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Jamaican Values and Foreign Policy

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Abstract. Dependency theory suggests that the foreign policy of small island developing countries will be congruent to the preferences and interest of larger and more powerful countries in its sphere of influence. A large body of contemporary scholarship asserts that values not only play a role in the mass public's attitudes toward domestic politics, but that they also help people make sense of attitudes toward international affairs national values, they are influenced by factors such as historical traditions, cultural backgrounds, and the realities of the country. Internal tensions are created when a government pursues a foreign policy that is incongruent with the values of the citizens. This study examined the values of 513 Jamaican citizens using the World Value Survey and discussed these findings within the context of values theory and contemporary foreign policy issues. The secular versus religious divide helps to explain the differences in views on LBGQTQ, Abortion and Promiscuity and Abstinence between Jamaica and the hegemon. There is far more congruence in values and culture as it relates to Privacy, Science and Technology, Corruption, and Security. It is important that national culture and values of dependent countries be respected by dominant countries instead of assimilating into one worldview.

Keywords. Values, Culture, International Relations, Jamaica, Dependency Theory

Introduction

Dependency theory suggests that the foreign policy of small island developing countries will be congruent to the preferences and interest of larger and more powerful countries in its sphere of influence. These small island developing countries have historical and commercial links with their more powerful counterparts (Biddle and Stephens 1989). Jamaica has had strong historical ties with its powerful neighbor the United States (US), approximately 530 miles away by plane. Jamaica also has strong historical links with Canada and the United Kingdom (UK). At a global level there are strong linkages among the US, European Union, (EU), UK, and Canada – Western Countries. These countries share common values such as democracy, human rights, rule of law, and economic and political freedom and have common security concerns and foreign policy (European Parliament).

Foreign policy attitudes have traditionally been assumed to be underdeveloped and disorganized (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987). A large body of contemporary scholarship refutes traditional attitudes and asserts that values not only play a role in the mass public's attitudes toward domestic politics, but that they also help people make sense of attitudes toward international affairs (Rathbun et al 2016). Rathbun (2007) found that people take foreign policy

personally: the same basic values that people use to guide choices in their daily lives also travel to the domain of foreign affairs.

Lyu, Zhang, and Wang (2022) indicate that national values are based on the value expectations, behavioral guidance, and evaluation criteria agreed upon by the citizens of a country, and include religious, political, family, work, cultural identity, and other aspects of national values. The authors suggest that in forming national values, they are influenced by factors such as historical traditions, cultural backgrounds, and the realities of the country, so that national values vary by country. Despite the close linkages between Jamaica and the Western Countries the values of both are likely to have differences based on history.

There have been a few surveys to track Jamaican social and political values. Powell (2009) using the Schwartz values inventory surveyed 1,013 Jamaicans to indicate how important 35 key values from this inventory were to them. Powell found that Jamaicans were more egalitarian (equality-oriented) than hierarchical in their social values. Thus, values like 'equality', 'responsibility' and 'social justice' are generally favoured over 'wealth', 'authority' and 'social power' in the rankings. Powell also found values like 'honouring of parents and elders', 'politeness' and 'religious devotion' prevail over 'choosing own goals', 'a varied life' and 'creativity'.

Latin American Public Opinion Project (Lewis & Plutowski 2021) has done eight studies since 2008, most recently in 2021 which focuses on democracy and governance related problems facing Jamaica. These issues include the high level of homicides and violent crime and the associated fear of violence; Jamaicans involvement in transnational organized crime and sustained elevated levels of corruption.

In this paper we examine Jamaica's foreign policy since its independence in 1962, which has vacillated between pro-western based on the dependency tradition and a pro-Third World approach based on its history and values. These two foreign policy postures are dependent on the political party in power. We will also explore the foreign policy and values nexus from the perspective of Jamaica, a small island developing and dependent country and the tensions that occur depending on the foreign policy posture of each political party. A values survey is done, and the results will be discussed within the context of foreign policy literature.

The remaining structure of this paper is as follows. The next section (section 2) will examine the history of Jamaica's foreign policy and the two main political party's posture. Section three will examine the relevant literature on foreign policy and national values. Section 4 will explain the methodology used to collect and analyze the data. In section five we will present the findings and section six we will discuss the findings of the values survey in the context of foreign policy literature. In the concluding section seven, we will highlight the limitations of the study and conclusion.

Jamaica's Foreign Policy History

Jamaica became an independent country in 1962 and consequently for the first time was responsible for its foreign policy. Concurrently the Dependency school of thought was being developed as an ideology around which newly independent countries could unite (Hills 1994). Biddle and Stephens (1989) explain that dependency theory asserts that developing countries or Third World countries which are economically dependent on core capitalist countries will develop foreign policies positions consistent with core countries.

