BLACK ROSES

Faces of Jamaican Youth

-The Significance of Identity and Place

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Black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden

To keep and care it you got to water it
To keep and care it you got to water it
I've been travelin' all over this world
I've never seen no other black rose in no other garden
So you see my garden is so special

Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden

To keep and care it you got to water it
Got to keep the earth so cool
'Cause something special in my garden

Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden

Sure you got to water it, water it
You got to do the best you can do
'Cause no other garden is so special like this
Black roses is in my garden

Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden

Black roses, I've got to water it
My garden is so nice
Something special, special in my garden
Black, black roses in my garden

Sure, sure, I've got to stay
And take good care of the roses
Go to see, go to see that's so special to me
My garden, my garden is so special
Black, black roses blooming in my garden

Barrington Levy 'Black Roses' 1983

Big ups to my precious daughter Eira

Abstract

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Youth is a contested term which has been described as difficult to define and 'pin down analytically' (De Boek and Honwana 2005:3). In much youth development related issues, youth is categorised as a person between the ages of 15-24, which is defining a person only in terms of one's chronological age. Age is a good indicator of where in life a person is, I used thus a wider range to include also older youth. Youth are often viewed in relation to other social categories as adults or children, and notions of youth are often as becomings, dependent, powerless, rebellious, risky (behaviour) and irresponsible, a focus merely on 'negative' aspects of youthhood, are these notions really describing the general youth? This study explores given youth identities in terms of behavioural patterns of being 'in place' and/or 'out of place'. Identities are in this thesis approached as socially constructed, and people can hold multiple identities.

This thesis therefore presents different identity narratives of Jamaican Youth 'faces'. I used qualitative research methodology to collect and analyse the empirical data generated during fieldwork in Jamaica, Port Antonio in the period of February to beginning of May 2009. Methods such as informal conversations, observations, key informant interviews and photography is the main sources of the collected data, but also secondary data has been used in the analysis to grasp the surrounding realities. The youth participants of this study, 37, are persons who define themselves as youth and are viewed as youth by the Jamaica society based on their activities and behaviour, and are not dependent of their age, gender, class or occupation. In addition twelve (12) adults have contributed to the outsider's views. The analytical concept of place is used to examine youth's different behavioural patterns, based on socially accepted activities which are preformed in socially constructed youth places. The social meanings that identity performance have for the sense of being 'in place' and belonging to a place are explored to examine how this affects their identity building processes within a specific place. Also outside processes as national youth policy making, media representations and statements from 'locals', are evaluated as contributing to the present perceived Jamaican youth identities.

I found multiple constructed 'faces' of Jamaican youth; 'the naughty', 'the nice', the sexy', 'the wise' and 'the runner', are presented. These identities are fluid and transferable between different places in society and in time. The participants in this study each hold several of these 'faces', but often one which are more prominent in relation to the place one uses at that time. The located youth places; the youth centre place, the marina place and the dancehall place, are sites where the identity building processes takes form and social identities are constructed in relations to the socially acceptable conventions in the places in which youth occupy. These social conventions and identities may be negotiated, modified, reconstructed, challenged, contested or resisted in the 'never-ending' identity and place production processes. Identity, which is a complex term, holds several of attributes within categories as gender, race, age ect., but none of these attributes exist alone, and place as a contributor to the identity building processes is in this thesis seen as significant in the dynamic relation to all the attributes a person holds, which are preformed at different scales in society, both to be 'in place' and/or 'out of place'. The youth 'faces' in Jamaica are also related and part of the national identity, they should therefore be accepted rather than rejected as 'unwanted behaviour', since a person rarely just hold one identity.

Acknowledgements

Finally this master thesis is finished. It has been a long process, which has proven to be long and bumpy, but also filled with joy and excitement. There are several persons who I wouldn't accomplish this without, thank you all, I am so grateful.

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Thanks goes also to my mother who has inspired me and given me confidence to travel and see the world, and my brother, Bendik, who has always been waiting for me back home. Having also 'produced' two wonderful children, Eira and Timo, during the process of writing this thesis, it has taken more time than I first thought, but has been great phase of my life. I wish to thank Eira who joined me on this journey and made my thesis more personal than I imaged. Timo has given me the inspiration to finished it and become a responsible mother with a paid job. At last I wish also to give my appreciation to my better half, Terje, who has given me support and been understanding during the writing process. I know I haven't been too easy to be around at all times. I love you all.

Trondheim, March 2011

Camilla Stenstad

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List of Acronyms

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
NYP	National Youth Policy
NCYD	National Center of Youth Development
PYIC	Portland Youth Information Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
STATIN	Statistical Institute of Jamaica
JIS	Jamaica Information service
U.S.	United States
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
DJ	Disk Jockey

Jamaican maps

Map 1: Map of Jamaica. Source: World Atlas.com

Map 2: Tourist Map of Port Antonio. Source: Planetware.com

1. Introduction

Why Youth? In the West, the minority world[1], the number of young people is falling, but globally the population under the age of 25 has risen and is still growing. Children and young people counts for almost half of the population in the world, and nearly 90 % of them live in the majority world (Ansell 2005, Punch 2003). These human beings have been receiving little attention from both academic researchers and policymakers in the past (Ansell 2005, France 2004), thus this is now a trend which is about to turn. Within social geography the focus has been mostly on considered "adult" activities and spaces (Del Casino Jr. 2009). The overall aim of this study is to explore the diversity of youth, and understand how youth identity is perceived by youth themselves and outsiders of this social group. The study of everyday activities and practise in which youth engage is advocated to understand the different aspects of young people's lives in their own cultural context (Bucholtz 2002).

The definitions of young people are thus very different, and youth as a category within much research on young people's cultures and identities does not have a clear definition (Bucholtz 2002), it is said that youth as a category is hard "to grasp and to pin down analytical" (De Boek and Honwana 2005:3). In a development perspective, most legislations and policies concerning this social group uses a common view of young people, which can be seen as the 'global model' of youth (France 2004). This perspective is based on Western perspective of what a youth is and should do (Punch 2003, France 2004), and it is seen as a phase between childhood and adulthood. Certain transitions and chronological age is important indicators to place an individual within the youth category. Within most contemporary academic literature on youth there is thus an additional perspective of this social group. To use also a cultural and historical dimension where one perceives a youth different in the different cultures that exist all around the world, which is to see youth identity as socially constructed as their identity is reflected by their surrounding context, can be seen as a poststructural approach.

In this thesis I use a combination of the concepts place and identity to present some overall identity narratives of young people in Jamaica. The focus is on the identity performance within public places that are mainly occupied by the social group of youth, to understand what are seen as markers of youthness in the Jamaican society, how they identify themselves as a group and also how outsiders identify the youth group. The identified youth places; the youth

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[1] Minority world vs. majority world, see Punch (2003) where she points out that most people live in other places than the 'West' and therefore should the 'West' be described as the minority world. And the 'Rest' should be described as the majority world since they hold the majority of people.

centre place, the marina place and the dancehall place, are mainly occupied by youth and have own social conventions. I will in this thesis identify and describe these places, and use them as a platform to identify some of the multiple identities of Jamaican youth based on the identity performance in these places. Aspects of gender roles, power relations and empowerment will be discussed. This is not a study that will try to generalize what a global youth is, but to understand what it means to be a youth for some in Jamaica; this to get a broader meaning on the concept of youth and to reflect on the diversity in young people's identities. Valentine, Skelton and Butler (2003), among others, see the need to explore more on what it means to be young in the Global South. Since most contemporary global youth research is not cross-cultural (Bucholtz 2002). This thesis draws upon empirical data collected through multiple qualitative research methods with 49 participants; 37 youth and 12 adults from an "average" town in Jamaica.

1.1 Overall perspectives

Within academic literature of social science there are several ways of seeing and understanding how the world is socially, politically, economically and culturally (con)structured. These assumptions build upon different epistemologies which serve as road maps of thoughts on how everything relates and which directions to take. These assumptions are always up for critic and to be contested, but also for adoption and modification. The school of thought(s) one as an academic follows affects the knowledge which are produced and presented for the readers as theories or explanations of specific relations, experiences, processes or other aspects of the society in different contexts.

My academic background is therefore relevant in the way that it has affected my line of thoughts and how I perceive the realities around me. With a bachelor degree in political science, the political structures and their effects on the society as whole and on different social groups are a natural consideration when I put my academic glasses on. Theories within the discipline of social anthropology have also affected my perspectives and much of the writing in this thesis, especially when come to mind of culture relativism, and the 'pitfalls' with cross-cultural studies. In my master degree, the subjects have mainly focused on developmental philosophies and social geographical thoughts, which therefore are the main focus of interest in this master thesis, it thus all intersect on many levels.

Social geography is widely defined as "the geography of social structures, social activities and social groups across a wide range of human societies" (Hamnett in Panelli 2004:4). It is a discipline which concentrates much on understanding and explaining the relationship between people and the places they use, it "recognize forms of social difference and interaction and acknowledge that these differences occur unevenly over space and though the constructions of (and even struggles within) specific places" (Panelli 2004:5). There is within the discipline of social geography several ways of approaching these processes, which are influenced by different philosophies. The choice of analytical tools in this thesis is mostly position within poststructural thought, an approach which argues that there is not one truth, not one universal description of reality, but different discourses which have been constructed to understand the different layers of society (Panelli 2004). Poststructuralist social geographers recognize "social diversity and the importance of identity" (ibid: 22). The poststructural approaches to studies revolving identities focus on the multiple individual, collective and place-based identities which are constructed through performances and social conventions (Mikkelsen 2005).

1.2 Rationale of the study and choice of study area

To travel and experience the different parts of the world and their cultures on my own has been my fascination for at the last the latest fifteen years. During my childhood I spend several summers in Rome which I think gave me the curiosity I now hold to explore and try to understand as much as I can about the human life and all its variations. On three earlier occasions I have traveled to South America and the Caribbean, both as a tourist and a volunteer worker. And this area has always filed me with love. When I now had the opportunity to visit and get to know a new country, I felt it natural to go a place where I believed I would feel at ease, and in a development related perspective would be interesting. Jamaica is a small island, with a population less than an average European city, but has the highest density of churches per capita and also one the highest murder rates per capita a year in the world. The youth culture in Jamaica is been pointed[2] out as one of the major factors to the overwhelming criminality in the country.

To understand youth as social actors within development raised issues, but also in the society in general, to learn about what they see as their culture and identities (France 2004, Bucholtz 2002), is advocated in previous youth research. To combine an understanding of these youth

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[2] See Stewart 2002 and also Chapter 5.2 in this thesis.

related issues with the geography aspect, I focus on 'youth places'. Place is in this study seen as significant for youth identity building process. This is in youth research earlier accepted within the discourse of "new social studies of childhood", but more in terms on how childhood is perceived from place to place, as locations and not how conventions in a specific place actually affects ones identity building and the feeling of belonging in a place. I am thus of the opinion that the geographical theories on place are of great importance for youth research, and seeing this in relation to the social meanings of/in a place and its effect and impact on identity building and behavior, Jamaican youth will be a good example of some of the multiple youth identities in the global south.

1.3 Research objectives and questions

An overall objective for this study is, as mention above, to get some understanding of the diversity of youth. I believe there are multiple identities of youth, and I wish to show the 'faces' of some of these different youth identities.

But first, what makes a person youth? Is it a social group depended on one's age? Are there certain transitions which have happened that can place a person within a social group? Identity is in social geography perceived as something which is produced and formed though discourses[3], and as something which is expressed through performance; it is something one does rather than something one have (Panelli 2004). The activities and actions which are performed within a place are cultural expressions of identity and the sense of belonging to a certain social group. Performance are in this thesis seen as social actions with meaning, "(a) sense in which daily life, social differences, identity and power are enacted through practice and performance that both draws on social meanings and the spaces and bodies we inhabit" (Panelli 2004:248). Certain transitions or one's age can make a person "cross-over" to a new social group, but in many cases this is context and place related. The places one use will have impact on which social group you identify with. To belong to the social group of youth is a part of the youth identity, and the sense of belonging with a place have social meanings which will affect ones identity performance, but also can change and be negotiated dependent on the places one use or occupies. In this way is 'sense of place' related to the identity of a person (Rose 1995).

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[3] Discourse is seen as a hegemonic understanding of social meanings and actions in specific context (Panelli 2004).

I will therefore in this thesis focus on the places that are seen by the society as '*youth places*' and identify which persons that have the sense of belonging to this places, not only depend on their age. To answer the overall research question of how youth identity is perceived in Jamaica at present, the places the youth uses give many indicators of this. It can be in terms of which people that hang out there; their age, gender and occupation, but also how the culture of identity performance is at these places; who feel in place and out of place? Which behavior and activities occur at that specific place? What are regarded as "normal" and accepted behavior? The behavior pattern based of the social conventions 'in place' can be used as guidelines to understand how youth identities are expressed and performed in a specific place. It shows a 'face' on how youth identity is expressed in and out of place, who is included and who is excluded? This is reflected in the research question outlined below. The sub questions are design to give a wider significant and meaning. Sub question 1 and 2 are focusing on the usage of place to identify the perceived identities. While the last, sub question 3, is design to achieve knowledge about how outsiders of this group, perceives youth, since their view will affect how this social group are treated, but also these views will affect the youth's view of themselves.

To achieve knowledge of these places and who has a sense of belonging with these places, it is rewarding to 'hang out' with youth and take part in their daily life.

The research question is therefore as following:

How is Youth identity perceived in Jamaica at present?

1) *Who identify themselves as belonging to the youth places I study?*

2) *How are their identities expressed at these places, and articulated as different "faces" of youth?*

3) *How are the youth category and youth identity presented in national policies and public spaces?*

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized into 7 chapters, and starts off with **Chapter 2** which gives a brief introduction to Jamaica where the ethnographical information used in this thesis has been gathered. This is to give the reader a taste off the Jamaican cultural, political, historical and economical context. It is also a self reflective account of my own knowledge of Jamaica as a country, the cultural meanings and national identities when processing the data collected.

In **Chapter 3** I present the analytical approach I have formulated to reach the objectives of the thesis. The main theoretical perspectives of categorizing youth are presented. I have chosen to use the concepts of place and identity to identify the social groups of youth, since one of my early discoveries was that the youth's behavior often changed in different places. Even though identity is seen, in poststructural approach, as fluid and transferable from place to place, there are some behavioral patterns which seems connected to specific places. The concepts of place, identity and place identity will be discussed, and the notion of being 'in place' and 'out of place' will be connected with identifying the insiders of the social group of youth.

The qualitative methodology used to generate and analyze the empirical information will be described in **Chapter 4**. Here I also look deeper into how the co production of knowledge took place, and the power relations between me and the participants in this study. My identities as a mother and an adult will be discussed, in addition to the pitfalls of doing cross-cultural research. I have made use of several methods, both verbal and visual, to get a broader understanding of the diversity of the complexity of youth identity.

Chapter 5 and 6 constitute the analysis of this thesis. The outsider's view of youth are looked closer at in **Chapter 5**, where I have used national policies on youth, media representation of youth and local people's views as a mediator to locate how social identity of youth is perceived. I found that there is a dichotomy in the perspectives which dominate the outsiders view of a youth; either as 'the good youth' or 'the bad youth'. I will deconstruct this dichotomy and look at the constructed social norms, especially in connection with gender, which leads to such a perspective.

In **Chapter 6** the places identified as youth places will be presented. The focus is on places in which youth seems to have most control over, and have the ability to construct the social meanings, the group identities and the gender relations to some degree on their own terms.

The Dancehall place, the marina place and the youth center place are described and the youth behavior patterns in these places are analyzed in a social context.

The last chapter seeks to answer the overall research question. The narratives of the youth 'faces' are identified and presented as various ways that contemporary Jamaican youth identity is perceived in **Chapter 7**. These 'faces' are formed, modified, contested and challenged in the places identified in chapter 6, and this chapter gives some 'faces' to the social group of youth, which mainly are described as someone between the ages of 15-24 in the development guidelines.

2. Jamaican context – a peak at the past and the present

In this chapter I wish to give a brief presentation of Jamaica. The information is found in documentations from international agencies such as different United Nations (UN) organs and at national level with public government papers, but also information from other academic research and traveling guides. This wide specter of documentation in this chapter is used to give the reader a broad perspective and understanding of this beautiful, but tough island and its people. The national history and the state of country today have an impact on how Jamaicans perceive the reality surroundings and oneself as a person in that reality. Also it is of importance to present how I as a researcher perceive the reality of the environment I am about to describe.

2.1 Demography and historical framework

Jamaica was colonized from about 1510 by the Spanish until it gained its independence in 1962 from Great Britain, it is thus still part of the British Commonwealth as a constitutional monarchy. During the colonization period slaves were brought from Africa to work on the sugar plantations, and badly treated by their owners, which is a part of Jamaican history that seems still to be a part of Jamaican identity. The original human inhabitants of the island, the Taino Indian, were eradicated during a period of fifty years of slavery due to sickness, murder or suicide (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007).

Today, Jamaica is a constitutional democracy with free elections. However, there is much talk about corruption among politicians by the Jamaican public. A group of youth I met went as far as saying it was better for the people before under British rule (Music Group March 2009). The official corruption is discussed in the 2009 Jamaican Human Rights Report;

> *"The law provides criminal penalties for official corruption, but the government did not implement the law effectively, and officials engaged in corrupt practices with impunity. The World Bank's worldwide governance indicators reflected that government corruption was a serious problem. A 2007 media poll and a survey by the Caribbean Policy Research Institute found that the public believed more than half of the JCF was corrupt and considered corrupt nearly 50 percent of all government employees, particularly parish council members and customs officers"* (U.S department of State 2010).

There are about 2.7 million people living in Jamaica (STATIN2 2010) and 65 present of the population are under the age of 35. Over half of the population lives in urban areas. The migration rates are high, and there is almost the same amount of Jamaicans living overseas as in Jamaica (Holen 2007), mostly in USA and England. In 2009 there

Population Pyramid for Jamaica: 2008
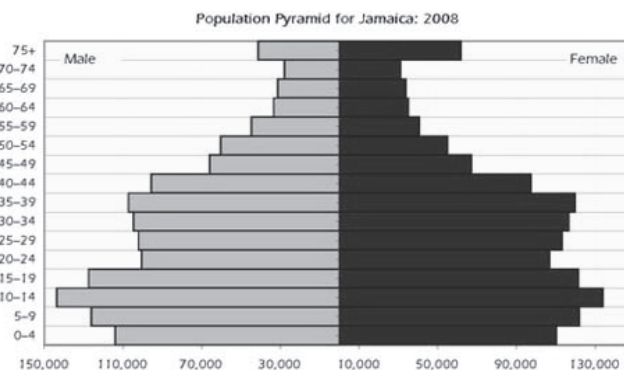
Figure 2.1: Population pyramid Jamaica 2008. Source STATIN

were more people who migrated from Jamaica (app. 20.000) than people died (app. 17.500) according to the statistical institute of Jamaica (STATIN 1 2010). Remittances from overseas relatives play thus an important role in Jamaican economy and are the by the World Bank seen as a reason why not more families are under the poverty line. This has though negative impacts on the society as whole in relation of the brain drain and skills migration of those who chose to leave Jamaica (World Bank 2004).

UN categorizes Jamaica as a developing country, and it is one of the poorest islands in the Caribbean. The country's incomes are mainly from tourism, bauxite export and agriculture. Around 20 % of export earnings come from agriculture, with sugar, banana and coffee as main products. The export income is though too low to compensate for the national spending (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007). And Jamaica is heavily indebted. In 1990 more than 60 present of their total expenditures were just on debt serving (NYP 2004:12). The state cleared it debts to the IMF[4] in 1995, but have still about J$842 billion[5] in debts to foreign lenders[6], which leaves little to domestic programs such as education and health (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007). Since 1990 tourism has been the major earner of foreign exchange (JIS III 2010). Around a million and a half[7] tourists are visiting the island every year (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007).

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[4] A report from October 2009 is 'flirting' with the idea of loaning economical funds from IMF again to meet the challenges within Jamaican economy. Retrieved 05.05.2010 from
http://www.capricaribbean.org/research/jamaica-and-imf-addressing-issues
[5] 1 USD $ = 85.12 JMD $ per. 10.02.2011.
[6] Jamaican foreign aid are mainly based on aid from the EU, China, the US and Canada, which includes both project loans and balance-of-payments support.
[7] There was thus a decline in 2009 due to the global financial crises.

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Poverty is a major problem, both in urban and rural districts, and the divide between rich and poor is only growing. The access to school, housing, work and health services is limited for the poor,[8] which counts for over 1/3 of the Jamaican families. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Jamaican government have formed programs to archive prosperity and meet the millennium goals concerning poverty. Jamaica was ranked as number 100 in human development index in the latest UNDP Human Development Report (2009), as a medium developed country together with countries such as Sri Lanka, Paraguay, Tunisia and Tonga. The Jamaican social conditions were described in the 2009 Jamaican Human Rights Report as

"While the government generally respected the human rights of its citizens, there were serious problems in some areas, including unlawful killings committed by members of the security forces, abuse of detainees and prisoners by police[9] and prison guards, poor prison and jail conditions, impunity for police who committed crimes, an overburdened judicial system and frequent lengthy delays in trials, violence and discrimination against women, trafficking in persons, and violence against person based on their suspected or known sexual orientation" (U.S. Department of state 2010).

Violence and crime are seen as great development obstacles in the Jamaican society, and the homicide rate was 56 per 100,000 residents in 2005, which is one of the highest rates in the world (UN and World Bank 2007). The criminality is most common in the urban areas with high population density. *"Crime and violence are a development issue. The high rates of crime and violence in the region have both direct effects on human welfare in the short-run and longer run effects on economic growth and social development"* (UN and World Bank 2007:10). An examination of the crime rates during the period of 1950-84 showed a connection between high crime rates and times with lack of work opportunities and low economic growth. It is also pointed out that the age structure changes within the population are a contributing factor (Ibid.). Harsh parenting and domestic violence is in the article "Violence and Youth in Jamaica: Paradise Lost" seen as reasons for the continuance of violence in the society (Williams 2001). The Dancehall environment which is by some regarded as a mediator for the violence is by Stewart (2002) rather seen as a reflection of

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[8] Below the national poverty line (Planning institute of Jamaica 2009).
[9] "The minister of national security referred to citizens killed by police as "collateral damage" (U.S. Department of state 2010.

society. He argues that the motivation to employ violence in Jamaica is rooted in the strong cultural imperatives which constitute a Jamaican culture model.

'Out of Many One People', the Jamaican national motto, is reflected in the wide consistency of ethnicities in the population. About 90 % is mainly descents of slaves, and bring with them African heritage. This in addition to the constructed identities of the colonial times of the 16th and 17th hundred, when religion and rebellion caused by social class differences, was a major factor of the daily life of Jamaicans, as some would say it still is. The social class divide is noticeable and religion still stands strong; there are more churches in Jamaica per capita than any other place in the world (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007). Most Jamaicans belongs to a Christian denomination (over 100 different on the island), but also Jewish, Hindu, Muslim, Bahai, Spiritualists and Rastafarian[10] are represented in the communities (JIS I 2010).

The moral standards of the nation build much on Christian belief, and social actions like abortion and practice of homosexuality (all oral and anal sex) is seen as morally unacceptable; the latter is prohibited by national law and will send you to jail if you are convicted. Also kissing and touching in public is seen as morally unacceptable. Race, class and gender have according to Austin-Broos interacted with religion to form the discourse of morality and social status in Jamaica (1998). Sexual relations between man and woman are on the other hand not only for married couple, as one might think, there seems to be a wide consensus amongst the population which accepts and practice sporadic relations, having children with different partners and often practice 'loose family structures'.

The boy\girl dive in gender roles starts from an early age, with girls doing girls things and boys should do and behave as a boy or even as a man in many cases. Here there are many expectations from family and the society as a whole to behave in the right manner. Men are supposed to be very masculine, and they often have to prove their masculinity in power relations towards other men, but also in everyday life in terms of how they walk, dress, talk and so on (Waagbø 2007). It is seen as normal with honor, high self esteem and many sexual relationship, any signs of weakness will give the question "batty boy u ar?" , which is to refer

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[10] Rastafarian is an unorganized religion which has influenced many aspects in the Jamaican society. "Rastafarian place Africans as direct descendants of the original Hebrew Israelites, and Africa as the promised land, offering a restructuring of black identity and an emphasizes on black culture lost and maligned by centuries of 'slave mentality' As a colonized country, Jamaica is part of the white, Western system of corruption and 'downpression'" (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007:432). They see Africa as their spiritual home and whishes to one day return – alive or after death.

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to you as a gay person, and seen as a the worst one can say to a boy\man. The girl on the other hand, should be ultra feminine, but not be promiscuous. She should behave in a more traditional manner with regard to household etc. (Waagbø 2007), but at the same time always be sexy. Jamaica is described by others as a patriarchy (Hope 2006); where the men are seen as the leader of the house and the one with most power in a relationship.

2.1.1 Port Antonio

Most of the primary data in this thesis is collected in the coastal town of Port Antonio which is the capital in the parish of Portland. The parish holds about 80'000 inhabitants, in which approximately 15'000 lives in the Port Antonio (Geonames.org 2010). It is a small town, but the center of the surrounding villages in the district. Port Antonio is in the Rough guide to Jamaica described as:

"A magnet for foreign visitors during the 1950s and the 1960s, the quiet town of Port Antonio feels more like an isolated backwater these days. However, thing are stirring in the sleepy little town and it may well become a popular tourist resort once more. A smart new marina has been built to accommodate luxury yachts and small cruise ships, the waterfront has been expensively landscaped, and there are plans to develop both Navy Island and the Titchfield peninsula. There's still not a huge amount to see here, and there is little in the way of water sports or shopping, but 'Porti' is a friendly and beguiling place with a busting central marked and a couple of lively clubs and bars. The real highlight of this area is the great outdoors – waterfalls, river trips, hiking, splendid tropical scenery and some lovely beaches – and Port Antonio is the perfect base for exploring it all" (2007:169-171).

However, there is not much tourism in Port Antonio, and the reconstruction of the marina park which was indented to lure more tourists to the area failed. Today, tourists usually come on organized bus trips a couple of days a week from the north side of the island, and spend maybe 2 or 3 hours in town before leaving for the many tourist attractions surrounding the area. This leaves Port Antonio out of the tourist incomes which much of the island has benefits of.

