

**EMPOWERING WOMEN AND GIRLS TO
PREVENT AND ADDRESS THE IMPACT OF
SMALL ARMS IN COMMUNITIES ACROSS
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO**

Report submitted

by

Women's Institute for Alternative Development (WINAD)



To

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)



Final Report

Empowering Women and Girls to
Prevent and Address the Impact of
Small Arms in Communities across
Trinidad and Tobago

Report submitted by Women's
Institute for Alternative
Development (WINAD)

To

The United Nations Children's Fund
(UNICEF)

April 2009

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	5
Project Overview	8
Project Objectives.....	9
Selected Communities	11
Schedule of Conversations	12
Profiling the Communities and Groups	14
Methods of Engagement	14
Workshop Format	16
CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND	17
Women, Gender, Guns and Violence in the Caribbean.....	17
Using the Narrative	23
Outcomes of Community Conversations/Discussion	25
Defining Violence	25
Defining Violence.....	25
Common themes.....	26
Distinguishing Characteristics.....	26
Causes of Violence.....	31
Common trends.....	32
Distinguishing Characteristics.....	32
Impact of Violence	33
Perpetrator vs Victim Profile	34
Conclusion	37

T

Background

WINAD began its work on the issue of Small Arms Control in 2001 by attempting to conduct its own analysis of the impact of the increasing gun violence in Trinidad and Tobago. By 2002 WINAD had hosted a national meeting which included representatives from both state agencies and NGOs which attempted to explore and analyse different facets of the impact of gun violence on the society. A regional conference followed, which brought together ten countries from the Caribbean and Latin America where a call was made to actively engage in region wide research in the area of gun violence and its fallout as experienced by Caribbean people.

Since its early work WINAD has advanced in its work to include the following:

- collaboration with community organisations to raise awareness about the social impact of gun violence and develop intervention strategies around the issue
- in 2003, WINAD collaborated with the American Friends Service Committee and the Quaker UN Office to host a round table for Caribbean NGOs to formulate a plan of action for cooperation in the region on the issue of violence
- in the same year, WINAD partnered with the Pan American Health Organisation, East Port of Spain Council of Community Organisations, Success Laventille Networking Committee and Desperadoes Steel Orchestra to mobilise women in Laventille (a community plagued by gun violence) to discuss the impact of gun violence on their lives

Although WINAD's main programme activity has focussed on addressing violence in its many forms which plague Caribbean society; foundational to its mandate are the issues of women and the advancement of gender equity and equality within the region. Pivotal to this concern and central to the responsibility of WINAD to the society we serve is the need to consistently engage in discourse around the ways in which gender socialisation and the power relations of gender shape our lived reality. It is based on this responsibility and the need to build a gender aware and gender transformative policy response that this project seeks to unearth the voices of women within the increasingly violent space that is Trinidad and Tobago.

Introduction

This report presents the findings of the Women's Conversations component of the UNICEF funded, Women's Institute for Alternative Development (WINAD) implemented project entitled, Empowering Women and Girls to Prevent and Address the Impact of Small Arms in Communities across Trinidad and Tobago. Which was implemented between November 2008 and April 2009. The report seeks to represent the major outcomes of the Conversations held within various communities as part of the funding requirement.

This project, undertaken by WINAD is national, regional and international in scope. At the national and regional levels it is an important step in broadening the discussion around crime and violence in Trinidad and Tobago. On a regional level it is a deepened policy response and facilitates the engagement of partners throughout the Caribbean in a similar dialogue towards the development of a regional advocacy response to violence. Additionally, at the international level, the choice of conversations among women, provides a necessary space for the establishment of the national and regional agendas for the advancement of the United Nations Resolution 1325 (2000)¹.

Although Trinidad and Tobago is not in an active state of armed conflict², the levels of gun violence and crime perpetrated with small arms is increasingly emerging as a definitive national characteristic. A look at the available statistics reveals the following:

In a 2007 report, the World Bank notes that murder rates in the Caribbean - at 30 per 100,000 annually - are higher than for any other region of the world

¹ Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflictResolution 1325 marks the first time the UN Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women, recognized the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building, and stressed the importance of their equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

²This conception of armed conflict has five constituent elements: (a) deliberate by collectives, (b) the use of arms, (c) the battle, (d) political objectives and (e) a government as an actor on at least one side of a conflict (Brzoska, M 2009: 95)

The Inter American Development Bank (IADB) project profile of Trinidad and Tobago, reported the country as having the second highest homicide rate in the Caribbean. Second only to Jamaica in 2006, with 74% of these fatalities being firearm related

The homicide rate in 2000 was 9.2 per 100,000, in 2007 it was 29.2 , with firearms accounting for 77% in 2007 and in 2001 they accounted for less than 33% (IADB:2007)

In 2008 there were 552 murders in Trinidad and Tobago (Trinidad Express, 2009: January 02)

The increasing crime and criminality has combined with the availability of small arms which has in turn impacted upon the development of the Caribbean region. Much of the policy response to this threat has resided in the criminal centred approach to the challenge. In its 2008/2009 Budget Statement the Government of Trinidad and Tobago detailed its response to the increasing crime and criminality as follows:

the approach of the Government toward security and crime fighting is a cross-sectoral public/private and community based approach.....The Government is committed to improving the criminal justice system through measures to improve the performance of the police and prison system.

the Special Anti Crime Unit of Trinidad and Tobago (SAUTT), which is now in its fifth year of operation, focuses on three main areas -

- Strengthening national forensic capability, providing developmental training for law enforcement and
- Lending operational support to the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service and other law enforcement agencies.

Training programmes at the Specialist Crime Academy of SAUTT, in the field of forensic science

The drug trade is largely responsible for the crime situation in Trinidad and Tobago and the Government's full attention is directed to this area. In view of this, a further boost to the monitoring of cross border

movement of illicit commodities was the installation of the National Drug Control System (NDS) this year. This facility can trace the movement, nationally and internationally, of precursor chemicals, and serve as a main platform within the Caribbean Basin to minimize any risk of illegal diversion. Out of this the responses have included:

The delivery of three Offshore Patrol Vessels, six fast patrol boats, four armed helicopters and six interceptors by 2010, will further bolster the protection of Trinidad and Tobago's territorial waters from the illegal drug trade. This will complement the capabilities of the already commissioned Coastal Radar Centre.....