Jamaica has two major political parties, the Peoples National Party (PNP) and the Jamaica Labour Party (JLP). The JLP formed the government for the first ten years after independence, between 1972 and 1972. Bell (1977) divided the foreign policy posture into two

periods, 1962 to 1967 and 1967 to 1972. Bell explained that the first period was oriented towards attracting foreign investments and perpetuating existing political and economic ties. The second period was described by Bell (1977) transitional: becoming more venturesome in seeking new diplomatic relations. During this period Jamaica deftly shifted its economic focus from Great Britain to the rising superpower the USA (United States of America). The Jamaican foreign policy posture during the ten-year period could be described as pro-western and could be used as an operational definition for dependency theory.

The PNP won the election in 1972 and remained in power until 1980 with Michael Manley as Prime Minister. Bell (1977) described the early Manley years as promotive: attempting to change the international environment to support domestic growth. This change in posture was demonstrated at three levels, national, regional, and international. According to Rother (1997) Manley “expanded the health and education systems, organized job training programs for the young and the unemployed, fostered racial pride and tried to encourage agricultural self-sufficiency through state farms.” Rother (1997) further indicated that Manley instituted the bauxite levy raising royalties on exports of bauxite and acquired controlling interest of American and Canadian bauxite companies.

Caribbean Policy Research Institute reported that at the regional level Jamaica was at the forefront of change as the Manley government fully signed on to the Treaty of Chaguaramas which called for —the harmonization or coordination of foreign policy among member states. Manley also sought a much closer relationship with Cuba, establishing full diplomatic relations, to the chagrin of the United States. Rother (1977) reported that Manley imported hundreds of Cuban doctors, teachers and construction workers and invited Fidel Castro, to visit Jamaica whom he described as “a man of extraordinary political sophistication.”

In a 1972 address to the United Nations, Manley admonished the membership, particularly the powerful and wealthy countries, for their misplaced priorities and called for a new international economic order for developing countries. Manley supported by Julius K. Nyerere President of Tanzania and Indira Gandhi Prime Minister of India became outspoken advocates for this new world order (Rother 1977).

Jamaica’s assertive foreign policy posture and especially its support for Cuba foreshadowed a series of negative events. According to a US State Department document the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) developed a covert action program in Jamaica to destabilize the Manley government. The main strategy was to “Establish direct confidential contact with Edward Seaga, the leader of the main opposition party, the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) and also provide guidance, assistance and funds to the JLP in the upcoming (1980) Jamaican national election campaign.” The document continued: “Our ultimate aim is either the political defeat of Manley and the replacement of his government with one more friendly to the U.S. and appreciative of U.S. interests...”

In 1980 Edward Seaga’s JLP won the election by a landslide. He quickly cemented ties with the West by immediately severing diplomatic relations with Cuba and steered a more conservative foreign policy which received approval from both Ronald Regan in the USA and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain (Biddle and Stephens 1989). Seaga perspective was Jamaica’s bread is buttered in Washington. The Seaga regime adopted a low-profile conservative pro-Western foreign policy like the 1962–72 period. The JLP position on foreign relations in 1980 was to adopt a “constructive role,” the administration seeks to avoid “the advocacy of one cause or the other which could prejudice (its) ability to conciliate” its own national interests.

The period between 1962 and 1980 fundamentally shaped the foreign policy position of both political parties, a case study of contrasts. The JLP: supports dependent development, conservative, pro-Western, low profile, Jamaica first, pragmatic. The PNP: idealistic, high profile, less insular, willing to challenge the international order to improve the conditions of the third world not just Jamaica and appose dependent development.

Literature Review

The literature review will examine three aspects of foreign policy: (1) USA values and foreign policy (2) dependency theories and foreign policy (3) values and foreign policy. We will conclude by synthesizing all three aspects.

Values and US Foreign Policy

The public views on foreign policy have been extensively studied in the United States of America and a lot of the literature on this issue has been American centric. Coming out this body of work there are two related but distinct research strands in values and foreign policy: (CI) cooperative internationalism and MI (militant internationalism), (Rathbun et al 2016). This framework is described by Nincic and Ramos (2011) as the gold standard of conceptualizing the structure of foreign policy.

According to (Wittkopf 1986, 1990) co-operative internationalism refers to a plea for détente and a close co-operation between the U.S.A. and other Great Powers. Chittick et al. (1995) believes that CI is more inclusive and has a common concern for the wider community. In the same vein Rathburn (2007) explains that this dimension denotes a sense of obligation to the broader international community. The dimension is also congruent with multilateralism, international institutions, like the United Nations, and international collaboration (Wittkopf 1990 and Rathburn 2007).