2.2 Jamaican Youth in numbers and polices

There was in 2004 published a National Policy on Youth (NYP), which whishes to "foster a culture of positive youth development and participation in decision making around activities that affect the life of youth." The focal areas in the NYP are 1) Education and training, 2) Employment and Entrepreneurship, 3) Health, 4) Participation and Empowerment 5) Care and Protection and 6) Living Environments (NYP 2004:10). Youth is seen as a person between the ages of 15-24 in this policy, and that will also be the case for this section, this because the

statistics information which is available is mostly focusing on this agegroup. Over sixty percent of the population in Jamaica is below the age of thirty, and 471.000 of them are between the ages of 15-24 (NYP 2004:9).

2.2.1 Education, Employment and Health

There is "free" enrolment at primary education up to around 12 years of age and *access* to high school where around 10 present graduate from grade 9 each year (NPY 2004). In high school there are two shifts[11] of students each day, the morning shift and the afternoon shift. Each receives around 3-4 hours of education a day. Over 60 students in a class with one teacher made the quality of these hours a debated topic among the students (Marina Group 1 February 2009). Parents are obliged to send their children to high school, but few can afford this. Only the best students from primary school and from families with enough income have the possibility to achieve higher education than primary school. Many Jamaican youth start working to raise money to support their families after finishing primary school.

Nationally there is an unemployment rate on 15 present, but approximately 28 present of the youth between the ages of 20-24 do not have any work. The numbers are higher for younger woman than men, despite the fact that more female youth takes higher education than men (NPY 2004). This can probably be seen in relation to that around 40 present of girls have given birth before turning 20 (ibid).

The NYP states that youth of today start their sexual debut at the ages of 17 and 14, female/male (2004:17). During one of my interviews with people working at the Portland Youth Information Centre in Port Antonio with youth and health related issues, their impression was that most youth, especially girls, already starts their sexual life before secondary school , 12-15 years (PM February 2009). HIV and AIDS is the leading form of death for Jamaicans in their mid twenties (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007), with the age group of 10-24 registered with most cases. People that carry the virus are often looked down upon by the rest of the society, and it is not talked much about. How to prevent being infected is therefore not always general knowledge. I met youth that believed having sex in water would act as prevention (Marina Group 1 February 2009). Sexuality is a major part of Jamaican culture, and during youthhood the sexual identities is explored.

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[11] Not all Jamaican schools practice these 2 shift days, this description leans on the practice at Titchfield High school in Port Antonio.

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2.2.2 Care, protection and living environments

Less than half the youth population lives in households with both their parents, and one in five under the age of 18 live without either parent, referred to as barrel youth (NPY 2004). This result in loose family structures and it is often grandparents or other relatives that are taking care of children and youth[12].

Over 60 present of the poor are under the age of 25, and youth are arrested, jailed and murdered "twice as much" as the rest of the population (NPY 2004). Jamaica was in 2005 the country which had most murders per capita than any other place in the world (UN and World Bank 2007). Violence is seen as a major problem among youth as a public health risk and a challenge which has to be defeated (NPY 2004). Young males between the ages of 15-29 were in 2002 responsible for 75% of the murders, 80% of all violent crimes and 98% of the major crimes that were prosecuted in Jamaica (Smith & Green 2007). In the world, Jamaican male youth has one of the highest violence perpetrated rates. Violence is the major death cause in this demographic group, but also woman and children are victims. 119 children were murdered in 2004, and 70% of the sexual abuse cases had child victims. Women are mostly exposed to rape[13] and violence in the home (ibid.). There are several of speculations to the root causes of this violence among youth such as harsh parenting practices in Jamaica and the Dancehall environment (discussed in Williams 2001 and Stewart 2002), violence are though internationally seen as a more complex phenomenon where no factor alone can explain (Smith and Green 2007). Poverty and personal characteristics connected to identity such as low self-esteem and negative self-representation have among researches been shown as predictors of violent tendencies among youth. They seek activities to fill their need for identity, sense of belonging, and worthiness (ibid).

2.3 Culture

The governmental information pages see Jamaican culture as "the linchpin that bonds us as people and is vital to our quality of life, and like that of any other country is reflected in everything that we do. Our culture influences and affects our belief systems and the goals we set for our future" (JIS I 2010). I will in this chapter present some aspects within Jamaican

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[12] Many of the youth I interviewed had parents leaving overseas, mostly in USA. Also some told me that their fathers were in jail, and two had fathers who lived on the street and were drug abusers. One told me that he didn't know who his father is, and was living whit his grandmother, since his mother had remarried in USA and lived there (Interviews Jan-mars 2009).
[13] Young males between 16-25 where in 2004 arrested for 47% of the rape cases (Smith & Green 2007).

culture which are seen as special for this island. Music, dance, sport activities and language are part of their culture, which gives and holds identities.

2.3.1 Music and Dancing

Music is a major part of the Jamaican culture, and work as a way to express the political and social processes of reality, as a mirror of the society. Reggae, Dancehall and Ska are now world known music genres, which have their roots on this island, and have placed Jamaica on the world map. Reggae has been the main form of national popular musical and social expression. It started out as a way to express political protests and as social commentary from the urban Jamaican ghettoes in the early 1960s. It soon spread internationally, and many outsiders will automatically associated Bob Marley when thinking of reggae music; with songs like "redemption song", "get up stand up", "them belly full (but we still hungry)", and "buffalo soldier" that all have been major international hits and are all referring to the social class fight within the country (and also the West vs. African perspective).

Today it is Dancehall that has taken this role of social commentary and is seen as the music of the "people". It is a more "hardcore" form of reggae and certain lyrics have lead to censorship and air bands on national radio shows. But this has not affected the popularity (Francis-Jackson 2004). The focus of the 1970s lyrics has slowly vanished and the dancehall lyrics of the present are more about dancing, violence and sexuality, but also about love, inspiration and the celebration of life (Waagbø 2007). In Jamaican youth cultures, it is Dancehall that has the most supporters alongside the North American popular music genres of RnB[14] and Hip hop[15]. Dancehall as it is seen today also started in the ghettos of Jamaican capital Kingston, and has made its way throughout the island and overseas. There are now big Dancehall parties going on every weekend in every corner of the island. The artists within Dancehall have high social status on the island, which includes both the DJs and the professional dancers. Dancehall is now seen as a phenomenon in itself, and is by others defined both as popular music and as a culture (Waagbø 2007 and Stolzoff 2000). Within Dancehall, dancing has a major role, there are many moves and routines that "everyone" knows, and these dances are

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[14] Rhythm and Blues.
[15] Hip Hop is a North American music genre which also is dominated by "black-ness". It developed from the ghettoes of New York (Brooklyn) and are by Rose described as "*Hip Hop is a cultural form that attempts to negotiate the experience of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the cultural imperatives of African-American and Caribbean history, identity and community. It is the tension between the cultural fractures produced by postindustrial oppression and the binding ties of black cultural expressivity that set the frame for the development of Hip Hop*" (Rose 1994:21).

the main focus at a Dancehall party for the patrons. The socialization of gender, which is very obvious in the rest of the society as well, is performed in these dances.

At the University of the West Indies in Kingston several researchers focus on this part of Jamaican culture. Sonjah Stanley-Niaah who has written a number of journal articles regarding the subject dancehall culture and space. Her main focus is on performance geography; which is giving locations identity through performance practices. Her research includes "mapping of the locations used, types and system of use, politics of their location in relation to other sites and other practices, the character of the event\ritual in particular locations, and the manner in which different performances\performers relate to each other within and across cultures" (Stanley-Niaah 2006a). Within more gender discourse related topics she writes about the body as a space and in space, where she sees Dancehall as a space to reclaiming a black body in relation to postcolonial power (2006b). Annie Paul is also interested in the roots of the Jamaicans preformed in Dancehall, and sees this music as a "text of Creolness" and "Creolized translation", which is born in the urban spaces of Kingston (2004). Through this music spaces are negotiated and morally legislated between the classes of people (ibid). But to say that contemporary Dancehall is a locally, closed youth culture in Jamaica, one neglects the interaction in the spatial openness of youth cultures globally (Massy 1998). "All of them [youth hybrid[16] cultures] involve active importation, adoption and adaption" (ibid: 122).

Donna Hope and Carolyn Cooper are two other academics at University of the West Indies who writes about Dancehall and they are mostly focusing on the gender within the Dancehall culture, respectively masculinities (2006a, 2006b) and female sexual agency (2004). Carolyn Cooper describes the dancehall culture as a "liberating space in which woman can play roles not available in everyday life", and female sexuality are ritualized and celebrated, hence the female is seen as a subject with agency (2004). Donna Hope, on the other hand, sees men as the gender with most power within the dancehall discourse, and that woman are treated more as objects than subjects with agency (2006b). Stolzoff, who is regarded as an outsider since he is North American, does in many ways argue for this perspective on the negotiating of power between the genders as well (2000). He views men as sexually superior to the woman and compares men in this culture with the gangsters of the Hip hop discourse. In his book "Wake up and tell the people" he gives a presentation of the dancehall historically based on mostly

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[16] All cultures are somewhat hybrid – not specific for youth cultures (Massey 1998).

former and present Dancehall artists (2000). His reason for writing the book was to challenge the existing perspectives about the dancehall culture. "Dancehall has been widely misunderstood. … (it) was seen as a decadent and nihilistic movement. (one have been) unable to adequately account for the origins of dancehall or to understand its meaning in the Jamaican context" (Stolzoff p. xx-xxi 2000).

2.3.2 Sports

One of the main leisure activities in Jamaica is different types of sports, and the government had during my stay campaigns directed towards the youth that focused on a national youth identity as athletes. Usain Bolt, Veronica Campbell-Brown and Asafa Powell among many others athletes are viewed as national heroes and rolemodels for the youth of today. In addition to track and field athletes who have won several of medals and set world records in international championships such as the Olympic Games, cricket is very popular.

Figure 2.2. Jamaican sport stamps

Alongside other post British colonies, like India, Jamaica is one of the leading cricket teams in the world. This truly affects the popularity amongst the youth, and one could see youth play cricket in the streets everywhere. Netball, football and basketball seem also to be popular sport activities amongst the youth.

2.3.3 Language

Jamaica is the largest English speaking nation in the Caribbean, but has also their own language, Patois, which is said to be a mix between British and several African dialects. Patois is a language in constant change, and new words and expressions are added frequently. There is though a divide in the population and it is seen as more prestigious to speak English by the higher social classes. Most of the participants in this study spoke patois and were proud of it. For me it was though a bit confusing in the beginning of my stay, as people used to reconstruct negative words to be positive and vice versa, for example to understand are expressed as to overstand – which means that one is over and not under when one comprehends, likewise to oppress (up-press) is to downpress, since one is 'pushed down and not up'. Patios also combine several words and make it like one, for example Broughtupsy – to be brought up in good manners – in a sentence: "Dat child have no broughtupsy".

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3. Theoretical perspectives and analytical concepts

In this chapter I will present theoretical academic literature which forms the base of the analytical approach in this study. These theories can be looked upon as interpretative guides to reality and gives me, as a researcher, 'pegs' that I can relate to and analyse the primary data to answer the research questions in this thesis. Following a poststructural approach, there is though not one single theory that can cover the complexity of reality, or realities. To identify and describe how youth identity is perceived in contemporary Jamaica, it was first important to figure out who are viewed upon as youth in the Jamaican society.

I will first present the major academic theories of youth, the leading perspectives on how youth is perceived and categorized, which will help identify the participants and subjects of this study. The global model of youth is based on that there is a universal experience of the phase of youthhood. This view on youth is used in most development work on national and international levels. Both age as an indicator and several of traditional youth – adult transitions will be looked upon when I identify the youth who participate in this study. The cultural and historical context, an aspect introduced by the new sociology of childhood, is also of importance when one as a researcher is identifying a group of people. Previous research has showed that there are several aspects that will influence the youthhood in different ways within the different countries and cultures (Skelton 2002). The global model of youth should therefore not be used singularly to identify youth, but act as a guideline.

Youth culture act as a subculture within the national culture; as a social group within a national culture that has distinctive patterns of behaviour and beliefs (Heaven and Tubridy 2003). With a poststructural geographical approach to understand the social construction of youth identity I will use the concepts of place and identity. I see place and identity related through a sense of belonging to a place, and the social meanings that a place holds. Youth as a social group "have places to be and things to do" that differ in many aspects from the national major cultural system. To identify and describe these 'places to be' and 'things to do', the focus is on identifying and describing *youth places* in a youth social context within an average town in Jamaica. First, I wish to find out who identify themselves as belonging to the different places they use? Which places are merely seen as a place in which youth uses? Who is viewed as 'in place'? Secondly, how is the performance of identity affected by and affecting these places, especially in terms of behaviour patterns and gender roles, individually and as a social

group? I will therefore present and make use of academic literature that focuses on the concepts of place, identity the place identity, to use them as analytical tools in answering the overall research question. Ruth Panelli (2004) among other social geographers focuses on the connection between social activities, identities and spaces, and will be the main contributor to the analytical approach.

3.1 Young people in development – Youth as a category

Within development work with youth and youth studies there are major hegemonic theories that have been used to identify and describing youth experience of belonging to this social group of human beings. There is though no real consensus about the definition of who is youth (Gough 2008). The category of youth is said to be a category that is "difficult to grasp and pin down analytically" (De Boeek and Honwana 2005:3). The youth concept is also described as fuzzy and slippery (Valentine, Skelton and Chambers 1998). Studies of youth started in the mid 19'century and have been a subject of interest within several disciplines. I will here show the two most used perspectives about how to see and to understand youth at present time.

3.1.1 Youth transitions, life stage and the global model of youth

Youth is in academic literature often seen in association with adolescence and the stages of human psychology development (France 2004). This is seen as a universal experience that is both linear and transitional, where a person is in a phase between childhood and adulthood, as becoming a 'full' member of the society as an adult. This can be seen in relation to the paradigm of the natural developing child, where children universally passes through different fixed stages on their way to the pre-determined outcome of becoming a full-grown human being – a reasoned, independent and mature adult. In this perspective childhood and adolescence are viewed as pre-stages in life, which are fixed. There are different features and developmental expectations connected to each phase, and each phase has to be accomplished before the next starts in hierarchal levels (James, Jenks & Prout 1998).

Also within the sociologist academics literature is childhood seen as a stage in life towards adulthood. But rather than focusing on the psychology transitions of human development, this perspective concentrates on the social development of the person. Children and young people's social knowledge is only thought to them by adults as a way to make them ready to participate in the society as adults in the end. They are understood as human becomings - that

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are shaped socially into human beings that shall reproduce the society. This is to say that children and young people are passive recipients of knowledge, and they have therefore no agency or possibilities of social change (Ansell 2005).

Studies of youth-to-adult transitions look at the various social changes in youth life, which are regarded as important when it comes to the youth's crossing to adulthood. These include typical Western transitions like leaving the home of their parents and start an independent household, finishing their education and entering the labour market, to marry and to have children on their own (Skelton 2002). These Western popular notions of childhood and academic paradigms have been exported worldwide as global models, and the emphasis on a natural and universal distinction between children and adults according to transitions are often also age related. The UN definitions of childhood and youth are applied globally (see figure 3.1) based on age as the main indicator.

Figure 3.1 – Terms used by UN agencies (Ansell 2005:4).

A youth can in many cases be a person that haven't reached the ultimate goal of becoming an adult within the "time-limit", and can therefore be looked upon as abnormal in this perspective, as troublesome or at risk (Ansell 2005). Also categorising have tendency to focus on the binary relationship between the different categories, such as adult vs. youth, man vs. woman, and the social attributes which 'follows' these categories as global discourses. A youth is often viewed as becoming, dependent, powerless, rebellious, risky (behaviour) and irresponsible compared to an adult. Youth research often focuses on certain of these social attributes, and topics such as how it is to belong to the working class or to an ethnic minority within the West. This has impacts on theory and practice that are used when working with and for children and young people within development policies and within legislations concerning these groups in society. Here work towards youth is seen as a way of securing the future, so they don't become a threat to or a victim of the society. There is certain priority areas connected to this approach; such as education, employment, health and also drug abuse

(ibid.). This approach is viewed by some as hegemonic developmental theory that focus on the neoliberalistic mindset view the modernisation of the society from a Western perspective[17] (Sylvester 1999). The general policies concerned with development have in many ways been influential, not at given attention to the interest of youth, "but they have sharpened the contexts in which young people live and grow up" (Ansell 2005:38). Policy approaches towards young people have, if any, tended to treat them as "objects" of development. There is little attention towards the contexts in which young people live, their agency, and the day-to-day life of ordinary youth (Ansell 2005).

To achieve a more people-oriented approach, the alternative development theories have introduced terms like participation, empowerment and capabilities, which are terms that concentrate on people's own involvement and their right to determine their own path to development and how to change social problems, which are opposed to development theories that focus on the state system itself as the problem solver (Nederveen Pieterse 2001). Empowerment "refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them" (Mikkelsen 2005: 346). This has over the last few years been incorporated, in some ways, within some policy-makers and practitioners that see "youth as subjects with their own ideas, able to act in their own interest" (Ansell 2005:61). The Human rights declaration can be seen as a main contributor to this mind set of thinking development. It's a bottom-up way of development; to achieve a lasting improvement in life and livelihoods conditions (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 75-83). These rights serves as a road map for humanity to understand its place and identity on our planet, and also to define relationships between persons and between societies. It underlines that human rights are inalienable, universal, non negotiable and interdependent. It acknowledges that people have agency and can drive change. These rights are thus based on Western perspectives, as a global stereotype perception on what a person is, or should be (Skelton 2007). The Western childhood is seen as superior to other types of childhoods you find in Africa or Asia, that can seen as abnormal, but in reality holds the majority of the childhoods in the world (Punch 2003). The global model of children and young people will in this way affect the construction of their identities (Ansell 2005).

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[17] See also A. Escobar which see development as a last "attempt to complete the Enlightenment in Asia, Africa and Latin America" (1995:221).

Transitions in young people's lives will vary in the global North compared to the global South. The transitions in the global North can be very sharp like moving out of parent's household or getting a job (Valentine, Skelton and Butler 2003), while in the global South these transitions and boundaries are more often fluid (De Boeck and Honwana 2005). There are multiple transitions in the global South as well, but not always in the same linear way as Western transitions and life stage studies suggests. A global model of youth based on only certain transitions and/or age will therefore have problems to fit the multiple identities of youth and their experience in the world today (Ansell 2005). But to totally neglect that the various transitions exist, it's not doing the understanding of youth any easier (Skelton 2002), rather the "transitions need to be understood within the diverse context of peers, family and communities" (Valentine et al 2003a). The category of youth should not be perceived as fixed, since the process of becoming an adult most often is not linear or one-dimensional (Valentine et al 2003b). These processes are fluid, and this can explain why and how persons are able to move between adulthood and youthhood in everyday life, and also to act as both human becomings and human beings. The entrance to adulthood does not happen in one single moment nor is youth a specific homogenous identity. Youth as a category will vary according to time and place, as well as its meaning. The historical, geographical and the social variability in the construction and the meaning should be recognized (Ansell 2005).

3.1.2 Youth as cultural and historically determined

In the 1990's a new approach to social studies of childhood emerged which focused on children's social relationship and their culture. The childhood is seen as socially constructed, children are seen as social actors rather than passive recipients, and are therefore themselves involved in the construction of their own life worlds, identities and their society. They have agency. In understanding young people's lives, there should therefore be a greater awareness of the cultural context of what it means to be young (France 2004).

The history which is connected to a place effect the construction of identity. Jamaican youth's relation to their ancestors and their descent life's at the plantations in the colonized Jamaica, are a part of their identity. As all the participants in this study are of African descent, this is seen as a major part of who they are. Culture can be seen as social constructions of values, norms, rules, codes and symbols made by human beings through several of social, political, economic and also cultural processes (Del Casino Jr. 2009). It will change and develop over time due to a number of reasons, it is in this a fluid process and can therefore only be describe in the present. However, some aspects in a culture will be passed on through time, to other

places and other social groups – therefore culture also should be seen as transferable. A person can belong to several cultures in different part of their life; a historical culture, a national culture, age group related culture and so on. Within each of these cultures there will be common cultural and social processes as specific social conventions, attitudes, norms and values, for example on how to dress, what music to listen to, how to dance, own phrases, and values connected to certain topics, which all members can participate in, contribute to or chose to challenge. These cultural and social conventions are social constructed and you have to learn and follow it to be included and to take part of the common understanding. Culture can metaphorically be seen as the language 'we learn to read the world' (Heaven and Tubridy 2003). All the knowledge we collect through this, we bring with us into our daily life worlds and use as tools to give meaning of the realities around us and ourselves (ibid.).

A youth culture is often viewed as a subculture within the national culture. Many youth cultures are often associated with specific music genres, and in some cases music has been the primary characteristic of the group. The Dancehall music genre (2.3.1) is seen as a culture in itself (Stolzoff 2000), since it holds so many elements. It has developed from being a youth subculture among ghetto youth in Kingston to include a broader spectre of youth from different social and economical classes on a national level. Globally one will now find the Dancehall culture in youth subcultures in other parts of the world like Japan[18], Sweden, Russia and England.

The cultures one belongs to as an individual will affect the behaviour and identity building process, a process where youth as a social actor has the agency to influence and\or reproduce aspects of their identities. The culture one belong to will also affect how the society and reality is understood and given meaning. It's a dual and dynamic social process in which individuals participate, they are affected by, but do also affect the cultural space. Cultures consist of both abstract and concrete elements based on the ideology\world view connected to the community of people. This will give a person belonging to several cultures different alternative actions due to different situations and places. To understand a specific culture one has to try to learn the way its cultural language and elements are constructed. This can be certain socialisation processes that have special meanings to a group, such as dancing.

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[18] The Dancehall subculture is huge in Japan, there are often Dancehall events – and the participants are adopting the dress style, the dances and also the language. See http://www.facebook.com/dancehallinjapan for example.

In the end, there is a wide range of people who can belong to the youth category such as; students, street children, musicians ect. They have many different roles within their society, and their age will vary. They are also a heterogeneous group when it comes to other categories like gender, class and ethnicity. Youth as a category can therefore not be totally excluded from other categories or be treated as a homogenous group (De Boeek and Honwana 2005). All of these factors shape their identity, and this is flexible as well as agentive (Bucholtz 2002). Youth as human beings are social actors in their own society, and have the agency to influence and/or reproduce their own identities. In this view, youth should not be looked on as becomings, but as human beings in their own right (Skelton 2002). This is in line with thoughts of philosophers like Immanuel Kant, who viewed humans as subjects, as self-determining cultural beings, who could influence and change themselves and their surroundings (Kant 1785).

I will in line with this perspective further introduce the concepts of identity and place to make an analytical framework in which I will identify and describe different identity narratives of Jamaican youth. One should be careful not to generalize the youth in a global south perspective as well (Lund 2007). I will use a combination of the global model perspective and the cultural/historical perspective towards youth identification to best embrace the multiple identities I find.

3.2 Place, identity and place identity

The relationship between humans and place, in which identity is seen as an important tool to understand how place provides a context for human development, is an aspect which separates geography from other disciplines. It is a dual relationship affected by the history of a place, social power relations (social and political structures), external influence and the social behavioural patterns within a place. I will in this section present some academic literature on the concept of place; the focus will be on 'sense of place' and 'place as locale'. Then I move over to the concept of identity and the concept of place identity, which also will be used as analytical tools in this thesis.

3.2.1 The concept of Place

All human interaction is connected to place and space (Massey 1998). With these core geography concepts one can explain many of the theories of society. "In the simplest sense, space refers to location somewhere and place to the occupation of that location. Space is about having an address and place is about living at that address" (Agnew 2005:82). These

concepts are socially constructed, so the understanding and meaning will vary differently among humans. There are though three main perspectives in contemporary geography on how to use and the meaning of the concept place; place as *'Location'*, place as' *Sense of place'* and place as *'Locale'*. The first perspective of place sees "***place as a location*** or a site in space where an activity or object is located" (Agnew 2005:89, (my bold)), it relates to other locations as well through interactions and movements (Agnew 2005). It is an objective material understanding of place; a place exists on its own, and this perspective of place is mostly used in economical geography.

'Sense of place' does referrer to a notion of identification. That a place is given meaning in relation to individual and group identities, and vice versa the feelings people have about specific places (Castree 2003). A sense of belonging to a place or in a place affects the identity of the place and also the identity of the one who uses the place (Agnew 2005). Within human geography one sees a connection between the development of humans, society and place. It is a subjective understanding, which see place as formed by different underlying power structures and place is a result of human ability to reflect. A place does not exist on its own and cannot be described based on laws made in advance, it has to be interpreted based on the experience in a place; the relationship to a place or how the place is given meaning. Places, as well as identities, are constructed through several discourses and social relations (Panelli 2004:140). There are social and spatial notions in different communities associated with specific places, towards the activities that happen in a place and the rules of behaviour when in a place (Panelli 2004). Massey (1998) also point to that a place is not isolated; a place is also a product of its relationships with other places. In relation to the phenomena of globalisation, where economical, political and cultural processes are spread all over the world though trade, media, tourism, internet, literature, development programmes and so on, all places are affected to different degree by other places in the world, which also affect the 'sense of place' social meaning for individuals and social groups.

In between these two meanings of the concept of place, we find the intersubjective understanding of ***place as locale***; a context where the daily social life of activities and social interactions takes place (Agnew 2005, Castree 2003). Massey (1999) sees the environment as different venues for human activity which form different places. The place is shaped and modified constantly by the human interactions within the place. Each place is seen as unique, the perceptions and experience of a place will vary individually, which also means that power

structures vary from place to place, a place can be a site which "open up for action where one set of discourses and subjectivities can be read against (and challenge) other more established ones" (Panelli 2004:167). Place can also be a constructed place where one (for example political institutions) seeks domination over different social discourses through power of what is and should be. Therefore a person can experience to be powerful in one place and in another place experience lack of power, both in terms of human relations or capacity (Panelli 2004). Power is a concept which can be "understood as a capacity to act or achieve desired effects" (ibid: 249), and "..always what is at issue is *spatialized social* power: it is the power relations in the construction of the spatiality...that must be addressed" (Massey 1999:291). Within the process of place production humans related to each other at different levels, they conscious or non-conscious position themselves and the human experience of power will vary and affect identity building processes. Cresswell describes the process of place production as it "are never finished, but produced through reiteration of practices" (2004:81). He continues; "(p)eople are creating places at all scales and everywhere in a myriad of different ways" (ibid.). The concept of place can here be viewed as heart of human life – Place is the local of the truth of Being (Heidegger 1962).