As part of a comprehensive strategy to strengthen the relationship between the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service (TTPS) and the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago, the Police Service embarked upon a new approach to policing in the context of its newly adopted service orientation. This approach, called "Policing for People", will assist in the war against crime by improving work habits, morale and quality of service and enhance public perception and interaction with the Police.³

Although the Government has committed itself to a comprehensive security centred response to the increasing crime and criminality in the country, there remains a persistent challenge of addressing the socio-cultural, socio-economic and political dimensions inherent in the proliferation of small arms in Trinidad and Tobago. It is only in the creation of a holistic discourse around the persons who own, use and facilitates the use of these small arms that we can begin to formulate relevant policy to strategically address the emerging gun culture in our region.

Moreover, in popular and policy imaginations gun culture within the region is perceived as inherently masculine. The masculine subject within this culture is highlighted as the young African male, generally poor, and disproportionately represented in the incidence and severity of gun violence; both as victim and perpetrator throughout the region. This is a discourse narrowly focussed on one form of masculinity, which locates itself at the very visible end of a continuum of violence related to the use and misuse of small arms in our region.

³ Budget Statement 2009

The importance of this individual cannot be understated; however, it is imperative that he does not become the sole basis on which policy is hinged to address the integrated human security needs of our country. It is increasingly important that the discourse becomes a gendered one. Thereby understanding that masculinity does not exist in isolation of femininity, and there exist various masculinities⁴ (Connell, 1995:76) and, femininities which would be positioned differently within the multilayered multifaceted world of the regional gun violence dynamic. It is the need to deepen this gendered discourse, and to locate the voices of women, that this project became a necessity.

This report seeks to weave the threads of the experiences of women in various communities throughout Trinidad and Tobago and explore the ways in which these experiences can be used to inform policy. Most importantly, it strives towards the creation of a gendered response to the national human security debate.

Project Overview

This project aimed to fill a void for evidence based research and planning on the impact of small arms on women and communities at large which currently exists. It also promised to introduce gender analysis with a specific focus on a group, largely excluded thus far in national discourse on security and governance. The project sought to engage women within twelve identified communities, women's organisations and other specially selected groups. Following the identification and analysis of the issues through a series of community Conversations the project purposed to contribute to the empowerment of these women through the process of becoming active change agents and advocates against 'gun' violence within their community.

The project encouraged targeted communities to build on the 'informal' peace building activities that women are already undertaking in response to national and community violence. In as much as crime and violence are "localised", the project highlighted the impact at national level as well as served to enhance networks with other women leaders throughout the region to exchange information and best practice generated throughout the region.

The overall goal of this project was to provide a policy framework for integrating women into decision making on conflict resolution, including a national action plan to

⁴ *To recognize only one form of masculinity is only a first step. We have to examine the relationship between them. Further, we have to unpack the milieus of class and race and scrutinize the gender relations operating within them.*

implement United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325⁵. The project committed itself to the identification of varying coping strategies employed by women and young girls in communities plagued by armed violence. Knowledge of these coping strategies are fundamental to understanding the context and the form of responses pursued by citizens, particularly women, in spaces where the State is unable to offer systematic protection to residents. It explored the plight of women exposed to gender based violence or assassination due to their advocacy efforts and peace building initiatives. The approach hinged on the belief that women's participation in policy, analysis, planning and evaluation will introduce perspectives yet to be engaged within the policy arena; thereby charting a way forward which incorporated the collective genius of the selected communities towards more comprehensive and integrated analysis of the impact of armed violence on citizens.

Project Objectives

- To hear the perspective of the women on the issue of armed violence and its consequences and implications.
- To gather recommendations for alleviation and prevention of armed violence.
- To analyse perspectives and recommendations to inform future programme planning and implementation in the communities.
- To assess the needs of the communities, from the women's perspectives, in order to inform public policy, programme planning and implementation.
- To provide advocacy training⁶ and capacity building around informal peace building initiatives; and strengthen activities that women have been involved in as a response to increased crime and violence within their communities
- To create a resource of primary qualitative data based on women's narratives on the impact of crime on the lived realities of various communities⁷. This resource

⁵ An action plan should enable identification of objectives, setting of benchmarks and monitoring of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) implementation which would enhance accountability. It should also assign responsibility and ownership over implementation of SCR 1325

⁶ A detailed report on this advocacy training and capacity building is part of the appendices of this document

⁷ It should be noted that the communities visited are not limited to those designated as high crime and violent communities

will also help towards the implementation of UNICEF strategies for the implementation of The World Fit for Children Action Plan to promote and protect the rights of children as outlined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the National Plan of Action for Trinidad and Tobago and the Vision 2020 document.

Criteria for Selecting Communities

There was a need to hear the voices of women and girls from a large cross section of the population; therefore the communities were selected based on:

- History of violence;
- Geographic diversity;
- Emerging trends of crime and violence;
- Low levels of crime and violence.

- Selected Communities



Schedule of Conversations

SESSION #	LOCATION	DATE OF SESSION
1	Laventille Technology Centre, Laventille	18th September 2008
2	Morris Marshall Foundation, St Barbs, Laventille	21st September 2008
3	Thick Village Community Centre, Fyzabad	15th November 2008
4	St. John's Baptist Church, Port of Spain	31st January 2009
5	Penal/Debe Regional Corporation, Debe	Thursday 5th February 2009
6	El Dorado Community Centre, Tunapuna	28th February 2009
7	Planning, Research and Development Institute, Scarborough, Tobago	Wednesday 18th March 2009
8	Speyside Secondary School, Tobago	Wednesday 18th March 2009
9	St Jude's Home for Girls, Port of Spain	Tuesday 26th March 2009
10	Lendore Hindu School, Chaguanas	Saturday 28th March 2009
11	Arima Municipal Corporation, Arima	Tuesday 31st March 2009
12	Mayaro Community Centre, Mayaro	Tuesday 31st March 2009
13	Desperlie Crescent, Laventille	Saturday 28th March 2009
14	Patna Village Community Centre Diego Martin	Tuesday 7th April 2009

SESSION #	LOCATION	DATE OF SESSION
15	Professional Women Conversation in Port of Spain	Wednesday 8th April 2009

NB: Conversations 1 and 2 were held prior to the official start of the project

Profiling the Communities and Groups

Fundamental to the creation of an understanding of the diversity of the communities involved in this project is the community and group profiles. The details of the community profiles were mainly retrieved from the Citizens Security Programme⁸.

Therefore, the communities for which there are details are those communities which have been designated by the Ministry of National Security as high crime areas. These detailed profiles have been compiled as a means of informing the work of agencies such as the police or the army as they seek to bring 'order' to these communities.

