

Unconventional Political Participation in a Middle-Income Developing Country

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Abstract: In many inner city communities in Jamaica, there is the perception that the dons (ad hoc community leaders) are able to provide security, financial assistance and a social safety network, which was once the role of the state. The failure of successive governments to provide those important services, in particular security means that there is a high degree of mistrust of the state in rightfully carrying out its roles. The dons have filled the void created by the state, and people have come to rely on them precisely because of the repeated failures of successive governments. The mistrust has become so pervasive, that such a low level of trust for government leads to a rise in unorthodox political participation. This study examines the role that mistrust in government plays in unconventional political participation, and it revealed that Jamaicans who mistrust government are 2.4 times more likely to become involved in unorthodox activities compared to those who do trust government. Those activities now include protests, demonstrations, barricading a community, firing at the security forces, blogging, and using the social commentaries on talk radio. While firing at the security forces extends beyond unconventional political participation - and this aspect is not covered in the present manuscript - it is clearly an unorthodox method employed by some groups within a society.

Key words: Determinants, political participation, unconventional political participation

INTRODUCTION

Low confidence in political institutions indicates apathy toward government and its related entities. The alienation between the citizenry and government is a motive for the dissatisfaction sometimes acted out in the form of unconventional political acts, such as roadblocks, protests, online blogging, demonstrations and revolts. Fukuyama (1995) helps us to understand this, when he says that trust is crucial to stable democracy; and this extends to cooperation with the system of governance. The rationale behind unconventional political participation by the people is that it is their way of expressing apathy, and they sometimes believe it is the only medium by which they will be heard by governments and related organizations. Mass involvement provides an audience that is stronger than a single unit, and this helps to explain government's willingness to respond to this reality. In addition, the citizenry use this approach when they seek audience with their representatives or entities that they believe have failed them-when their expectations are not met. Thus, increased unconventional political participation is a display of mistrust (low confidence), which justifies the need for this phenomenon to be studied.

Boxill *et al.* (2007), Stone (1974), Munroe (1999, 2002) and Buddan (2001) are just a few scholars who have reviewed Caribbean literature on political participation, with both Boxill *et al.* (2007) and

Stone (1974) using survey research in their attempts to unearth the culture of political participation in the region. Using actual statistics from general elections, Stone (1974) showed that, initially, participation in voting in the general elections has been low and it has been steadily decreasing over the past two and a half decades (Table 1) (Boxill *et al.*, 2007). The voter turnout can be used as an indicator of low confidence in political institutions, but this is within the premise of orthodox political participation. Munroe (2002) refers to political participation as the "(degree) to which citizens use their rights, such as the right to protest, the right of free speech, the right to vote, to influence or to get involved in political activity".

He went on further to distinguish between conventional (orthodox) and unconventional political participation (unorthodox political participation). Conventional participation addresses involvements that are embedded in the norms and traditions of the country. Unconventional political participation, on the other hand, encapsulates involvements that are outside of the norm (the traditional approach) and according to Munroe, (2002) they are "...more aggressive, more assertive, and may even break the law". These include roadblocks, peaceful marches, blogging and demonstrations (Shingles, 1981; Martinez, 2005; Robnett, 2007; Munroe, 1999, 2002; Spehr and Dutt, 2004). Table 1 highlights the conventional approach to the study of political involvement, and this is extensively researched. But since

Table 1: Political participation in General Election - Election Results - 1944-2002, %

Year	Accepted Ballots (%)
1944	52.7
1949	63.8
1955	63.9
1959	65.4
1962	72.3
1967	81.5
1972	78.2
1976	84.5
1980	86.1
1983	28.9
1989	77.6
1993	66.7
1997	64.5
2002	-

Source: Statistical Yearbook of Jamaica (various years), STATIN

it is widely studied, this research is not concerned with orthodox political participation, as unorthodox political participation has changed from its traditional approach to writing blogs and engaging in peaceful protests, and this fact fundamentally drives the present study. This chapter is an examination of unconventional political participation as well as an identification of germane factors that influence this behaviour.