In contrast “Militant internationalism refers to anxiety of communism and support for the U.S.A.’s right to intervene militarily when national interests are threatened (Wittkopf 1986). Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) as referenced in Rathbun et al (2016) proposed: “dimension of militarism ... anchored, on the one end, by a desire that the government assume an assertive, militant foreign-policy posture through military strength and on the other by a desire for a more flexible and accommodating stance through negotiations.” According to Tetlock (1983) and others hawkish and dovish postures rest on different cognitive “models” about the effectiveness of force. Rathbun et al (2016) explains that hawks embrace the deterrence model in which strength and the demonstrations of resolve best achieve peace. Lack of credibility and signs of weakness invite challenges by an aggressive foe in a dangerous environment. Doves argue that such display of strength is self-defeating and escalates hostilities which leave both combatants worse off. Kertzer et al (2014) found that values, particularly moral values, are strongly and systematically associated with foreign policy attitudes.

Dependency Theories

The bargaining model was the dominant approach used to explain why the foreign policy of developing (weak) countries was similar to that of developed (strong) countries to which they are linked (Ray 1981). The model explained a transactional power relationship in which strong states gain acquiescence from weak states through a carrot and stick approach: use of threat or the application of punishment and or the deliveries of benefits. The threats include sanctions or military actions while the benefits include trade preferences, or economic and military aid Biddle & Stephens (1989).

Within the dependency theory framework Moon (1985) challenged the bargaining model and offered a substitute explanation for foreign policy actions of developing countries. Moon (1985) argues that there are an economic, political, social, and cultural parallel between the elites in dependency country on one hand and those of the dominant nations (particularly the United States) on the other. This Moon argues creates a "consensus-producing forces" between the elites of the dependent nation and the dominant nation. This suggests that foreign policy of the dependent nations is based on the views of the political and economic elites and does not reflect the views and values of the nation. This also suggests that the foreign policy position of a dependent country may create domestic tension between the elites and the rest of the population.

Values

To discuss and understand values we first need to discuss national culture. According to Hofstede et al (2010) culture is the "collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others." The category or group for national culture, is the nation – in this case Jamaica. Each nation has distinctive cultural tendencies which trace back to foundational histories of each nation (Smith 2000). Hofstede et al (2010) argues that culture is a learned behaviour rather than inherited behaviour. These tendencies or behaviours are usually formed by the age of 12 to 14 and are a product of the environment we grow up in.

The core of culture is formed by values. National values are how behaviours and beliefs of members of the society can be coherently interpreted (Peretz and Fried) There is no common definition of values or cultural values. The common themes in most of these definitions and classifications are that cultural values are typically shared by members of society, are passed from older to younger members, and shape a collective perception of the world (Adler, 2002).

Lyu, Zhang, and Wang (2022) indicate that national values are based on the value expectations, behavioral guidance, and evaluation criteria agreed upon by the citizens of a country, and include religious, political, family, work, cultural identity, and other aspects of national values. The authors suggest that in forming national values, they are influenced by factors such as historical traditions, cultural backgrounds, and the realities of the country, so that national values vary by country.

Method

Scholars have developed multiple cross-cultural instruments and taken multiple approaches to describe how culture and values differ across societies. Four well-known empirical models have been developed, with two or more values, tested across over 20 countries and used in academic studies (Allison et al 2021). In 1980 Hofstede introduced cultural dimensions which numerically quantified cultural differences between nations (Hofstede 1980). Later, in 1994, Schwartz developed an instrument measuring ten individual values and seven cultural values (Schwartz 1994). Inglehart (1997), working with the World Values Survey introduced a model to inductively deduce how cultural dimensions change over time. House et al (2004) introduced the GLOBE survey and used a multilevel factor analysis to discover nine leadership values that vary significantly across countries.

This study used questions from the World Values Survey (WVS) initially developed by Inglehart (1997). The WVS started in 1981 with the European Values Study and has been operating in over 120 countries. The survey is conducted globally every five years. Based on

principal component analysis two dimensions were developed with 23 variables. The two dimensions are (1) traditionalism vs. secular-rational authority and (2) survival vs. well-being (Allison et al 2021).

The instrument used to collect that data was a version of the World Value Survey (WVS) Wave 7, 2017 – 2021. The WVS core questionnaire had 14 constructs, the questionnaire used in this survey excluded five areas happiness and well-being, social capital, trust & organizational membership, economic values, political interest & political participation and political culture and political regimes. The included areas were social values, attitudes & stereotypes, corruption, security, post materialistic index, science and technology, religious values, ethical values & norms and finally demographics. The instrument was pre-tested, and amendments made to provide clarity.

In completing the survey respondents were instructed that participation was voluntary, anonymous and that there were no right or wrong answers to the questions; each question 's aim was to simply learn the respondent's opinion.

Data collection method was convenient sampling due to the constraints of COVID-19 social distancing requirements. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling method where participants in the research are picked due to ease of access to them (Nikolopoulou 2022). The questionnaire was distributed online between April 4, 2022, and May 7, 2022. Data was analyzed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) 26 using descriptive and regression analysis

Findings

This section provides of the study. The section covers descriptive of the respondents, and the following constructs/values: corruption, security, science and technology, religion, and government surveillance.