Unfortunately a major limitation to this work is the non-availability of profile information for other communities which have not been classified as high crime. Therefore, in seeking to ensure a geographic spread in undertaking the Women's Conversations project a major limitation to the work was the absence of comprehensive background data on some of the communities involved in the process.

Methods of Engagement

Guiding the Process - The Steering Committee

A Steering Committee was established to develop, monitor and evaluate implementation. The Committee comprised women from each of the communities under investigation and women representatives from business, labour, law, politics, management, public relations, education, faith based organisations and other women's organisations. This multi-sectoral group allowed for WINAD to capitalize on a myriad of expertise throughout the implementation of the project. It also allowed for ongoing transparency and accountability throughout the Conversation process, most importantly it facilitated the Conversation within each community to be very distinct.

To establish relationship and trust between members of the WINAD team and the community women, the group built on established relationships made throughout the work of WINAD over the years to achieve the project objectives. The community workshops took the form of facilitated discussions. WINAD as a women's group engaged in research with women, sought to establish a type of purposeful intimacy (Tafari-Ama 2002: 16) with the different community women.

⁸ Citizen's Security Programme is part of the Ministry of National Security and is engaged in work in high risk crime areas in Trinidad and Tobago

Workshop Format⁹

- ❖ Introduction of WINAD and Team
- ❖ Overview of the Women's Conversation Project
- ❖ Ground rules for the sessions
- ❖ Ice Breaker
- ❖ Group identification and interpretation of violence
 - What acts do you consider violent?
 - What are the causes of violence?
 - What has been the impact of violence on the community, family, individuals?
 - What is your personal response to violence?
- ❖ Break
- ❖ Small Group Discussions
 - Group 1 - What are the demographics of the criminal networks
 - Group 2 - Construct a Profile of the Perpetrator
 - Group 3 - Construct a Profile of the Victim
 - Group 4 - How can women respond to the issue (include the demographics of women's network?)
- ❖ Plenary
- ❖ Close

⁹ It should be noted that not all the conversation followed this format rigidly. The participatory nature of the workshops allowed for much discussion and in some interventions the format was abandoned for a more conversational semi-structured approach targeted towards the same information gathering process.

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

Women, Gender, Guns and Violence in the Caribbean

The English-speaking Caribbean could boast of a long history of stable government and structures of governance established to serve the needs of the population throughout the region. It is a space that has been free from active warfare throughout its modern history. The development challenge posed by the excessive use and misuse of small arms is a product of the socio-cultural, socio-economic and political reality playing itself out in the life of different groups of people within the region. This section of the report focuses on the conceptual issues related to the ways in which the lives of women and men are impacted. The power relations of gender, inherent in their everyday existence is central to our holistic understanding of the ways in which violence within our communities is shaped, performed and impacts our life.

Therefore, this section of the paper looks at the extent to which gender norms, and our understanding of masculinities and femininities interface and facilitate, in increasing levels, the proliferation and use of small arms within the region. This is imperative because at the heart of the pervasive social context is the fact that gender is a way in which social practice is ordered (Kaufman, 2003: 73). Additionally, this inquiry is based on the position that the strategies involved in addressing, and remedying violence and the proliferation of small arms must be informed by an understanding of the drivers which shape and position different groups of men and women within the context of violence, gun ownership and use.

Gender should be understood within the context of the conduct of everyday life and its organisation. Accordingly, "gender refers to the cultural expectations and social arrangements by which women and men have different experiences in society" (Andersen, 2006: 16). This definition brings to the fore integral factors which give life to gender in our everyday lives, the most important of which is the fact that all aspects of our lives -- our thinking, our interaction and our life chances are influenced by gender. Caribbean Professor of Gender and Public Policy, Prof. Eudine Barriteau provides further insight when she defines gender as:

A complex system of personal and social relations of power through which women and men are socially created and maintained and through which they gain

access to or are allocated status, power and material resources within a society.....Gender relations constitute the continuous social political, economic, cultural and psychological expressions of material and ideological aspects of the gender system. Gender relations encode and sometimes mask unequal power relations between women and men and between women and the state. The extent to which the ideological and material dimensions of gender relations reinforce each other is frequently ignored. The extent to which prevailing ideologies affect or effect women's access to status, power and resources is rarely examined (Barriteau, 2003:31)

If the ownership and use of small arms in the Caribbean is viewed through the lens provided by Barriteau's definition it then becomes important to engage in frequently ignored questions, broadly shaped by legal and illegal ownership and use, by different groups of men and women. Seeking to establish borders the following questions would be used to guide the inquiry:

- The notions of security, power and protection- How are they understood, constructed and accessed?
- The provision or non-provision of such security by the state- the extent to which this is a determinant of small arms ownership?
- How is the access and security of material resources for different groups within the regional socio-economic framework shaped?
- The political economy of violence, and the gendered dynamics of the poverty/violence dichotomy (Tafari -Ama, 2003:7).

These questions would be explored within the ideological constructs of masculinity and femininity among different groups which may or may not place primacy on ownership and use of small arms and the extent to which this use and ownership contributes to the way we understand gender equity and equality regionally.

Gun ownership as a means of protection or recreation, whether ownership is legal or illegal, is embedded with gender identities and meanings. Within the realm of legal ownership, although the numbers of female gun owners are increasing, legal ownership remains mainly a middle and upper class male pursuit. Individual gun ownership as a means of protection from violence or the potential threat of violence is seen as conventional gender socialization. It is a socialization which produces a masculine response where force is a fundamental and legal demonstration of male power and manhood - a reassertion of physical masculinity through the ownership of a gun. Within a national context of a perceived compromised capacity of the state to effectively protect the citizenry and increasing levels of violence within a given national space, there is an exacerbation of such a response. Additionally, there is a feeling of

powerlessness and insecurity in the face of increasing violence combined with the threat of falling victim to social forces beyond your own control. This multiplicity of factors combine to create ample space for a traditional masculine response lodged in force and overt expressions of power, which could be represented by the legal ownership of small arms. Although this has been a conventional masculine response, it is not an option being pursued solely by males. Increasingly, women have pursued this conventional masculine alternative as a means of self protection.