According to Munroe (2002), "...conventional political participation is declining, unconventional political participation as a type of political behaviour is increasing", and this explains the number of roadblocks, demonstrations, political blogging and protests, both violent and peaceful. Unconventional political participation dates back to slavery, and this has helped to shape many contemporary Caribbean states. The difference in the twenty-first century is the frequency and the mode of these activities. Most unconventional activities in contemporary Caribbean societies are peaceful protests - such as individuals bearing placards, strikes, sick-outs, 'go-but-slow' (i.e., on the job but working less than is expected), online blogging, writing to the media, calling talk shows, and sometimes there are 'unruly' demonstrations, for example the gas riot in Jamaica in 1997 in which properties were destroyed because the citizenry was disappointed with the increased price of gas; the 1938 riots in Jamaica; riots in Haiti, the Cuban revolution in 1958, and the protests of the 1960s - including the Walter Rodney riot of 1968. Contemporary Jamaica is shaped by some of the unconventional political activities that emerged due to the actions of political parties in the 1960s. One scholar reviewing what he refers to as 'Walter Rodney 1968 Revisited' laid out the premises for unconventional participation, when he says:

In June and July 1966 the homes of over 3,000 people were bulldozed by the government of the Jamaica Labour Party (Jamaica Council for Human Rights 1968, 2). Following Selassie's visit the bulldozing of Western Kingston's slums continued. The bulldozers, protected by armed soldiers, became

hated objects and they symbolized the creation of the modern low-income housing estates, access to which was based on political party affiliation. The People's National Party later responded with its own residential enclaves and this marked the transition of party tribalism into its armed phase. Political protests against this kind of turf politics, which the youths called 'politricks', saw the discrediting among a minority of radicalized youth and intellectuals of political parties as vehicles for social and political change. So in 1966-67 political violence entered its modern phase with the formalization of garrison constituencies, and fierce trade union and party rivalry led in October 1966 to the declaration of a state of emergency in Western Kingston (Lewis, 1998).

Stone (1974) in one of his many studies entitled 'Class, Race and Political Behaviour' explains that the economic deprivation of a particular class in Jamaica accounts for the atmosphere of militancy, and by extension protection and other forms of unconventional participation. The aforementioned discussion creates the illusion that unconventional political participation, be it peaceful or otherwise, was limited to the geopolitical space of Jamaica, but this is very far from the social reality. Lewis contextualizes it aptly:

Yet the decolonization process in the Caribbean had been relatively peaceful, but was paralleled by violent struggles elsewhere. Colonial wars had taken a heavy toll in Algeria's struggle against France in which a million people had been killed; more wars in Southern Africa were in the making against Portuguese rule in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau; and the political elite of South African apartheid was accelerating its brutality within Southern Africa as a whole (Lewis, 1998).

Although Stone (1974) and Rupert Lewis (1998) have provided some insight into unconventional political participation (Munroe, 1999) and a particular rationale for their beginnings, unconventional political participation was also occurring in the United States in the 1960s. The peaceful protest of Mrs. Rosetta Parks when she sat at the front of the bus when blacks were designated to second-class status in that country was the beginning of other types of unconventional participation. This led Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King to many peaceful demonstrations, and the birth of the civil rights movement.

In 2008, (June 6), workers of the Jamaica Urban Transit Company (JUTC) were demonstrating because the company's executive board had decided to make some 100 of them redundant. Among the reasons that explain the dwindling of traditional political participation and the rise of unconventional political involvement are

corruption, inequality, injustices, perception of right or wrong, low accountability, low integrity and credibility, economic discontent, malpractice, wastage of public resources, low results and 'bad' intent and motivation. This reality is not limited to Jamaica, as the experience is widespread across the geopolitical space of the globe. The extent of a particular typology of unconventional involvement may not be the same in Jamaica as in the rest of the world – including America, Japan or the United Kingdom.

