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Interrogating Grenadian Masculinities and Violence Against Women: An Evaluation of the United Nations Partnership for Peace Program

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Interrogating Grenadian Masculinities and Violence Against Women: An Evaluation of the United Nations Partnership for Peace Program

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

This applied anthropology study, guided by a feminist perspective and in particular, Black Feminist Thought is an outgrowth of an evaluation study of the Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) in Grenada, West Indies. The PFP is a Caribbean-specific model that was built into a sixteen-week cycle program by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women (UNWomen). Since 2005, the PFP has been geared towards Grenadian men, who have used violence against women to express their masculine identities. PFP focuses exclusively on rehabilitating male perpetrators with a goal to protect the human rights of women. This research evaluated the PFP program, using qualitative and quantitative methods to measure the program’s impact based on the behavioral changes that male participants adopted to avoid violence against women. Furthermore, this study investigated the relationship between masculine identities and domestic violence, exploring the significance of violence actions as markers of Grenadian masculinities. The findings presented show the impact of the PFP on the lives of PFP men, the women associated with the PFP men and the PFP stakeholders. The results illustrate the socio-ecological nature of violence and the power leverages that enact gendered messages for Grenadian men and women. Those entities were used to establish some theoretical understandings about Caribbean Violence.
Introduction

This dissertation presents the results of an evaluation study of the United Nation’s Partnership for Peace Program (PFP), a domestic violence intervention program in Grenada, West Indies. In 2005, the United Nations Entity for Equity and Empowerment of Women (UNWomen) (formally known as UNIFEM) commissioned the Partnership for Peace Program to support one of its four strategic goals to end violence against women in the Caribbean. The PFP is a model that was developed into a domestic violence program by an expert group of regional social scientist professionals. Today, PFP is the only standardized domestic violence intervention program within the English-speaking Caribbean and is available in Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia, Jamaica, Belize and the British Virgin Islands.

The Partnership for Peace is important to the Caribbean for a number of reasons, because a World Bank study in 2007 indicated that the prevalence of violence in the region was two times higher than the global average (World Bank 2007). Additionally, 95% of gender-based violence is usually at the expense of women, where one in four women is physically abused in their home (Ricardo and Barker 2008). The estimated prevalence of domestic violence among the reported crimes in the Caribbean varies: 30% in Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, 25% in Guyana, 29% in the British Virgin Islands, Trinidad and Tobago, and 70% in Suriname (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005).
The PFP model was established to focus on male perpetrators that used violence against women to assert their masculine identities. The model was developed into a psych-social education program that is offered in a sixteen-week cycle to a pool of men. On average, a cycle consists of about ten to fifteen men that meet weekly within a closed focus group format. Though UNWomen commissions the PFP, it is implemented in each country by collaborating with local non-governmental organizations such as Grenada Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) in Grenada. LACC maintains the daily operation of the cycle, including recruitment of the male participants, facilitators for the group cycle, and a clinical supervisor. In Grenada, most of the male participants are referred to the PFP from the local Magistrate Court System, under the conditions of completing the PFP instead of serving prison time or paying a fine.

During a PFP cycle, each week a new topic is introduced that centers on issues related to Caribbean masculinities and violence. Along with the orientation, the PFP male participants are introduced to alternative life skills that they can adopt as healthy, non-violent expressions of gender identity. Such skills include effective communication, stress management, trauma recovery and conflict resolution. PFP proximal goals are to raise awareness about the consequences of male gender expression that embodies violence against women and to facilitate learning alternative behaviors that can reduce the risk of violence against women. The distal goal is a reduction in domestic violence incidences in the community to improve the human rights of women. The PFP model has two core principles: (1) to protect women’s rights, with a particular
reference to victim safety; and (2) to make male perpetrators accountable for their violent actions. As of 2011, more than 150 men were enrolled into the PFP program in Grenada.

