *Virtue, Commerce, and History: Essays on Political Thought and History, Chiefly in the Eighteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Poole, Deborah. 1997. *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Prown, Jonathan. 1998. "The Furniture of Thomas Day: A Reevaluation." *Winterthur Portfolio* 33 (4): 215-229.

Rabinow, Paul. 1984. "Introduction." In *The Foucault Reader*, edited by Paul Rabinow, 3-30. New York: Pantheon Books.

———. 1995. *French Modern: Norms and Forms of the Social Environment*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Randle, Lisa B. 2011. "Applying the Panopticon Model to Historic Plantation Landscapes through Viewshed Analysis." *Historical Geography* 39: 105-127.

Robotham, Don. 2003. Crime and Public Policy in Jamaica. In *Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy*, edited by Anthony Harriott, 197-238. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Rose, Nikolas, Pat O'Malley, and Mariana Valverde. 2006. "Governmentality." *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2: 83-104.

Scott, David. 2008. "Introduction: On the Archaeologies of Black Memory." *Small Axe* 26 (2): v-xvi.

Seaga, Edward. 2010a. *Edward Seaga: My Life and Leadership Volume 1, Clash of Ideologies, 1930-1980.* Oxford: Palgrave Macmillan.

———. 2010b. "The Tivoli Gardens Community-Development Model." *Jamaica Gleaner.* June 13. Accessed November 20, 2014. http://jamaica-gleaner.com/gleaner/20100613/focus/focus3.html.

Simmel, Georg. 1950. "The Metropolis and Mental Life." In *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, edited and translated by Kurt H. Wolff, 409-424. New York: The Free Press.

Simon, Bart. 2005. "The Return of Panopticism: Supervision, Subjection and the New Surveillance." *Surveillance & Society* 3 (1): 1-20.

Simone, AbdouMaliq. 2004. "People as Infrastructure: Intersecting Fragments in Johannesburg." *Public Culture* 16 (3): 407-429.

———. 2012. "Infrastructure: Introductory Commentary by AbdouMaliq Simone." *Cultural Anthropology* website, November 26. Accessed [September 26, 2012]. https://culanth.org/curated_collections/11-infrastructure/discussions/12-infrastructure-introductory-commentary-by-abdoumaliq-simone.

Singleton, Theresa A. 2001. "Slavery and Spatial Dialects on Cuban Coffee Plantations." *World Archaeology* 33 (1): 98-114.

Sives, Amanda. 2003. "The Historical Roots of Violence in Jamaica: The Hearne Report." In *Understanding Crime in Jamaica: New Challenges for Public Policy*, edited by Anthony Harriott, 49-62. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Smith, M. G. 1962. "History and Social Anthropology." *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 92 (1): 73-85.

Sobchack, Vivian. 2004. *Carnal Thoughts: Embodiment and Moving Image Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Soja, Edward W. 2000. *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Spillers, Hortense. 1987. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *Diacritics* 17 (2): 64-81.

Staples, William G. 1997. *The Culture of Surveillance: Discipline and Social Control in the United States*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Stoler, Ann Laura. 2006 "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen." In *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, edited by Ann Laura Stoler, 1-22. Durham: Duke University Press.

Stone, Carl. 1986. *Class, State, and Democracy in Jamaica*. Praeger Publishers.

———. 1992. "Values, Norms and Personality Development in Jamaica" (Paper presented at the National Consultation on Values and Attitudes). 23 March. Accessed October 14, 2014. http://gtuwi.tripod.com/stonearticle.htm.

Suk, Jeannie. 2009. *At Home in the law: How the Domestic Violence Revolution is Transforming Privacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Susser, Ida. 1982. *Norman Street: Poverty and Politics in an Urban Neighborhood*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Sutton, Constance. 1974. “Cultural Duality in the Caribbean.” *Caribbean Studies* 14 (2): 96–101.

Thomas, Deborah A. 2004. *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica*. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2011. *Exceptional Violence: Embodied Citizenship in Transnational Jamaica*. Durham: Duke University Press.