With the exception of the boycott of general elections in 1983 by the People's National Party (PNP), since Jamaica gained independence in 1962, there has been some fluctuation, but primarily a steady decline in electorate turnout at the polls (EOJ, 2009). In contrast, however, while there has been a decline in such conventional forms of political participation, unconventional forms of political participation are increasing (Munroe, 1999). An explanation of this phenomenon has been put forward by local researchers such as Jamaica's Carl Stone, Peter Figueroa, Donna Hope, and Trevor Munroe. Two of the most prominent rationales are a lack of efficiency and effectiveness in the legal route for dealing with grievances, and the belief that protests garner more media coverage and hence swifter response from politicians, leading to speedier and more favourable results. The aim of this study, however, is not to assess the shift in forms of political behaviour, but instead to examine the different demographic variables that may impact, or have impacted, unconventional political actions by individuals.

The characteristics of unconventional political participators have not been thoroughly studied in the Caribbean. It is with this in mind that the research seeks to identify those characteristics, which have or may have a positive or negative correlation with unconventional participation in Jamaica, as we seek to dispel those myths that are rooted deep in our generational thoughts about those who participate in such political activities. In addition to the aforementioned issues, we also seek to investigate whether unconventional political participation is affected by trust.

Conceptual framework: In proposing an explanation that justifies unconventional political participation, Munroe (1999) believes that voter 'de-alignment' is an indication of voter apathy with the political process, and that this is transmitted through citizenry involvement in protests, road blocks, demonstrations and online blogging. Economic deterioration and social infrastructural deficiencies are all part of the reasons for increases in unconventional political participation (Munroe, 1999). Some people and institutions use protests - for example human rights bodies, lobbyists, and private citizenry - to promote and broaden their claim for change, betterment and reach, as

these are more effective in gaining public attention, and in the process to solicit a positive response from government. It should be noted here that the economic activity of the citizens is a critical component in their social lives (Fukuyama, 1995); and trust is the crucial property that binds the society together. It is the inherent degree of mistrust in the society that explains civic engagement (Fukuyama, 1995; Covey and Merrill, 2006) and when this mistrust begins to be fashioned and intensify in the society, unconventional political participation often results as a response to societal, interpersonal and organizational mistrust.

According to Fukuyama (1995), trust is crucial to social capital and the health of a society, and a stable democracy, cooperation, production, economic efficiency and civic engagement are due to trust. Ergo, when people begin to question someone's intent, motive, integrity, honesty, and credibility, they are likely to become mistrusting, and this influences economic and social relations, cooperativeness, the sense of duty to others, and communication. Thus, trust is that vital ingredient that explains industrial structure, and involvement in political institutions. "In any meaningful democracy, the interests and wishes of the different members of society have to be articulated and represented through political parties and other kinds of organized political groups" (Fukuyama, 1995). This emphasizes an aspect of how citizens are likely to become involved in unconventional activities, as they believe that their demands, wishes and expectations are not met by the institutions that are legitimized to do so. Thus, unconventional political participation is a 'break down' in sociability and lowers social capital, as people do not believe that they should cooperate with the socioeconomic structure. The Haitian revolution, the French and Cuban revolutions, civil unrest, protests, demonstrations, anarchy, the Rodney King riot, and intolerance with the political structure are just some of the displays that embody social ills within governance, questioning the administration of the justice system, and the ungovernable nature of political climate. Unconventional political participation erodes social capital, as people are cynical and suspicious of others' motives and intentions, and this is the driving force behind protests, demonstrations and civil uprisings. According to Fukuyama (1995), "a low social capital country is not only likely to have small, weak, and inefficient companies; it will also suffer from pervasive corruption of its public officials and ineffective public administration".

The shift in political participation from the more traditional types (such as voting behaviour) to those that are more rebellious, uncivil and that may sometimes be violent, is not indigenous to Jamaica, or for that matter to the Caribbean, as these also occur in America - Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King's peaceful protests, Rev Jessie

Jackson's involvement in peaceful protest - the French revolution; demonstrations and protests in China, uprisings in Zimbabwe and Kenya, and demonstrations in Germany, are just a few of these unfolding in different geopolitical spaces throughout the world. However, it is the demographics of those who indulge in unconventional participation, which vary. Some of these characteristics include: gender, age, income, educational attainment, ethnicity, marital status and religion. A Caribbean scholar, Munroe (1999), notes that unconventional political participation is a practice of urban residents, and of the youth. There are studies done in different geopolitical spaces including India (Spehr and Dutt, 2004), the United States of America (Shingles, 1981; Robnett, 2007), Canada (Blais *et al.*, 2002) and China (Cai, 2008), that have identified a number of variables as influencing unorthodox political participation.