This research evaluated the PFP program using qualitative and quantitative methods to measure the program’s impact based on the male participant’s ability to adopt new skills in a way that will foster behavioral changes. Furthermore, the outgrowth of the evaluation was to explore the relationship between masculine identity expressions among the male perpetrators that influenced the use of violence. This research sought to determine whether Caribbean masculine identities and the use of violence are relational and grounded within the Caribbean cultural framework.

To garner the data for this evaluation and explore the relationship between masculine expressions and violence, 32 Grenadian men in the PFP program, 12 PFP stakeholders and nine Women associated with the PFP men were studied. Data were collected through surveys, participant observations, stakeholder interviews, life narrative sessions and follow-up interviews between 2010 and 2011. Data analysis was guided by a feminist perspective, particularly Black Feminist Thought, as a way to critically evaluate the universal assumptions about masculinity and the prevalence of violence in Grenadian society. That feminist perspective provided the guidelines to illuminate the historical, structural and value bases of Caribbean gender phenomena that have dictated the use of violence by men against women (Green 1994). Given the focus of the PFP program to protect the human rights of women, this feminist orientation of the
analysis ensured that all forms of masculine gender expression were linked to violence as centers of inquiry. Furthermore, the critical perspective considered race, class and status as units of analysis that are crucial markers of Caribbean social relations.

The desired outcome of the analysis was to generate data that would identify, expose, challenge and deconstruct masculine gender identities within a framework that could be used to help the reduction of violence against women. To accomplish this outcome, the findings were transformed into conceptual frameworks based on socio-ecological perspectives of violence and the cultural power leverages that men use against women that are embodied within violence. The outcome of combining those two constructs became the basis for proposing the Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean violence that illuminated the connection between Caribbean masculinities and violence. That outcome is being proposed as guidelines for future research and interventions that can reduce the prevalence of violence within the Caribbean.
Fieldwork

This research was conducted between July 2010 and June 2011 at several sites throughout Grenada. Most of the data collection occurred at the LACC office where the PFP program is hosted, in addition to other locations such as courtrooms, homes and field offices throughout Grenada’s seven parishes. Data collection began with a review of survey data about the PFP male, participant observations in two PFP cycles, interviews with PFP stakeholders, life narratives of PFP men, and follow-up interviews with the PFP men and Women associated with the PFP men within six months after their respective program cycles ended.

Prior to the launch of this study, I conducted some pre-dissertation research from July to December 2009. The pre-dissertation research was conducted as a member of the UNWomen PFP advisory board that overseas all PFP operations throughout the Caribbean. This research was limited to participant observations among PFP cycles in Grenada, where I observed and captured the male discussions about gender expression and domestic violence. Early indicators from the observations showed that the PFP was one of the few spaces in Grenada where men sat together as a group to articulate their masculinities and use of violence within Grenadian society. Other crucial findings included the ambiguity of considering domestic violence a crime because it was a culturally normative way of how men interact with women. Finally, there were
some major adjustments among the PFP men that learned new life skills and adaptations within their homes and communities against the backdrop of traditional expectations of men and violence. This preliminary research concluded with a strong assertion that the PFP curriculum and program raised awareness among Grenadian men, but the impact among the lives of women was still unclear. After presenting the findings to UNWomen, LACC and the PFP advisory board, UNWomen requested that I expand the project into this evaluative study that measured the program’s impact with permission to use it as my dissertation research. To prepare this project for a dissertation study, I pursued ethical approval from St. George’s University School of Medicine (SGU) Institutional Review Board (IRB) (granted April 2010) and the University of South Florida (USF) IRB (granted July 2010). After receiving those approvals, I immediately began my data collection and analyses.