Descriptive

The study was conducted among 513 Jamaican citizens, of which 64 percent were female and 36 percent male. The number of respondents in the first three age groups were consistent 18-29: 24 percent; 30 – 39: 26 percent and 40 – 54 27 percent. These three age groups represented 76 percent of the sample. The other two age groups 55 – 64: 17 percent and 65 & over 7 percent. The predominant marital status of the respondents was single 45 percent followed by married 37 percent. The educational level of the respondents was high with approximately 80 percent having at least a bachelor's degree (bachelor's 38 percent; master's 34 and doctoral 7 percent. The other 21 percent represented post-secondary, secondary and primary. Most of the respondents were employed full-time: 74 percent. No other category was in double digits. The self-described social class of the respondents clustered around middle class and working class: lower middle 37 percent; upper middle 32 percent and working-class 28 percent.

Corruption

Most Jamaicans believe that the country is very corrupt with approximately 6 of 10 respondents believing that there is high corruption or abundant (high: 19 percent and abundant 42 percent). Central and local governments are considered the most corrupt, with 66 percent of respondents believing these areas of government are the most corrupt. Civil servants and businesses 52 and 51 percent respectively of the respondents believed that most of these persons were corrupt. Media was considered the least corrupt with only 35 percent of the respondents

believing that most of the media was corrupt. Approximately 46 percent of the respondents reported that they always or frequently pay a bribe, give a gift, or do a favour to get services done. Most people believe that giving or receiving a bribe for public services comes with negligible risk of accountable: 57 percent of respondents believe there is little to moderate risk. Respondents believed that men were more corrupt than women: approximately 52 percent agreed or strongly agreed.

Security

Most respondent's 57 percent do not feel very safe in Jamaica. Despite the high safety concerns, the incidence of crime or unbecoming behavior is low. Alcohol consumption of 44 percent has the highest frequency followed by robberies 32 percent, verbal altercations 29 percent and drug sales 21 percent. There are several precautions that respondents employ to reduce their exposure to crime. These include carrying little or no cash and carrying a cell phone: 86 percent each; and going on the road as little as 73 percent. Only 21 percent carry a weapon. About 64 percent of the respondents were a crime victim, and 83 percent knew a family of friend who was a crime victim.

Science and Technology

Most of the respondents have positive views regarding science and technology. Seventy-six percent agree that science and technology make life healthier, 74 percent believe that it offers opportunities for the next generation, 83 percent believe that science and technology make the world better and 73 percent that science and technology plays an important part in their daily life. Despite the positive views about technology 54 percent of the respondents believe that we depend too much on science and technology and not enough on religion.

Religious Values

Jamaica religious values are complicated. Approximately 87 percent of the respondents said that God was important in their life and almost 97 percent believes in God. A high percentage, 85, believe in heaven, however less people believe in the afterlife 72 percent and 78 percent believe in hell. There is a level of ambivalence when it comes to religion and science. Thirty-five (35) percent agree that religion has preeminence over science, 47 percent disagree, and 18 percent are not sure. Jamaicans are not dogmatic about religion. Sixty-one (61) percent do not believe that their religion is the only true religion with approximately 30 percent believes that their religion is the only true religion.

Meeting in God's sanctuary and communicating through prayer offers additional contradictions. Fifty-nine (59) percent attended church at least once per week and 41 percent attended once a year or never. Despite some not attending church 83 percent pray at least once per day, with 51 percent praying several times per day. This is however consistent with 79 percent of the respondents identifying themselves as religious with the remaining 21 percent as atheist or not religious.

As it relates to the basic meaning of religion 83 percent believes it provides meaning for life in this world and another 71 percent believes that it means to do good to other people.

Several situations were presented to respondents to decide on their agreement or justification. Approximately four of ten people (38) percent had trouble deciding which moral rules are the right ones. Eighty-six percent believed that it was unjustified to claim government benefits that they are not entitled to; 92 percent believed that it was just unjustified to avoid paying a fare on public transport; 95 percent believed that stealing property was unjustified; 90

percent believed that cheating on taxes was unjustified; and 92 percent agreed that accepting bribes was unjustified. Homosexuality remain taboo with 79 percent believing that it is unjustified and similar percentage 80 believing that same sex marriage is unjustified. Prostitution is also taboo with 80 percent believing that it is unjustified. The otherwise thorny issues of abortion, 71 percent of Jamaican believe that it is unjustified. There are mixed feelings on divorce with 49 percent believing that it is unjustified. A small majority, 58 percent, believes that sex before marriage is unjustified. Suicide and assisted suicide are also taboo with 90 percent and 81 percent believing that they are respectively unjustified.