Income and education: It is argued that high-income earners in western society are more prone to unconventional political activism (Spehr and Dutt, 2004), along with the more educated. However, Munroe (1999) explicitly states that such a notion contradicts what is found to be true in the Jamaican context; that is, it is those who are less financially endowed who are more likely, and who generally partake in non-traditional forms of political activities. The same is said by Stone (1974), who dismisses the notion, stating that non-traditional forms of political activity are usually orchestrated by the poorer and less educated individuals within the Jamaican society. On the other hand, this is not reflected in some other countries. Patterson (2005) found that in Brazil and Chile the protestors were not necessarily the poorest in society, but instead the more affluent, who had the resources and were interested in institutionalizing change. This is not surprising if one were to compare his findings to other parts of the world, such as China (Cai, 2008), India (Spehr and Dutt, 2004), and Latin America (Argentina, Chile, Mexico and Peru) (Klesner, 2007) as there it is also the higher income earners who are more inclined to participate in protests and roadblocks, in comparison to those who are closer to the bottom of the wage scale.

Age: Like income, the propensity to participate in unconventional political activities varies (but not significantly) from one country to another. In India, younger persons are more likely to participate than the older cohorts (Spehr and Dutt, 2004). In a study conducted by Martinez (2005), older Latinos of Mexican, Puerto Rican and Cuban origin were more inclined to be unorthodox political activists. The variance in findings is suggested to be as a result of a lack of interest in politics on the part of the younger generation, coupled with political disengagement and disenfranchisement (Blais *et al.*, (2002).

Gender: Spehr and Dutt (2004) found that there is no substantive difference between the levels of participation across genders in India. This was a surprising finding, given the traditional nature of the country (Spehr and Dutt, 2004). Robnett (2007) on the other hand, had different results when she assessed the participation of African American women; she found that women were 51.1% less likely to participate than men. However, when this variable was added to other variables such as collective identity and educational attainment, Robnett (2007) found that among the group that had a strong collective identity, men were more likely to partake in unconventional activities. This suggests that variables should be assessed primarily together rather than singularly, in order to get a clearer picture of the impacting demographics.

Ethnicity: In countries where there are large groups of persons of varying ethnic and racial backgrounds the inclination to participate in unconventional forms of political activities tends to differ. As is seen in the Latino case studied by Martinez (2005), assessing the issue of ethnicity as a variable requires one to look at citizenship status, the degree of power and wealth attained by the minority group, and in particular any factor which could be negatively impacted if they were to participate in a roadblock or demonstration. However, while the Latinos studied were less inclined to behave unconventionally, partly for fear of losing their jobs or being deported (Martinez, 2005), the African Americans were more inclined to participate (Shingles, 1981).

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Sample: This survey was administered by the Centre of Leadership and Governance (CLG), University of the West Indies, Mona, Kingston, in May 2007 (Powell *et al.*, 2007). The sample was randomly selected from the fourteen parishes of Jamaica, using the descriptive research design. The sample frame is representative of the population, based on gender and ethnicity. A total of 1,338 respondents aged 16 years and older were interviewed for this study, with a sampling error of approximately $\pm 3\%$, at the 95% confidence level (i.e., CI). A detailed presentation of the methods of this study was already discussed in another work (Bourne *et al.*, 2010).

The average age for the sample was 34 years and 11 months ± 13 years and 7 months. The results that are presented here are based solely on Jamaicans' opinion of their political orientation. Descriptive statistics and logistic regressions were used to analyze the data. Where collinearity existed ($r > 0.7$), variables were entered independently into the model to determine, which should be retained during the final model construction (Polit, 1996). To derive accurate tests of statistical

significance, we used SUDDAN statistical software (Research Triangle Institute, Research Triangle Park, NC), and this was adjusted for the survey's complex sampling design.

Measurement: Sex, 'X'. This variable is being male or female. It is a binary variable, where 1 = female and 0 = male.