It is important to clearly state my affiliations to several agencies that augmented this study as well as my own personal identity as the researcher. Since 2008, I have been a faculty member at St. George’s University School of Medicine in the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine (SGU), which is located in Grenada. As a faculty member, I taught several community-based graduate public health courses that focused on connecting SGU medical students to Grenadian communities to deliver public health interventions. This connection proved useful in understanding the landscape of the country, interacting with the people and acquiring a language proficiency in the French-English Creole spoken among the citizens. Furthermore, I continued to serve on
the PFP advisory board at the request of UNWomen’s Resident Representative by providing technical oversight of the PFP programs throughout the Caribbean. I served in this role for at least a year prior to this study, where I learned the policies and procedures of the PFP. Finally, my own identity as Grenadian-American with family ties to the country and communities was also made clear to everyone. UNWomen and LACC supported my transparency throughout this study.
**Ethical Considerations of this Applied Anthropology Research**

This research study safeguarded the rights and well-being of the research participants in accordance with the guidelines set by the American Anthropological Association (1998) and the US Federal Policy for Protection of Human Subjects, 45 CFR (2001), also known as the as the Common Rule. These policies were reinforced with my certification by the U.S. National Institute of Health (NIH) in “Protecting Human Research Participants” (certificate number 380060) and by the USF Office of Research and Innovation in “HIPAA in Research” (Certified in 2008).

This research was guided by specific objectives and research questions that were aligned with the United Nations Ethical Requirements and the PFP mandate. All of the research participants were required to provide consent before participating and were reintroduced to those measures during the follow-up sessions at several data collection points. Most importantly, they were reminded about their ethical right to withdraw from the study at any time.
Overview of this Dissertation

This dissertation explored male gender identity among perpetrators of domestic violence in contemporary Grenada as well as evaluated the effectiveness of an existing intervention program sponsored by the United Nations.

The Caribbean country of Grenada presents a cultural context in which values governing male gender identity and sexual identity are rooted in European colonization dating to the 15th century. Domestic violence as a measure of Caribbean masculinity was argued by the literature as pandemic in Grenadian culture fostered by a longstanding colonial social paradigm that continues to erode the human rights of contemporary Grenadian women (Mohanty 1988; Razack 1995; Kambon and Henderson 2009).

While contemporary Grenadian legislation has begun to criminalize some acts of domestic violence as punishable by law, the statute that was enacted in 2000 falls short of recognizing marital rape as a crime. Symptomatic of broader human rights concerns, the cultural climate of violence in Grenada attracted the attention of the United Nations, which included Grenada in its roster of third-world programs for strengthening human rights. In particular, in 2005 the United Nations Women launched a pilot study and behavioral intervention curriculum known as Partnership for Peace (PFP) in Grenada, which has since narrowed its
human rights scope in Grenada to address the human rights of women through the rehabilitation of male perpetrators of domestic violence.

This dissertation reports on the evaluative findings of the PFP program based on the perspectives of the PFP participants, Women associated with the PFP men and PFP stakeholders. The culmination of the project includes a discussion of recommendations that were interpreted from the study’s findings to enhance the PFP program and address the systematic problem of violence against women.

Chapter one provides an introduction about Caribbean masculinities and its use of violence to mark gender distinction. This chapter includes features of anthropological and feminist scholarship that define the nature of masculine identities and explain why violence has been important to Grenadian men. I focus on the background of Caribbean colonization through the theoretical lenses of the “plantation paradigm,” hegemonic masculinity, and Durkheim’s structuralism to elucidate the significance of violence as a masculine gender expression. The goal of this discussion is to signify why violence has been important to Caribbean men in a way that has ignored how it has subjugated the lives of Caribbean women.

Chapter two provides a literature review on the study of violence and how Grenadian men use it to pursue their masculinity. Drawing on the discussion of hegemonic masculinity within chapter one, this chapter shows how masculinity is applied to the Caribbean context as a way of justifying violence as a cultural expression of gender identity. The discussion will invoke the correlation of race,
ethnicity, gender, class and status structures to demonstrate who is most likely to be victims of violence. Additional background on the discourse of slavery and indentured servitude will contextualize the emergence of Caribbean violence as an expression of patriarchal masculinity, with theoretical support drawn from Durkheim, to trace the early systemic practices of domestic violence in Caribbean culture. Socio-cultural structures for Caribbean gender roles will be examined, in addition to the role of violence in the cultural imposition and reinforcement of masculinity. This discussion will support the hypothesis that violence is a gender marker of masculinity in Caribbean society.