There is strong disapproval for spousal abuse with 94 percent agreeing that it is unjustified. The belief in physical punishment for children is declining with 68 percent believing that it is not justified. Political violence is frowned at with 95 percent believing that it is unjustified. Sexual relationship is a little nuanced with 74 percent believing that casual sex is unjustified while only 25 percent believing in only having only one partner at any one time. Marriage is still highly desired with 84 percent believing that it is still relevant. Relating to parenting, 60 percent believe that homosexual couples are not as good parents as heterosexual couples; only 24 percent believed that that both groups were equal.

Government Surveillance

Respondents were decisive on government video surveillance with 82 percent believing that government should keep citizens under video surveillance in public areas. The opposite is true for email and internet surveillance with 86 percent believing that the government should not. Respondents were decisive about arbitrary collection of data about its citizens (76 percent disagreed) and tapping cellular phones (80 percent disagreed.)

Discussion

Corruption

The Corruption Perception Index (CPI) is a widely used global corruption ranking of 180 countries and territories which measures the perceived level of corruption in a country's public sector. Jamaica's score has improved from 38 in 2012 to 44 out of 100 in 2022. Jamaica's score has not improved since 2020 (CPI 2022). Jamaica is one percentage point over the average for the Americas of 43 out of 100. The CPI (2022) reports that regionally there is a lack of bold, decisive action to fight corruption and strengthen public institutions which fuels organized crime, undermines democracy and human rights.

The Gleaner (2014) Newspaper commissioned poll of 1,208 Jamaicans found that respondents had no confidence in the country's elected officials and civil servants. Seventy percent (70%) of the respondents believed that elected officials were corrupt, 80 per cent of the police force was corrupt and 50 per cent of government employees were corrupt. This research corroborates these findings with about 60 percent of respondents believing high or abundant corruption. The main perpetrators were central and local government with 66 percent of the respondents believing that these areas of government are the most corrupt.

Strategic dependence can be used both as an anticorruption or a corruption tool in foreign policy. Transparency International (2019) looks at the corruption as statecraft of foreign policy argues that strategic dependence can be used as a pressure point or leverage, for example in energy export, crucial infrastructure investment or debt which can be used to buy influence within political systems. However, the US Foreign Corrupt Practices Act was passed in 1977 to prevent bribery and corruption worldwide. Under the Act "it is unlawful for a US person or

company to offer, pay, or promise to pay money or anything of value to any foreign official for the purpose of obtaining or retaining business” (International Trade Administration).

What is clear from this discussion is that the actions of powerful countries can increase or decrease corruption in a host country. However strategic dependence does not necessarily determine the level of corruption in a country. Transparency International (2019) top 25 corruption scandals that shook the world includes Spain, Germany and non-state actors like FIFA and the Paradise Papers chronicling where the rich and powerful hide their money.

Despite the lack of trust of the Jamaican citizen towards the political class, polls have shown that there is a fatalism in this perception as it is not considered a factor in tipping the scales towards either party – they are both corrupt (Smith 2023). The fatalism has several negative implications, voter apathy, with low election turnout which will not reflect the people's will. Corruption of candidates by organized criminals will influence the government officials' decisions. Law enforcement and public officials may also collaborate with criminal gangs or accept bribes in exchange for ignoring illicit activities (CPI 2022). This situation also provides a fertile ground for gun violence.

Security

Legal civilian firearm ownership is tightly regulated in the Caribbean and consequently firearm ownership is low compared to the global average (Caribbean Firearms Study 2023). There is however a paradox. Caribbean Firearms Study (2023) reports that the rate of violent deaths is almost three times the global average and firearms are used in more than half of these homicides. Most firearms in circulation in the region are handguns and the US domestic market is the major source of all illegal firearms in the Caribbean. The Global Organized Crime Index (2023) reports that in the Americas the leading arms trafficking countries are Paraguay and Jamaica. Neither of these countries are arms manufacturers.

Jamaica has been considered one of the most homicidal countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Between 2014 and 2022 the homicide rate in Jamaica has increased from 36.4 per 100,000 inhabitants to 52.9 in 2022. Jamaica had the highest homicide in Latin America and the Caribbean in 2022 (Statista). Ahmed (2019) reports that worldwide 32 percent of homicides are committed with firearms however in Jamaica the figure is higher than 80 percent. The trade in illegal guns is facilitated by Jamaican gangs operating in the US and relaxed gun control in that country. In fact, federal law prohibits a universal gun registry and most states do not require a license or registration (NRA-ILA 2016). The NRA-ILA explained that the US Supreme Court ruled that people who are prohibited from possessing firearms including mentally incompetent, felons etc., cannot be required to register firearms as this would violate their 5th Amendment rights against self-incrimination.