Area of Residence, 'A_R'. This variable is the parish in which the individual lived while the study was being conducted. It is a dummy variable.

AreaRes1 1 = Kingston and St. Andrew, 0 = Other

Jamaica is divided into fourteen parishes: Kingston and St. Andrew, St. Thomas, Portland, St. Mary, St. Ann, Trelawny, St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, Clarendon and St. Catherine.

Subjective Social Class, 'S'. This is people's perception of their social and economic position in life, based on social stratification.

Class 1 1 = Middle class, 0 = Other
Class 2 1 = Upper class, 0 = Other

The reference group is 'Lower Classes' Ethnicity, 'R'.

Race 1 1 = Caucasian, 0 = Other
Race 2 1 = Black and Brown, 0 = Other

The reference group is Chinese, Indians, et cetera. Educational Level, 'E'.

Secondary, 0 = Other
Post-secondary, 0 = Other
University, and professional training, 0 = Other

The reference group is primary and below education.

Confidence Index, 'CFI'. The $CFI = \sum f_i/c_i$, where f_i indicates the frequency of the occurrence of the event, and c_i denotes the event. F_i ranges from 1 = no confidence, 2 = a little confidence, 3 = some confidence, and 4 = a lot of confidence. (Appendix I for extended listing of the c_i).

Mistrust in government, 'T_G'. This is people's perception of their 'trust' in government. It is measured from the question "Would you say most people in government can be trusted to keep their promises, or that you can never be too careful in dealing with people in government" (Powell *et al.*, 2007). The variable is a binary measure, where 1 = cannot be trusted or never be too careful and 0 = Can be trusted.

Interpersonal Trust, 'T_I'. This is people's perception of their 'trust' in other people. It is measured from the

question "Would you say that most people can be trusted to keep their promises, or that you can never be too careful when dealing with other people" (Powell *et al.*, 2007). Interpersonal trust is binary variable, where 1 = Yes (or can be trusted), and 0 = No (cannot be trusted or never be too careful).

Unconventional Political Participation, 'UPP'. This variable is defined as political involvements which are outside of the traditional measure of political involvement. These include protests, demonstrations, road blockages, boycotts and participation in organized strikes (Appendix I). The Cronbach α being 0.701 for the 5-item scale, which is used to constitute this Index. The final variable is an ordinal one, which is classified as low, moderate and high.

Age group, 'A_i'. is an ordinal variable that classifies age in three categories. These are as follows - youth (ages 16 to 25 years), other adults (ages 26 to 59 years) and elderly (ages 60+ years).

1 = Other adults, 0 = Other
1 = Elderly, 0 = Other

Reference group is youth

Hypotheses: General Hypothesis:

$$UPP = f(T_G, T_I, A_i, CFI, E, R, A_R, X) \quad (1)$$

Thus, using data, we found the following to be factors of unconventional participation - model (i.e., Eq. (3)):

$$UPP = \alpha + \beta_1 T_G + \beta_2 T_I + \beta_3 A_i + \beta_5 E + \beta_7 X \quad (2)$$

Having identified the five factors that explain unconventional political participation in Jamaica, we are concerned about the nature of these variables (i.e., whether they are factors or predictors of unconventional political participation). We will test this with the equation below:

Findings: Table 2 presents information on the sociodemographic characteristics of the sample.

Multivariate analysis: Using the data to test the model in Eq. (1), we found that there are five of the seven predisposing factors, which explain unconventional political participation in Jamaica. They are mistrust in government, interpersonal trust, age group, educational level, and sex. The model explains 79% (R^2) of the variation in unconventional political participation. Based on Table 3, there is an inverse relationship between unconventional political participation and interpersonal trust as well as sex. Concurrently, positive associations