Chapter three introduces the theoretical basis of this research, which is grounded in feminist thought. Among the many perspectives of feminism discussed, Black Feminist Thought that was proposed used as most suitable lens for this research inquiry. Black Feminist Thought perspective does not gender as an isolated experience but one that is influenced by interconnected units such as class, status, race, and ethnicity. Such perspective will illuminate the unique circumstances of Grenada’s plural society. Along with that feminist perspective, Clifford Geertz’s (1973) *Thick Description* call to action was discussed on how it was situated with the Black Feminist standpoint to argue the relevance of the research methods that will be explained in chapter four. This chapter ends with a discussion about the primary research gaps and limitations.

Chapter four will introduce the Grenada field site location for the Partnership for Peace Program. I will present the research methods along with justifications for their use in this particular type of research. I will also present the
system of analysis that was used to establish the findings and will conclude the chapter with a discussion about the implications of this research in the disciplines of Anthropology, domestic violence and Caribbean gender studies.

Chapter five presents the findings of the research. The first section of the chapter situates the profiles of the research participants to provide insight into the people that are associated with the PFP. Additional findings will be delineated by the study objectives, followed by a summary of the emerging patterns and constructs that move these research findings toward establishing the Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean Violence.

Chapter six comprises a discussion of the study findings and ways to translate them into interventions. I will also discuss my plans to disseminate the findings in collaboration with my research partners, UNWomen and Grenada’s Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic.
Chapter One: Caribbean Masculine Perspectives of Gender and Sexual Identities

This literature review examines the fundamentals of Caribbean gender and sexual identities with an emphasis on Grenadian masculinities. Contemporary Grenadian masculinity will be presented as a gender construct that was historically established by colonialism (Lewis 2003). Attention will be drawn to the evolution of Caribbean culture by focusing on the significance of men and their use of violence to distinguish themselves from other gendered groups. At this juncture, it is important to note that throughout this dissertation I will use the terms Grenadian and Caribbean masculinity and Grenadian and Caribbean society interchangeably. This is a reflection of the research subjects’ identification as both Grenadian and Caribbean people, given their geographical location and cultural assimilation within the region. Their assertion does not ignore the fact that there are distinct subgroups and qualities among its people.

Defining Masculinity

Research has shown that the majority of examinations about masculinity are usually centered on the exclusive nature of how men acquire power at the expense of women (MacInnes 1998). To acquire this power, men seek to define their masculinity through the control of and access to influential institutions, economic relations, and legal policies where gendered groups are most likely to interact and depend on each other to sustain their livelihood.
Lindegger and Maxwell contend that the social and collective dimensions of masculinity are not a property of male identity, but rather a socially constructed phenomenon that can be situated within the everyday system of beliefs and performances that regulate behavioral expressions between men and women, as well as among men themselves (Lindegger and Maxwell 2007). History provides ample evidence of the practice of power and control to assert gender superiority in the membership requirements of fraternities, Masonic societies, and countless collective organizations that consolidate those qualities for men to regulate other gendered behaviors (Anderson 2008; Martin 1989; Davis 2006; Wantland 2006; Lapp 2000). Furthermore, closer analysis of the gender as social construct argument reveals that those institutions foster exclusion and propel the concentration of control among men with permission to use violence as a means to garner and retain power and control within masculinity (Kronsell 2005; Loseke and Kurz 2009). In most instances, we have come to observe that masculinity is obsessed with seeking power and control and validates positionality with violence as way to achieve them. The outcome of seeking power and using violence for the purposes of masculinity is that women are most likely to be victims. Thus, it can be assumed that masculine expressions that include violence require other gendered beings such as women, thus making it relational because it pursues control as a way to impose power with very little regards for the human rights of anyone else.