There are several dimensions to these conceptualizations of place, and they will often in practice glide together. Therefore one can see these perspectives as complementary, and use place as an overarching concept which holds several dimensions. Giddens (1984) argues for an understanding of place that considers both the social dimension within a place, and the structures in the society. To understand a place one must view place in relation to the historical context, the social power relation and human actions. The opportunities and limitations within a place and in the society form a frame for the social processes of human actions and behaviour. I will use a combination of these three dimensions of the concept of place, but 'sense of place' and 'place as locale' is thus seen as particularly central in this study.

3.2.2 The concept of Identity

Identity is complex and highly contested term. The concept of identity has developed in several directions in how it is used and viewed from the times of Platon and Descartes until contemporary academic discourses, which can be divided into two discourses; one that sees identity as something essential within a person and another which view identity as constructed. In this thesis I will use the perspective of identity found in works of present academics within social science who perceive that identity are created and constructed

through interaction with social and political structures[19]. This can be viewed as a poststructural approach to identity, which sees identity as fluid; constructed through discourser and social relationships, and will change with the context as something one do rather than something one have.

There are multiple attributes based on social values and norms connected to how identity is shaped and given meaning depended on social categories such as age, gender, ethnicity, class and sexuality (Panelli 2004). The meaning and expressions of these attributes of identity can be perceived as fixed and stable and something a person *have*, but in reality they are often associated with multiple meanings and can change through negotiations and over time. In daily life, people constantly negotiate a variety of social differences, and identification is often a social process about recognition with or differencing from other people or groups in the society. Identity is rather something people *do* through actions and performances. "Identities are preformed through bodies, language, dress, actions and spaces" (Panelli 2004:142-143). This performance of identity is done in relation to others in different contexts, in this way one also identify oneself in terms of the given norms of performance and acceptable behaviour within a place. An identity must be performed before it can be real and filled with meaning.

Valentine (2001) views identity as relational, as a social process which is infinite. These processes form boundaries in which one defines oneself; the sense of belonging and be included in a community or to be different and be excluded. In this way space is implicated in the construction of identity (Panelli 2004). Humans *...make and constantly remake, the spaces and places and identities though which we live our lives. This applies to the ways ... we construct our personal and communal identities ... to how we construct the spaces ... and how we negotiate power relations and the boundaries which exist between them"* (Massey in Panelli 2004:142). There are several ways in which identity as socially constructed can be looked at. The figure 3.2 on next page made by Panelli (Panelli 2004:145) shows a summary of geographical research on identity which is preformed at different scales.

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[19] This does not mean that I preserve the whole identity of a person as constructed, some are off course biological, but this thesis will only focus on the social constructed part of the identity perspective.

can be read, recognized or re-interpreted by others

may be actively conveyed or communicated

Identity:
A summary label (classification) or set of (complex and multiple) social meanings that:

may be negotiated, i.e. selectively adopted, modified, reconstructed, challenged, contested, or resisted

can take up, employ, affect or even reconstruct spaces

may be represented and preformed through a variety of texts, practices and personal cues (e.eg. hair, dress, body language)

Figure 3.2 Identification processes

Valentine sees performativity as "the notion that identity is produced through the repetition of particular act within regulatory framework" (2001:345). The body can be used as a way of perform social identity in line with social conventions through clothing, makeup, body language, vocal pitch or dance. Gender roles are for example reinforced through social conventions of 'female' and 'male' clothing, and youthhood can be reinforced by constructed dance moves which are playful. These constructed practices are possible to negotiate or contest through reconstructed/modified body performance within different places. To have the freedom to do this, can also be viewed as power to resist. This resistance can create new identities and spaces (Del Casino Jr. 2009). "(D)aily life, social differences, identity and power are enacted though practice or performance that both draws on social meanings and the spaces and bodies we inhabit" (Panelli 2004: 248). Identities can also in this way be performed in relations to others either to 'fit in' or to be different into/from social groups or places (Del Casino Jr. 2009). This performance can be seen as social action, which includes social and political, individual and group act and interaction in their own society (Panelli 2004). Social actions enables the researcher "to consider where and how people construct, understand and perform identity; how they negotiate and/or challenge power relations...and how they...join together in temporary or long-term projects that shape their experience, environment and opportunities" (Panelli 2004:241).

One of the earliest identifications a human makes is the one of gender. The girl\boy identity manifests it selves through role models and are developing. Gender roles are among others negotiated and communicated though activities that give social meanings and values about sexuality which can be associated with our bodies, power relations and spaces we are passing through (Panelli 2004). The socio-cultural relations give meaning and shape our sexual

identities, but also affect our experience and negotiations of different spaces. Sexuality and space will mutually affect each other. The moral constructions of sexuality are connected to the gendered choices and opportunities within a space. In this way gender roles and sexuality are seen as preformed identities, which are constructed and communicated through cultural codes, such as clothes, body language and conversations (Ibid.) Gender and sexuality are categories which one do rather than have. Through these gender constructions of roles and behaviour one can analyse certain aspects of the identity building process to achieve an understanding on how discourses of gender roles and sexuality are culturally constructed within a community. The construction of sexual identities and gender roles are a major part of the national culture in Jamaica, with contrasting images between the traditional sexual culture preached within the institutional[20] society and the social realities; such as the liberating sexual culture within the dancehall place. Identities which are being "explored or preformed are underpinned with culturally and historically specific power relations.. ..identities are never divorced from power, but instead they signal a variety of power relations, capabilities, possible opportunities and politics that require negotiation" (Panelli 2004: 156).

The context and structures surrounding one's life have great impact on how the notion of self is perceived, also in relation to others. As I have showed (in 3.1, 3.2) there are different views on the category of youth, and through these contrasting discourses the construction of youth identity is also shaped (Panelli 2004). Governmental policies and aid driven projects will in several cases effect how this social group is viewed by the different levels of society. It can be in terms of how identities of Jamaican youth are read, recognized or re-interpreted by others, and how this social group is seen is reflected in how they are treated (Holloway and Valentine 2000). This will also in turn affect how the ones who belong to this social group identify themselves (Panelli 2004). Group identities hold rules and norms on how to behave and act to belong to the social group, from the members within the social group, but also the outsiders such as media, government and other members in the local society. There are "corporal truths (that) are deeply embedded within ideological discourses, and used to legitimate what people can and cannot do, as well as their place in society" (Panelli, 2004:126). With these corporal truths different cultural and social meanings within identity constructions can be overlooked or ignored.

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[20] The family, School, church and national laws.

3.2.3 The duality of Place Identity

Place has identity based on the human activity or feelings, which gives meaning to a place and can be experienced and interpreted differently. A place can also give humans connected to a specific place identity. Identities are confirmed by persons being "in place" and "out of place". Places are part of human interactions and performances, and are actively being constructed and vice versa affect the construction of human identity (Massey 1998). Within a place there are certain rules on how to behave, at a library for instance it is expected that people are quiet, and at school the pupils are expected to be eagerly to learn. This is often related to the different roles a person holds like the role of student, daughter/son, and street vendor and so on. A person can manage multiple identities dependent on place of activity or social relation. The spatial nature of identities; social constructions and choices are shifting and constantly negotiated through space.

Place will therefore act as boundaries to the "others", as a way of identifying and constructing "Self" through both social interactions and usage of a place, which creates a sense belonging to a social group in which collective identities are lived out in contrast to the outsiders,. Places are constructed as a result of the social meanings and values that are tied to a specific place. In this way are collective identity confirmed through the values and meanings that are connected to these constructions. 'Outsiders' will often make stereotypes of certain places, and 'give' the people which makes use of that place a stereotype identity based on their usage. Studies of these places can give information about the dynamic processes where social groups express culture and identity. Performance is in this sense connected to specific places, and performances in a place can help us understand human activity related to the social constructed perspective. The reality are not fixed and stable, but constantly in change, and so are the understanding of reality negotiated by humans participating in the place (Carlson 2004 in Wollan 2009). In this way are identities place based, but not place bound (Castree 2003:178).

3.3 Analytical approach

It is advocated that youth research should be about the present lives of youth, how they shape their lives worlds and identities (France 2004). I have choosen to look deeper into how Jamaican youth form their identities in relation to their present context. What I have found most interesting is how youth identity is closely linked to the place they occupy. The analytical tools I am using in this thesis are the concepts of identity and place. The key

analytical constructs are on how youth identity is expressed and performed differently, depended of which place youth use.

I see a sense of; being 'in place and belonging to a place as the link between place and identity. The construction of group identity is reinforced through a sense of belonging within a place, based on the dynamic process where youth as a social group express identity and culture through social activities and performance which are seen as natural 'in place'. Places have certain traits which are setting the 'rules' for the performance when a person is 'in place'. And persons which don't understand or don't follow these norms/rules/conventions can be excluded and feel as 'out of place'. The youth places in this thesis are identified through location of sites which are mainly occupied and used by people who are regarded as youth. To understand place as a place with meaning and a 'sense of belonging', the historical context of, the social power relations in and the human actions within a place must be considered. I will therefore look closer at behavioral patterns and performance in the different identified places. How are these patterns affecting the social identities which are expressed and seen as 'in place'? How places are used shows for instance an aspect of how power relations between genders or social groups are negotiated though performance 'in place'. The historical context in Jamaica, the social and political structures are also seen as part of the identity construction processes, and I will therefore also include the 'outsiders' views. Both national authorities and media are seen as actors which have the power to dominate the representation of youth as a social group and can influence the youth identity building process.

To be regarded as 'in place', to be an insider, identification is based on similarities with other people in the same place. The similarities I have looked for are rooted in specific actions or activities preformed and expressed when 'in place' or/and behavior which are unlike from other sites in the society. The patterns of similarities within a place will in this way uncover much about the common identity and give information to construct identity narratives of the different 'faces' of Jamaican youth, which will be presented in chapter 7. I have located three different youth places, which will be described and analyzed in chapter 6. These places are not isolated, and are connected in many ways, but to get the understanding of these places as youth places they are looked at separated from each other. However, youth identity is shaped by culture and social conventions when 'in place', and in this way the results of this study may be cross cultural; the understanding of how youth use places to form collective identities.

4. Methodology

Methodology is the theories and analysis on how research should be contacted (Harding 1987), and can be used as guidelines in a study. There are two main research methodologies[21]; quantitative and qualitative, and which one choose to follow will depend on the topic in question, what kind of information and data the researcher are interesting collecting and how to reach it. The research objectives in this thesis reflects the want to understand more about the everyday life of youth, their attitudes and behavior, to find out what are perceived as youth identity in contemporary Jamaica. I found therefore qualitative research methodology most useful and appropriate, since this methodology is mostly concerned with exploring and explaining human experiences (Kvale 1997). The methods within this methodology give the researcher opportunity to interact with the subjects of the study, and to learn more about their living context. It is also advocated by several youth researcher to use methods that include the participants and treat them as subjects rather than objects when one do youth research (France 2004). In line with post structural thoughts there will be multiple experiences of the social constructed realities, my job as a researcher is to sort them and find the patterns (Kvale 1997).

I will in this chapter outline the different methods used in this thesis to collect and process the data and knowledge which I will present in the chapters 5, 6 and 7. In relation to these processes I also will go into the reflections on doing fieldwork in a different culture in terms of how this can be approached and its limitations. My own role in the fieldwork process in regard to power relations, ethics and identity will affect the co production of knowledge.

4.1 Qualitative research – the collection of primary data

" I want to understand the world from your point of view. I want to know in the way you know it. I want to understand the meaning of your experience, to walk in your shoes, to feel things as you feel them, to explain thing as you explain them. Will you become my teacher and help me understand?" James P. Spardly (1979).

Post structural qualitative research methodology do not perceive the social world as a fixed and definite, but in change; constructed of the cultural, economic, social and political processes in the different layers of society. The research methodology focuses on

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[21] I will not dwell on the differences in these methodologies, for further information of this se for example Mikkelsen 2005 p.140-144, Dwyer and Limb p.6-7.

understanding the experience and meaning of everyday realities amongst people, as individuals or part of a group (Dwyer and Limb 2001), "in its social and spatial settings" (ibid: 4).

There are several aspects of the production of knowledge that need to be at the focus of attention of the researcher, especially how the reality and truth are constructed though the researcher and the participants view of the world. There is not only one truth or one reality; this will be sensed in different ways from person to person. People's experience of for example places can vary greatly depended on how they use it. Knowledge is therefore seen as constructed, and how people see, experience and reflect on the world and 'making' is therefore different amongst human beings (Smith 2001). The power relations between the researcher and the participants in the study will have an impact on the representation in the production of knowledge, and are crucial for the outcome.

That both my key informants are male have in some ways affected to gender mix of the participants. I had hoped that I would achieve a 50/50 split between the genders, but in fact ended up with 2/3 male participants. The selection of participants in this study is based on random and snowball sampling. And those interesting in participating are given a voice; the only criterion has been that of being youth among the youth participants. With this uneven gender divide in the selection of participants is important to be aware of how the knowledge is constructed when coding and analysing the primary material (see 4.3). There can be several reasons for this uneven selection of participants in terms of gender, such as me being a female and therefore more males are interesting in participating in my study. That Jamaica is viewed as a patriarchy society, with male supremacy, could lead to that males either would 'fear' me (white female with high education question his life and identity) or would think this is exciting (because something new and challenging). In my experience though adult males had more time doing 'not-thing', and the male youth were less sky. It was easier to come in contact with the older male youth, than the younger. Amongst the youngest youth it was easier to achieve relationship with the girls.

There are also some aspects concerning ethics that has to be incorporated in a study with "live" participants. One has to make sure that the participants understand the reason and outcome of the study, and that they are participating on voluntary basic and can at any time withdraw from the study (Dowling 2000). All the participants in this study were informed about my purpose in writing this thesis, and I always asked for permission to use their

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opinions or stories, and in two cases also pictures they had taken. Also the researcher must be careful to not do any harm when doing the research (France 2004). Here it is important to remember the risk of giving the participants new perspectives or ideas (Kvale 1997). In a relationship where power is unequally distributed between the researcher and the participants in the researcher's favor, it is important to be aware of this and make sure that you as a researcher are not exploiting the participants in any way (Dowling 2000).

This can be seen as a reflexive approach to research, which acknowledges that the researcher's subjectivity[22] is central to the conceptualization and production of the research process (Pink 2001). The way the researcher sets the frame of the study, how the researcher presents her/him selves, what knowledge the participants chose to share, the interpretation of that knowledge from the researchers perceptions and also how the researcher choose to explain the knowledge in the study. This coproduction of knowledge depends therefore much on who the makers of the knowledge are (Rose 1997). The reader's perspective is unknowingly shaped by the images that are shown and not (Pink 2001). In this view, both the researcher and the participants can influence the outcome greatly, and this is therefore a factor one should be concerned about during the study process (Dowling 2000). Since most of this study is based on people's personal experiences, which are subjective, the validity of this study cannot be absolute (Mikkelsen 2005).

4.1.1 Doing cross-cultural research

"(W)hen research takes place between people of different cultural heritages, background and practices" (Skelton 2001:89), as a cross-cultural study different problems can arise (ibid.). How should one behave towards that people in a different place have other values and norms that one is used too? And what happens when these values and norms maybe lead to actions and behavior that we want to criticize or even call immoral? When placing our own values, norms and moral as the "right one" we lose sight of the understanding of what are taken place and why. Ethnocentrism, which is to evaluate other societies in relation to one's own, to exalts own culture as standards for other cultures, to place one's own ethnos in the centre for comparison (Hylland Eriksen 1993), is one of the major pitfalls in doing research in a different culture than your own. To avoid this, one has to, according to the social anthropologist Fredrik Barth:

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[22] "Subjectivity involves the insertion of personal opinions and characteristics into research practice" (Dowling 2000:31). It is said to be nearly impossible to stay objective when one uses qualitative research methods, because of the social interaction with the participants (Dowling 2000).

"..to get out of our own culture circles and get an experience of the world we live in, it is important to have an awareness of what variation width it is in human life, and what those differences could mean for the individual and his or her world. ... If we want to understand something of the lives of others, we must accept their perceptions of what is important in life, we must listen to them and their priorities" (Barth 1991:7-8, own translation).

This perspective within methodology research is well known amongst social anthropologists and is referred to as culture relativism; to understand a culture on its own terms and to understand other people's behavior and activities in relation to their culture. On the other side of the scale one will find the universalism perspective; that its universal values which are hold in all societies that one should relate to and be measured from. That moral, truth and values are independent of culture. I found that in a fieldwork situation, to achieve knowledge about the participants in the study, it was important to find a balance between these two perspectives. First, to treat the participants both as subjects with their own perceptions of their life worlds in dialog with them, and second as objects when processing the data collected from these situations to interpret and understand their experience of their life worlds in relation to the academic framework for this thesis and my own concepts of reality. One has to be aware of the limitations of cultural understanding in this process, and don't judge values, norms and behavior in another culture as 'bad or good, right or wrong' in terms on our own cultural values (Mikkelsen 2005).

The power relations between the researcher and the participants, and also between the participants can often be uneven and are also closely linked to ethics. When doing research in the "developing world" puts the researcher from the "developed world" in an unequal position amongst the participants when it comes to for example wealth and education, which will have an impact on the power relation. Unequal power relations can influence the representations of the participants, how the researcher (conscious or no conscious) interoperates the knowledge shared and the knowledge which is shared with the researcher (Limb and Dwyer 2001). One want to achieve to form a relationship of "sameness" to get a better understanding of the participants reality, which is in closer reach if one are "in the same position and the same social location" (Mohammad 2001:104, also called reciprocal relationship (Dowling 2000)). Therefore it is advocated that the researcher "…should adopt a role or identity that meshes with the values and behavior of the group being studied… not inventing an identity; we all have several, ..but..the most appropriate one can be stressed." (Cassel in Crang and Cook

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2007:42). One of the steps I took during the fieldwork process to met this challenges, was to live together with the ones I wanted to understand, to "be one of them", to in a limited way understand the cultural, economical and social context they live in. This also made it easier to somewhat build trust and form relationships with the participants. Just to go to the same shops, instead of the ones made for the rich tourists made a little difference in the way I perceived "them" and they perceived "me".

Jamaica is the largest speaking English island in the Caribbean, but most of the people I talked to wanted mainly to speak their own language, patios (see 2.3.3). The way that the grammar of this language is build up, differ from ordinary English and did in many ways affect my understanding of the conversations sometimes. Also the "saying one thing, meaning the opposite" way of speaking confused me in the beginning. That I could not speak their language made differentiate between us more visible in some situations.

4.1.2 My identity in Jamaica; white baby mother, rastawife, sister and researcher

When doing research in a different culture it is important to recognize the aspects of my personality and identity that had effect on how I was presented and looked upon by the participants in this study and the other locals which affected the coproduction of knowledge (Pink 2001:20).This in relation of the knowledge which was presented to me, the power relations between me and the participants and my level of insight and understanding towards the Jamaican society. My identity as a researcher was fluid, it changed over time, and more often there were other aspects of my identity that got focus.

During my stay in Jamaica I had with me my family; my daughter Eira (8 months on arrival) and her father, and this gave me as a person a certain identity amongst the people in the community where I did my fieldwork. I was looked upon as an adult, since I lived with my family and had "work" to do, and therefore I could never be "one of the youth". To be an adult who wants to explore and understand youth life worlds, it was important to be accepted in the community. To build relationship that gain me trust from the youth, but also the adults. In the beginning of the fieldwork this was one of my leading identity roles together with the fact that I am white, and I soon became "the mother of the white baby". Almost all the residents of Port Antonio and its surroundings are of African heritage and there are in Jamaica only about 2 % are white (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007). These are most often people with much power and part of the higher social classes, the "whiteness" was a major attribute that defined me as a person, the way people behaved towards me and the power

relation between us. As one Jamaican told me "You are white, if you move here, you can be whatever you want – it doesn't matter what you know" (Youth from Spanish Town February 2009). This perspective of white people was dominant, and in some cases it could be dangerous because so much hate was related to the history of Jamaica and the present social classes. When we arrived Jamaica we first stayed in the capital, Kingston, for some weeks and here the divide between the social classes was very visible. It was uptown with the financial district, the university, the hotels and the luxurious area of Beverly Hills, and there was down town with the markets, ghettos and the gang rivals. It was very hard to get in contact with people, and the few we get to know was of much higher status then us selves, and they bad mouthed the others; the "down town trash" as criminals and very dangerous to us. After one incident where three men try to take Eira out of her trolley and run for it, I was a bit anxious to take her outside, and we decided to move to a quieter spot on the Island. At first when we came to Port Antonio everyone wanted us to buy something from them, to give them money or that we bought "stuff" to them. After a week or so they realised that weren't leaving the next day or the day after as regular tourists, the local community started to relax a bit with our presents. The fact that we were white did never disappear, but the meaning of it changed during my stay in this town. Skelton has some of the same experiences in a different Caribbean island (2001). To be white in a mostly black society were you as a white person don't really fit the already existing categories and the time it takes to be acknowledged as who you are.

We were very careful on what we spend money on, and only bought what we needed. We rented to rooms in a local house and made most of our food in a provisional kitchen at a small poach outside. In this way we lived under more similar conditions, we became neighbours with the ordinary Port Antonio inhabitant instead of staying at a fancy hotel, and the economic inequalities were not that obvious. The economical "back-drop" in forming relationships as Pink referred to in her study was somewhat a bit avoided (2001). But as we lived in one of the nicest houses in our street, and our landlord had worked abroad and was looked at as a wealthy man by his neighbours it had it consequences. In the start our landlord was very nice with us, but when he saw that we become friends with people he did not respect (because they had less money than him I assume), we were told not to bring them home. He was afraid that they would steal from him, and he didn't want others to see what he had. As a student and a single mother, and no economical support to do this thesis, and with Eira's father that is 'unemployed', the differences between us and the local felt even smaller since

we could not afford to live as regular tourist, and not as our landlord. There were economical differences, which did affect the power relations between us, but I felt that we were at least not regarded as 'rich white people', and in some cases more equal to the average Jamaican.

Eira's father is a reggae artist in Norway, and therefore knows much about Jamaican music, movies and their language, and he did end up in many conversations almost every day about the different Jamaican artists, especially the old ones. The music and movie history of Jamaica is something all Jamaicans I meet were proud off and formidably with, and his knowledge did affect my identity in the community. I was often referred to as a "rastawife", and was treated as an "insider" in many occasions within community, such as the music community in Port Antonio, where there are many young men who wish to make it as a artist.

After some time when we also learned more on how to behave in regard of; stop talking to people we didn't know in the streets, invite people to our home and so on, and it became easier to get to know many of the locals at a more personal level. The saying after some time that we were only white on the outside and black inside made our relationships with the locals stronger, and some even called me "sister", which I thought was very generous and including.

At last the fact that I am a woman must be taken under consideration. There is often gender issues (Pink 2001) related to the gathering of knowledge in a qualitative study, and this thesis is no exception. Jamaica is often referred to as a male dominate country and the focus in daily life on sexual relations is prominent. During conversations I had with male participants in this study or other males were often characterized by a sexual undertone to what was said or communicated through body language. Some of the youth I talked to tried hard to present themselves more as men than young boys, and this did probably in many cases affect the information they choosed to share with me. This did change a bit over time when we got to know each other, and I see clearly from my field notes that some of the conversations I had with me key informant and gate keeper change much during my stay.

All of this made me feel as an outsider at many times, but also as an insider in the community as I was accepted. Most of the time felt that we all were very much alike in many ways, even though the cultural differences (Crang and Cook 2007:43). This all also affected the power relations in this study, I feel that I was seldom looked upon as an academic or of much higher social status than my neighbours, but off course it affected what was told to me, because I was

outsider, maybe not only because of my race, but also because we were new and they all knew that we would leave eventually.

4.1.3 When doing research with young people

To understand young people's lives it is important to balance between the ways young people see and understand the world, and the role they play in their family and society (Christensen, Utas and Vigh 2006). To do this, it is advocated in much youth research that the youth themselves should participate in the research, not treat them as objects of the study, and one should therefore employ research methods that empower the youth to have some control over the knowledge produced in the studies (France 2004). This is also in line with the new sociology of childhood where it is focus on their agency and empowerment. The focus and awareness of the researcher should be on their cultural context, how they shape their identities (France 2004, Bucholtz 2002). That I was an adult and not a youth has affected this study in regards of the understanding of their perceptions of social meanings. Through my key informants I was lucky to be invited into the youth circles, and got the chance to experienced and participated in youth activities together with the participants. In this way I believe that I got an insight in their life worlds.

Youth in this thesis is viewed as

To define youth merely depended on their chronological age, one as a researcher risk to lose important information of the social group one wish to understand through the studies. Age is often used to define, to control and order the actions of the social body, so if one see the concept of youth from another perspective – the study of their actions and behavior, these "notions of 'performativity' are also useful in understanding the ambiguity of the term 'youth'" (Valentine, Skelton and Chambers 1998: intro). When performing an identity, a youth can negotiate how others perceive ones age (ibid). In this thesis I will therefore not attempt to use chronological age as the only indicator to categorize youth, but include the various actions and behavioral aspects in a place to construct different youth identity narratives, which will be presented in chapter 6 and 7. There is also in appendix 1 a contextualized participant's guide that gives some information about social background, everyday life situations and how the interactions between the participant and me have been.

4.2 Outline of the methods used

To do qualitative research with young people often requires prolong interaction with the participants to understand their life worlds, to form relationships and to build trust (France 2004). But also to do multiple methods to understand the complexity and variety of young people's lives is advocated (Punch 2003). I will therefore in the next pages present the different methods which I used in Jamaica over a period of three months. There is a combination between visual and verbal methods that Mikkelsen (2005) argue that can be more powerful than either of the methods alone.

The interviews are based on a semi-structured approach, where only a few questions and topics are listed in my interview guide, and most of it is formulated as one go on (Mikkelsen 2005:169). While the individual and group conversations are based on an unstructured interview approach, this approach focused "on persons perceptions.. ..it is informant focused" (Dunn 2000:61). It is not used as a life history interview, but rather as understanding of the present life context. The number of participants of this study and how the primary data was used in the analysis will be mention in each of the methods used.