The fact that women are pursuing this option for self protection is an example of the constant renegotiation and shifting of gender roles within Caribbean society. The decision of some women to engage in such a militant response as a means of self preservation challenges the socially constructed role of the male as the source of such protection within some pockets of Caribbean society. It may also be seen as a means of survival of some Caribbean women, having achieved their practical gender needs, as they seek to move from a space of basic survival towards high-order capabilities (Barriteau, 2003:55). Security is fundamental to the enjoyment of these high-order capabilities. In her inquiry into the gendered reality of gun ownership in South Africa Jacklyn Cock came upon the following phenomenon:

The white middle-class woman, who linked gun ownership directly to her feminist identity as an independent woman. She maintained that owning a gun (which she wore tucked into the back of her jeans) made her feel powerful, self reliant and independent (Cock, 2001:3).

The extent to which such notions of feminist identity may be shared by women in the Caribbean who choose to become legal gun owners is not known. It does however clearly bring to the fore the gender negotiations involved in surviving the vulnerability of being female in an increasingly violent space and the challenges of the patriarchal¹⁰ ordering of that space. A patriarchal ordering determines the institutional arrangements and challenges involved in addressing the needs of victims of crime and criminal activity. These institutions established to cater to the needs of victims of crimes with their traditionalist forms of patriarchy and inaccessibility tend to act as catalysts to women seeking alternative security arrangements.

Within our Caribbean context these alternative security arrangements for women, particularly lower income women, have included the creation of power based on violence. This is largely steeped in a language of violence, but it does afford the successful actress and her dependents, a reprieve from the violence which may define

¹⁰ Patriarchy: institutionalized power relationships that give men power over women (Anderson, 2006:406)

the community space they inhabit. In her study of the inner city community of South Side in Kingston Jamaica, Imani Tafari Ama described the female utilizing of violence as follows:

Ironically however, women using violence as a tool to defend their liberty could also inspire a different analysis. Under extremely difficult circumstances that I am addressing, some women gain respect because of their fluent mastery of the language of violence. In situations where they are not conjugally or otherwise affiliated to a man who can 'protect' them and their children, their own reputation from being capable of violence provides an important defence against arbitrary or calculated attacks.

It is rare for women to be involved in the gang wars between men, Wars are also fought with gender-defined weapons: whereas men generally use guns and knives to address conflicts with deadly emphasis and to protect turf and reputation, women invariably engage in sexually defined wars, fought with implements such as ice-picks, machetes, acid, and their bodies (Tafari -Ama, 2003:216).

Therefore it is important to recognise that violence is not exclusively a masculine pursuit. The forms, and our appreciation of the gendered nuances of the violence bring with it a deeper understanding of the layered nature of remedying the problem. In our current context, as we seek to understand the dimensions of the violence and the gendered nature of self protection, there are some persistent challenges that are innate in the proliferation of small arms. One such tension is the pursuit of legal gun ownership as a means of self protection and securing material possessions. Whether the legal firearm is brought into the home by the male or female its introduction brings with it an augmented threat of violence to the social relations of gender within the private sphere that is the home.

The presence of legal firearms in the private sphere, and the possible shifts in gender relations is best represented by gender based violence popularized by the number of off duty military and para military personnel whose work place issued weapons have been used to mediate disputes between and among spouses and other family members. Although the misuse of legal guns within the home is not exclusive to this group, it is interesting to note the ease of transition from legal issue firearm to illegal use. A transition that is particularly common when individuals are faced with gender-based domestic violence situations. This is not a simple phenomenon owing to the multiplicity of factors at play. At the heart of it lie notions of femininity and masculinity and the interplay of gendered power relations within the home. Unfortunately the most common result is the assertion of masculine power over femininity, resulting in fatality

in some instances. It is important to note, any inquiry around the ownership, use and proliferation of legal guns, is one which locates itself in the realm of middle, upper class and employed persons seeking to protect themselves and their material wealth, or engaging in recreational use of guns.

Although legal guns are important to creating an understanding of the ways in which small arms impact upon the increased violence experienced in many communities, the persistent challenge remains that the guns which start off as legal entities and become a part of illegal use are most impacting on the lived reality of the region. This creates a need for enhanced attention to be paid to the masculinities and femininities which are played out at the level of legal and illegal ownership.

Like all other gender discourses, the illegal use and proliferation of small arms is one weighted with socio-economic class, colour, race and power. The simple view positions the mainly African, working class male as the main perpetrator and victim of the gun violence and the gun culture¹¹ which is unfolding in many of the islands throughout the archipelago. It is a simplistic notion, which negates the process of transport, shipment and the crossing over of the legal gun into the illegal realm, which engages a differently positioned and many times different race and colour of masculinity. The shipment and movement of guns require a socio-economic grounding beyond the power of the average African working class male perpetrator of petty gun crime. However, it must be recognised which end of the socio-economic spectrum the masculinity is being played out. Beyond the socio-economics of the issue, there remains complex and constantly emerging text and sub text around the issue¹².

¹¹ The gun culture is not a fixed, ahistorical, essentialist entity. It is a set of highly heterogeneous resources which are used selectively by members of different collectives. Overall this culture operates to provide a social sanction to the possession of guns (Cock 2001:6).

¹² The paper does note that part of the sub text must include also, the importance of gun ownership to masculine identity within the lower income groups, consistent with evolving gender roles among and between men and women, the elevation of physical masculinity over intellectual prowess within the school system and the policing of manhood and the different ways in which men and women have dealt with the increasing economic vulnerability experienced by the small island developing states of the region have all combined to produce a complex gendered gun script regionally.

Plummer, Agozino and Youssef in their inquiry into Masculinities and Crime in the Caribbean provides the following insight:

In a world of growing equality between men and women, then opportunities to differentiate between the sexes are becoming increasingly limited. Nevertheless, society attaches high

It is the pursuit of the female voices within the sub text that determines the need for a project such as the Women's Conversations.

significance to achieving gender identity, and this puts pressure on the prevailing standards of hegemonic masculinity- increasingly driving many men (particularly poorer men) toward valorizing physical hyper masculinity (Plummer et. al, 2007:4).