The lax US laws surrounding gun sales helps to fuel violence, insecurity, instability, corruption and the erosion of democracy in Jamaica (Ahmed 2019). The Government of Jamaica have tried several measures to curb gun violence including states of emergency, zones of special operations and enhanced security measures without any sustained success (Global Organized Crime Index 2023). Although homicides are not the only crime, it gets the most publicity and would be considered a major contributor to the 57 per cent of people not feeling safe. The questions relating to the types of crime experienced personally in their community were below the 57 percent average of persons feeling unsafe. This is in contrast with approximately 64 percent of the respondents who were a victim of a crime and 83 percent knew a family or friend who was a victim of crime. The precautionary measure of not travelling with much cash, not going out at night, and taking a cell phone to communicate was done equally by

both women and men. Very few respondents carried a weapon, however more men than women did.

From a foreign relations perspective the US uses arms sales as versatile tool in pursuit of its foreign policy objectives. Thrall and Dorminey (2018) discusses the many foreign policy objectives:

“United States has sold weapons to its NATO allies to ensure their ability to defend Western Europe; to friendly governments around the world facing insurgencies and organized crime; to allies in the Pacific (buffering them against China’s rising military power); and to both Israel and many of its Arab neighbors in efforts to maintain regional stability and influence over Middle Eastern affairs.”

None of these objectives applies to Jamaica or the Caribbean region on a whole as these are small countries with less strategic importance to the US. Thrall and Dorminey (2018) argue that there are three justifications for arms, I will add legal and illegal: (1) Enhancing American security by strengthening the capabilities of allies, (2) Exert influence over the foreign policies of client nations and (3) Boosts the US economy. I support the view that illegal sales or trafficking of small arms to the region, which the US gives scant attention to, may have some economic benefits however it is the fuel for corruption, violence, high homicide, human rights abuses, migration, and the erosion of democracy in the region. As dependent nations what course of action does Jamaica and other small island developing states have?

Science and Technology

It is widely accepted that science, technology, and education is the catalyst for economic development (Lee 2022). Jamaica’s National Science, Technology, and Innovation (ST&I) Policy (2022) emphasizes the importance of science technology and innovation as an enabling force for all aspects of economic growth and development. The National Policy 2022 explains that the ST&I landscape includes inter alia the Ministry of Science, Energy, Telecommunications and Transport, responsible for policy direction and other science related agencies such as the Scientific Research Council created in 1960 to foster the development of scientific research and the National Commission of Science and Technology (NCST) responsible for national coordination and advancing the national policy. There is also a concerted effort to develop an ecosystem for science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) education. The ST&I policy document is candidly critical of Jamaica’s performance in delivering outputs at rates necessary to achieve national science and technology goals. The document concludes that: “Despite its vast potential and successes, Jamaica’s R&D system is at best, under-performing, poorly managed, under-resourced and in need of effective and coherent coordination, repositioning and transformation that will link to the national economy.

The potential of ST&I is reflected in the positive views on science and technology (S&T) by the respondents with 83 percent believed that S&T the world better; 73 percent that S&T plays an important part in their daily life and 74 percent believe that it offers opportunities for the next generation.

Religion

The Population & Housing Census – Jamaica (2011) indicated that approximately one fifth (21 per cent of the population reported that they had no religion or denomination. Approximately 65 per cent were Christians, another 14 percent represented Rastafarian, Hinduism, Islam, Judaism and Other Religion/Denomination. The Jamaica Tourist Board website (visitjamaica.com) proudly claim that with over 1,600 churches, Jamaica is in the

Guinness Book of Records for the most churches per square mile. Suffice to say that religion and faith are important aspect of Jamaican culture, despite the high homicide rate mentioned earlier.

This research found that 97 percent of the respondents believed in God and 87 percent said that God played a significant role in their lives, however only 79 percent identified themselves as religious. This latter finding is exactly as the census (65 per cent Christians and 14 per cent other). The findings from this research indicated that only 41 percent of respondents attended church once a year, or never, and 83 percent prayed at least once per day. The gap between the number of persons claiming to be Christians or religious and church attendance suggests that some of these claims are not supported by actual affiliation. The view is that most Jamaican have Christians values even if though they are not religious, do not pray or attend church.

Ozkan (2021) has suggested that scholarship on religion and International Relations is as diverse as the discipline. There is general agreement among scholars that religion influences how people and societies think, act and see the world. Ozkan (2021) referencing Stark and Bainbridge (1985) argue that religion provides a frame of reference or value orientation to interpret the world and provide guides of action. Interestingly Fox and Sandler (2004) suggest that there are two potential ways that religious beliefs can influence international politics (1) These beliefs systems may influence and shape the outlook and behavior of policymakers and (2) Social pressure placed on policymakers based on the population values, religious beliefs or culture. From a religious perspective it can be argued that aspects of Jamaica's foreign policy are influenced by values that are deeply held by the population. This will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent subsection.