4.2.1 Informal conversations

To have informal conversations with the people I meet about their views, thoughts and experience concerning my research questions and also other aspect of life, was the method I felt most comfortable with during my fieldwork and consequently the way I collected much of my primary data. To me it was a much more natural way of getting to know, form relationships and build trust with the youth and other locals, and also to get a better understanding of the cultural context in which they lived. One other strength by using this method is as Mikkelsen (2005) describes the way that the interview is more adapted to the situation and the person. But she also points out that this is "less systematic and comprehensive if certain questions don't arise "naturally"." (ibid: 171). People I met were mostly very interested in what propose my visit were in their town, and thought it was interesting and exciting to discuss and contribute to my study. Therefore I had the chance to talk to several people about the same themes and questions without making it a very formal situation, and get several perceptions on the research questions in this thesis. The organizing of the material afterwards has thus been a tough and sometimes complicated job.

It was a great tendency towards more series of multiple interviews, since I meet up with the same people over a long period and we would talk more about the same topics (Crang & Cook 2007:74). One of the youth participants in this study, Romaine, I meet over 40 times. This gave me a much more deeply understanding of his life, than if I had only interviewed him once or twice. In this way I got to interact with some of the participants in their daily routines, and got a broader understanding of their life worlds. What I also noticed was when we got to know each other this well; he was much more open as time passed by. When I asked him the some of the same questions in the end of my stay that I had asked in the start of our relationship, I got more detailed and also frank answers. It shows how important it is to form a real relationship over time and build trust when it comes to doing research with young people (France 2004). But since me and this participant formed such a strong relationship during this fieldwork I thought a lot on how this would affect the way I saw and represented him in this thesis.

Through this method of collecting of data, it was easier to connect with the participants and I was able to share more of myself and my experience as well. And trust was build between us. During a conversation with one youth, which had been in a juvenile correctional center for the last seven years, that told my about his life experience when his mother passed away. When I then told him that my father too had passed away and my feeling towards that, we connected, because we had somewhat the same experience of losing a parent, and it was easier for him to open up on other subjects as well.

I used this method of collecting data with all the participants if not others is mention, and these conversations are used as primary data in relation to how local people perceived youth and their activities in chapter 5. And mostly it is used in describing the youth life worlds in the identified places and their own thoughts on this in chapter 6 and 7.

4.2.2 Door openers and key informants
Before I left to do my fieldwork in Jamaica, I tried to find some contacts which could function as gatekeepers when I arrived. It didn't work as planned and I was on my own hoping that this would go as painless as possible. When I started my fieldwork in Kingston, this was my main challenge. It is the largest city in Jamaica and I had a hard time getting to meet people there, especially having my family with me. After a little less than two weeks I had to rethink my place of doing my research, and decide to aim for a smaller town where it could be possible to be a part of the community.

It did not occur to me in front the huge impact my daughter would have on this issue. As the only white people around for miles with a baby, we really stood out in the town picture when we came to Port Antonio, and it did not take many days until people started to great us and wanted to lift and hug the "fatty, white baby". Because of Eira I was lucky to meet so many friendly people in the community, which were eager to get to know us and share their life with us.

Romaine was the first youth I got to know (because of Eira) when we came to Port Antonio, and he prove to be a valuable asset when it came to getting to know other youth. He was of great importance and introduced me to everyone we meet when he showed me which places he usually spend his time away from home, and we would walk around town together. Romaine was my key informant in many ways, as well as his function as a door opener and through him a meet many of my informants. He introduced me to the local environment, and also to some of his friends. It was a way to get accepted within the town and a help to locate and elaborate the youth places of chapter 6. A backdrop to the close relationship I gain with Romaine was that some locals viewed him as 'my boy' that I had hired to be my servant. That there is a historical issue related to this perception is clear, but also today in the more popular tourist towns in Jamaica a number of white people hires locals to show them places, sexual favors and do 'their laundry'.

When it came to getting in contact with people that worked with youth in different ways, it was more complicated. I did one key-informant interview with one who work as a voluntary at the youth center, and had special knowledge towards my main topic. A key-informant interview let you as a researcher obtain more detailed information (Mikkelsen 2005:172), in my case about how others in the community viewed youth and which topics the youth center saw as most important to focus on concerning youth identity building and youth behavior. It gave me a picture on how the youth centre was run and information gathered from Peter Martin forms parts of chapter 6.2. In this interview situation I used a semi- structured interview guide approach, where some questions concerning my topics were prepared, and I let the participant led the information shared in terms of what he/she consider most important (Mikkelsen 2005). This was a way to get new information that I was not familiar with, but also to get the interview back on track if needed.

To meet people which were higher up in the governmental institutions seemed impossible for me. This is also due to my lack of getting contacts and permits before I left Norway, hoping

this would somehow resolve when I actually got to Jamaica. But it took very much time, and in the end of me fieldwork, I simply had to focus on policies and other documents that was been written by officials instead of actually meeting them (see 2.2, 4.2.2, 5.1).

4.2.3 Group conversations

This method is a common method within youth research, but how it is perform vary greatly. There are several advantages by using this type of method; like the empowering of young people in the way that they are able to speak for themselves on issues which are important to them, and also that it can be less intimidating than one-to-one interview with an outsider (Kneale 2001). I had a focus on friendship groups at the places which I have identified at youth places, but also used this method in other places. In appendix 1 these are all described in terms of which place, the composition of the group and what kind of information they gave me. This is groups where the participants all knew each other from before and had similar life contexts. There can also be several advantages to gain by using this kind of group combination. One has a less formal tone to the discussions and it is therefore maybe easier to speak freely. Also I get to see them in their own surroundings, in their place where they feel safe (Punch 2002). As Mikkelsen (2005) points out; a group discussion makes the researcher available for lots of community knowledge at one time. The main disadvantage by choosing such friendship group are in relation to the power within the group dynamics that already are created, and the discussions may reflect the most dominant participant perspectives. Also there can be some participants that will maybe not feel as free to contribute on all topics in a familiar group, due to private reasons.

Some of the youth that participated in this way of collecting primary data was youth that I interacted with on several occasions before I asked them to participate as informants. They lived or used places nearby my home, and I would see them almost every day. After spending almost 3 months there, me and my family was familiar faces in the neighborhood, and some trust was therefore already build between us that gave me access to the participants and I could approach them without having arranged meetings in advance. The other group conversations I had was "in the moment" situations, where I meet a group of youth in a youth place and the atmosphere was right to ask them to participate. The tone during these conversations was kept light and informal. They were informed that I was writing my master thesis for graduate university, and that I was going to use what they told me in this thesis. But the collection of the data information did not go just as planned, I wanted to write down what they told me, but when I put out my notebook the atmosphere always suddenly change, and

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the distance between us became noticeable, they would almost "freeze". I found it therefore better to do mental notes of the conversations I had during these informal meetings to preserve the tone and trust I had gained. Since most of my primary data is collected through conversations without tape recorder or was written down at the spot, it is in many ways already processed in my head as a researcher before it hit the paper. This will affect the production of knowledge presented in this thesis.

4.2.4 Observation – 'Seeing is believing'

To only objectively observe a group of people to understand their life worlds may be difficult and in order to actually get hold of their ways of life, one as a researcher also has to mingle as good as one manage in a different setting (Crang and Cook 2007), to get hold of the social processes which are unfolding. The researcher will not be able to observe everything which goes on in a community, and how the researcher is perceived in the community, will affect of how much one is able to observe and which situation and places one get access to. A contextual understanding of the youth everyday life was the purpose of the observations made, which seeks "to construct an in-depth interpretation of a particular time or place through direct experience" (Kearns 2000:106). Through participant observation one has the possibility to interact and experience the everyday interactions of the ones one tries to understand (Kearns 2000). This can though be difficult to do and analyze systematically, and every situation can be seen as unique. I choose to follow the participants everywhere they gave me access, and hanged around them as much as I could. I will in this section describe the different places where I observed youth, and also in some cases tried to blend in as much as I could.

Dancehall event

After I had spent some time with youth in Port Antonio, I was invited to come with them to a dancehall party. I had already been to one in Kingston, which I had told them about. This as a way to show them that I liked to do some of the same things as them, so we seemed more alike, and therefore the relationship would grow closer. As Crang & Cook points out; to make the outsider status of the researcher less noticeable in the relationship with the participants, it's important to make connections like this so the distance between gets smaller (2007). Since dancehall was a great part of youth culture, with events several times each month, it was also important for me to take closer look at.

I will go further in describing these events latter in my thesis, but I will here mention that these events were the one time I experienced what can be called a cultural shock during my fieldwork. And at the first dancehall party I went too in Kingston it was hard not to look surprised and form different opinions of what I witness depended on my own views from a Norwegian context. When I learned more about the Jamaican culture, these events no longer seemed so strange to me, my mind had opened and it only became interesting as a way of youth expressions though dance and music together with friends as a part of the Jamaican youth culture. This was though for me an example that it is not possible to stay objective at all times during the collection of data. Your personal emotions and views will inflict on the way you "read" and interpret the situations you are in (see Dowling 2000).

Youth center

I wished during my fieldwork to spend some time at a resource center for youth. The plan was to see how the young people themselves were influencing their daily life by using available resources to make decisions concerning their present and future life situations. I was also interested in how they behave within the youth center, what were the social conventions? How the youth identity is affected using the youth center?

The information I gathered from the youth center in Port Antonio is based on three observation sessions. And it was not only the planned topics that I was focusing on - more questions and other topics emerge during the observations, and the interactions between the youth struck me as very interesting. Also how the Youth center presented the center and their visions towards youth was eye-catching. I got a contact person amongst the voluntary workers at the center that could inform me on their ways and visions of their work, and how he viewed the youth using the center and the Jamaican youth in general. Through him I was introduced to some users of the center which was interested in talking with me. I meet with these youth on two occasions, and had unstructured conversation with them regarding their use of the youth center place. This place is described further and identified as one of the youth places in chapter 6.

The Marina Park

After spending some time in the town, I was able to locate which public places the youth used as "hang outs". Particularly the newly renovated marina was popular amongst the youth after school and also the park outside the local library which were inside the same area. They would sit around these spots and do schoolwork, be with their boyfriends/girlfriends and play

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different kind of sports. Also there were groups of youth that did drugs as these spots, even though it was a police station located close by. It was educational for me to observe these places to see how youth use these places and behaved when they were on their own without adults watching them and they were together as a group. This place is described further and identified as one of the youth places in chapter 6.

Music studios

Together with Eira's father I was invited to a music studio in Port Antonio at one occasion. When this happened it was the males who were the main focus and the girls was referred to as princesses. I have chosen to not define this as a youth place in the analysis since I feel I don't have enough primary data collected concerning this location. But the informal conversations I had with the artists and the guys who did the technique I have chosen to use, I will referred to them as "Group Music Studio" in the analysis. As the picture tells there has been many hopeful youth in this studio recording tunes, the writing on the walls is the signatures of the ones which have recorded in the studio.
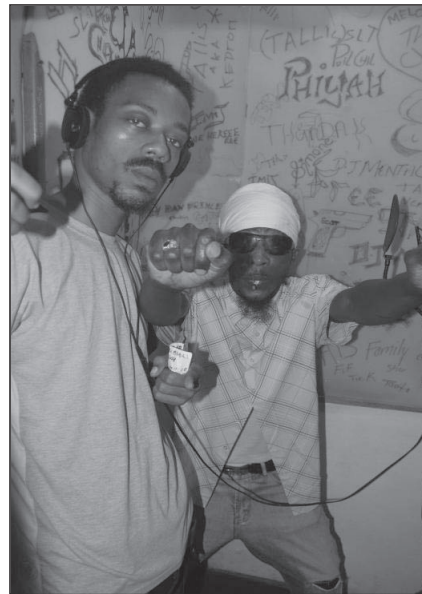
Picture 4.1. The music studio with Al Pancho

Church

I also went to church a couple of times, since religion is a major part of Jamaican culture I thought I maybe would meet youth there as well. Surprisingly there was a lack of youth. There was at both occasion's most elderly woman, and families with small children who attended mass. I did ask if they had special meetings for the youth and thought that would be the reason, but it seemed that youth was not regarded as mass material.

The streets of Port Antonio

Some of the observations are done in relation to street vendors and I joined in a few times to get a feeling of what was going on in the streets. The town of Port Antonio has two main streets that gather most of the people during the moorings, afternoons and in the evenings.

4.2.6 Text analysis

Another of the strategies within qualitative research methodology is text analysis; this can be plain text, photo, film, landscape etc. (Kvale 1997, Pink 2001, Forbes 2000). To find representations through different forms of text, one has to have in mind that also the knowledge one achieve from this is already been constructed. When performing a content analysis of a text, it "involves determining the importance of certain features or characteristics in a text, and then carrying out a search for them in a text" (Forbes 2001:125). This can show how people or places are represented (ibid.).

I have in my thesis chosen to focus on photos taken by the participants to understand their truth of what it means to be youth and to get a peak of their life though their lens. "Images are 'everywhere'. They permeate our academic work, everyday life, conversations and dreams. They are inextricably interwoven with our personal identities, narratives, lifestyles, cultures and societies, as well as with definitions of history, space and truth." (Pink 2001:17). A photo is said to contain more than a thousand words, and this is in some way true, due to the detailed information you get based on the participants view (Rasmussen 1999).

Also I have incorporated some secondary data to have a wider perspective on the context in which youth identity and the places they use are constructed. This I have done through content analysis of newspaper clippings to accumulate the youth context in Jamaica, and also used official policies and papers to understand how youth are perceived by their government. As a taste of the constructed political and social views on Jamaican youth, the data will be presented in chapter 5 as national views on youth.

Photography

I had some disposables cameras with me from Norway that I gave to two participants, one girl and one boy to see the differences in gender. It was not that easy to get the youth to take photos that I had thought present to my arrival in Jamaica. Most Jamaicans don't have their own cameras, and usually goes to a photographer to get their picture taken only on special occasions (almost like a ritual). So the whole idea of taking pictures themselves was pretty odd and not to comfortable to the youth I asked. This is also something I had to take into consideration when I was "reading" the pictures. The two participants who choose to do anyway, were afterwards very happy they did though, and they got all the pictures they had taken developed to keep – something they really liked.

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The participants were in some ways guided by given them instructions in advance of what to photograph and how to actually use the camera. I wished to get some perceptions of what being youth are to them, meaning who in their eyes are youth and what do they do? Therefore I asked them to take some pictures of places where they spent their time. Also I asked them to take photos of things and people that were important to them, since their social networks are of importance to understand their life worlds. Both the individual experience of places and the shape of their societal structures are important to look for when doing research (Rose 1997). I also did a more *in depth interview* with each of the photo story participations to get their stories behind the photos and on topics that need deeper interpretation to the understanding of their life worlds (Dunn 2000).

In this case the participants are co producers of knowledge in deciding which information and knowledge they want to share with me (Buss 1995). The advantage of such a method are that the participants makes independent decisions in most ways of what to actually take photos of and what they want to share with me, depending on their own wishes, and also their beliefs about the topic in question. This is a way of giving voice to the participants. It made me able to participate and understand more about their own perceptions of their environment, how they viewed their spaces, identities and culture in a visual way. But it also important to recognize that this could only be seen and interpreted as parts of the "true reality", only what is made visual through the camera lens by the participant. The knowledge which is produced from these photos will also depend on who is interpreters them and giving them meaning; both the participant who takes them and the researcher who writes about them after words (Pink 2001:24).

The pictures they took I have used to identify the youth places in chapter 6, but also these pictures gave me inside information on which they saw as youth and "normal" youth behavior which I have used in chapter 7 when making narratives of different youth identities. Here I wish to underline that it is I that have chosen which photos to use in this thesis and in this way this cannot be seen as objective. The pictures I choose not to include were merely of their friends and in Romaine's case cars and animals. This is off course also part of their identity, but I chose not to include them in the primary materiel as they were not taken in the youth places I identified in this thesis.

Secondary sources

The official documents regarding youth represent the national view on the social group of youth made constructed by the government. These documents show the perspective on who this group is and how the state relates to them. To use secondary sources may show a different perspective than one as a researcher will get from the participants, and this can be used to contextualize the settings (Forbes 2000).

During my stay in Jamaica I bought the main newspaper, The Jamaican Gleaner, almost every day, and I saved all the articles which had the world 'Youth' or 'Young people' in them. This was to get a glimpse of how this social group is presented to the public and to the youth themselves through the media eyes. Media has power when it comes to shaping public opinion, and through a content analysis of this materiel I find different ways of how youth are presented in the media. I had over 70 articles to begin with, and these are divided in to five different topic categories based on a matrix where I systematically plotted in the topics of each article. I chose to call the topic categories (1) Youth and sport achievements, (2) Youth Education and Development Programs, (3) Youth achieving their Dreams, (4) Dancehall environments impact on Youth behavior and (5) Youth Unemployment, based on number of articles related to different topics.

4.3 Interpreting data, Analysis and the Writing process

"Analysis is a creative, active, making process that can be done more or less carefully and thoroughly, and with more or less accountability and transparency" (Cook and Chang 2007: 132).

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I have moved between the different phases off research many times. In several academic literatures the phases of doing research have seen to me as different stages following each other chronologically. But when I was finished the preparatory phase and stated the main research phase, I had to go back to the main outline of the thesis and do several changes and even rethink my main research objectives at many occasions. This was also the reality when the fieldwork was over and it was time to interpret the raw data I had gathered to generate this thesis. I had to go back and forward in the research process at all times, looking at academic theories, my research objectives and ways of analysing the materiel I had collected. It has been a long process, both with regard to the time and the energy put down in finishing this thesis. It has also been a creative process were location of patterns within the raw material has sometimes been a challenge, to understand

and to interpret the meanings and the underlying cases of the attitudes and behaviour among the participants, but also to do this in relation to the Jamaican context.

After a meeting with one or several participants I would sit down afterwards and write summaries of the conversations I had. In many cases, since it was not directly written down or recorded during the interview, it means that the data was somewhat already interpreted by me before it came down on paper. I would in many cases memorize expressions they used about a specific topic, but what I chose to memorize and not, affects the production of knowledge in this thesis. This has also affect the process of systematically analyse the raw data. In some cases where I had during my fieldwork divided interviews and conversation transcript into different forms of topics it was much easier to get a good overview of the data. In other cases, I had just written down some words on chocolate papers or napkins to remind me of certain conversations. To fill in the blanks afterwards was sometimes not equally systematic or even not very scientific. But during the writing process one often needs to reconfigure the information gathered, and sometimes also "recontextualise different part so as to be able to see new themes and patterns in it" (Crang and Cook 2007:133).

After going through my material several times it was youth identity in relation to the different places which turned up to be significant. Before the writing process started, place, as sense of place, had not been seen as such important factor in the identity building process in my mind. I chose therefore to code and label my raw material in relation to the different places and events in which they were collected. This gave me an indication of which places were right to identify as youth places described in chapter 6. During the fieldwork I focused on several other youth places as well, but the three which I describe were the ones where there were clearly behavioural patterns and activities which the participants in this study described as youthful. Also I used categories such as age, gender, power, activities and leisure to identify the different patterns within the different places. These have been used as analytical tools together with the theoretical framework to (re)interpreted the raw data and to (re)construct my thoughts throughout the writing process.

That the majority of the participants in this study are boys/young men, 2/3 of the youth group, will affect the material which is analysed in this study. To not give a too uneven picture, the material was first divided into the gender of the participant, before selective coding between the genders was used towards the themes and topics which were seen as relevant to the

research questions (Mikkelsen 2005). Especially usage of place and/connected to gender related performance was looked for in the empirical material.

The last part of this study holds several constructed narratives of Jamaican youth 'faces'. "All symbolic interaction, including its countless genres of discourses, ..,could (and should) be read into a larger narrative, constructed by the analyst in order to provide an account of the particular values and logics that are present in the symbolic action of concern" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001:11).The 'faces' are constructed based on behavioural patterns being 'in place' and/or 'out of place'. The performance within and in relation to the identified youth places (see chapter 6) and the representations of youth in national policies and in Jamaican media (see chapter 5) formed the frames for youth identity production process, and works as the body for the constructed identities generated as narratives, the "complex and fleeting construction as human identity – can only exist as a narrative construction" (Brockmeier and Carbaugh 2001:15). The construction of identity narratives can therefore be seen as a way of describing some of the multiple overall identities a person can hold. Brockmeier and Carbaugh also links the human experience of self to the places one uses, "narratives proves to be a supremely appropriate means for the exploration of the self, or more precisely, the construction of selves in cultural context of time and space" (2001:15). The construction of several narratives is done to show the diversity within Jamaican youth identities. The 'faces' in chapter 7 are seen as fluid and can be challenge, modified and/or negotiated. These 'faces' may therefore only be valid at present time.

5. National views on Youth

"Dem nah pull no string

Dem a just block up the train

Dem no cater for the youth dem wi down de lane

When dem done campaign

Dem go fly out pon plane

And dem and dem friend gone drink champagne in Paris and Spain

But Everything remain just the same"

Bounty Killer and Junior Reid

In this chapter I wish to present the contemporary perspectives on youth as a category and as a social group within Jamaica. These perspectives are relevant in that they directly and indirectly affect the youth identity. In society, media and politicians have great power when it comes to forming perceptions of youth, to construct social meanings of what youth are, and what they should be like, their do's and dont's. These actors are "often demonizing events and people and encouraging containment and regulation of those at risk of hurting themselves or others" (Malone 2002:157). The decision-making within public sector both at national and local level concerning the youth as a group, such as within the school system, at the juvenile institutions and at the youth center, makes a framework for how youth are perceived and treated in the present. It will also lay foundations for social meanings that are connected to the youth concept and youthhood within the society. These social meanings will in turn affect both the individually identity and their identity as a group.

The media representation of youth has showed in several studies to focus on youth as a social problem (Valentine 2004), and presents youth as one of the reasons for the instability and problems in society. The label as a social problem does in many ways affect the identity and the actions of the ones in question. Youth can thus choose to adopt, modify, reconstruct, challenge, contest, resist (Panelli 2004) or neglect such a labeling.

Religion stands strong in Jamaica, and the moral conventions in society can be seen as rather conservative. What is seen as morally unacceptable behavior is often easily adopted by its members, and youth should behave according to the standards set by the church. These social

conventions and perspectives from government, media and the church affects the "man in the streets" view on youth, their parenting and their expectations. I do not argue that these institutions control the 'total' perspective and behavior towards and the youth's experience, but they have a lot of power in forming the constructed reality within the society and how this affects the construction of youth identity and who is perceived as 'in place' or 'out of place'.

I have therefore chosen to focus on national official documents, such as The National Youth Policy (2004) made by governmental agencies, to show the officially youth perspective and their visions. I will also present some of the media covering of youth in Jamaica in the period of February-May 2009, in an analysis of on one of the leading national newspaper, The Jamaican Gleaner. At last in this chapter I will present youth perspectives gathered from the interviews and informal conversations I had with people "in the streets" on their views on youth. This includes people from church, shop owners and parents of youth. This chapter is done in relation to sub question three (p. 5) to answer the overall research question of how youth identity is perceived in Jamaica at present.

5.1 Governmental perspectives towards Youth in Jamaica

Youth as a social group in the Jamaican society has in the latest years been included in the governmental plans and policies for the nation as whole, but also have received attentions in own policies and papers. The first National Youth Policy was published in 1994, based on a draft from 1985 and a 1992 paper on youth. There was in 2000 established a National Center for Youth Development (NCYD) to ensure "effective coordination of, and collaboration on youth related programs and research" (NYP 2004:3). The latest youth policy was published in 2004, and is based on collaboration between the Government of Jamaica and stakeholders from the private sector, the Church and several donors. Youth in youth institutions, such as schools, youth clubs/centers, Children's home and juvenile correctional facilities have also been consulted (ibid: appendix I and II).

5.1.1 National Youth Policy
"Jamaican youth realizing their full potential, through access to opportunities, to develop, participate and contribute as responsible citizens, to a peaceful, prosperous and caring society." *The vision of the national youth policy 2004.*

This policy describes the Life Cycle approach, where they divide people into three major dependent phases of Childhood (0-18), Adolescence (10-19) and Youth (15-24). Youth is in this policy described as "Someone between the ages 15-24 who has passed through the

dependent stage of childhood, in the semi-independence of adolescence or will soon acquire the maturity of adulthood" (NPY 2004:8). This perspective is in line with the global model of youth, where age and certain transitions are in focus when youth as an individual or as a social group is categorized.

The policy is focusing on several areas which needs improvement to achieve their vision, and the focal areas are 1) Education and training 2) Employment and Entrepreneurship 3) Health 4) Participation and Empowerment 5) Care and Protection 6) Living Environments (NYP 2004:10). Within each of these areas there are set goals and strategic objectives, for example the goal for the focal area of Education is "All youth completing secondary level education and acquiring the skills to enable them to be prepared for livelihood, self-development and citizenship" and the goal within the Health area is "All young people embrace healthy lifestyles and enjoy optimum physical and mental health "(NYP 2004:25).

The police follow youth as a "social problem" perspective, even though it is stated that one wishes not to do so, but the focus must be at the youth that is at risk to find interventions that are suited for them in particular. Therefore, in the goal descriptions within the six focus areas, the priority groups, being those which are seen as 'at risk' set as indicators on how to succeed. Positive Youth Development is seen as "The process of addressing the broad developmental needs of youth that are linked to cognitive, social, physical, emotional and moral growth. The process through which youths are assisted in building assets and competencies to ease their transition into adulthood." (NPY 2004:8). It is emphasized in the policy that the youth phase is a period for development to function and succeed as adults, as the discourse that sees youth in terms of transitions, age and life stages. This is also in line with Ansell's view on how the development policies on youth today are approaching youth, as becomings which can be a resource in the future (2005). It is said that the NYP uses a rights-based approach towards youth development, and shows this by referring to the treaties and agreements ratified by Jamaican government that puts human rights in focus. Among the rights that are emphasized in the policy is the right to an identity, and the freedom of expression and culture. It is further stated that "Every effort will be made to promote these rights to ensure greater understanding by the populace…" (NYP 2004:22). Also in line with the rights-based approach the NYP are made in collaboration with youth organizations in Jamaica. Youth decision-making is said to be a key to successful positive youth development (NYP 2004).