———. 2012. “Citizenship and Social Exclusion.” *Caribbean Quarterly* 58 (2-3): 129- 132.

———. 2016. “Time and the Otherwise: Plantations, Garrisons and Being Human in the Caribbean.” *Anthropological Theory* 16 (2-3): 177-200.

Thompson, Alvin O. 2006. *Flight to Freedom: African Runaways and Maroons in the Americas*. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.

Thompson, Robert Farris. 1983. *Flash of the Spirit*. New York: Vintage Books.

Toffin, Gérard. 1994. “Ecology and Anthropology of Traditional Dwellings.” *TDSR* V (II): 9-20.

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. 1991. “Anthropology and the Savage Slot: The Poetics and Politics of Otherness.” In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*, edited by Richard Gabriel Fox, 17-44. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

———. 1992. “The Caribbean Region: An Open Frontier in Anthropological Theory.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 19-42.

Tsing, Anna Lowenhaupt. 2009. “Worlds in Motion.” In *Words in Motion: Toward a Global Lexicon,* edited by Carol Gluck and Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, 11-20. Durham: Duke University Press.

Ulysse, Gina A. 2007. *Downtown Ladies: Informal Commercial Importers, a Haitian Anthropologist and Self-Making in Jamaica*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

United Nations Development Programme. 2012. “Caribbean Human Development Report 2012: Human Development and the Shift to Better Citizen Security.” New York, NY: United Nations Development Programme. Accessed August 11, 2014. http://cms2.caricom.org/documents/13914-c_bean_hdr_jan25_2012_3mb.pdf.

Villafuerte Solís, Daniel. 2007. “The Southern Border of Mexico in the Age of Globalization.” In *Borderlands: Comparing Border Security in North America and Europe*, edited by Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, 311-350. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press.

Wade, Richard C. 1964. *Slavery in the Cities: The South, 1820-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wakefield, Alison. 2003. *Selling Security: The Private Policing of Public Space*. Cullompton: Willan.

Whitehead, Colson. 2016. *The Underground Railroad*. New York: Doubleday.

Wilmot, Swithin. 1977. "Political Development in Jamaica in the Post-Emancipation Period, 1838-1854." Dissertation. University of Oxford.

Wilson, Peter. 1973. *Crab Antics: The Social Anthropology of English-Speaking Negro Societies of the Caribbean*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Winton, Ailsa. 2004. "Urban Violence: A Guide to the Literature." *Environment and Urbanization* 16 (2): 165-184.

Wirth, Louis. 1938. "Urbanism as a Way of Life." *The American Journal of Sociology* 44 (1): 1-24.

Wynter, Sylvia. 1971. "Novel and History, Plot and Plantation." *Savacou* 5: 95-102.

Yar, Majid. 2003. "Panoptic Power and the Pathologisation of Vision: Critical Reflections on the Foucauldian Thesis." *Surveillance & Society* 1 (3): 254-271.

Yelvington, Kevin. 1995. *Producing Power: Ethnicity, Gender, and Class in a Caribbean Workplace.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Young, Michael, and Peter Willmott. 1957. *Family and Kinship in East London*. London: Routledge.

Zorbaugh, Harvey W. 1929. *The Gold Coast and the Slum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

APPENDIX A
Acronyms and Abbreviations

CDC	Community Development Committee
COE	Commission of Enquiry
CRN	Cognitive Reader Network
CSJP	Citizen Security and Justice Programme
JCF	Jamaica Constabulary Force
JDF	Jamaica Defence Force
JLP	Jamaica Labour Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INDECOM	Independent Commission of Investigations
IOJ	Institute of Jamaica
JSIF	Jamaica Social Investment Fund
KMA	Kingston Metropolitan Area
MNS	Ministry of National Security
OPD	Office of the Public Defender
PNP	People's National Party
PSRA	Private Security Regulation Authority
SDC	Social Development Commission
SIMS	Security Information and Management System
TBI	Third Border Initiative