Table 2: Sociodemographic characteristic of sample, n = 1,338

Characteristics	Percentage	
	Male	Female
Age group:		
Youth	30.3	35.5
Other adults	62.0	59.3
Elderly	07.7	05.1
Subjective social class:		
Working	59.8	58.7
Middle	35.2	37.2
Upper	05.0	04.2
Ethnicity:		
Blacks	75.8	77.9
Caucasian	09.8	06.4
Mixed (Brown)	11.7	14.4
Other	02.6	01.2
Individual educational level:		
No formal	02.0	1.2
Primary	21.6	16.8
Secondary	33.8	35.5
Post secondary	19.0	18.4
Tertiary	23.6	28.2
Unconventional political participation:		
Low	81.3	87.8
Moderate	07.4	06.3
High	11.3	06.0
Interpersonal trust		
Yes	62.0	63.4
No	38.0	36.6
Mistrust in government		
Yes	89.5	93.7
No	10.5	06.3
Employment		
Unemployed	05.2	05.2
Employed	83.2	78.6
Self-employed	11.5	16.3

were observed between unconventional political participation and education, age group and mistrust in government. Of the five statistically significant factors to be derived from the predisposed variables, the three most influential ones in descending order are (1) other adults (Wald statistic = 12.14); (2) mistrust in government (Wald

statistic = 9.95), and (3) tertiary level educational attainment (Wald statistic = 9.57).

The findings revealed that one who has had tertiary level education in reference to primary and below education is 2.2 times (Odds ratio) more likely to participate in unconventional political activities. With regard to other adults in comparison to youth, they are 2.1 times more likely to be involved in unconventional political acts, while the elderly in comparison to youth are 2.4 times more likely to be involved in activities which are politically unconventional events. Furthermore, we found that females are 0.67 times less likely to participate in unconventional political activities when compared to their male counterparts. This was not the case for interpersonal trust, as individuals who trust other people are 0.62 times less likely to become involved in unconventional political acts. A similar finding was revealed for someone who trusts the government as he/she is 2.4 times more likely to become involved in unconventional political acts than another person who is not trusting of the government.

DISCUSSION

This study built a single index to capture unconventional political participation - a single index that includes blocking traffic in protest, participating in organized strikes, participating in organized boycotts, peaceful and violent demonstrations. Primarily the study found that 15.2% of Jamaicans reported participating in some form of unconventional political activity during their lifetime. Males are more involved in unconventional political events compared to their female counterparts, which is in keeping with the literature. One of the contradictions of this study is the disparity between itself and the findings of the literature (Munroe, 2002) as the group to report the most involvement in unconventional political activities were the elderly (22%), compared to

Table 3: Logistic regression: modeling unconventional political participation by selected predisposed variables

	β Coefficient	SE	p	Odds ratio	CI (95%)
Primary or below			1.00		
Secondary	0.01	0.27	0.978	1.01	0.60 - 1.69
Post secondary	0.23	0.29	0.435	1.26	0.71 - 2.22
Tertiary	0.80	0.26	0.002	2.23	1.34 - 3.70
Youth			1.00		
Other adults	0.73	0.21	0.000	2.08	1.38 - 3.15
Elderly	0.89	0.38	0.019	2.43	1.15 - 5.12
Sex (1 = female)	-0.40	0.17	0.023	0.67	0.48 - 0.95
Mistrust In Gov't (1 = Yes)	0.87	0.28	0.002	2.39	1.39 - 4.10
Other (Indian etc)			1.00		
Caucasian	-0.82	0.67	0.222	0.44	0.12 - 1.64
Black/brown	-0.28	0.56	0.623	0.76	0.25 - 2.29
Kingston or St. andrew	0.31	0.24	0.181	1.37	0.86 - 2.17
Confidence index	-0.03	0.19	0.879	0.97	0.67 - 1.40
Interpersonal trust (1 = yes)	-0.49	0.19	0.011	0.62	0.42 - 0.90

-2 Log Likelihood = 891.54, Nagelkerke R-squared = 0.79

other adults (18%) and the youth (10%). However our findings were consistent with other studies, which found that people of other ages are more involved in unorthodox political activities, compared to their younger counterparts.

The literature review did not stipulate the extent of the trust (or mistrust) of the sex based on unconventional political participation, and our research added this aspect. We found that females are 0.5 times less involved in unconventional activities with reference to males (OR = 0.48). This should come as no surprise, as early socialization of sex has males roaming and becoming involved in many outdoor activities while the females are encouraged to stay indoors, and to become domesticated for the sake of the family. While aspects of this are changing, men are predominantly the ones who are expected and are more willing to go protesting, demonstrating and getting involved in violent demonstrations.