Promiscuity and Abstinence

There were two questions relating to promiscuity and one related to abstinence. Seventy-four (74) percent believed that casual sex it unjustified, similarly 75 percent believing in only having only one partner at any one time. There is a significant gender difference relating to casual sex with 81 percent of women believing it is unjustified and approximately 60 percent of men. The same applies to having one partner at a time; 80 percent of women agreed and 65 percent of men. The difference was statistically significant.

The third question speaks to abstinence with a small majority, 58 percent, believed that sex before marriage is unjustified. The gender difference in support for this view was significant with 65 percent of women supporting and 44 percent of men.

There is no literature that we have seen on promiscuity, abstinence, and foreign policy. These values are more likely to be determined by religious beliefs.

LGBTQ+

Padgett (2005) asked the question and discussed the possibility in a Time Magazine article that Jamaica could be the most homophobic place on earth. J-FLAG (Jamaica Forum for Lesbians, All Sexuals and Gays) Jamaica's largest LGBTQ rights organization in Jamaica in 2019 study indicated that there has been progress in the form of moderately increasing positive attitudes towards the community. The group indicated that there has been a decline in mob violence, arson, and murder against LGBTQ+ persons. Despite these gains the Jamaican public still considers homosexuality taboo with this research finding that about 80 percent of respondents believing that both homosexuality and same sex marriage is unjustified. The colonial-era "The Offences Against the Person Act" (n.d.) under the subsection Unnatural

Offences prohibits sexual activities between men or men and animals. The Act refers to anal sex as buggery and prescribes imprisonment of up to seven years with or without hard labour. As it relates to the status of marriage in 2011 there was an amendment to the constitution with the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms (2011) which explicitly prohibits same sex marriage. The Act stipulates that no form of marriage other than the voluntary union of one man and one woman may be contracted or legally recognized in Jamaica. Both the Offences Against the Person Act and the Charter of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms are consistent with the values of the Jamaican people.

The USA has made LGBTQ+ rights a central pillar of its foreign policy. US President Joe Biden has declared that *“It shall be the policy of the United States to pursue an end to violence and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, or sex characteristics, and to lead by the power of our example in the cause of advancing the human rights of LGBTQI+ persons around the world.”* (US State Department). The protection of LGBTQ rights has been done via the interpretation of existing international human law in ways which emphasizes and make explicit the protection of LBGTQ persons (Tiemeyer 2016). The United Nations (UN) has also been at the forefront of LGBTQ policy with the Human rights council voted in favour of a UN Special Procedure establishing the office of an Independent Expert on Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (United Nations Human Rights Council 2016).

The values of the Jamaican people and the laws of Jamaica are incongruent with the US foreign policy and the UN. This divergence in views and values has resulted in tensions between policymakers and the public. In 2008 the Jamaican Guidelines for Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE 2008): Pre-School Through Age 24 was developed by the Jamaican National Task force for CSE. In 2014 the CSE or a version of it was introduced in six private children’s homes by human-rights group Jamaicans for Justice (JFJ). The CSE has themes that promotes LGBTQ issues. When it became public, then youth minister Lisa Hanna had the program terminated (Jamaica Observer 2014). In May 2023 it was reported that the University of the West Indies had proposed a new gender policy which would require everyone connected to the regional institution to be referred to by the gender with which they wished to be identified. The new options included — cisgender, transgender, gender non-conforming, non-binary, genderqueer, among others; instead of their sexual orientation, e.g., heterosexual, homosexual, gay, lesbian (Jamaica Observer 2023). There was a huge outcry from churches and religious groups who saw this as an existential threat to traditional values and traditional ways of life.

Secularization theory (Ozkan 2021) suggests that religion will diminish in importance both for the individual and community level as economic and political development spread to the broad mass of people. This theory provides a good explanation for LGBTQ support in many developed countries however in many developing the world is viewed through the prism of religion. Ozkan (2021) uses the term Strategic Mentality (SM) and describes it as a nation's way of utilizing cultural elements collectively such as traditions, values, attitudes, patterns of behavior, habits, customs, in foreign policy formulation. The author argues that SM are deep seated and changes although fluid and may change overtime, needing several consecutive generations to modify. It can be argued that Western states have become more secular and developing countries are entrenched in religion and SM should LGBTQ acceptance be gradual in these countries? In Jamaica’s case despite the 2011 amendment to the constitution the view is that the government is being pressured by the US to accept LGBTQ policies primarily in the education sector. As suggested by Fox and Sandler (2004) religious groups in Jamaica will continue to attempt to use its values to influence foreign policy and represents conservative

views and values surrounding the legitimacy of LGBTQ rights. The US is likely to restrict aid to Jamaica to push the government to adopt LBGTQ policies.