This hyper-masculinity plays itself out in a number of ways including the embracing of a hard anti-education image (Ibid;5). It brings poorer young males masculine identity in direct conflict with the educational interest of Caribbean boys (Bailey et. al, 2002:9), because intellect is seen as unmanly. For poorer males the added pressure to display material wealth also further intensifies the need to engage in the right gender script. Bailey and other found the following their interrogation of gender roles among Caribbean youth:

Money was seen as an absolutely vital resource for a male in relationships. Much of his status was given in the equation where money was exchanged for respect, loyalty and sex (Bailey et. al, 1998: 77)

This hyper masculinity combines with other factors to produce a male graduate who is largely unable to access the upper levels of formal employment. Although he may be unable to attain the preferred levels within formal education contentions of status, power and the composite constructs related to masculinity is still at play. The socio-economic space occupied by the region enriches this discourse. In a post-"structurally adjusted" Caribbean region, and as a result of shifting trading arrangements, there remains a persistent challenge of how the economies of the region are to be positioned to address the challenge of growing levels of poverty. The larger economic shifts have seen the growth of the commoditisation of violence over the years. Commoditisation of violence speaks to the fact that an increasing number of citizens have had to rely on criminal violence of various kinds as a means of livelihood. In this commoditized violent space the persistent inequity between men and women regionally are deepened.

Using the Narrative

One's identity is both a social construct and a point from which to act (Davis, 1994:21)

*One of the most perverse aspects of male violence against women is woman blaming that surrounds and is embedded in it. This ideology attributes men's violence against women to the actions and inactions of women, rather than to the perpetrators and the institutionalized relations (**generally the power relations of gender** - emphasis mine).*

Woman blaming is so pervasive that it is difficult to even for women themselves to withstand its logic and legitimation (Roche et. al. 2005:465)

In the implementation of this project the members of WINAD use the female narrative as the main source of information. This narrative shapes the insights into how violence at the levels of the individual, household, community and nationally intersects with the lives of the women who form part of the project to produce their lived reality. The use of the narrative is in no way expected to provide a holistic overview of the impact of violence on the lives of women throughout Trinidad and Tobago. A recognized limitation of the project is its inability to provide an essentialized experience of women nationally. The intention of the use of the narrative voice is to provide a depth of experience in terms of: how violence is defined by women, the layers and multi dimensional facets of violence and how women position themselves as change agents, facilitators, victims or witnesses to the violence. Understanding the narrative allows an insight into how these positionalities could intersect, overlap or sequence within one lifetime or period of time.

The power of the use of the narrative lies in the fact that it provides a space for women to co-construct identities that are alternatives to those laden with women blaming and abuse and, in turn, to gain increased options to act in accord with their own values and intentions for individual and collective action (Ibid:466). The use of the facilitated workshop allows for the telling and retelling of women's stories. It is in the telling and retelling the stories take shape. It also allows for the fellow workshop participants, the facilitator and the individual to question and to form different questions¹³ around violence. The collective safe space of the Women's Conversations and the emergent stories could act as connecting points from which collective action could be forthcoming.

¹³ Referred to as thickening questions (Roche et. al., 2005:472)

As a means of giving back to the communities the advocacy training was designed. It was believed that based on a commitment to social change an important aspect of this project was the need to actively engage in cultural action¹⁴ as an important component of the project. The process of engaging women in advocacy workshops was a means of grounding the community activists and other women in the discourse around consciousness raising and feminists action as a means of changing the face of their communities.

¹⁴ Cultural action either serves domination (consciously or unconsciously) or it serves the liberation of men (sic). As these dialectically opposed types of cultural action operate in and upon the social structure, they create dialectical relations of permanence and change (Tafari- Ama 2002:16)

Outcomes of Community Conversations/Discussion

Defining Violence

The conversations all began with participants identifying and defining violence. These definitions would be presented at the personal, household, community and state institution levels. Around this issue the participants mainly provided examples and forms of violence with which they are forced to confront on a regular basis.

Defining Violence

LEVEL OF VIOLENCE	FORM OF VIOLENCE
PERSONAL	Gun shots, words/threats, peer pressure, fear, grief, denial, rage, inequality, mental torture, seeing guns, violent language, rape, lack of respect, racism, unwanted pregnancy, parry shots(gang rape), statutory rape, killing informers (persons using 800 tips), gambling, reckless driving, car theft,
HOUSEHOLD	Argument, domestic and intimate partner violence, child sexual and other abuse, jealousy, financial abuse, inequality, robbery, violent language, rape
COMMUNITY	False allegations, rape, drugs, guns, stabbings, kidnapping, scapegoating, robbery, silence, drug trafficking, robberies with guns, loitering, violent language, drive by shootings, prostitution, young persons not acknowledging older persons in the community, murder, cocaine, gangs, killing war, gun play, dog thieves, stigmatised communities,
STATE & OTHER INSTITUTIONS	Human trafficking, Insecurity, Police brutality, Police non-response to violence, corruption, fraud, Police (bad crooks), Governmental neglect, lack of confidence in the Social Protection system

Common themes

Throughout this aspect of the discussion some themes were recurring. These included: at the personal- guns, rape, fear grief, denial, household violent language, domestic abuse, incest, abuse of children, community- robberies, guns, boys loitering on the block and the state and other institutions- police brutality, corruption.

Distinguishing Characteristics

The conversations in El Dorado, Penal/Debe and Enterprise brought very clearly, the issues of domestic violence to the discussions. In Conversations prior to these three, the focus was mainly gun violence and the fallout experienced at the level of the personal and the community as a result of such acts. Therefore coming out of these Conversations the forms of violence diversified. The issues related to children as they experience violence became an important part of the Conversation. The failure of the state to enforce laws became more apparent as persons within these communities brought a different perspective.

Out of the El Dorado conversation the following example of state planning was highlighted as contributing to the creation of an insecure space within the community:

The women also articulated frustration regarding the approval given for the use of a building as a hotel/ club which is situated next to the El Dorado South Hindu School. As a result, the women no longer feel safe having their children walk to school on their own. The presence of the club is hazardous and the women mentioned their failed attempts to argue against the club.

An example such as this broadened the discussion beyond the strictest sense of national security's institutional arrangements to ensure the population's safety; thereby enriching our understanding of the integrated factors (often neglected factors) which determine human security in any given space.

Mayaro's Conversation built on this to point to the ongoing challenge of incest and abuse as a major problem within the community. Incest and abuse, it was felt resulted in the loss of self esteem and the creation of anger within young persons which accounted for the violence which is exhibited in youth throughout the country. The Mayaro group believed that incest and abuse in the home could not be overlooked. It was at the heart of the violence within their community.

St John's Baptist's group were women intimately affected by gun violence, who shared feelings about the horror they experience when they hear gunshots. Therefore the sound of gunshots was an important form of violence. For this group the meaning they constructed around the sound of a gunshot was the source of intense fear.

The sound of the gunshot is a trigger for feelings of fear and dread for the women and their communities. It signals that there might be a loved one hurt or killed or it might be a threat.