5.1.2 Other governmental papers

The Jamaican adolescent reproductive health activity was a five year project founded by USAID. The Adolescent Male Survivability in Jamaica report is one of the results of this project (Gayle 2002). Employment, education, substance abuse, crime and violence are seen as the factors which are important in relation to the young male's development. The socialization of boys to prove they are powerful and in charge, may lead them to make irresponsible sexual decisions, get involved in violent activities and attend school poorly. Boys constitute for most of the out of school population and are most likely to join the labor force "bellow the radar", i.e. as hustlers or jugglers (ibid.).

The World Bank has together with national authorities made a document called *Road to Sustained Growth in Jamaica* (2004), and one of their focus areas is youth. They are using what they call the model of the city of Boston, Massachusetts, USA, to meet and reduce youth violence in Jamaica. Here the activity to achieve this is mostly based on the police force, for example the "Cease Fire Operation" where the police are to have gun control and police patrol. Also, there is to be closer dialog and partnership between social workers and police, as well as between police and girls/boys clubs to control and prevent violence. The citizens are also in focus here to better the relationship and confidence towards the police. The focus on youth seems to be mostly negative and their solution is to reinforce the police[23].

The 2009 Human rights report brings up the relationship between the police force and other types of security personnel towards the public, and sees this as a relationship with tensions. There has been reported many incidents of unlawful killings by the police (U.S Department of State 2010), and the solution of using the police as an active force to stop youth violence (World Bank 2004) has in some ways failed, since the police now is a violent contributor.

5.2 Media presentation of Jamaican youth

"The complex relationship between media representations of young people and those same young people's identities and behavior in reaction to such representations which was established throughout the 1960's is one which continues to the present day" (Valentine, Skelton and Chambers 1998: (intro)). Youth is often represented in media as a reason for social problems and instability (Bucholtz 2002). They are often viewed as 'criminals' and

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[23] The Jamaican police recently stormed one of the areas in downtown Kingston, Tivoli Gardens, looking for a 'drug-Don'. During this episode 73 people was killed, mostly young civilian men (Dawn.com 28.05.2010). One of the participants in this study, which I have contact with over mail, claims that this was a step in 'cleaning' up the ghettoes, and that this is part of all the corruption within the governmental institutions (PM mail 2010).

'deviant', the term 'moral panic' can in some ways explain how media plays a role in painting the picture 'black' of the behavioral patterns of youth (Valentine 2004:89). In Jamaica, it is often the Dancehall culture which is seen as the main mediator for the behavior that leads to crime and violence among Jamaican youth (Stewart 2002).

It is important to see these media representations of youth in a social context, which has been more closely presented in chapter 2. Contemporary Jamaica is socially influenced of large youth unemployment, high crime rates and what are seen as low moral standards among youth. But it is also a country in development; with a growing economy in relation to the raising tourist numbers and an international reputation that now are more associated to international sport athletes, than the previous stamp of reggae and marihuana. This gives a more serious view of Jamaica as a country which invests in their population. I will in the next section present some media representation of youth in one of the major national newspaper, The Jamaican Gleaner, from the period of February to May 2009. In addition I will address the widely public debated theme of censorship in media vs. "freedom of speech".

5.2.1 National Newspapers
In Jamaica there is free press, and the national newspapers and most of the TV channels are privately owned. By searching the national newspaper The Jamaican Gleaner for articles containing the words 'Youth' or 'Young People', there were around 70 articles in the period of February to May 2009. There are several topics concerning youth which are brought to the public by the media, which I have divided in five topic categories; (1) youth and sport achievements, (2) youth education and development programs, (3) youth achieving their dreams, (4) youth unemployment and (5) dancehall environments impact on youth behavior.

1. The topics of 'youth and sport achievements' and 'youth achieving their dreams' were merely positive images of the youth, both female and male. Most of these articles presents youth as good examples of what can happen if they stay away from bad behavior. One article example of this is "Champs fever and social skills" from April 9, were the author is writing about the National Youth Championship between schools. He writes about the "top boys' schools" and "the marvelous girls" – "In them we see examples of what our youth can do" (The Gleaner I – April 9 2009). He continuous,

"When children are members of dysfunctional families, live in violence-torn, don-ruled communities, it is at school that they build self-esteem and learn social skills to carry them

through life. Remember, a child with a positive self-concept is more likely to become a productive adult. ... The joy, the pride, is theirs. Even when it is an individual's success, they share in the achievement of their classmate or schoolmate" (The Gleaner I- April 9 2009).

The author sees youth sports as a way of combating the 'negativeness' in the society. The youngsters which participate in these events campaign against violence, but "youngsters who, twisted by the realities of their life and fuelled by world of some DJs, continue to perpetrate this antisocial behavior" (The Gleaner I- April 9 2009). Others are also advocating sports as a way of social change of youth behavior. "Increasingly, local educators are encountering major challenges as it relates to maintaining discipline within the learning environment, and getting their young charges to conform to acceptable standards of behavior" (The Gleaner II – February 14 2009). Several teachers in this article swear to sport as a tool to achieve this, "participation in sports in exchange for good grades and discipline". Other articles present youth which is engage in sport activities, as; "(s)he is a hard worker and a good player; she is always on time for training" – a description of one of the player on 'The sunshine girls' national girls netball team (The Gleaner III – March 8 2009). Another describes a multi tasking girl; "(s)he is a member of the school choir and recently earned a national trophy and gold medal in Jamaican Cultural Development Commission's Festival Arts Competition for a solo piece. At the same time, she continuous to participate competitively in basketball, netball and football" (The Gleaner II – February 14 2009).

2. In the 'Youth achieving their dreams' topics category there are several of articles about youth, who has finished an education as a pilot (The Gleaner IV - April 12 2009), and how youth uses education to get out of a violent neighborhood (The Gleaner V – April 5 2009, VI – March 5 2009 and VII – March 16 2009). The articles are all representing youth of both gender from inner city areas with poor parents who have studied hard and now are free from the violence and murders in their previous neighborhoods. There is much focus in these articles on violence and how youth can break free from this.

3. The third topic category, which is called 'youth education and development programs', does in many follow up on the same path. Most of the 70 articles regarding 'youth' and 'young people' belonged within this category, approx 1/3. Education, youth centers/clubs and youth skills programs are seen as solutions to "Jamaica's problem of criminal violence" and to be involved in "before they are drawn into deviance or caught up by other social problems" (The Gleaner VIII - May 14 2009). These articles focus on different government run and

private initiative youth centers and their accomplishments. How these services have and will help youth in different communities around the island from ending up as criminals, and rather teach them quality of life so they can "contribute to national development" (The Gleaner XI – May 13 2009). One youth (19) who is interviewed about of 'his' youth center facilities, describes the center as "means of social reformation of youths" (The Gleaner XII – May 16 2009). There are several articles describing the positive impacts these programs have for the youth, mostly directed towards males, achieving both educational and social skills which can improve their work opportunities (The Gleaner XII –May 16 2009, The Gleaner XI – May 13 2009, The Gleaner XIII – May 25 2009, The Gleaner XIV – April 17 2009, The Gleaner XV – March 29 2009, The Gleaner XVI – March 25 2009, The Gleaner XVII – May 4 2009 and The Gleaner IX - March 22 2009).

4. The statement "I'd prefer to hold 10 subjects in my hand rather than a gun" (The Gleaner IX – March 22 2009) shows the young man's belief in how education is going to save him from a life in crime. On the other hand, if you don't get an education are you certain to be criminal? Of the 40'000 youth which graduate from high schools every year, 35% takes an higher education, the rest end up with nothing to do – there are no jobs for them (The Gleaner VIII – May 14 2009). Unemployment is a major youth problem and the age group of 14-24 is the largest unemployed group in the society (The Gleaner X – May 24 2009). There are a few articles in this period which focus on the unemployment issues amongst the youth and how to meet this challenge (ibid and The Gleaner XVIII – March 29 2009).

5. The last topic category in this content analysis is the Dancehall environments impact on youth behavior. During this period there was a public debate on this topic, were only one of the articles is positive to the dancehall environment, and this is an interview with a person working in the music industry (The Gleaner XIX – February 9 2009). Mostly the articles during this period are 'blaming' the dancehall environment for the social problems related to negative youth behavior. The music is seen as a powerful tool which influences the lifestyles of youth, "..the music of Kartel and others are marketing violence and irresponsible sexual behavior to our youth" (The Gleaner XX – March 3 2009). A high school principal is saying that "Not only do they imitate sexual behavior, but boys and girls adopt the attitude and violent behavior which these lyrics reflect" (The Gleaner XXI – March 1 2009). The statement of the national known pianist Huntley Brown shows how one believe the dancehall has influenced the youth the 'bad way': "When listen to songs that degrade woman, glorify

drugs, use foul language and encourage violence, sooner or later, the young people will start to imitate what they hear and that's exactly what has happened in Jamaica. There has to be an urgency to fix this or we will lose an entire generation" (The Gleaner XXII – February 8 2009). There are several people who see banning the Dancehall music from broadcasting as the right way to go. In addition, other solutions are suggested; design programs which are to be aired on public transportation (The Gleaner XXIII – March 15 2009), and to "package the gospel in the dancehall language and then watch it transform the lives of the listeners" (The Gleaner XXII – February 8 2009). During a press conference The minister of education and the minister of national security informed that "power would be engaging the franchise holders of the buses to educate the bus drivers on the type of music that is suitable to be aired, as well as songs that are not suitable", and police would be in place to make sure this was followed at the buses (The Gleaner XXI – March 1 2009). The Dancehall music which includes 'lewd lyrics', glorifies guns or killing and/or are sexually suggestive was in the end of February 2009 band from being broadcasted (The Gleaner XXIV – February 28 2009).

I mainly find two opposite main images of youth presented in these articles media; the youth at risk of being a social problem and the youth as a star. This duality in the youth presentation may reinforce the mentality connected to the bad youth and the good youth. The youth as a risk of being a social problem group I base in all the articles in the paper regarding youth related issues connected to violence and crime, unemployment and also the lose moral standards amongst the youth participating at dancehall events. Most of the bad youth perspective is linked with male behavior, and the female youth are seen more as a victim of the bad male youth. The other group image of youth as stars are based on the uprising articles on youth doing well at sports events, getting good grades and helping out in the community - 'the youth as we want them to be' perspective.

The representation of the youth as risk to be a social problem, as 'deviant' or as criminal is presented in most of the cases on youth behavior in relation to the Dancehall environment. Dancehall lyrics are seen as the factor which makes the youth behave in this deviant way. This media representation of youth's behavior in relation to music is not new and is seen several times before different places around the globe. The term 'moral panic' in relation to this kind of youth behavior has been used in much research on youth behavior (Valentine 2004). But also the articles which focus on youth 'as good' tell stories of violence and crime.

It seems that there is a huge focus on the violent behavior and the crimes amongst youth, but during this search of articles I did not find one single article which is written about youth actually doing anything criminal that will back up this argumentation. There is for certain much gang violence in the inner city of Kingston, but I could not find it when using the search words of 'Youth' and 'Young People' – this feels a bit strange. Apparently, this is not an unfamiliar situation. Aitken and Marchant (2003), find that "certain acts of youth violence raise particularly high alarms socially, whereas others are largely unnoticed in public discourse (in Del Casino Jr. 2009: 206). It is often youth violence and gang related crime which falls under the radar (ibid.).

Fear of youth behavior in the rest of the population has in several Western countries lead to juvenile curfew in the evenings to get the youth out of public places. However, there is little evidence that this has any impact on criminal rates or disorder in the streets (Valentine 2004). Often the stereotypes presented in media is more rooted in "the fears and anxieties of adults" than youth actual behavior (Malone 2002:163). In Australia, Malone points out, that these constructions of youth in the media, have given police and security guards legitimacy to remove youth from public places (2002). There are several examples of police brutality against youth in Jamaica, where unfortunately many incidents end up with people being killed.

5.2.2 Censorship in the media

It has been for a while quite a huge debate going on in the Jamaican society concerning the official bans of Dancehall music on Jamaican radio by the broad casting commission. On the national chart of the week shows the Dancehall music is usually not listed or played because of censorship. They are categorized as N.F.F.A; 'Not fit for airplay', since they are not seen as

Figure 5.1 Caricature on the ban of dancehall, By Las May – The Jamaican Gleaner

appropriate for the common living rooms in Jamaica, and are therefore not allowed on government owned radio stations nor the independent ones. But looking on sales numbers, the ban from the radios seems not to have any effect on the popularity or the records sold (Francis-Jackson 2004).
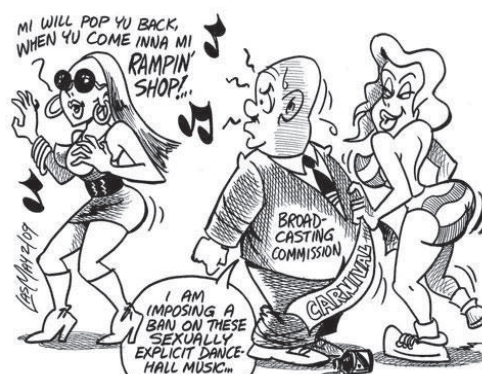
In the 2009 Jamaican Human Rights Report made by the U.S Department of State there is a paragraph on the academic freedom and cultural events, they write:

"There were no government restrictions on academic freedom. With respect to cultural events, the Jamaica Broadcasting Commission (JBC) sought to regulate and limit the dissemination of certain popular music deemed inconsistent with public morality. Despite public protest early in the year, the commission banned certain lyrics deemed inappropriate for broadcast, including dancehall songs referring to the simulation of aggressive or violent sex. The commission also banned editing methods used to expunge lyrics thought unfit for broadcast, which protesters interpreted as an outright attack on dancehall music. The commission stated that its directive was aimed at "all types of musical broadcast output, including soca music and carnival music." (U.S Department of State 2010).

5.3 "Word on the street's"

In this section I only wish to give the reader some insight to what the opinions of youth from 'the street's'. These are public views which the youth live with everyday and are in many ways shaping their identities. The own perception of 'self' is modified by the surrounding people, in terms of how other sees and treats a youth person. The socially constructed identities of how to behave and dress are much made by the humans in the society, and most often by the adult part. Moral attitudes and expectations are often constructed by others than the youth themselves, for instance by parents, teachers, neighbors ect. There are few places in Port Antonio where youth can challenge or contest the current moral standards or the social meaning of being part of the youth group.

When visiting two sites of religious worship in Port Antonio I expected to find several youth. The people I meet could not direct me to any youth within their congregation, because it was a lack of youth members. There are no activities which are directed towards youth since this group is not regarded as mass material (Church March 2009). Youth is apparently not expected to go to church during this phase of their life (ibid.). This is coherent with the youth participants in this study; none of them goes to church, but all I asked are religious (Romaine March 2009, PM March 2009, Marina Group 3 March 2009, Music Group March 2009, Bonnie April 2009). There are religious national youth networks, such as the YFC Jam (Jamaica's Premier Christian Youth Network), but I found none in Port Antonio.

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As mentioned, there is a strong gender divide amongst Jamaicans already from birth. It is very important to dress up the baby in clothes that show which gender the baby has. The girls get their ears pierced from a very early age, and are dressed in nice white, yellow or pink dresses at all times. The boys have pants or shorts with t-shirts, singlet or pullovers (Observation February-April 2009). This identification with their gender also affects how the children are treated (Parent of Youth 1 March 2009). When I met Jamaicans in the streets and had with me my daughter people usually thought she was a boy, since her ears is not pierced and she sat in the trolley only in her diapers. When I told that she was a girl, I, on more than one occasion, got told off how I dressed my baby girl, that it was not right and that it was not good for her to be dressed so, since people will think she is a boy.

This also reflects the picture of the 'always' talking Jamaican; most people have an opinion on how things should be and how people should behave. And no one is afraid to share their opinions with whomever. During my walks around and participating in the community I got involved in many conversations each day. Some of them I took initiative to start and other one just got dragged into. When talking to the locals; the old ones, the parents and those without children, male or female, they all meant something relating to Jamaican youth. There is off course different opinions, which also reflect the diversity that exists within the social group of youth. Most people talk about what a resource youth is, not as future resources, but as resources in the present. How youth help out in their households and that one wouldn't manage without the youth today (Parent of Youth 1 March 2009, Outside shop guys March 2009). Everything is getting so expensive, how is one to survive without having youth in the family? (Parent of Youth 2 March 2009). Mostly everyone is really positive towards youth, and to have several youth within the household are viewed as good for the family. That youth have possibilities to achieve higher education are seen as assets for the household (Parent of Youth 2 March 2009) and for the community (Outside shop guys March 2009).

Some are also complaining about the youth. The girls use all their time with boys, instead of studying. Or that they listen to music that is no good for them. A mother of two teenage boys were complaining about her boys went to parties a lot (Parent of Youth 1 March 2009). Criminality is a topic which arises on several occasions, talking about the gangs in Kingston, but none of the 'outsider' participants have experience any youth crimes in their neighborhood. One of the participants had during his own youthhood been in a criminal environment (Parent of Youth 2 March 2009), but didn't see the same tendency among his

daughters friends. Rick was the only youth participant which has had any trouble with the law (Rick March 2009). He has spent several years at a juvenile institution, after getting out he got a job and is now sure that he will live on the right side of the law (ibid.). The police in Port Antonio are always more visible in the town picture when the tourist busses arrives, there is poverty also in Port Antonio, and the tourist are the ones which are most often exposed to crimes such as theft. None of the participants talked of any murders, killings or serious crimes in this town, when mentioned it was in Kingston, Spanish Town or 'Mobay' (Parent of Youth 1 March 2009, Parent of Youth 2 March 2009, Outside shop guys March 2009, Observation February-April 2009).

6. Youth Places in Port Antonio, Jamaica

I see youth identity closely connected to the places youth use. The usage of public places is an expression of young people's cultural representation, and therefore a platform to identify the perceived identity of Jamaican youth. In each of these identified places there is a form of collective identity among the youth, and this group feeling bond them together not only depended of their age, but embedded in that they chose to use the same place and the culture that comes along with it. I will in this chapter therefore present and describe the youth places and the identity performance in these places, to answer sub question one and two (p. 5).

The identified places are regarded by the locals, the youth themselves and also the authorities as youth places; in the way that they are places mainly occupied by youth, either constructed by themselves or by others. There are in most of the places also other social groups, such as Western tourists, Jamaican children and sometimes Jamaican adults, but youth feel that these places are places they can be youth and don't have to answer to no one. The identified places are called; the Dancehall place, the Youth Centre place and the Marina place. Youth do participate in other social spaces as well, such as at school, at home and at work, but the places presented are seen as more "pure" youth places. It is places where youth experience that there is less adult control and surveillance of how they use the place and their time. The youth feel that they are controlling and creating on their own terms, in which they can negotiate and develop their own sense of self and identity in relation to others in their own social group.

It was different perspectives on this from the participants, so my job has been to sort them, interpret how they understand the same elements and try to identify patterns (Kvale 1997). The Portland Youth Information Centre (PYIC), which is called the youth centre place, is a constructed place for youth by the authorities. I will describe the ideal youth which is presented to the youth in this place. This motivates and drives some youth, but others feel like they are excluded and that the services provided in the youth centre place are not available for them since they do not fit the ideal youth image. The youth which use the youth centre at a daily basis, give the youth centre credit for empowering them to reach their goals. The marina place is a publicly constructed location made to lour tourist, which the youth have contested. This location is remade into a youth place where youth interact and do multiple social activities. The last youth place which is identified and will be described is the Dancehall place

and its different elements, especially how this place affects gender roles. This part of youth culture is in many ways condemned by national authorities, but also glorified by others. The insider/outsider identity in relation to this place is visible and the sense of belonging to this place strong amongst the participants in this place. The attitudes and behaviour patterns which are seen as so unique for this place, and perceived as immoral by some outsiders, can it also be seen as a reflection of the attitudes of the wider society?

6.1 Youth Center Place

6.1.1 The Portland Youth Information Center

The PYIC in Port Antonio is run on governmental funds. It is a project of the NCYD and has been open since 2007. It is situated in a huge and very good looking old white woodhouse building. There are 3 different entrances, one for the youth centre (PYIC) on ground level with a wheelchair entrance, and a door that leads up the stairs to the 1st floor where the Claudia Williams[24] foundation has their youth office. In the end of the building there is an art gallery/shop where youth work, making signs for business in the area (including dancehall events and 'special price on meat' for the shop owner in town). They also make their own paintings, which are put on display in the gallery and are for sale. There are usually lots of bikes parked outside the building, and it is a big old tree in the foreground. Underneath this tree there is always a group of youth hanging about.

Inside the youth centre there are two main rooms, one computer room with 12 PC's and a "living room" with books, magazines, TV and sofas. It is always crowed and noisy in the computer room, students are waiting on chairs put in a row on their half hour on the computer to do their homework or just search the web for games and pictures of their favorite artists. It's most busy when school is finished for the day. The opening hours are from morning until late afternoon, and some of the classes provided are held in the evenings (PM February 2009). The youth center offers different services to meet the needs of youth. They have a counselling service where they give youth information on exchange programs, national and international scholarship, and advice in regard of education, training and career development. The center also arranges empowerment sessions and they have a small business entrepreneurship program to motivate youth to start their own business, and be future recourses for the community and their country (ibid.). According to the NYP these types of classes are one of

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[24] Claudia Williams are known in Jamaica to be the first officially victim which died of aids. The foundation is made in her memory.

the government's main solutions to the youth problems in Jamaica, to empower youth by giving them opportunities to start something on their own (NYP 2004). The empowerment sessions are held at a weekly basis due to the popularity among the youth (PM February 2009). Unfortunately I did not meet anyone that had attended these classes. Posters and notes with quotes from the NYP to motivate youth to attend these sessions, and to work hard is posted all around the walls inside.

In addition, there are also attitudes campaigns towards anti-drug use, HIV and health related issues focusing on sexual behavior, which also are priority areas at the youth center (ibid.). Posters and flyers are both outside and inside the center with slogans such as "Drugs Destroys Destiny" and "Sometime naughty, sometimes nice, always sexy, always wise" (see also picture 6.1.3). Most of these posters are very direct and look youth friendly. The focus is to distributing knowledge of sexual diseases and how to prevent contamination among youth. There are some information meetings at the center in addition to the posters on the walls, but most of the teaching in regard of sexual relations is done at schools (PM February 2009). It is not 'allowed' to have presentations for school children under the age of 15 about sexual relations, but the workers at the youth center wishes to teach also younger students about contraception. The goal is to lower the age of attention to 12 years, because of early debut in sexual relations among youth (PM March 2009).

The voluntary youth workers at the centre are called Youth empowerment officers, and there is also a leader at work (paid) at all times. Most of these volunteers are youth themselves. There are records of everyone which uses the services offered at centre. The first time one visits one has to fill out a form of personal information, and later one has to fill out another form describing which service is used. In this way the youth center has control on the age group and gender using the centre, which services that are most popular, and how these related to age, gender and so on (PM February 2009).

6.1.2 The Youth Center as a youth place

To define the youth center as a place which holds more than the actual location, as a youth place, the youth center has to have meaning, a sense of identity belonging within the youth group or daily social activities which is specific for the place (Panelli 2004). The youth center is a place which is established and constructed *by others* then the youth group, but it is established *for the youth*. In this the Youth center is constructed as a place with meaning towards the social group of youth.

The National Center for Youth Development vision statement is placed at the big wall over the sitting area: "*An independent, dynamic, youth centric organization, fulfilling the needs of Jamaican youths, empowering them to attain their maximum poetical, where love for selves, country and fellow men is customary, thus creating a solid foundation for the country future*". *(Observations of the youth center place, from field journal Feb' 2009).*

When seeing place also as local, the social daily interactions and activities sets the boundaries for the notion of that specific place (Panelli 2004). Most of the youth who use the centre goes here every school day. To use the youth center is part of their daily routines. They use their day first at school, then goes to the youth center or library before they leave for home[25] (Youth Center Group February 2009). There are several reasons for using the youth center. Mostly it is the availability of computers and the internet connection that triggers the interest; to do homework, information searches, apply for higher education or work and also to use the computers to play computer games or read about their favorite celebrities. None of the participants has computers at home. It is also more comfortable to do homework at the youth center, and at the youth center there are other friends to ask if one need help (ibid.). In addition, and likewise important, there is no one who asks you to do other things, like at home[26] (Youth Center Group March 2009). It is then the possibility of enhanced knowledge, getting supportive advices and to have activities with friends after school without adult control, which gives the youth center as a place social meaning for the users of the center, and also set the boundaries for the notion of the youth center as a youth place.

Amongst the youth at the center there is a united experience of getting personal support and advice regarding their lives (Youth Center Group February 2009), which in many cases seem to empower the youth to try their best. The youth center place acts as a platform for youth identity development by providing the tools to modify/ (re)construct/ affect the youth life and their future opportunities. In this way the social activities and actions at the youth center place have strong impacts in the social construction of youth identity.

By using the different services at the youth center, the youth has possibilities to indirectly affect the youth center as a youth place. The empowerment sessions for instance were offered

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[25] Several of the youth I meet in the center lived outside of the center of Port Antonio, and had to take transportation to get home to their village.

[26] Valentine sees home as a space where adults have power hegemony, and it is often "constituted though a complex range of familial rules and regulations" (2004).

at a regularly basis because of the popularity amongst the youth (PM February 2009). As a constructed public place for youth, the boundaries in terms of who is in place and out of place are much based on belonging within the social group of youth. The notion of who is youth follows the national guidelines towards youth development, and the services provided in the youth center place are directed in line with the NYP priority areas. In theory this means that all youth are welcome in the youth center place. The users of the youth center are mostly youth within the age group, 15-24, which UN sees as youth (figure 3.1), but especially young students between the ages of 12 to 18 use the youth center regularly (PM February 2009). It is not gender related to use the youth center, and both genders are equally represented in this place. Amongst the youth who don't use the youth center there is a strong sense of 'out of place'. They feel as outsiders who don't fit the socially acceptable youth identity and therefore are not 'wanted' inside (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009 and Marina Group 3 March 2009).

I have identified the youth center as a youth place based on the center's function as a socially constructed youth place, and that the activities provided at the youth center are directed specific towards the social group of youth. There is also formed a group identity of the youth center users, based on the collective use of the center and the social meaning the center has for youth.