The significance of controlling women to assert masculinity has been highlighted in the works of feminist anthropology that argue convincingly that
some cultures value masculinity more than femininity (Moore 1994, 1999; Strathern 1988; Guijt and Shah 1998; Cornwall 1994; Dunbar 1993; Demetriou 2001). However, the value of this recognition is not limited to merely explaining how cultures uphold one and not the other. Rather, this literature elucidates how masculinity and power requires having access to women to delineate what is masculine and what is not (Katz and Bess 2006; Hayward and Weber 2003; Hearn 2006).

Thus, Steven Craig (1992) says that the best way of understanding the complexities of masculinity is best seen from the point of view of what a culture expects of men. Such assertion makes the argument that masculinity is culturally constructed and not uniform for all men around the world as well as for some men within the same cultural setting. Furthermore, Craig proposes that examinations of masculinity should be accomplished by reviewing the naturalization of the male pursuit of culture, especially when this is done at the expense of others and within an environment where it is valued as superior (Craig 1992). These standpoints are important for this research, because it suggest that multiple dimensions of masculine identities exist among the men who delineate who is most likely to exert power and control through the expressions of violence against women. Therefore, it is important to consider how men define their masculine identity to determine their probable use of violence to confirm their gender within society.
Gender Roles—The Specificity of Masculinity

Over the years, numerous studies have tried to define what it means to be a man based on biology and by exploring how masculine identities are framed as exclusively male-gendered bodies (Deaux 1984; Gerson and Peiss 1985; Kimmel 1986; Pleck 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; Epstein 1988; Connell 1993, 2000, 2001; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). Ann Bettencourt and Norman Miller (1996) critically contend that sex and gender are confusing to define, because sex can either be biologically determined or ascribed to gender and gender roles, which are socially constructed and differ from one culture to the next (Bettencourt and Miller 1996). They allude that defining the nature of gender and sex for men presents a particular challenge, because definitions of masculinity vary in contexts where environmental and cultural factors themselves contribute to the very functions of gender expressions. With this assertion, Bettencourt and Miller (1996) extend Craig's (1992) caution about defining masculinity, once again stating that in a single culture, local perspectives of male gender and sexuality may vary to some degree by who among men mostly have the power and control to express the most of their masculinity (Bettencourt and Miller 1996).

Bettencourt and Miller’s argument highlights the assumptions about masculinity that makes blatant suppositions about the nature of men in most cultural contexts, especially among divisions of labor and the nature of human reproduction. For example, the burden of human reproduction is viewed as non-masculine because women are biologically predisposed to bearing
children. Though enormous energy and strength are required to complete that task of bearing children, in some cultures pregnancies are seen as compromises for women that limit their ability to be comparable to men. The act of reproduction is viewed as a handicap that makes women subordinate to men because they are tasked with a reproductive gestation of nine months while men are not biologically required to be involved beyond insemination. The assumptions of men's superiority over women on such conditions have blurred the biological and cultural distinctions of gender in ways that make it more difficult for women to assert that they are equal to men. The result is that men have capitalized on such biological differences to assert their masculine superiority through greater power and control expressions.

MacInnes (1998) argues that the blurred distinction between “natural” and biological components within the concept of gender account for the longstanding uncritical acceptance among scholars that masculinity is an impossible task to deconstruct and fully understand. However, MacInnes views gender as a product of a fundamental contradiction at the heart of modern society: between the idea that all men and women are in principal the same (i.e., enjoying the same human rights; as worthy as each other; equally capable) but also fundamentally different (particularly in terms of reproductive capacities). MacInnes’ construction of gender history elucidates how masculinity emerged as a focal point because our times have been characterized by long-term social transition, whereby access to material and symbolic resources and rewards have been determined by production rather
than sex. In most of those instances, men have led the acquisition of those resources while women have been restricted to limited roles and spaces away from those conditions. Thus, the emphasis of commodity production shows that more value is placed on the acquisition of a different type of resource that affords men the conversion of resources into power leverages such as cash and accumulation of material goods (MacInnes 1998).