The importance of this contribution lies in the fact that many persons within this group lived in the greater Port of Spain area; a space where gun shots have become synonymous with everyday life. The feeling of dread which encompasses these women was one they felt everyday, numerous times during the day. Additionally, the fact that the law enforcement response to ensure security within many of these communities, often time brings with it gun shots. What becomes apparent from the experience of these women is the fact that they are persistently exposed to trauma.

The gangs within the communities exhibit their power with fire power. Therefore, on both sides of the law, legal and illegal possession of small arms, these women are trapped by the trauma of this sound on a continuous basis. It is important to note that the law enforcement response is one which is tailored to bring security to the community. However, it brings to the fore questions of how that security is achieved and ways in which safe communities is defined by whom, and ways of addressing the violence within violent communities. It is in the addressing of the challenges of securing these violent communities that insecurity is experienced and reproduced.

The St Jude's Home provided the most distinctive feedback in every category. In identifying forms of violence the young women infused the discourse with extensive new knowledge. These young women were responsible for introducing the following into defining forms of violence; unwanted pregnancy, parry shots (gang rape), statutory

rape, school violence, killing of informers (800 tips¹⁵) and dog thieves. In further discussion around forms of violence the topic of ranking¹⁶ emerged.

Ranking clearly created much insight into the hierarchical nature of the social existence of these young persons. The inherent violence that goes with establishing oneself at the top of the ranking system and the very gendered nature of the system of rank were persistent and note worthy themes in the discussion. The most interesting phenomenon of the St Jude's deliberations was the disconnect between the content of the young persons' Conversation and those in which older women were largely represented. The source of the chasm between the lived reality of the young, and the manner in which adults interface with violence is an ever evolving challenge for our society. This is a disconnect which cannot be overlooked because our visible notions of violence overwhelmingly locate young persons as perpetrators and victims. An investigation of the phenomenon of ranking and forms ranking takes on, establishes the heterogeneity of violence as understood and experienced by the young in our communities. As the paper seeks to bring to light some of the discussion around ranking it is important to note (1) it is through ranking that many young persons are esteemed and valued by their peers and (2) ranking is started at Standards 4 and 5 (Ages 9-11 on average).

Examples of source of high rank include:

- Girls having a boyfriend who has proven himself to be a domineering man¹⁷
- Men get ranked from having anal sex with women and girls
- Men get ranked for having the most money
- Men get ranked for having killed someone
- The number of territories¹⁸ they control

¹⁵ Crime Stoppers is an international programme that was created 32 years ago with the specific objective - to offer witnesses to crime an anonymous alternative to report an illegal act in the secrecy and safety of their homes. It was introduced to the national community by the Trinidad and Tobago Police Service almost a decade ago. It has been described as changing the way in which witnesses report criminal activity, the method by which police collect evidence for their investigations and has significantly contributed to the increased detection of crime (Newsday, 2008:7).

¹⁶ A position in the hierarchy of existence among young persons. The individual becomes more popular, acceptable or generally looked upon favourably by your peers the higher you are ranked.

¹⁷ This man's domination may come from his sexual vitality e.g. having relationships with many women, or it may come from the fact that he is a gang leader/drug lord which brings with it economic prowess

- Men get ranked for having “best¹⁹” girls
- Men get ranked for having violent sex with women and girls
- Girls get ranked by the type of gangster man they have
- Lesbians get ranked by who is the freakiest
- Men and women get ranked by the amount of bling²⁰ they have
- Female gang leaders are highly ranked
- Women get ranked when they become a passa passa²¹ girl because they attract high attention
- Women get ranked by who their men kill
- Fame, respect, power are benefits - authority
- Men and women get ranked by having the respect of the police and from persons within the prison system.
- Power is sometimes short term because persons lose their power when they are killed by a close friend.
- Men get ranked by being violent against women

An interesting trend within the discourse of ranking is the reinforcement of very traditional gender roles on one extreme while transgressive sexualities as expressed by

¹⁸ Gang leaders control certain geographic spaces where they may have a number of persons working for them or they may act the informal leader (they may control what goes on in within such an area) of these spaces referred to as territories

¹⁹ **Best girl** is a female who is deliciously sexy; erotically and arousingly attractive, a woman who is able to make men burn with desire. It must be noted that an important aspect of the power of the best girl, is the fact that the man who has a relationship with her is acknowledged by other men as being in a position of power and his masculinity is deemed to be superior to those who may not have a best girl.

²⁰ **Bling** is Jamaican slang that has been adopted by some African American rappers and inserted into popular culture. The term "Bling Bling" refers to the imaginary "sound" that is produced from light reflected by a diamond. It is a synonym for expensive, often flashy jewellery sported mostly by African American hip-hop artists and middle class Caucasian adolescents, but it is not limited to jewellery. It also refers to expensive / designer clothes, shoes etc (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term>)

²¹ **Passa Passa** is a well known dancehall reggae event, or street dance/gathering on Spanish Town Road in the Tivoli Gardens section of Kingston, Jamaica. The dance occurs on a Wednesday night; many times finishing at 8am Thursday morning. Passa Passa is a place where rival ghetto communities can gather, in a safe environment, socialize and party. The passa passa girl is the female dancer who is a protagonist in this all night dance. Important to the dance is the ability to engage in provocative intricate motions which imitate acts of sexual intercourse (<http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term>).

women have been allowed a space in the ranking. Violence perpetrated by men against women is validated. Respect from the police and persons in positions of decision making, is ranked high. These are reinforcement of traditional gender hierarchies and patriarchy. Although lesbianism is seen as a form of sexual deviance, within the ranking system a lesbian can be highly ranked because of her control over other women. The place it takes in the ranking brings to the fore the question of evolving and changing gender relations among young persons and shifting attitudes around sex and sexuality. Unfortunately within the ranking system one persistent characteristic is the presence of violence against women.

There is a need to engage in an extensive policy discourse on the information coming out of ranking as an aspect of youth interaction. The value of the perspective lies in the fact that the various aspects of this system is how young persons define themselves and how ranking influences the way they negotiate their everyday existence. It is central to the violence they experience and the violence they recreate.