6.1.3 Youth behavior in the Youth Center Place

It is always very loud at the youth center. In the computer room where the youth do their homework there is always so much talking and shouting. During the first observation session at the youth center – I thought that they all were just fooling around because of all the noise (Field Journal February 2009). They are so used to it, that when I had trouble concentrating because I'm used to work when it is quiet around me, the youth at the center did their homework and wrote essays in no time in this "noisy" atmosphere.

The behavioral patterns in the youth center are thus largely based on an acceptable ideal youth image. The youth participants at the youth center are eager to talk about topics like school and future careers, but when it came to social relationships their lips are sealed. The behavior rules posted around on the walls of the youth center have an effect on their behavior when youth are in the youth center place. It seems like the youth center place has more effect on the young people's behavior than the youth's identities have effect on the youth center place.

Empowered youth

The youth at the youth center take their education very seriously, and want to be top students. The desire to go to university, so one could get a good job in the future is strong. Most of the parents have no job or a low paid one, and they work hard to afford sending youth to school. The youth wishes therefore to achieve their maximum, so one day they can buy all they dream of, but also take care of their families (Youth Center Group March 2009). The identity is in this way affected by own expectations and the ones made by their parents. In the youth center place this part of their identity, as good students and future resources for their family and the nation, is supported. To be active and hard working is seen as good behavior and is most likely to be rewarding. These notions of youth identity set boundaries of wanted behavior within the youth center place, and are build upon by the political constructed acceptable youth behavioral frames set in the guidelines of the NYP (2004). To help and advice youth educational wise and inform about health issues such as Aids/HIV and how to avoid being pregnant, the youth center empower youth to take responsible decisions which will affect their present and future life situation.

The lack of work opportunities in Jamaica at the time being affects the possibilities within the country, and most of the youth are dreaming of moving from Jamaica in the future (Youth Center Group March 2009). A study from the University of the West Indies shows that 90 % of their graduates get a job, but over half of them accept jobs which they are overqualified for (The Gleaner XXVI April 19 2009).

One cannot expect to have a good life if one stays in Jamaica (Youth Center Group February 2009). To earn money on starting own enterprises in Jamaica is impossible, pointing to all they know who had businesses and hardly made it; referring to people selling fruits or other commonalities' on the streets. USA and England are the dream locations. Several youth have relatives in London and New York, and there it is possible to make a good life (ibid.). To have an identity as one with a good life, one has a big house, new car, lots of clothes, new mobile telephone, lots of hair 'things' (like wigs, hair extensions and clips) and gold jewelry (Youth Center Group March 2009). This is how everyone lives outside Jamaica; it is on show every day at the TV. Also sometimes their families or neighbours receive money or groceries from overseas relatives, so it is definitively better to live there. If one gets a job in a big company in Jamaica one can stay, but there is not enough jobs for everyone (Youth Center Group February 2009).

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The youth identity in the youth center place thus follows the discourse of the responsible and empowered youth. The services provided in the youth center place give the users of the place social capital in form of confident in selves and dreams of a better life, and empower the youth in place through advice and constructed behavioral patterns which lead them on the 'right' path. It is in other countries evaluated that the presence of youth centers in communities reduces the violence among youth, use of illegal drugs, drop out of school and unemployment. Students who participate in youth centers also achieve higher grads than before (N. Andrew Peterson and Donna Val Alst 2011). A World Bank study of urban poverty and violence in Jamaica shows that availability of youth centers are what the youth majority wants for their "dream community" (Moser and Holland 1997).

### 6.1.4 Youth behavior outside the Youth Center Place

The sense of not belonging to the youth center amongst the youth at the outside and other youth that didn't use the center at all was dominant. It is a feeling of being excluded and 'out of place' in the constructed youth place, and which youth who are 'allowed' and in place. The outsider youth gave the 'insider' youth a collective group identity based on their attendance at the youth center, it is a 'us' and 'them' setting. The insider youth are seen as the 'ideal' youth, the one who do well in school, don't go to dancehall parties and stay away from all trouble. Some are envious at them, but others think that they just are boring (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009 and Marina Group 3 March 2009).

There are certain transitions and\or behavioral patterns which these youth inhabit, which make them feel 'out of place'. If they already had a job, didn't go to school or if they are smoking marihuana they think that they are not suitable to use the youth center. They do not fit the constructed acceptable youth identity within the youth center place (ibid.). This can be seen in relation to all the posters which are put up inside and outside the youth center. Most of the posters have rules, slogans and quotes on 'good' behavior among youth, and can easily be misinterpreted. With messages of "We want our youth to be like this… and not like this" - "It's bad to do this, but good to do this". The 'outsider' youth say that the youth center wants to change youth behavior that they see as not acceptable (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009). It is not perceived as only educational, but also very judgmental of their life style. The government shapes the feelings connected to sense of belonging to the youth center place, in this also the sense of selves. In this way the youth center acts for the outsiders as a place with a culture which only accepts the good guys. Some of the young men who sat under

the tree outside the youth center most days, compared the youth center to the church, they didn't feel accepted there either (ibid.).

These attitudinal campaigns are meant in the best interest of youth in Port Antonio and surroundings (PM March 2009), but instead of inviting all the youth to a better future, several of the youth outside the youth center felt "out of place" in a place that are meant to be a center for youth –a place for all Jamaican youth (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009). In this way the youth center place somewhat stigmatizes a large part of the social group of youth. This can be seen in relation to the boundaries for defining youth which often "are boundaries of exclusion which define what young people are not, cannot do or cannot be" (Valentine, Skelton and Chambers, 1998: intro). The youth who is viewed as troublesome or at risk by the global model of youth perspective, feel in this case, as outsiders since they not fit the ideal youth identity (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009 and Marina Group 3 March 2009). This is thus not what the youth center is trying to achieve. The voluntary empowerment officer said they really want to reach out to a larger amount of the youth in Port Antonio, but had jet to figure out how. They are bound by guidelines from the authorities and their stakeholders, and wish to reach the youth who feel outside as well, many of the services provided at the youth center are directed towards their needs (PM March 2009).

Pictures from the Youth Center Place
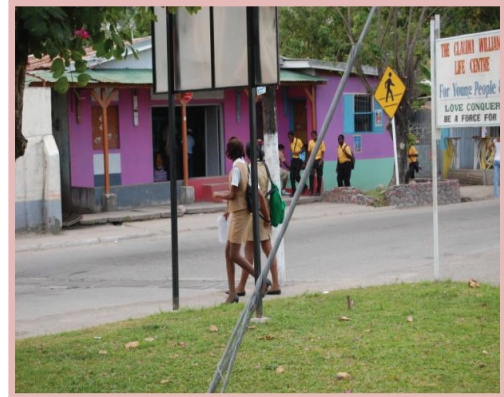
Picture 6.1.1 and 6.1.2: Photo taken by one of the participants in this study of the Youth center.
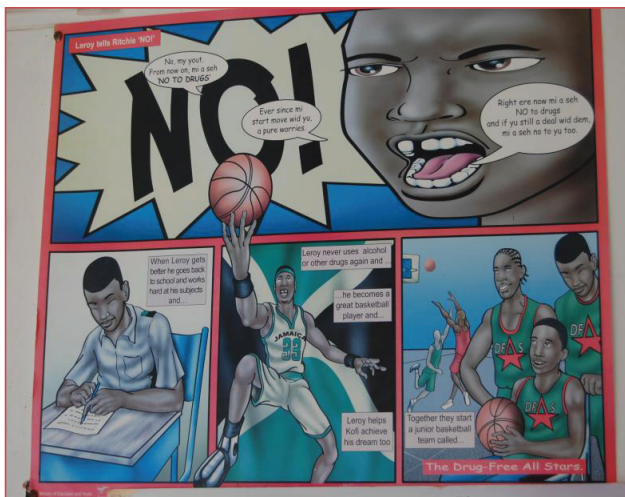
Picture 6.1.3: Say no to drugs poster outside the Youth center

Frame 1: Leroy tells Ritchie 'NO!'
No, my yout. From now on, mi a she 'NO TO DRUGS' – Ever since mi start move wid yu, a pure worries. – Right ere now mi a she NO to drogs and if yu still a deal wid dem, mi a she no to yu too.

Frame 2: When Leroy gets better he goes back to school and works hard at his subjects and…

Frame 3: Leroy never uses alchol or other drugs again and… - .. he becomes a great basketball player and… - Leroy helps Kofi achieve his dream too

Frame 4: Together they start a junior basketball team called…
The Drug-Free All Stars.

Pitcture 6.1.4:The Youth information corner at the Youth Center

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6.2 The Marina Place

6.2.1 The Errol Flynn Marina

The Marina in Port Antonio used to be the hang out spot for all the locals. But as the closest spot to Cuba and the northern Caribbean crossroads to the Bahamas, it was decided to renovate the Marina, "a massive multimillion-dollar redevelopment project" (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007:174), with prospect of luring yacht tourist to the area. In 2002 the "new" marina at the west harbours side (see Map 2 p. ix) named Errol Flynn Marina was opened by the Prime Minister at the time. It has several areas which are reserved for the tourist included the beach area,

"..the elegant, state-of-art marina features landscaped gardens, a pool and a few facilities in pastel coloured wooden buildings, included a well-stocked chandlery, washrooms, it own police station and a Devon House ice-cream parlour. Controversially, though, the entire development is now secured behind enormous gates, with security guards vetting all corners. Certainly the atmosphere is refreshing after the bustle of the town, but you can't help feeling the ghettoized exclusivity may only serve to reinforce old Jamaican divisions" (Thomas, Coates and Vaitlingam 2007:174-175).

The promenade area is still in use by the locals, and especially the youth. It has developed to be a youth hang out spot, a hideout in town where the youth use this place as a meeting point for school work, sports activities, meeting their sweethearts and also to smoke ganja[27] together. It's a long stretch with a pavement road, green lawns on the sides and numerous of small white wooden pavilions with benches. It's closed for traffic, and is fenced in like a park. The main gates closes around midnight, but there are several entrances in the fences made by locals which are well used. The environment here is idyllic, with the view of the Caribbean Sea, Navy Island and trees flowering in all colours surrounding the area. When the dark comes the area is lead up by streetlights.

When the marina was finished in 2002, it was clear that it was going to be a tourist spot in town. It's close to the marked (where locals sell souvenirs, clothes and shoes every day, and in weekends also fresh food and vegetables), the tourist marina police station, the best Jamaican ice-cream shop (I-scream, which is located next to the most popular tourists attractions in Kingston as well) and at the tip of the marina is built a huge gate. Behind this gate you will find a complex build only for the cruise and yacht tourist, which includes among others an expensive restaurant, a swimming pool and the local beach. The locals used to use

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[27] Ganja is marihuana. It is not legal to smoke this in Jamaica, even though many outside believe so. The police don't normally arrest Jamaicans in the street which smokes, but on occasions the strike hard down upon it.

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this beach, but are now officially banned from the premises. It's no longer public, and only the tourist may enter as they please, and the only time you will meet a local passed the gate is if he/she is accompanied with a tourist/s, or if fishing in the end of the beach after climbing down the hilltop from the Titchfield peninsula.

6.2.2 Marina as a youth place

Valentine, Skelton and Chambers point out that there are a number of geographical studies which have shown "young people's ability to subvert and resist the production of public space in late capitalism" (intro: 1998), which also seem to somewhat be the case in this location. The Marina Park was reproduced as a place merely for tourists, but youth have managed to make this their own place to hang out. This can be seen as a conscious or non-conscious action in resistance to adult power (Valentine et al 1998). The youth seeks social places where they feel the freedom to explore and develop their own identities.

"For many young people, the street is the stage for performance, where they construct their social identity in relation to their peers and other members in society. Many of the identities young people adopt within the public domain are contradictory and oppositional to the dominant culture (messy, dirty, loud, smoking, sexual); others have an easy fit (clean, neat, polite, in school uniform)" (Malone 2002:163).

The marina is a youth place where the youth identity can develop in relation to others in their same social group by comparing and adopting values, attitudes and behaviour patterns. It is a site for construction of youth identities and youth culture. In this way the marina place is given meaning and a sense of belonging by the youth who use it. Several of the photos taken by the participants in the marina place are of their friends; other youth who they feel connected to and identified with because of mutual interest, age and use of the same place to do common activities/actions (Samantha April 2009).

The historical context of adult-youth conflict over youth behaviour in public spaces, where standards of morality and social values has been one of the major topics is often discussed in academic literature and the public debate in Western societies. Previous research on youth's usage of public spaces and places has focused much on the disordering youth, the negative attitudes towards youth's use of public space and adult surveillance in fear of the "dangers" in public places (Holloway and Valentine 2000). It reflects the youth's need for spaces free from adult surveillance and the adult's needs for regulating public behaviour through conducted

rules (Valentine et al. 1998). In the Marina there is by the Port Authority placed a hugh sign when entering the area which describes what is not allowed within the premises of the Errol Flynn Marina (see picture 6.2.4). It is not written that this is directed towards youth, but when reading them one sees that several of these rules are. It is not allowed to play any form of games, no skating, no graffiti and no disorder or excessively conduct. This is a way of adult control in public areas (Valentine 2004). But this is the only visible sign of adult power regulations within the marina place. There is no obvious conflict between youth and adults, or between youth and the local police at the marina. Both the adults and the youth have none negative attitudes towards the youth's usage of the marina place (Marina Group 1 February 2009, Marina Group 3 March 2009, Samantha April 2009, Romaine February 2009, Bonnie April 2009, Outside shop guys March 2009). There is rather a unanimous resentment towards the beach restrictions in the marina, outside the youth place (ibid.).

Youth as a social group is frequently marginalized in the wider society, maybe girls more than boys, and there is often a lack of public allocated places for youth to socialise on their own terms. The practice shown in Western societies is that most public spaces are transformed into private spaces, which leaves youth no place 'to hang' (Valentine 2004). The marina place is seen as a free place for leisure, a place to hang out and just 'be' youth (Marina Group 1 and 3 February 2009). There is no commercial leisure space for youth in town, and few places which have this meaning for youth, therefore the importance of the marina place increases. For many the marina place is the only place they have to be free of adult interference and to meet with their friends (Romaine February 2009, Marina Group 2 March 2009, Samantha April 2009, Bonnie April 2009, Marina Group 3 February 2009), which are the major reasons for participating in this place. Lieberg indicates that unlike adults, youth seldom have "access to 'backstage space'" and lack often the power to take control over places (in Matthews, Limb and Taylor 2000:71).

There are several youth groups who use the marina place, and they have different domains within the area. The students, both boys and girls, are from the surrounding high schools in the age group of 12-17 (Marina Group 1 February 2009). They use the benches and pavilions on the left side of the ice cream shop. The sun is usually strong at day time after school and the pavilions gives shadow for the first to arrive. Also the public library is located in this area (although fenced in/out from the marina stretch), which the youth pass to and from "hanging" in the marina stretch (Observations in the Marina place February-April 2009). The youth who

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most often practised sport and playful leisure activities on the pavement on the right hand side of the ice cream shop are young males from 12- app. 20, and sometimes also their younger siblings. Most are from the small fishing village in town (Marina Group 2 March 2009), but also other local youth that don't attend high school use this area for unstructured leisure activities. At last I identified an older youth group, 18-25 (Marina Group 3 February and March 2009), who consisted of young unemployed males who use the marina place as a hang out spot for socializing and smoking ganja during the day. They use the area closest to the river. There is a pavilion and also some benches, but for the most they are hanging on the bridge into the marina area (Observations in the Marina place February-April 2009). There is a tendency of more males than females in this place, which is seen as connected to the differences in home shores between the genders. Most the girls have to leave for home to do their home shores after their time in the marina park or at the youth centre, while the boys already had done their home shores or have shores which are done in the evenings (Marina Group 1 February 2009, Romaine February 2009, Samantha April 2009, Youth Centre Group February 2009). The older youth did not mention to have much home shores, but was responsible to bring some money into the household (Marina Group 3 March 2009).

The marina place in Port Antonio is identified as youth place based on the social value and meaning it has for the youth as a location, where daily activities and social interaction takes place on their premises, and their growing need for independence are fulfilled. It is identified by the participants as a safe place (Marina Group 3 March 2009), where one can contest some of the expected behaviour rules in the society (Marina Group 1 February 2009). It provides a context where youth identity development can exceed and move the boundaries which are active in the society;

> *"..where social conventions can be contested and independence asserted. In this sense, 'streets*[28]*'are places where adultist conventions (constrains) and moralities about what it is to be a child, that is, less-than-adult, can be put aside. The result is that for a number of young people 'streets' become spaces between cultures, sites that are temporarily outside of (adult) society. From this perspective 'streets' are fluid domains"* (Matthews, Limb and Taylor 2000:69).

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[28] Used as a term "for all public outdoor places" (Matthews, Limb and Taylor 2000:63).

6.2.3 Youth behaviour in the Marina Place

The participants describe this place as a free ground, since it is mostly just tourists that use the marina other than them, and they are seen as more liberal. It is a place where one can kiss your boyfriend without your parents hearing about it (Marina Group 1 February 2009). When passing two young lovers on a bench during day time they releases their handgrip and quickly turn around, then they see a white woman with a baby, and they turn around and go back to the flirting (Observation marina place February 2009). This is not acceptable behaviour any other place in town. So they are still on the alert, not completely safe, but on the other hand they don't have any other place in everyday life to be together in this way (Marina Group 1 February 2009, Romaine February 2009 and Samantha April 2009).

There are different reasons among the youth for using the marina place, but it the main reason is to be with their peers. Romaine who is a young boy most of the time has to help support his family. He works for his older brother selling shows[29] in the main streets in town. He works three days a week for about 5-6 hours a day and sometimes more or less. Since his younger sisters do the house shores after school, he has a lot of free time when he is done working. Complains about this – think life in his hometown is boring. He watches a lot of shows at home, and also sometimes take care of his nephew, but as I wrote in my field notes:

"*Sometimes when I talk to Romaine about his doings, I wonder if he do much else than watch movies at home? Then he interrupts my thoughts and tells me about his babysitting skills. He says that he often takes care of his sister's son when she needs to do something else. I was glad to hear this, but when I asked him what they do together, he replies smiling – we watch movies*!"

The marina place functions for him as a leisure spot, free from the 'shows' and family responsibilities. It is a place where he can meet up with his peers, and just hang out (Romaine March 2009).

The different groups of youth are easy to distinctive from each other in the way they dress and behave (Observations in the marina place February-April 2009). Most of the youth on the left side of the marina are students and all have their school uniforms on. The group identity is reinforced by the equality in their clothing and the sense of being in place is associated with

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[29] Shows are movies, plays or series that are burned on DVDs, which they buy from people with access to internet and a DVD burner. In most countries this activity are illegal, since the content on the DVDs are copyrighted, but in Jamaica I witness this type of livelihood everywhere

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their peers in place. The girls put on some makeup when they arrive, like lip gloss, to mark the shift in place from school to marina (ibid.). In school they are not allowed to wear makeup, so away from adult surveillance, they can 'play on' their femininity (Marina Group 1 February 2009). The girls mainly hang in large groups, doing school work, laughing or just observing some other groups of students. Some have boyfriends and are holding hands walking down the promenade, sitting on benches or under a tree flirting and kissing. The youngest boys are louder, running around, eating sweets and playing with each other. The older boys are sitting in groups, watching and commenting the girls who walk by (Observations in marina place February-April 2009).

When the youth is in this environment, it also affects their attitudes towards what it allowed to discuss. The conversations about relationships with the other sex is in this place very open (Marina Group 1 February 2009, Samantha April 2009, Bonnie April 2009, Romaine February-April 2009), while in the youth center none of the participants would talk much about the topic, and said they didn't have any relationships in that way (Youth Center Group March 2009). But in the marina place, there are different boundaries, and the youth shared more information of this part of their life. The interest in and thoughts about the other gender and their relationship is a popular and exciting topic. It is quite acceptable to have several partners, as long as you don't fall in love with more than your boyfriend/girlfriend (Maria Group 1 February 2009 – also confirmed by Outside Youth Center Group February 2009). This is 'allowed' at settings like parties, it can be at home alone parties or public parties like a Dancehall event or another local hold arrangement. It is allowed for both genders to fool around. If there is no love in the picture, both the girls and the boys accept it and will not dump his/her boy/girlfriend if it happens (ibid.). More guys do it because it is more pride for them to have messed around (Outside Youth Center Group February 2009). The reason for this behavior is that if they want to get married with their girl/boyfriend and have children, they are too young to do this now. So it is best to have fun with others now, so the relationship would not be boring or one went around with too many fantasies about other girls/boys. It made their relationship with their partner stronger and they love each other more (Marina Group 1 February 2009, Samantha April 2009, Romaine February-April 2009).

Even though the marina place is also seen as a tourist spot, the youth don't 'like' the tourist being in 'their' place very much (Marina Group 3 March 2009). When the tourist buses arrived the youth would make fun of them to each other (Marina Group 1 February 2009).

One of the photographs which is taken in the marina place show a group of tourist who have passed the fences between the marina stretch and the public library (see picture 6.2.3). The youth go here all the time, but it is not normal for the tourist to do so, it is almost looked at as an trespassing and that the tourists did something wrong, and the participant is laughing at the picture when we look at the pictures she has taken (Samantha April 2009). The insider/outsider identity are shown in this case, that Jamaican youth, either of the groups who use the place are seen as insiders, but tourists, who the marina is reconstructed to lure, are seen as outsiders when they pass the invisible border, made by youth, between tourist area and youth area within the marina place. The tourists does not belong in place, and there is a clear distinction between 'them' and 'us' in this setting. The identification with the other youth is the one of self, while towards the tourists there is anihilation and what self is not.

Next to the ice-cream shop, on the right side, there is a long stretch of pavement which youth use to compete in running or play cricket (Observation in marina place February-April 2009). The rules within the marina area are not to play any forms of games, but there is no one who tells them to stop. There never has been, so they see no reason in following the rules which are put up (Marina Group 2 March 2009). These youth are mostly local from the "fishing-village"[30] in town, but also other local youth play along. Most of these youth are poor, and they dress in clothes which are filthy and several are playing barefoot. They are not in contact with the students, who just pass by towards 'their' area without talking to them (Observations in the marina place February–April 2009). To go to the marina after finishing their duties at home is the best part of the day (Marina group 2 March 2009). Running is a favourite leisure among the young boys on this strip. They are shouting "the lightning is coming" and referring to Usain Bolt, their all time favourite runner. To be a super star like him is a dream several of the boys have. He is able to give his family whatever they want, and he can do whatever he wants to all the time (ibid.). The symbol of freedom which Usain Bolt represents is a dream which can come through. They know it is hard work behind his success, but it is achievable.

Several of unemployed youth use this place as a hang out spot during the day. It is several specific hide outs for young men, and they will sit (or sleep) there for an hour or two every day smoking ganja, discuss daily events and also politics together (Observations marina place

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[30] This "village" is where the local fishermen lives with their families. It's a poor neighborhood, their housing fatalities are made of old materials and it is hidden behind a small "forest" close to the sea, and there are fences surrounding the area. One has to take the seaway or climb through some holes in the fence to access this area. These fences is not put up by themselves and their housing is has become somewhat separated from the rest of Port Antonio.

February-April 2009). Most of these youth have lack of confidence towards the government, and viewed that 'troubled' youth such as them is perceived as a lost cause in the politician's eyes. Nobody cares to help them get a job, and there is nothing to do. According to them, all national politicians are corrupt and there will always be a divide between 'them rich people and us' (Marina Group 3 March 2009). The majority of Jamaicans seems to believe all the 'rumours' of official corruption (U.S department of State 2009). And there is a unanimous trust issue towards the Jamaican officials amongst youth (Marina Group 3 March 2009, Music Group March 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). Some even mean that it was better living conditions before their independence in 1962, that British rule was less corrupt and the Jamaican population had more work opportunities than in the present (Music group March 2009). The lack of work opportunities are also the main worry amongst the older boys in the marina place, how are they going to support their families? Sometimes criminal behaviour is the only solution (Marina Group 3 March 2009).

Even though some of the youth's behaviour described in this youth place contests the socially constructed acceptable behaviour, the youth's 'ownership' of the marina area is not viewed in a negative light by other members in the community (Outside shop guys March 2009). In contrast to Western societies contemporary regulations of public places "based on fear, suspicion, tension and conflict between social groups" (Malone 2002:161), it seems that the public places of Port Antonio are regulated through local processes which accepts and acknowledge youth's need for individual space.

Pictures from the Marina Place

Figure 6.2.1 Female students

Figure 6.2.2. Group in the pavillions

Figure 6.2.3. Tourist on the 'wrong side'?

Figure 6.2.5. The forbidden beach

Welcome to Errol Flynn Marina.
These facilities are available for your enjoyment,
but please observe the following rules

- No destruction, defacement or removal of property
- No graffiti, posters or flyers
- No littering
- No vending
- No skating
- No bicycle riding
- No unauthorised parking on the access road
- No playing of games
- No disorderly or excessively noisy conduct

The management reserves the right to deny entry
or eject anyone who does not observe these rules.

The Port Authority

Figure 6.2.4. Rules of the marina

6.3 The Dancehall Place

6.3.1 Dancehall history and culture

Dancehall is not easily explained. As a culture it consist of several elements, it is not only a music genre, "it's about the DJs, lyrics, beats and the stage performance, but also about style, symbolism, dance, language, ideals, narratives, ways of life and worldviews" (Waagbø 2007:4-5).

The name refers to the space or "hall" where dances are held. It has a long historical tradition in Jamaican context and there are drawn lines of such events back to slavery and the Saturday dances which are held as celebration of their African culture (a way of divide the social groups in the society). There are several examples of how African Diasporas has given music and dance meaning within postcolonial societies as an African "voice", such as the samba culture in Brazil and the merengue culture in the Dominican Republic[31]. Stolzoff (2000) places Dancehall in a historical perspective where he uses cultural and sosiohistorical processes in Jamaica to explain contemporary Dancehall culture, and writes that "Dancehall has been a space of cultural creation and performance since slavery era" (Stolzoff 2000:3). Other researchers on Dancehall culture also link Dancehall today back to the slavery era; "It (Dancehall) tells the story of a people's survival and need for celebration of that survival against forces of imperialism and systems of exclusion through dance, music and attitude. ..an identity that critiques aspects of Western domination" (Stanley-Niaah 2004:103). Annie Paul has written an article based on that Dancehall music is the "text of Creolness" or a "Creolized translation", where the space is negotiated between the social classes (2004). Dancehall represents in this way both a cultural struggle that have been ongoing for centuries between the power and the "powerless", and an identity of "blackness" – a way of belonging to ones ancestors and ones roots.