Abortion

Jamaica is among the twenty-four countries with the most restrictive and punitive abortion laws in the world (Center for Reproductive Rights). Under the Offences Against the Person Act any person who, intending to procure a miscarriage, regardless of whether the woman is with child, unlawfully administers to her any poison or noxious thing or unlawfully uses any instrument or other means to the same end is subject to life imprisonment, with or without hard labour. A pregnant woman who acts in the same way with respect to her own pregnancy is subject to the same penalty. The Statute also provides a maximum penalty of three years' imprisonment for anyone who assists in procuring an unlawful abortion. This law is rarely imposed. The Caribbean Policy Institute (CAPRI 2014) estimates that upwards of 22,000 pregnancies are aborted annually. CAPRI argues further that the illegality of abortion only affects poor women. Safe abortions are available to well-off women who can afford them. Poor women attempt to terminate their pregnancies by taking pills bought from the black market without medical supervision, or concoctions; or they go to unlicensed, untrained abortion providers, in unregulated settings. So, despite restrictive laws and 71 percent of our respondents believing that abortion is not justified, it remains very prevalent in practice. The pro-life perspectives of most Jamaicans are rooted in religion.

Abortion laws have long dictated U.S. foreign policy. Skuster et al (2020) indicates that for over half a century the Helms Amendment has banned US foreign assistance for abortion care for people in the global South. This was in contrast with *Roe vs. Wade* decision which gave Americans the constitutional right to an abortion. The US Supreme Court in July 2022 overturned *Roe vs. Wade*. The Jamaican abortion law is consistent with US foreign policy and therefore would be eligible for foreign assistance. The availability or prohibition of foreign assistance in pursuit of foreign policy goals is a frequently used tool.

Privacy

Information privacy is the desire of individuals to control or have influence over data about themselves Belanger and Crossler (2011). In recognition of this right in June 2020 the Government of Jamaica passed the Data Protection Act (DPA). The Act was effective December 1, 2023, and will be implemented on a phased basis (Jamaica Observer 2023). The Act is modelled on the European General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and governs all aspects of data processing, including collection, storage transmission disclosure and erasure. Similar to the GDPR the Act encompasses fairness, integrity and accountability and the protection of personal data and sensitive personal data on citizens (Myers Fletcher & Gordon).

The attitude of respondents to data privacy was decidedly sensitive to protection of personal data and mass government surveillance except for video surveillance in public spaces. The findings, which could be argued is in-sync with the DPA, indicated that 86 percent were against government surveillance; 80 percent against tapping cellular phones and 76 percent against arbitrary collection of data about its citizen. Respondents were however in favour of video surveillance in public spaces.

Three human rights treaties protect what is called the universal right to privacy. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), and Article 12 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) indicates all everyone has the right to protection from arbitrary or unlawful interference with

his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his honour and reputation (Milanovic 2015). The digital age and the abilities of some governments mass technological capacity to collect, intercept and subvert vast amount of personal data over the internet has rendered the universal right to privacy a myth. Case in point is the leaks by Edward Snowden which revealed that the Five Eyes intelligence grouping (US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand) deliberately spied on each another's citizens and other governments and shared the collected information among themselves to evade restrictive domestic surveillance laws (Williams 2023). This tension between universal right to privacy and the preeminence of mass surveillance highlights the currency of “realpolitik” in foreign affairs.

Conclusion

The hegemon most referred to in this research is the USA. To complete this paper, we had informal discussions with a few former Jamaican diplomats and there was a view that small developing countries interest are not given much credence by the hegemon except for Cuba and Venezuela, two countries that have challenged its interest. The Caribbean were considered tourist destinations or as Donald Trump described Haiti as a shithole country. There is also the view that Republicans tended to me more hawkish while Democrats tended to more cooperative on foreign affairs. In explaining US foreign policy towards Cuba, the view was that it was irrational and remains in place to satisfy domestic politics.

What is evident from the overall discussion is that there is no global culture, the differences help to define who we are and our worldview in relation to foreign policy. Religion in Jamaica plays a significant role in the country’s culture this is contrast with secularization that is taking place in liberal western countries. This secular versus religious divide helps to explain the differences in views on LBGQT, Abortion and Promiscuity and Abstinence. There is far more similarity in values and culture as it relates to Privacy, Science and Technology, Corruption, and Security. Domestic interest of hegemony adversely affects corruption and privacy.

It is important that cultural differences and cultural self-determination be respected in foreign relations and be addressed constructively, allowing for negotiations in finding mutually acceptable solutions where each culture has the right to preserve and promote its unique identity and traditions.

This study was done at a time when there was ongoing debate on sexual orientation and gender in the United States and other western countries. There was a general upheaval of traditional values relating to marriage, LGBTQ+ acceptance, transgender, abortion rights among other issues. While this research is not about the USA, however what happens in the USA impacts small and developing countries like Jamaica. The USA also ties the acceptance of social changes with the granting of aid and loans to small developing countries. This study suggests that traditional values relating to gender, marriage, divorce, homosexuality, abortion, God, and others are still anchored in Judeo-Christian values. As the Jamaican government strive to maintain traditional values these may come into conflict with evolving and new western values.

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