Causes of Violence

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE	FORM OF VIOLENCE
PERSONAL	Low self esteem, lack of attention, resentment, lack of love, lack of support, lack of sound moral values, frustration, unemployment, hunger, poverty, homosexuality, lack of education, lack of sexual fulfilment, mental abuse, abandonment, having unrealistic goals, peer pressure, greed, lack of fear of God, youth anger, exposure to pornography, inability to lead, not wanting to work but wanting to acquire wealth, drug use
HOUSEHOLD	Absentee fathers, verbal abuse, emotional abuse, physical abuse, incest, masking family violence, embarrassment, favouritism, lack of/poor parenting, broken homes, single parents (growing numbers of), absence of a support system, seeing violence at home, step parents, lack of control, not listening to youths, barrel children, cable children, domestic violence, increased levels of family violence, family separation, migrating mother, neglectful parent
COMMUNITY	Ignorance, lack of spiritual direction; inappropriate education system partiality, inequity, gender bias, jealousy, technology and the media, dependency syndrome, lack of contentment, it is a fad to be in a gang, influx of oil money in 1973, blaming young persons for things they did not do, lack of freedom, lack of opportunity, lack of investment in the community, the drug trade, elderly persons and children participate in crime for monetary rewards
STATE & OTHER INSTITUTIONS	political oppression and suppression, failure of society to respond to the changing needs of the family, inappropriate education system, Corrupt police officers, Lack of accountability

Common trends

The absentee father was established as a persistent cause of violence, the sentiment that persons had moved away from God, growing number of single parents, corruption within the protective services coupled with low self esteem and the socio-economics of poverty proved to be the most identified causes of violence.

Distinguishing Characteristics

It was out of the Conversation in Tobago that the inefficiency of the education system was explored. This proved to be a pointed contribution because although youth issues crowd the discussion around violence, the services required by youth to effectively address their needs in detail is somewhat overlooked in said discussions. This contribution is also important because it is steeped in the language of the rights of children which is not common in the approach of the community to meeting the needs of the young. The education system was surmised by the Scarborough Conversation as follows:

Inappropriate education system - irrelevance, violation of children's rights, violent behaviour. Make the system relevant to all needs to prevent violence, citizens should demand trained teachers in all schools, replace CXC/O'levels by credit system to allow all children opportunity to acquire credit over time progress and graduate, government to re-evaluate the requirements for teachers

Other macro level issues on the rights of children included:

The ongoing non-implementation of the Children's Authority Bill, the Children's Community Residences, Foster Homes and Nurseries Bill (El Dorado)

At the household level migrating mothers and the resulting "barrel children" emerged as an important cause of violence in Fyzabad as evidenced by the following statements:

"There has been a change over time in women feeling the need to migrate without their children for the '*betterment*' of themselves and their families."

A debate started to the effect that

Women should be free to migrate as they should not be seen as the sole care givers.

Another view:

Women should understand their role as the most important care givers and should be more inclined to stay with their children, because migration is a contributor to the vulnerability of some children; "barrel children"; incest, abuse and neglect sometimes stem from the absence of a migrated mother.

Impact of Violence

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE	FORM OF VIOLENCE
PERSONAL	Fear of going out and coming in late, single mother's fear of having relationships with men (fear of incest and other violent activity), trauma experienced by eye witnesses, fear of intervening, shock, ill health, stress, lost the right to be free, hopelessness, daily routines disrupted, women feel vulnerable, becomes desensitized, paranoia, migration to places where you don't have to think about violence everyday, children become orphans
HOUSEHOLD	Increased security in homes leading to increased and unexpected costs, becoming prisoners in your home, change residence, need to send children to study abroad, migrating mothers
COMMUNITY	Stigmatized communities, young persons and the elderly forced to lie down face down on hot pitch, persons in the community choosing to remain silent, high risk communities are not served with simple amenities (eg LPG ²² ,biscuits), paralysis, fear, creation of a border line, isolation of some women within the community,
STATE & OTHER INSTITUTIONS	Political and institutional inability to deal with the issue, inability of the Government to keep its obligations under the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Convention for the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), injustices meted out to the community by unjustified police raiding of homes, Loss of confidence in the capacity of the systems to protect the victim,

²² LPG: Liquid Petroleum Gas is used for cooking in many households in Trinidad and Tobago, often delivered to the communities by trucks.

--	--

The impact of violence within the community is a very complex phenomenon. The more sedate and not overtly violent processes are just as impacting as the random and sudden acts of violence we grapple with everyday. In the analysis of the findings, the natural response would be to treat with the impact in terms of severity. It is imperative that coming out of this, the differences are not judged by severity but that they are seen in terms of how these forms of violence influence and shape our lived reality in profound ways.

Perpetrator vs Victim Profile

Perpetrator	Victim
Male, dark, tall, angry, young, looks desperate, grandfather, doctors, husband, policeman, priest, children who are victims of circumstance, drug addicts, friend family member, anybody	Women, elderly, children, persons with low self esteem, homosexuals, travellers/commuters, a reserved person, person who looks scared, someone in their own homes, anybody

NB: In all Conversations it was noted that anybody could be a perpetrator or a victim

Recommendations

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE	RECOMMENDATION / RESPONSE
PERSONAL	<p>Take individual responsibility to end violence,</p> <p>Individuals to put into action what has been learnt here when they return to community,</p> <p>Learn to mind your own business, Befriend criminals instead of rejecting them because it may aid in rehabilitation,</p> <p>Write anonymous notes to the police giving information about crime in the area but not to 800 tips since you may be identified if you volunteer information on the phone,</p> <p>Building spirituality, being self confident,</p> <p>Support groups that would benefit families; for both women and men</p> <p>The need for space where men could destress constructively</p>
HOUSEHOLD	<p>Parenting classes for high school students and young parents e.g. HFLE should include parenting,</p> <p>Educating the women of the community</p> <p>A suggestion was made for appropriate ways of arming the women with information on their rights.</p>
COMMUNITY	<p>Form/strengthen women support groups for women with perpetrators and victims e.g. WINAD, Soroptomist, Women Against Violent Encounters (WAVE)</p> <p>Mentoring programmes to provide positive role models for young girls</p> <p>Writing letters to local government and the Commissioner of Police</p> <p>Provide information on all the systems in place to help the community .e.g. civil society organisations, governmental programmes and organisations, local government.</p> <p>Inform the women in the community about proper documentation,</p>

LEVELS OF VIOLENCE	RECOMMENDATION / RESPONSE
	<p>advocacy methods and on how to conduct effective petitions.</p> <p>The Community should walk</p> <p>When the politician is unable to come up with the answer women should provide the answer</p> <p>The Borderlines need to be removed</p> <p>Make use of the community centres</p>
STATE & OTHER INSTITUTIONS	<p>Amend legislation on education, guns, sexuality and Domestic Violence</p> <p>Develop multi-sectoral plan of action for the reduction of violence</p> <p>Follow up workshop on parenting, communication to develop advocacy skills, strategies for responding to violence</p> <p>Workshops to discuss violence (parents, children, men, women, community)</p> <p>Work with men to ensure a non-violent society and build a culture of non-violence</p> <p>Offer gun amnesty, change the government,</p> <p>The Police should be paid more money to end corruption in the force</p>

Conclusion

The violence experienced within Trinidad and Tobago and some other territories within the English Speaking Caribbean does not seriously politically threaten the State nor the governing regime. The essence of this threat is the one posed to citizen's security and the persistent inability of the state to protect the citizens (Harriot, 2003:5).