Dancehall it is seen as a part of the Reggae music genre and its ingredients has developed over time, and are produced and reproduced constantly. Reggae music has had the Afro-Caribbean beat (rhythm) as trademark since it started its musical journey from the urban Jamaican ghettoes in the 1960`s, and was as a social, religious and political voice in and

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[31] I have earlier been participating in these dance styles both in Brazil and Dominican Republic during a 3 months stay in 2000, not in relation to this thesis, but these experiences have though given me inspiration in writing this thesis and a deeper understanding of this phenomenon.

towards the society (Francis-Jackson 2004). Dancehall music, which holds subgenre[32] as "Ragga" and "Slackness" that both are seen as hardcore Dancehall, also started its development in the 1950s and 1960s within the lower social classes in the ghettos in downtown Kingston. In the late 1970`s it was seen as a response to the social and political changes in Jamaica[33]. Dancehall music is based on many of the same beats and rhythms of Reggae music, and in many cases the DJ plays a well-known reggae tune and gives in new lyrics on the spot. And it is the lyrics that are one of the major elements of Dancehall that have given the Dancehall culture as whole a bad reputation. Several articles are written regarding Dancehall lyrics, for example Hope's article on lyrical narratives and the violent masculinity in the Dancehall culture (2006). The lyrics are often viewed by the critics of Dancehall as depressive towards woman, too violent and used as attribute to several Dons who are leaders within different areas of downtown Kingston. I will not in this thesis analyze the lyrics within Dancehall, but rather lean on Waagbø's description "..they (themes in lyrical message) are about the struggles people face in their everyday life, about gender and sexuality, about desire, admiration and love, and also about competition, conflict, expectations and claims for respect" (Waagbø 2007:5-6). The lyrics are though a major part of the experience participating in the Dancehall place, the way the patrons at an event can adopt, modify or challenge the DJs voicing in what seemed almost like a conversation between the DJs and the patrons. Cooper (2004) describes this action as an active force which influences the dancehall music making. And the lyrics presented in the Dancehall place will most likely also affect the individual identity and the group identity of the ones participating.

The dancing in Dancehall is another major element of the culture. Mento, which is earliest popular music form on Jamaica, was said to be used as a way of express and address areas of life that was taboo in every day speech (JIS I 2010). The Jamaican Dancehall dances have had the same comparison, with gender identity roles as a theater performance within the dance. One can see this type of dance behaviour all over South American, especially within Caribbean and Brazil that have a huge population that are descended from African slaves. For example the carnival in Rio and in Trinidad, and in salsa, merengue and other Latin American dances. These are viewed as sexual dances, having many moves which express sexual relations and acts as a performance to reinforce gender roles. The Dancehall dance is referred

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[32] There are several subgenre in the landscape of Dancehall music, but I will not in this thesis categorize or describe these. Dancehall music will in this thesis be seen as "whole" where other than the different music styles will be focused on.
[33] Especially the new neo-liberal approach of the Jamaican Labor Party (Stanley Niaah 2008).

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to as slave ship dance, performing their black history (Stanley Niaah 2008). When authorities say that this is abnormal behaviour, they do not reach the youth that identify themselves with this part of present youth culture as a continuation and modification of old traditional African dances (Music Group March 2009).

6.3.2 Dancehall as a place

Dancehall has been, and still is, a place where one could meet, listen to music and dance. It is a social event that takes place at different locations dependent of the size of the band\sound system, the social class of the participants etc. But the "place" of dancehall and the meaning of it has not changed much, even though the style has. The idea of it is still the same; there are special patterns for dancing, it is music for the masses, social interactions, celebration of "blackness" and also seen as a cultural bridge between social classes in some cases (Stolzoff 2000).

"The first Dancehall party I attended was in the capital of Jamaica, Kingston. At first glance it was the setting of the place that awoke my interest. They had rigged the whole party at a huge parking lot, made out of tents put together and with the DJ desk in the center. There were set up a bar with tables and chairs in one corner, in another corner there where high tables to stand around and one corner with single chairs set up to overlook the dance floor in front of the DJ desk. There were placed many hugh speakers, in towers of 3 meters on each side of the place. The atmosphere was calm and you would only hear the DJ comments on the music playing. The night was still young, and the party was only at its early start. This was a birthday party event with free entrance, and the organizers had hired the top DJ selectors and soundssystemts on the island to perform. At time passed by, more and more people entered, and the atmosphere grew to another level. The ladies were dressed in small costumes, and gathered around the high tables in one of the corners, while most of the men sat on the chairs in front of the dance floor. Stone Love sound system was controlling the party messed the crowds to start dancing while turning up the sound at the maximum. At this point I had problems to keep up the conversations with people around me because it was impossible to hear anything else than the music and the ongoing talk from the DJs. They started to comment on everything, from what people at the party where doing at the moment and how they were dressed, the life of the artist they were playing to the latest local political events. And everyone at the party gave their attention to the DJ's; it was like a conversation between the crowd and the DJ's with the music as catalysts to the themes of discussion. The response from the crowd went from chairing and booing to dancing and standing still to show if they agreed

with the DJs or not. It was interesting to observe the eager and enthusiasm of the crowd, how they all become a group based on their opinions, the music and their present. Because it is the present which it is all about; the present Jamaican culture, the present Jamaican politic, the present livelihood of the average Jamaican and to at last break free from the mental slavery chains and enjoy the present as a free human being without worries of tomorrow" (Extracts from field journal February 2009).

To identify these dancehall events as a place, I will lean on Stanley Niaah's theories on Dancehall as performing places (2004). While she focus mostly on the particular locations of these events and how these locations get identity through the performance practices, I like to focus on the other aspect of this duality, the way the place of dancehall gives identity to the participates at these events.

Through the "not-everyday" activities one produces and reproduces social relationships, and the negotiation of gender roles are maybe more prominent in the Dancehall place than in other places and spaces in the Jamaican society. The performance as a phenomenon is in many ways separated from the day-to-day life – it's "a special world"/ an alternative reality – with rituals that transforms individual identity to collective identity with certain gender ideals. Identity is performed through bodies, language, dress and actions (Panelli 2004), which have special meaning and are set to be in place. The Dancehall place can in this way be seen as an expressive arena where identity is formed, communicated and performed in social and spatial ways. It is though luminal, and this alternative world glides together with the real world in terms of the new identities that are made and remade, a part of youth identity which also affects youth when they are in other places (Schechner 2003 in Wollan 2009). At the same time the reality is brought into the Dancehall place as well, by the lyrics, the ongoing talk from the DJ's and in the dance.

Since the locations of these Dancehall events are changing all the time, and there are arranged dancehall events throughout the island every weekend, the Dancehall place is seen as mobile[34]. The word is spread on posters, flyers, radio and by cars driving around with speakers on the roof and somebody inside shouting to the bypasses to attend the next big event. One night the place to be is in the town of Port Antonio, the next night in Negril on the

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[34] Mobility - Also makes the Dancehall place available to all social classes and not depended on location between city and rural areas.

other side of the island. So it's not the actual location[35] that is of importance, but the feeling and culture of the dancehall place itself. In relation to dancehall events I see the dancehall place as a constructed frame for social activity and group identity created by the youth and the dancehall culture. Creating places in the moment with meaning for themselves, and not only as users of a place as location. The social meanings and activities\performances moves with the event, it does not stay at the location where the dancehall event was arranged, but is attributes of the dancehall place wherever it is located.

The Dancehall place is in many ways a public place in terms that everyone that whishes to attend a dancehall party can do so and the location that the event is held are of public use normally. But at the same time it is also seen as private for the ones attending since it is the same social group who usually attends and is controlling the premises and the social interactions at the time of the party. It is public for everyone to see afterwards as well, since the whole event is filmed each time and put out for sale on local music shops, and censured "highlights" of the nights is showed on a national TV program once a week. And also the participants themselves make small movies captured on mobile phones which they place on sites on the internet such as youtube.com[36] for the whole world to see.

I have identified dancehall as a youth place based on the participant's age, the outsider's view of who are participants on these events and the participants own view on themselves when at the dancehall place. The last indicator first; when talking to the participants in the dancehall place they would see themselves as youth in this social activity (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). It is part of the identity that comes with the dancehall community, where they see themselves as youthful dancing their more adult worries away for the moment or talking to their friends about what's happening at the party and which girl they would like to dance with during the night (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). When it comes to the age of the ones that are participating on these events, it will in many cases vary a bit, but the main age group was between 16 and the early thirties, but also some older men (Observations Dancehall place February and March 2009). The feeling of belonging in a

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[35] The location can effect which youth that chose to attend. In Kingston there will for example be different youth at a Dancehall event in uptown Kingston, than in Downtown Kingston.
[36] YouTube is a very popular site on the internet, and people all around the world post their own personal videos or they may post clips from concerts, movies, computer games etch. Everyone with internet access can then view all the videos posted. One can search on keywords such as a place, a poster or a specific topic, for example when I did a quick search on "Dancehall Jamaica" I got about 162.000 hits (YouTube 2010), this was mostly private uploads from cell phones of different dancehall parties in Jamaica. In this way one can share ones culture on a global level in a split second.

youth place, being part of a youth group gives the person an identity of youth in that place. Some of the participants have gone through transitions that usually are seen as youth to adult transitions as moving out of parent's houses, getting work and even having a family for themselves, but their relation to this environment made them think of themselves as youth (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). This shows that the social category of youth is perceived as fluid. Fluid in the terms of that one can belong to more than on social group in the society, but often different social groups at different places. This also means that the Dancehall place is not only a youth place, since also adults who wish to feel as youth also use this place. But as the outsiders view of the ones who attend these events says; it is not viewed as a very mature activity, and people that view themselves as mature adults will mostly not attend such an event (Outside shop guys March 2009, The Gleaner XX – March 3 2009).

6.3.3 Youth behavior in the Dancehall Place

While there it is a strong national belief based much on religious views on how to behave towards the opposite sex in other public places, and actions like kissing and touching each other are seen as very private and even illegal, there are in Dancehall culture a pattern of behavior which is of contrast to this idea. This behavior are one of the elements that have most focus from the outsiders of the culture and are seen as devastating to the moral of the Jamaican youth in the present (see chapter 5.2.1, The Gleaner XX - March 3 2009, The Gleaner XXI – March 1 2009, The Gleaner XXII – February 8 2009). I will in this section focus on several behavioral aspects of the dancehall culture; especially the high level of social actions/performance by the patrons at a dance event, and how the negotiating of identity through actions, body and dress (Panelli 2004) takes place, which are major factors which affect the group and individual identity of the ones participating and for the outsider's view of the insiders. The identities of the participants in the Dancehall place are seen as something they *do*, rather than something they *have* (ibid.).

Gender roles and performance

The negotiation of gender roles is probably the most obvious within the Dancehall culture and the first thing I as a researcher and outsider first reacted to when introduced to the Dancehall place. "In Jamaican popular culture, sexuality, like language, is a domain in which a political struggle for control of social space is articulated" (Cooper 2004:82). The constructions of gender ideals in body performance are constantly communicated through how one dresses and dances to be in place. Power relations between genders are negotiated in many of the aspects of the presented empirical data in this section. The dance, music and the atmosphere in the

Dancehall place will at first glimpse look as it only revolves around sexuality, but there are more to it. The dancing are a way of blowing off the sexual steam between the genders, but it also tells a story about a depressed people and their way of living in the present. It also provides a national affiliation and identification for the ones belonging in the place, and the dance moves are constantly developed and new are included at every event and then spread to the rest of the island on DVDs and national TV, and even throughout the world at internet sites as YouTube.com.

The style in terms of how one dress is also a major factor and indicator on belonging within the Dancehall place. It is very important to show off, to be an eye-catcher all night long. Both genders want to look their best and get noticed[37], they feel good about themselves at the party and afterward also if they got a lot of attention from the other sex (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). If many youth of the other gender want to dance during the night, it is the best. That is one of the things they wish for before they go to the Dancehall place (ibid.). The participants use hours of preparation before entering the location for the Dancehall place. The style is of great importance, it shows who belongs in the dancehall place, or not (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). The female youth wear small dresses (showing of some off their booty, and either their stomach or back) or small suits (hot pants/batty rider and tank top). The male youth has shirts and often dress pants, shiny belt locks and leather shoes or fancy sneakers (Observations Dancehall place February and March 2009). It is important that it all looks new and that one don't wear the same clothes as the last party (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). With females dressed in these small sexy costumes and men in fancy clothes the gender ideals are set in system and defined, as are true in the rest of the Jamaican society as well[38]. The contrast between the sexuality of the gender displays the femininity and masculinity roles which are bodily preformed with a specific adopted clothing style in the Dancehall place (Observations Dancehall place February and March 2009). However, these performances are subject to being constantly challenged or modified through the negotiations between the genders (Panelli 2004). I do want to point out that not all

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[37] There was also a film crew present that filmed the whole séance. They moved around the whole time to hopefully catch everything on tape. As the only white girl there I become a movie star one night, and got a loud full of comments on my dancing and clothes from the DJs. During the parties I learned that it was very popular amongst the youth to be captured on film. Some scenes from these films sold afterwards in street shops, and if one ones filmed during the night one had the possibility to be a celebrity, one got creed if one ended up on the screen. For the girls it meant that they were good dancers, looked sexy both in terms of dress and body. To be capture on film when dancing is of great social status for the participants, and there are often competitions, especially the annual for the girls/women to become the dancing queen of the year is highly desired (Observation dancehall place February 2009, Dancehall Group 1 February 2009).

[38] The gender roles are from birth very divided in terms on what a baby can wear and a child can do.

of the participants at the Dancehall place had exactly the same style, but as a researcher I point out the patterns I found. It was important to the girls to make sure I understood that they didn't dress like this if they weren't in the Dancehall place, but when in this place they felt beautiful dressing this way (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). Several of the participants in the Dancehall place also say that the reasons for going to such an event are to forget about their daily worries (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). At the Dancehall place they all are Queens and Princesses (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). It is a time and place for joy and laughter, where everyone is unique and special, but at the same time they all are the same. No one is better than the other. However, at the same time they have the need to show off and feel good about themselves (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). And the feeling of self one gain at this place is one of the major reasons for the enjoyment in the Dancehall place (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009).

The sexuality of the gender and between the genders are expressed, experienced, produced and reproduced through how one dresses, but also mostly though the usage of their body in the dancing. Carolyn Cooper describes the dancehall culture as a liberating space in which woman can play roles not available in everyday life (2004). The female role in the Dancehall place does challenge the female role in the traditional public space. The moral constructions of the female identity are in many ways opposite of what is regarded as accepted in the Jamaican society. They are "playing" on their sexuality, in the way they dress in small outfits only barley covering their most intimate parts (see picture 6.3.2 for image), dancing close to the opposite gender with moves that looks like they have wild sex on the spot (see pictures 6.3.3, 6.3.5, 6.3.6 and 6.3.7 for images) and change between partners on the dance floor (Observations Dancehall place February and March 2009). The girl's performance as sexually free of constrains on any level, and they are the ones who are in control over the situation.

The perceptions amongst the girls I talked to are that they feel stronger and more confident to demand more and take more control in their ordinary life as well (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009), and in this way the behavior patterns in the Dancehall place are part of the reconstructing of the female gender identity in the Jamaican society. That being a queen for the night in the alternative world of the Dancehall place, they bring with them parts of this identity into the real world as well. One girl say that she feel like she is stronger in the relationship with her man, she demands that sex is at her terms too (Dancehall Group 1 March 2009). Also one girl claims that she has gain more belief in herself and that the "role she

plays" in the Dancehall place gave her the courage to break up with her man and start her own business (Bonnie April 2009). There are probably several of other factors as well that lead up to that decision, but she means that the feeling she gains about herself in Dancehall place due to the positive attention from both gender, knowing who she is and the feeling of being in and having control over herself in that part of her life, affects other aspect of her life too (ibid). This shows that females achieve some power in relation to the gender roles within the Dancehall place, which also is transferable into other social context.

Stolzoff (2000) on the other hand does not agree with the aspect of Dancehall as a liberating place for women. He writes that he perceives the female role in Dancehall culture as more as an object of sexual dominance than a person with agency (ibid.). The behaviour patterns are therefore seen as diminishing the power of the females in the Jamaican society. This is in some ways confirmed in how the male youth talk about the role of females in Dancehall. The male youth described the fascination of the ladies as more of a celebration of the female body; their female sexuality and fertility. They were mostly talking about the girls behind, and how soft it seemed and how they wanted to do several sexual actions with the girls (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). So in some cases the women are viewed upon as sexual objects by the guys in the way they speak of them. But this is relying on who does the interpretations – when looking for ways females are looked down on you will find it everywhere in every society and culture. The male youth also said that they truly respect the girls, and that they are the ones who are setting the rules for what behaviour is allowed (ibid.). So I would say that the girls have agency and are treated as subjects in these actions. The males didn't think the girls are promiscuous nor had bad moral standards in these settings (ibid.). So can it be that Jamaican youth in the Dancehall place respect the girls as well as they enjoy the sight of their bodies? Does this mean that the girls have less power or no agency? Or can it be that an outsider of the Dancehall place doesn't understand the rules and complexity behind the actions and behaviour which are happening in the Dancehall place. Cooper describes the outsider's views of the female role in dancehall as:

..the gender politics of the dancehall that is often dismissed by outsiders as simply misogynist can be read in a radically different way as a glorious celebration of full-bodied female sexuality, particularly the substantial structure of the Black working-class woman, where Eurocentric norms of delicate female face and figure are privileged. The recurring references in the DJs' lyrics to fleshy female body parts and oscillatory functions do not simply signify a clear-cut devaluation of female sexuality; rather they signal the reclamation of active, adult female sexuality from the entrapping passivity of sexless Victorian virtue" (Cooper 2004: 86).

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Also Stanley-Niaah, a Jamaican insider, sees the Dancehall space as a place where the black body is reclaimed (2006b), from the constructed moral standards set by the postcolonial powers[39] to control the black population and behave according to their religious standards.

The body is in this way also used as a way to perform identity. The bodily performance is often seen in regard of gender roles and power relations and in the Dancehall place; both man and woman contribute equally in this performance. To dance, or to "bubble" which is the Dancehall word for it, is the major activity in the Dancehall place (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). All the dance moves and most of the dances have names and often also a specific history behind the dance (Stanley Niaah 2008). However, I would say that most of the dance moves are highly sexual, and as Francis-Jackson puts it "through the execution of a series of well-coordinated risqué movements take the mystery of bedroom debauchery right onto the dance floor" (2004: v). There are loads of already choreographed dances which can have 30-40 different moves that everyone who pays attention and are a regular participant at these events knows by heart (Dancehall Group 1 February 2009). These dances are amplifiers of the group identity, and the all the insiders of the Dancehall place know how to dance to the different songs. Knowing all the dance moves also reinforces the sense of being in place.

When it comes to the male role in Dancehall, the sexual performance is likewise important if not even more than the female role. The sexual abilities of the male are to be displayed in the dance to give the male sexual appeal and show that he knows how he should please a girl sexually. The masculinity is 'measured' and 'proven' by several preformed social attributes, such as his ability to please the woman and that he is heterosexual (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). During dances a man are judge from his performance on the dance floor; does he look like he could please woman satisfactory? The sex as an activity is not merely as important as the image of being heterosexual. This image gives a male credibility by other males and is then viewed by the others as a capable man (ibid.). This is not only within the Dancehall place, but a more general understanding of the male role in the Jamaican society.

When I asked the youth of what their response is towards the bad media representations and governmental views on their behavior - they claims that they (media and the government) could not control them anymore nor create an image they should fit into. Youth does nothing wrong, they are only doing what they are born to do, the rhythm live inside them, and there

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[39] Development studies in Africa – a way of finding themselves, part of nation building and their national identity after years of colonial rules.

are no ways to tame a real Jamaican. Youth feel that the behavior and the culture in the Dancehall place is widely misunderstood, that the outsiders only seen this as bad moral behavior because they think that it is all about sex, when it is not. Dancehall, both the music and the dancing, is seen as a way of going back to their roots and be free from mental slavery in their present; to find an identity not only as youth, but also as Jamaicans (Dancehall Group 2 March, Music Group March 2009).

There are by others (Stolzoff 2000, Cooper 2004, Waagbø 2007, Hope 2006) made several narratives of the male role in the Dancehall place, and most of them are reflected from the lyrics and artists within the Dancehall environment. Huge stars such as Buju Banton[40], who describes himself as a criminal, homophobic, badman, murder and a gunman, does in many ways affect the view of how a real Jamaican should behave (Waagbø 2007). At the same time The Dancehall place is a place where the 'fighting' are done with lyrics, lyrical guns. In the Dancehall place there is no room for any weapon[41] or any business. It is just a place for recognition and having troubleless time (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). The male roles in the lyrics are for people to recognize in, and not made up by the artist as wanted behavior. Not everyone has to use the same means to survive, some have to steal to have food on the table, and others practice begging or go to work. It is not the mean that is important, but as a man you have to what it takes to achieve the goal – to be a respectable man (Music Group March 2009, Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). In many areas this mean to be a "Raggamuffin" which Cooper (2004) describes as males who are outlaws and rebellious. Poverty and personal characteristics connected to identity such as low self-esteem and negative self-representation have in several studies been showed as predictors of violent tendencies among youth. They seek activities to fill their need for identity, sense of belonging, and worthiness (Smith and Green 2007). Some of the participants in this study argued that the Dancehall place gave them the sense of belonging to a place, and that this environment 'saves' them from seeking out gang memberships (Music Group March 2009).

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[40] This artist is very popular and globally known within the Dancehall culture. When I was in Jamaica there was an episode were Banton and his son killed a boy in Downtown Kingston in a drive by shooting because of a comment made earlier that same day.
[41] Previously there was 'normal' to bring along weapons at a Dancehall event. Guns were used as fired salutes and a way of participating in the 'conversations' between the DJ's and the patrons. Now a day's bringing a gun to a dancehall event is not accepted. There are signs by the entrance which states that weapon is not allowed (Dancehall Group 2 .March 2009, Observation Dancehall place February and March 2009).

Homophobia is strong within the dancehall environment, as in most other arenas in the Jamaican society[42]. Some lyrics are about killing people who are gay, and gay people are not seen as accepted inside the dancehall place[43]. To be referred to as a batty-boy, is one of the worst things one could say to a heterosexual male (Romaine March 2009, Marina Group 3 March 2009). This attitude is though not restricted to the Dancehall place, but builds on the moral views concerning gays, which penetrates all layers of the Jamaican society. Some argues that it is the attitudes towards homosexuality within the Dancehall place that leads the way for homophobic attitudes in the rest of the society, while others see these attitudes in the Dancehall place as a mirror of the attitudes found in society that builds on religious beliefs systems (Stewart 2002). Homophile was not accepted among the participants, they believed that it was against religious beliefs and one would go to hell if one practices this sexuality (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009, Marina Group 3 March 2009, Outside Youth Centre Group February 2009). It is also laws that prohibit males to have a sexual relationship[44].

At last, I wish to point to one other aspect of the common behavior in the Dancehall place, the language of Dancehall. During the process of constructing this place there has been created an own language used in this place. The developed vocabulary used in both lyrics and between the patrons in place is described as "surprisingly right wing, almost reactionary" (Francis-Jackson 2004: v). The language is very direct visual descriptive and is created and shaped in an ongoing process. New phrases are made by the DJ's describing a phenomenon or a body part in a new way often at the spur of the moment. It is then a short way from being adopted by the patrons in the Dancehall place, later passed on to the rest of the Jamaican society and then to the international[45] music scene. Dancehall language is said to be the "mother" of a lot of the lyrics in North American Hip Hop.

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[42] The Prime Minister has declared on TV, BBC 'HARDtalk' May 2008, that no gay person will every sit in his cabinet (Youtube 2011). Full interview can be seen at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YeVy5Sp6xyw retrieved January 2011

[43] During my stay in Jamaica there was though a "rebellion" towards this attitude, and a process to challenge these attitudes started within the dancehall place. What I heard from the youth was that a group of Japanese gay youth had placed a video on YouTube where they were all dressed up in female costumes and dancing to Dancehall music as a protest to these homophobic attitudes within the Jamaican dancehall culture. This was adopted by a group of men in uptown Kingston, who went to a dancehall event dressed up in costumes and crashed the party. It was said that they were allowed to stay at the party, and there was no violence against any of the party crashers. This might show that the Dancehall place is a more liberating arena than the rest of the society, and that the moral sexual attitudes are contested and challenged within this place.

[44] The Jamaican criminal code prohibits sex between men. Article 76 of the Offences Against the Person Act known as the Sodomy law states that " Whosoever shall be convicted of the abominable crime of buggery, committed either with mankind or with any animal, shall be liable to be imprisoned and kept to hard labour for a term not exceeding ten years".

[45] Even though this language can be difficult for outsiders to understand, it doesn't seem to have affected the Dancehalls popularity on a global level.

The official Dancehall Dictionary points out that the language is largely sexual, and many of the phrases or new words which are made refer to the female sexuality in some way. Examples of such phrases and their meaning are: *Battery-dolly* – a woman who has made it a habit to have sex with more than one man at a time, *She a clean rifle* – a woman who performs oral sex, *All fruit ripe* – all woman are potentially sexual partners, *Bombo-red*- one of many expressions for the vagina. "Even the tone of the language is definitely pro hot-blooded male heterosexual, almost to the point where it is regressively anti female. I hasten to add, the actual Dancehall environment, despite its language which is often uncomplimentary to the female, is a highly sexual one where the female is definitely the queen, and it is she who rules "(Francis-Jackson 2004: v).

Pictures from the Dancehall Place

Picture 6.3.1: Dancehall location in Port Antonio – rigging up the equipment.