The literature speaks to education being a factor in unconventional political participation, which was supported by this research. The current study found that individuals who reported the highest level of education - tertiary level education - are more likely to be involved in unconventional political events with reference to primary and below education compared to secondary, or those who have received, or are currently receiving, post-secondary level education. Furthermore, tertiary level graduates are 1.3 times more likely to become involved in unconventional activities with reference to primary or below education.

The literature spoke of the relation between unorthodox political participation and trust (or confidence) in government or in other persons; and this research was no different as it agrees with the findings of previous studies. The current work shows that a negative relation exists between interpersonal trust and unorthodox political participation; and that those who trust other (i.e., interpersonal trust) persons are 0.422 times less likely to get involved in unconventional political activities. Mistrust in government, on the other hand, is positively associated with unorthodox political events such as online blogging, protests and demonstrations.

Clearly the mistrust in government is such that unorthodox political participation is extending beyond blogging, protests, and demonstrations to enclaves of people barricading themselves in a community in order to stop the state from entering that geopolitical area. The recent upheaval in Tivoli Gardens (Anonymous, 2010), where the security forces were prevented from entering that geopolitical space in order to execute a warrant, marks another unorthodox political participation in Jamaica. Embedded in this unconventional political participation is mistrust of government along with the failure of the state to garner the confidence of the citizenry. This unconventional political participation

extends beyond mistrust to the failure of the state in the provision of those services, which are now provided by dons.

In many inner city communities in Jamaica, there is the reality that the dons are able to provide security, financial assistance and a social safety network, which was once the role of the state. The failure of successive governments to provide those important services, in particular security, mean that there is a high degree of mistrust of the state in rightfully carrying out its roles. The dons have filled this void create the state, which accounts for people having more fear but trust than trusting repeated failures of successive governments. The mistrust has become so pervasive, that explains the low level of trust for government, which unorthodox political participation is likely to rise if people believe that the social structures created by dons are threatened by other forces. Thus, the justification of the role that mistrust in government plays in unconventional political participation. The current study revealed that Jamaicans who mistrust government are 2.4 times more likely to become involved in unorthodox activities compared to those who do not trust government. Those activities now include protests, demonstrations, barricading a community, firing at the security forces, blogging, and using the social commentaries on talk radio. While firing at the security forces extend beyond unconventional political participation, and this aspect will not be covers in this manuscript, it is clearly an orthodox method used by some groups within a society.

CONCLUSION

Trust (or the lack of it) is critical to the likelihood of unconventional political participation in Jamaica. Despite the reality that unconventional political participation is low in the nation, it has a gender bias. The current work revealed that females are 23% less likely to be involved in unconventional political participation than males, and that mistrust in government, tertiary level educated individuals and age of respondents are more likely to be elements associated with unconventional political acts. Embedded in this work is the reality that as people become older they are more likely to find issues unacceptable, and that governments' behaviour is likely to see them using unconventional political media such as political blogging to vent their frustrations.

In concluding, the most significant factor of unconventional political participation of the selected predisposed variables is age of respondents, followed by level of educational attainment, mistrust in government, and lastly, by sex of respondents. We now can say categorically that mistrust in others and in government is among the reasons for the increase in the unorthodox political behaviour of Jamaicans. Mistrust (or low confidence) in government is a crucial factor in explaining

unorthodox political participation; and low interpersonal trust explains a proportion of the unorthodox political involvement of Jamaicans. Given that the level of interpersonal mistrust is so high (i.e., 4 out of 10 Jamaicans trust each other), people believe that government has some bad intentions and motives, and that government's credibility and integrity are questionable; these kinds of suspicion and cynicism are driving the increase in unorthodox behaviour of Jamaicans.

Appendix I

- Blocked traffic in protest?
- Participated in an organized 'strike'?
- Participated in an organized 'boycott'?
- Participated in a peaceful march or public demonstration?
- Participated in a march or public demonstration that involved some violence?

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