The fact is, the Trinidad and Tobago government is faced with a complex challenge of addressing a crime and violence problem with a number of causes and an even greater number of outputs and impacts. Simplistic approaches to the challenge hold fast to the view that enough is known about the crime problem, that all is needed is for policy makers to muster the political will to deal with the problem, possibly through some tough policing measures (Ibid, :10) , or by funding skills building within inner city communities .

Although these measures may be needed as a component of the required response, it is clear though, coming out of a project such as the Women's Conversations that this cannot form the entire response. Additionally, it is also apparent that as crime and criminality become a more sophisticated commodity, not responsive only to local opportunities and conditions, the policy response would also have to become more complex to effectively deal with this challenge. Fundamental to this appropriate response to our regional crime challenge is understanding the ways in which masculinity and femininity within and external to the community, shapes the crime product and the ways in which different communities respond to crime. The Conversations also provide an understanding of the value of engaging in alternative qualitative methods of data collection as a means of providing an integrated backdrop on the ways in which people are impacted by criminal activity and the importance of civil society in securing this knowledge.

Bibliography

- Alcaraz, Fredy H G & Suarez, C. (2006) Masculinity and Violence in Columbia: Deconstructing the Conventional Way of Becoming a Man. In Ian Bannon & Mari Correia (eds.) *The Other Half of Gender: Men's Issues in Development* (pp93-10). The World Bank: Washington
- Bailey, Barbara. (2003) *Gendered Realities: Fact or Fiction? The Realities in a Secondary Level Co-Educational Classroom*. In Patricia Mohammed (ed) *Gendered Realities: Essays in Caribbean Feminists Thought* (pp 164 - 182). UWI Press in Collaboration with CGDS Jamaica: Cave Hill, Mona, St Augustine.
- Barriteau, Eudine. (2003) *Confronting Power Theorizing Gender*. UWI Press in Collaboration: Cave Hill, Mona, St Augustine.
- Cain, Maureen. (1989) *Crime and the Economy*. In The Cabinet Appointed Committee on Integrated Family Services Workshop on Social and Community Development Issues: 1990's and Beyond.
- Coates, Rodney D. and Heitzeg, N. (2008) *Micro-Level Social Justice Project, Pedagogy, and Democratic Movements*. In *American Behavioural Scientist* 2008; 595-598
- Cock, Jaclyn. (2001) *Gun Violence in Contemporary South Africa*. In Robert Morrell (ed) *Changing Men in Southern Africa*. Zed Books: London and New York.
- Connell, R. W. (1995) *Masculinities*. University of California Press: Berkley Los Angeles
- Clatterbaugh, Kenneth (1997) *Contemporary Perspectives on Masculinity: Men, Women and Politics in Modern Society*. West View Press: Colorado
- Epps, Kenneth. (2008) *Advancing Development While Reducing Violence: Lessons from the Field*. In *The Ploughshares Monitor*. Vol 29, no.4
- George, Susan. (2003). *Globalizing Rights?* In Mathew J. Gibney (ed.) *Globalizing rights* (pp 15-33). Oxford University Press: Oxford
- Government of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, (2008). *The Budget Speech for the Financial Year 2008/09*.
- Harding, Sandra. (1987) *Is there Feminists Method?* In Sandra Harding (ed) *Feminism & Methodology: Social Science Issues*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington and Indianapolis pp 1 - 15
- Headley, Bernard (2002) *A Spade is Still A Spade: Essays on Crime and Politics in Jamaica*. LMH Publishing: Kingston Jamaica

Lall, Vidya. & Ramdhanie Ian (ed). (2004) *The Deosaran Files: Two Decades of Social & Political Commentary (1971 - 1991)*. UWI School of Continuing Studies; St Augustine

Lieber, Michael. (1981) *Street Life: Afro- American Culture in Urban Trinidad*. Schenkman Publishing: Cambridge Massachsettes

Mohammed, Patricia. (2004) *Unmasking Masculinity and Deconstructing Patriarchy: Problems and Possibilities within Feminist Epistemology*. In Rhoda Reddock *Interrogating Caribbean Masculinity: Theories and Empirical Analyses*. UWI Press: Mona, Cave Hill and St Augustine pp 38-67

Morash, Merry. (2006) *Understanding Gender, Crime, and Justice*. Sage Publication: Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi

Nurse, Keith. (2004) *Masculinities in Transition: Gender and the Global Problematique*. In Rhoda Reddock *Interrogating Caribbean Masculinity: Theories and Empirical Analyses*. UWI Press: Mona, Cave Hill and St Augustine pp 3-37

Plummer, David., Agozino, Biko., and Youssef, Valerie. (2007) *Masculinities and Crime in the Caribbean*. UWI : Cave Hill, Mona, St Augustine

Quaker United Nations Office (Nov 2007 - Jan 2008). *The Geneva Declaration Process Linking Armed Violence Reduction and Development*. Vol 27 no 1

Roche, Susan E. & Goldberg-Wood, Gail. (2005) *A Narrative Principle for Feminists Social Work With Survivors of Male Violence*. In *Affilia* 2005:465-475

Steiner, Henry, J., & Alston, P. (2000). *International Human Rights in Context* (2nd ed.), 938-43,979-81.

Tafari-Ama, Imani. (2002). *Blood bullets and Bodies: Sexual Politics Below the Poverty Line- The Political Economy of Violence, Power, Gender and Embodiment in Jamaica's Inner City*. ISS: The Hague

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. (1974) *International Review of Criminal Policy*. United Nations Publications: New York

WINAD & Ploughshares. (2008) *Workshop Paper for Small Arms Proliferation and Misuses: Towards a Caribbean Plan of Action International Workshop*. Port of Spain: Trinidad