Picture 6.3.2: On the way to the Dancehall party

Picture 6.3.3: Daggering at the Dancehall party

Picture 6.3.4: Old time Dancehall party

Picture 6.3.5, 6.3.6 and 6.3.7: Pictures of daggering at Dancehall parties found at the internett

7. Youth 'faces' in Jamaica – towards a conclusion

The different places which have been identified and described in the previous chapters are not closed local places or cultures. They are as Massey (1998) puts it; complex products of interaction. Both place and humans are influenced by local as well as global factors, and the surrounding context in the contemporary wider society and historical events affects the individual, group and national behaviour and identities in all places. The Dancehall place is for example affected by the global music industry and national social context, the youth centre place is affected by global youth policies and the marina place is affected by tourist performance.

There are contrasting images between the different behaviour roles in the different places. The activities and norms which are regarded as accepted behaviour within a place, have significant effect on how youth behave in relation to the other sex, how they dress and also in some cases how their thoughts about their lives and their opportunities. Within the Dancehall place all girls are expected to dress in a specific style, but within other spaces in the Jamaican society this kind of outfit would be seen as "abnormal" by the youth. None of the participants in this study would dress in the same way at school or work, at home or in town. This shows how strong the social and ideological constructed images on how to behave and which clothes to wear within a specific place are, and that several assumptions automatically follow the sense of belonging in a place. In a performing place the youth (re)produce social relationship with rituals that transforms individual identity to collective identity. The identity is formed, communicated and preformed in social and spatial ways, and a person can manage multiple identities depended on place of activity or social relation. This can be seen as the spatial nature of identities; the social constructions and choices are shifting and constantly negotiated through space.

I want in this thesis to show some of the 'faces' behind the numbers and figures, not only to describe their culture, but also to give them a face through their voice and behavior. I will therefore in this last chapter present the different narratives of Jamaican youth 'faces', the perceived identities of Jamaican youth in the present, which have been identified in this study based on field experience and the participant's statements, and are here presented as the answer to the overall research question of this thesis. These 'faces' are part of the multiple youth identities; it is the part which is on show for the others to see, the part the youth have

chosen (consciously or not) to present him or her to the in and outside world - in that place and time. It does not mean that a youth shows only this identity at all times and in all places – it can be seen as a part of a role which is performed, and are connected to values, assumptions and meanings which can be political, ideological or based on social grouping identification in the specific places. To describe a "whole" identity is not possible as well as one cannot describe a "whole" reality or a culture. These different youth 'faces' reflect the diversity in young people's identities and are identified through the usage of place and the culture these places hold, where the different youth places are seen as expressions of cultural, social, political and religious representations. These narratives are therefore based on performances which are constructed from the "placeness" that the youth encounter. This is thus not viewed as stable, and will constantly be in change. The focus is on some aspects of the youth performance, behavior and social actions in relation to place as 'sense of place' and place as 'locale'; how youth are accepted as 'in place' by themselves and outsiders, and the differences in this behavior and activities connected to gender. There is a combination of these 'faces', and they are transferable. They are all part of different youth identities which intertwine at the different places. However the 'sense of place' and the social conventions in the specific places affects the youth identity.

The slogan "*Sometimes naughty, sometimes nice, always sexy, always wise*", from a poster at the youth center, which promotes condom use among youth, is the inspiration for labeling the different youth narratives. This is because these adverbs, in one word, capture much of the different behavior roles and identities found during the process of analyzing the generated primary data. In addition, the 'face' of 'The Runner' based both on the identification young boys feel with the internationally known Jamaican Super Athlete Usain Bolt, and also the stated reasons for the high migration rates among young Jamaican people.

7.1 The Naughty

Especially within the Dancehall place the 'face' of the 'naughty' Jamaican youth is on display. To be 'naughty' is to not be as the outsider's desires of behavior, not to fill the society's socially acceptable constructed behavioral frame. These frames are views on youth which often lead to the opposite behavior, a way of rebellion against the norms of the society. This part of youth's 'face' is often pointed out in previous youth research, and can be seen in relation with youth identities as 'deviant', 'devils' and 'risky youth', and the perspective of

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youth as social problems in the society have globally been a way of describing youth identity and behavior in connection with music, violence, drugs or school drop outs.

In the marina place, outside the youth center place and in the dancehall place there is behavior patterns which show how young girls wants to be more sensual as a subject with agency, and not only a sexual object. The girls are the ones who control the limits on what is okay to do and not. The dancehall babes dress in clothes that their parents don't approve of – "walking around dressed as strippers and prostitutes" as a mother described it to me (Parent of Youth 1 March 2009). They listen to music, which is banned from the radio and dance their body away in moves which would and does frighten the elderly population. It is a rebellious behavior seen from the outside. Many youth who hold these identities have gone though transitions which 'should' place them in the social group of adults, such as having children, but they still are viewed as youth by the society and themselves because of their irresponsible behavior – their 'naughtyness'. As part of the identity building process this behavior gives them confidence in themselves. To feel as one is able to decide for oneself, to set own boundaries and develop as a person on their own terms. In the marina place where young lovers meet, there is excitement in holding hands with the other gender. This gives youth the feeling of 'naughtyness' – to do something which is not allowed. It is all 'naughty' behavior, as well as it is liberating for the individual and as a part of finding their own independence.

The 'naughty' Jamaican youth 'face' is also a way of living. It is in many ways an identity which pushes the traditional boundaries and norms in society, where girls claim respect and are experiencing liberating roles within the traditional gender roles. While the young men are much more following the existing images of men as bad boys. It is a 'face' which is recognizing the existing life styles in the Jamaican society, where many youth are living in conditions which are dominated by criminality and violence. The lack of opportunities in the society to earn a living pushes the boundaries of what are accepted as means to achieve an appropriate life style amongst youth. It is not advocated to steal or kill, but if one does not have any other choice you still have respect as a man if you commit any crimes to support your family. Outside the youth center and also within the marina place there are boys who 'embrace' this way of living.

7.2 The Nice

To be nice to one's family, to the elderly in the society and treat people around you with respect was a ground pillar in the Jamaican youth behavior patterns. All the participants in this study are tremendously occupied with the thought of respect for their parents, or in many cases grandparents or other relatives who are their caretakers. To help around the house and to fulfill their duties in the home is important to them. It is normal behavior among youth, and nothing they reflect on. The socially constructed image of loyalty within the household is strong, towards whomever one lives with. The family structure within the Jamaican society seems to be a factor, which leads to this strong connection between people in the household. Most of the participants in this study live with people they are related to by blood, often uncles, aunts or grandparents. Only one of the participants is raised by both parents. It is expected that the youth shall do their part inside the home and\or to contribute to the living expenses. You would risk ending up in the streets or been taught discipline (domestic violence) by the head of the family if you don't behave as expected within the household.

In public the 'nice face' of the Jamaican youth is to be seen in the youth center place. The youth who use the center are seen by others to be 'nice' youth. They are youth who do not cause any problems. Youth who does the right activities, behave morally and have a good future ahead. This 'face' is part of the ideal youth identity, empowered youth who have a chance to reach and fulfill their potential. Religion in Jamaica is one of the main factors which construct the content and frame for this 'face'. How to behave morally is set by a religious belief which seems to be consciously or unconsciously strongly incorporated in the daily life of the average Jamaican, and also the youth. Even though none of the youth participants in this study goes to church, they have a real faith in God. The traditional power relation between the genders is build upon religious belief systems of husbands being the head of the wife. Girls would tell me that when they become married they would stay with their man as long as he wants. The 'nice face' in the Jamaican youth identity is much related to doing the 'right things' – the things which are expected of you. The youth shall, for example; not have sex until marriage (they say that they don't, even if they do), be a good wife or husband someday, go to school and study hard. If not at school, take responsibility for family living conditions, help around the house, help people around you in the community, take care of people less fortune than yourself and treat your caretakers with respect at all times and in all

places, even if they are not present. The expected discourse of female youth is though more connected to being 'nice', than that of the male youth.

7.3 The Sexy

In the Jamaican society, sex plays an important role. Not only in the act itself, but all the symbolic issues concerning sexuality and the constant awareness of everyone as heterosexual beings do in many ways characterize the daily atmosphere within the Jamaican community. It is a hot island, and the heat is not only visible during the daytime hours. There is sexual energy 'floating' everywhere. The traditional perspective of sexuality in society, which is very conservative and rigid, seems to make the sexual tension between the genders even greater. As youth you are not permitted to have sexual relationships, and the Dancehall place is used to blow off some of this steam which builds up on a daily basis.

The gender roles are from an early age marked in how the Jamaican dress. A girl is expected to dress in snug 'girly' clothes from puberty until long after she is married. There are uniforms at school and later at work which are pretty conservative, but the leisure time clothes all seems to be snug tops and firm pants or skirts (but not so revealing as the dancehall costumes). One is not afraid to show how the body is composed and all woman figures and shapes seem to be regarded as sexy. The Dancehall place is showing this celebrating of the female body off in public and is in this thesis it is regarded as a liberating place for female youth, drawing on the participant's statements, their behavioral patterns in this place. The sexual behavior frame and the attitudes concerning the celebration of the female fertility, gives the 'face' of the sexy Jamaican youth both a positive and a negative perspective for the outsiders of this social group. Many of the critical voices towards the Dancehall place point to the sexual and violent lyrics, in addition to the immoral sexual behavior within this place.

Also in the marina place girls are stressing their gender identities by putting on makeup and making themselves attractive towards the other sex. The performances in the marina place also witness a sexual tension between the genders. Some of the boys are behaving as more grownups, and act extra masculine when passing by the groups of girls. Several of the youth in the marina place are holding hands and kissing, a social action one will not see in town or in the streets. Also the boys shouting sexual comments when girls pass by, is part of the gender identities of Jamaican youth. This latter behavior is thus seen as normal behavior in the rest of the society as well.

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7.4 The Wise

In most development theories education of youth is seen as a major factor for development in terms of economical growth. In Jamaica it is hard to get further than 8th grade, and the work opportunities after finishing primary school are low if one wish for an income which will support yourself and maybe to start a family. There is therefore high prestige form an early age to do really good in school and to study really hard– to be wise. The ones who get really good grades are pushed upwards within the educational system if there are room for them. There are only a few places for people from low income families, so it is high competition among the students.

Both in the marina place and the Dancehall place there are also youth who are regarded as 'wise'. Not because of their educational background, but their perspectives on the society. They have many opinions and attitudes which 'go home' with the others. There is in the marina place space for discussions about the society, they talk about different social and political themes which affects them, as the unemployment rates, the ties between Jamaica and USA, the corruption within the government and what the different political parties can achieve if elected in the next election. These conversations one would hear also in the Dancehall place, but then as a discussion between the DJ's and the patrons. The DJ's used lyrics from musical artists to make points and got active feedback from the crowds. To be a person that many people listen to, to be regarded as trustworthy and to have many connections (to be known throughout the island) can also lead to paid work, and is therefore also seen as a wise person. There is great enthusiasm and interest for social and political issues, and one is expected to be conscious of what's going on in the society.

In the end though, it is the educational knowledge which is most appreciated. It is this knowledge which has most potential in getting a job. The men are viewed as the main economic supporter of the family. It is part of the identity of being a man, which is quite a common factor within a patriarchal society. Men that have better jobs are seen as better providers, they have more money and therefore seen as better men. But there are more girls who actually achieve higher education, boys are often most likely to drop out, so it seems that the family more often 'put their money' on the girls to be wise (and hopefully also not get pregnant).

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7.5 The Runner

Sport is a major leisure activity in Jamaica amongst youth, but for some it is also their chance for a better life for themselves and their family. In the total population of 2.7 million people there are many athletes, some who are international famous and have what the youth in question see as a very good life. Usain Bolt among others is a hero among many young boys, and he has shown them that they can one day become a hero too (Marina Group 2 March 2009). In the Marina place youth every day practice their running skills; they compete in their own made tracks at the pavement. If one does well in sport at school there is also a possibility to get higher education. There are scholarships for the best athletes, and there are competitions between the schools every year. One of the participants was the best runner at his school and hoped for a scholarship, but he was unfortunately not good enough on a national level.

Most youth who holds the 'wise face', also holds the 'runner face', especially those who get or wish for higher education, dreams of going overseas to work and earn money. They are talking about sending money to their parents, friends and their neighbors, about maybe start a family overseas, and when they are rich they will invite everyone they know to stay with them (Youth Center Group February 2009). But also within the Dancehall place several youth wants to leave Jamaica for a better life overseas (Dancehall Group 2 March 2009). They don't see much of a future for themselves in Jamaica, but think it will be so different in the West.

There are several factors which can contribute to this mindset. The media representation of the life in the West shows what seems as an easier and better way of living, which is one of the main catalysts for the statements concerning leaving Jamaica. Several of the participants wish that they were 'white' and lived in 'white-land', based on what they see on TV. Also the tourists who visit the town for some hours a day, who use their savings on spices or other souvenirs in the marked, feed the image of wealthy life styles overseas. The urge for a more Western lifestyle, is intensified by the limited availability of 'Western -identity marker-products' such as fancy jewelry, brand suitcases, brand clothing and also kitchen accessories. The lack of work opportunities for youth, and therefore also lack of economic resources (more than following a work related dream), stops the dream of achieving a good life in Jamaica, and several see no other solution than to leave the island. There is at the youth center several courses in entrepreneurships, but youth don't have the founding's nor motivation to settle up their own business. It seemed risky, at what would they start? This 'face' shows clearly that

either one of these youth places identified in this thesis or Jamaican society at whole are isolated, the social global structures affect their perspectives on their own life in terms of behavior, but also their dreams, hopes and expectations for the future.

A last part of this identity narrative is connected to the mobility amongst youth. Youth who has cars, or friends with cars, drives all over the island to attend different dancehall parties, while others use 3-4 different transportation opportunities each morning just to go to school. It is not very expensive with public transportation, but after the national railway was closed, one has to change means of transport several times during a short stretch. Minibuses and cars run from village to village all day long, stopping everywhere during their route and pick up people as long as there are any room. It is a functional system, but it can take several hours from A to B, a journey which maybe would take 20 minutes driving straight there. To own a car is a big dream amongst the male youth, the females want boyfriends with cars. But cars are expensive, and Jamaican cars are often old, so to own a car might offer large expenses. The youth who own a car are viewed as successfully, they also have the possibility to travel and be 'free'.

7.6 Final considerations

In development strategies which concern youth globally, youth are mostly seen as one social group depended on their age. The youth age indicator of 15-24 years does not completely fit with the social group of youth in Jamaica, who is identified in this thesis. Several of the participants in this study are older and are regarded by themselves and others as youth dependent on their behaviour, their age and the places they occupy. Several transitions which are viewed as youth-adult transitions in Western discourses, such as debut for sexual intercourse, work outside the home or\and getting an own place to live, do not fit the transitions in the global youth model, which are used as guidelines for the categorising of youth in the national policies. That the cultural and social meaning of youthhood in Jamaica seems to, in some cases, vary from the understanding of youth in global youth perspective, will affect the youth who do not fit the global model of youth and they will therefore in many cases be viewed as 'abnormal', and fall outside the services which are intended for the social group of youth.

Within the different youth places identified in this thesis a significant trend is revealed; that which place one uses affects the behavior and the identity performance in place, but also that

identities are transferable to other places in the society. There are multiple youth identities on display, which show that there is diversity in Jamaican youth identity; there are not just one or two types of youth. It is not possible to cover all, but in a developmental perspective one should try to include, not exclude.

There is in Jamaica a call for national identity, both from the governmental institutions and from the people in the streets. Youth as a social group within the society is part of this national identity. There has been a generational shift where the previous popular Rastafarian reggae has functioned as the embrace of African roots and as a social, political and cultural voice. In contemporary Jamaica, Dancehall has now taken this role. A part of being Jamaican is also for the youth founded on their ancestor's history. This is part of the national identity building process, and as a postcolonial nation this is important for the cohesion and also a fight against the "given identities" from their previous rulers. The Dancehall place also functions as area for social and political discussions, traditional values and norms are being challenge though the youth identity performance while 'in place'. Religion seems to be one of the main contributors to the accepted social conventions in Jamaican public and private space, which influences the perceived youth identities and what are seen as normal youth behaviour, and are at conflict with some of the presented youth 'faces'. Criminality among youth seems to me to be a solution to the lack of work opportunities, rather than the reason for unwanted youth behaviour within some of the identified youth places.

Certain of the social processes shown in these youth places are thus not unique to Jamaican youth identity. There will be similarities in other youth identities all over the world. One can maybe see similarities in the Dancehall environment in Japan or Russia, or in youth centers in Africa or in USA. Social relations are remade and challenged constantly, and it may appear very different for place to place, but in most cases one will find similarities. In this way this study of youth identities has a cross-cultural value, and can be used as a contribution to a comparative study of the youth identities within the Dancehall environment in another part of the world, or within multiple socially constructed youth places.

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Appendix 1

Appendix 1 Background information of Informants/participants

I will here give a presentation of the ones who participated in this study. There are 49 participants in this study; 37 who are define as youth and 12 as adults. The gender divide is amongst the youth participants 2/3 boys, and 1/3 girls which can give the boys a stronger voice. Amongst the adults there are 7 men and 5 women. I have choosed to present some of the participant with their real name when they have agreed to it and others with fictive names. The groups of participants who I talked to, whom will be named after the place I talked with them at. The information presented here is based on the participants own statements and my observations.

A. <u>Youth participants in youth places</u>

Romaine

In my study Romaine, age 18, is my door opener to some of the youth places and one of my key informants. He agreed to participate early in the fieldwork progress and introduced me to several of the other participants. He has been involved throughout the fieldwork process, and would say that we meet over 40 times during this period. There have been lots of informal conversations between us, he participated in the photography method and his person has affected much of this study. He lives outside town, in a village with 300 inhabitants. He lives together with his grandmother, his uncle and his son, two sisters and their children. He has one more sister that lives in NY with her father, and his mother lives in Hawaii with a new husband. He does not have any contact with his father. All his siblings have different fathers. Both the mother and the sister are sending money to the family in Jamaica. He could therefore attend school until he was 16, but then it's was too hard to continue school. They did not have enough money to pay for a private school. He was a school champion in sprinting, and says he would like to continue with sports, but the family couldn't afford to send him to any sports school.

I meet Romaine in the streets of Port Antonio town center just a couple of days after my arrival. He was dressed in a bright yellow t-shirt that looked brand new, jeans with silver

patterns and a leather belt in matching colors; yellow, white and silver and a pair of sneakers that looked as they were sent from the shoe factory last week. At first glance he looked like a boy from a very wealthy family. And he was shining, with a big smile and the whitest teeth. He came up to me, my daughter Eira and her father "Hello, are you here in Jamaica for long? – I have seen you before and you haven't left yet, have you moved here?" "I love white people, you look so beautiful, and your baby is so nice". We had just been in Jamaica for two weeks and most people starting a conversation like this we experience wanted to sell us something or ask for money. I told him that we were in Jamaica because I was doing some schoolwork and we should stay for several months. Pleased to hear that, I had to promise him that we would meet the next day, and he was off to work. After meeting him in the park outside the public library the following days, I explain more about my fieldwork.

Peter Martin (PM)

For two years Peter Martin (28) has worked at the Youth centre in Port Antonio as a volunteer. He agreed to be participant in this study both as person who works with youth, but also as a youth him selves. He said he was regarded as a youth by other as well, this mostly because he was not married yet. He was still living of his parent, and did not bring any money into the household. His main interest at the centre was to educate youth in regard of sexual health. He is an eager dancehall party patron and he goes to all the dancehall parties he can. He goes there to meet a woman and to have fun with his friends. He does not drink alcohol as these events, but sometimes smokes ganja there.

We meet on several occasions, both in relation to the Youth Center and at one Dancehall event in Port Antonio. The knowledge generated is based on his statements during two interviews at the Youth Center as a representative, and two much less formal conversations in regard of a Dancehall party (see group 2 Dancehall place).

Samantha

The other participant in the photography method is Samantha (16), a friend of Romaine (they used to go to school together). She lives together with her grandmother, mother and 3 sisters about 1 hour outside Port Antonio main center. She is still a student, and uses the Youth centre in PA after school to do her homework, before she leaves town. Most of the pictures she took were of her friends in the marina area, and some of her friends in the area where she

lived. It was Romaine who introduced us, and she volunteered to take pictures of her everyday life. After the pictures were developed we meet and had unstructured interview based on the photos she had taken.

Bonnie

This girl (24) I meet in the marina area in the end of my fieldwork period. She was a young girl with two kids (different fathers), and tried to start her own business. After getting to know her a bit, I found out that her business was based on a kind of multi level marketing idea, where she was invited to join from someone over her in the hierarchy. She sold tele cards to people so they could call cheaper to their friends and families overseas, and she earn some percentages of the calls. Her goal was to have people under her, so they would buy large numbers of cards from her, and she would not have to go in the streets to sell. The information I have from her is based on informal conversation at two separate occasions.

Dancehall Group 1

A girlfriend group of three that I meet at the first Dancehall party I attended in Port Antonio. They are all in their early twenties, and two of them are working in a clothes shop while the last girl is studying finance at college. They all live in PA, but I did not find out their living arrangements. I spend some time with them at the dance, participant observation, to get some impression how it is to be a girl at these dances. During the dance we had informal conversations about the experiences related to the Dancehall place.

Dancehall Group 2

I came to the Dancehall party with Peter Martin (28) and some of his friends (mid twenties). PM is also my key informant at the youth center. The other youth had different jobs, one had started a bird breeding enterprise with some other friends, one worked with telecommunication and the last did 'something' related to commercials. Knowledge generated is based on their behavior at the dance and their statements during the dance (Passa Passa-Port Antonio, March 2009) and the day after.

Youth centre Group

When arriving to the Youth Center in Port Antonio, I was introduced by one of the volunteers working there (Peter Martin) to some of the users of the Youth Center. I had two meetings

with these youth, which were hold in the 'social room' at the center. They were all under 18 years old at the time and I had no permission from their parents, but the representative at the center gave me permission as long as the youth wanted to participate. Two girls (15) and two boys (15), who went to high school, talked most of their reasons for using the youth center. I have no extending background information of them.

Marina Group 1

The first marina group consists of three girls from 15-17 years old. They are all students at high school and used the marina area after school time. The knowledge generated is based on a meeting in the Marina Place in February 2009.

Marina Group 2

On several occasions I observed a group of boys hanging around in the marina area, mainly on the road which runs through the area. They used this area to play and do sports activities. At one occasion I approached them and told them about my study and if they would be able to participate. They had seen my daughter and me several times too, when walking around. So it seemed that since they had seen me before and that the study sounded interesting enough they agreed to participate by having an informal conversation on the spot. The boys varied in age, from early twenties to the youngest who was 11.

Marina Group 3

There is a hangout spot for an older group of youth in the end of the marina area. Some of these youth approached me early in the fieldwork process. They were very interested in my 'do-abouts' in 'their' area, and asked me several of times to join them in on their conversations. I joined in on several occasions. It was often new faces in this group. Most of these boys were out of work, and they used most their time discussing 'what was wrong in Jamaica' when high on marihuana.

B. <u>Youth participants outside defined youth places</u>

Rick

This young man (22) works in an automobile shop in Port Antonio town after spending 7 years in a correctional juvenile center. During his time inside he lost his mother in a hurricane that collapsed their family home. We came to talk one evening outside a food corner, and after we found out that we both had lost parents at an early age – we felt that we somehow could understand and trust each other. With this background he became one of the participants in this study, and the information he shared is based on two separate informal conversations about his life and his view on the youth life in Port Antonio.

Music Group

To be a Selector is a dream for many youth in PA, and I meet several youth who use their time making music. I had the possibility to join a group of youth to their music studio at one occasion. This music studio is homemade in a shed; it is one room inside which is soundproofed and it is installed microphones. I was able to watch while they recorded some tunes. I also talked with some of them at two other occasions, one at our home and one time in town. The youth are in their early 20's and only one of them has a child. They don't attend any other job or school. There were several girls in the music studio that day also, but they were not doing anything. The guys stood for the cooking (outside on the back of the shed they had a small bonfire which they made nice food), and are the ones in charge of the place. The girls attending were only referred to as princess, there was also some kids there, playing inside the studio. It was three of the young men who agreed to participate in this study.

Outside Youth Center Group

Underneath the large tree outside the youth center is often a group of youth hanging. It is a spot which has overview of the main road into the town center, and is a busy spot during the day with a lot of people and cars passing by. On one occasion I had a longer conversation with some of these youth, which is presented in chapter 6.2.4. It was at that time, two girls present (17 and 19), and four boys (18-24).

C. <u>Outsider participants</u>

Church

On two occasions I went to sites for religious worship to meet youth. But none of the times there were any youth there. One of the times I came to talk with a group of ladies (think they were around 55-60 years old), about youth in the community. One of these ladies worked voluntary for the church, but do not see this conversation as a formal interview with a representative from the church.

Outside shop guys

Close to the youth center there was a little shop, and outside this shop a group of men in their 40's spend most of their days. I came to talk with them on several occasions, and they were eager to talk about the youth center and what they think it does for the community. Also we talked more general about their views on Jamaican youth. None of these men have jobs, and they are living on welfare. They all have families and kids, all of them are living with the mother of their youngest child, and only one of them has all children with the same mother. (5-6 participants, this would vary at times).

Parent of Youth 1

A mother of two teenage boys, the oldest boy works part time in a garage, the other one helps in their family business. She was comparing her son's youthhood a lot to her own youthhood.

Parent of Youth 2

Noel – works two jobs so his daughter can go to private economic high school. Earlier he was a drug attic (heroin), and his daughter grew up with her mother. The mother died when the daughter was 12 years, and his mother took over the responsibility. He was at that time living in the streets, and did steal etch to pay for his drugs. He was put in jail when his daughter was around 14, and when he came out after 7 months, he was determined to give his daughter a better life. He still uses some drugs, but has quitted using heroin. Works as a doorman at a discotheque at night (his boss her has helped a lot – given testimony in court for another crime he had done several years ago (takes long time to get your case up in court) and he was very afraid that he had to go back in jail, pays school every month and would not have money to send her to school if he is behind bars). He also works in a funeral home, preparing dead people for funerals.

Appendix 2 Group discussion guide/ interview guide

That include the main topics that I wish to discuss.

What does it mean to be youth?
Differences between children, youth and adults?
Differences between the genders?
What are advantages of being youth?
And what are the disadvantages?
Hopes for the future? In relation to home, family, education, occupation ect.
How are they participating in deciding over their own life? Education, occupation, family ect.
What able to and not able to in decide/influence in their own perspective?
Where do they go – what do they do in their day-to-day life?