MacInnes’ views are in response to the long history of biological determinism that held the belief that human beings were animals controlled by instinct and hormones that enabled men to assume superiority with the ability to control other gendered beings (Rose, Kamin and Lewontin 1985; Miles and Brown 2003; Bowler 1989; Herrnstein and Murray 1994). The premise of biological determinism was widely discussed in 19th century Anthropology, notably in the work of Herbert Spencer (1820—1903), Lewis Morgan (1818—1881), and Edward Tylor (1832—1917), where their arguments centered on an ideology that human evolution predicated European men to colonize and dominate the rest of the world because of their biological predisposition to be more intelligent to garner power and control. Such distinctions were not only based on gender, but also fueled other differences such as race where European men as colonizers and explorers were seen as a privileged group that had the ability to control the indigenous groups of North America, South America and the Caribbean. This belief in biological determinism was used to justify colonization and gendered suppression and became the early beginnings of gender and racial classifications among institutions and practices in the early
days of the colonial Caribbean. Today, the remnants of biological determinism remains in some aspects of Caribbean cultural practices, especially among those who continue to uphold the boundaries of race, ethnicity, class and status to determine access to power and control.

By contrast, socio-cultural determinism favored cultural construction over biology as the basis for understanding sex and gender (Kroeber 1947, 1963, 1966 and Lowie 1927, 1937, 1943; White 1949, 1954). Socio-cultural determinism stipulates that humans are a tabula rasa, whose identity (gender, sexual and otherwise) is influenced foremost by upbringing and cultural orientation (Spiro 2001). Such a position is flawed by its failure to account for the role of tainted economic practices, the historical nature of subjugation, and gendered preferences for masculinity that are all engrained within the psyche of social and cultural ideologies. However, with the support of feminist critiques, socio-cultural determinism has been modified to show how gender is very much a reality of the socio-ecological nature of the environment that augments culture and positions men as having more value than women. There will be more discussions about this relevance later in this chapter and within chapter two about the socio-ecological nature of violence.

There was also a third camp of theorists that sought to account for gender and sexual identity through a hybrid position that merges elements of biological and socio-cultural determinism to argue why particular groups assume power within a social hierarchy. However, disaggregation of such hybrid arguments reveals that ultimately, the argument favors one or the other
position (Baumann 1990; Gellner 1987; Parekh 2000). The prevailing finding among the hybrid position is the recognition of a distinction between biological-sex, on the one hand, and gender or sexuality expressions (Nelson 1995).

Julie Nelson proposes that the acquisition and performance of masculinity are neither large nor homogenous in regard to how men come to realize that they are masculine. Nelson explains that men are positioned to become masculine based on both performance and biological predisposition. For example, given the biological disposition that men, on average, have a larger physical stature than women, men are thus more likely to have a more powerful and stronger standing than women because of the biological nature of his physique. However, if we are to expand on Nelson’s position of biology to include access to resource, it can be argued that women are capable of garnering as much power as men if afforded the same resources and abilities to build their physiques in ways that are comparable to men. However, traditional practices have long asserted that keeping men and women separate among social and cultural orientations affords men to seem more powerful than women.

However, Nelson’s work established a platform for Judith Butler’s argument in *Gender Trouble* (1990), a seminal feminist work that proposes a gender construction based on social and cultural trends that insinuate men to pursue masculinity as part of his nature (biology), while women are persuaded to pursue reproduction through the process of femininity. Butler’s argument draws attention to the cultural and social elements of an environment that can
influence the constriction and isolation of gender characteristics to specific classifications of work, education and politics. Such distinctions are designated for men and women with very little leeway for them to cross over into doing something other than what is socially and culturally expected. This position creates juxtaposes between masculinity and men and those of women and femininity that are reinforced through the way that men and women learn their gender based on their environment. Most of those practices are instituted in childhood exposures where young boys are allowed to pursue education while girls are kept at home because education is not considered important for their development as a wife or mother. However, Butler contends that if all sides were equal with full access to resources, the advantages of masculinity for men can also be achieved by women if they are conferred the same degree of power and control (Butler 1990). However, as we will see in this research project, the fruition of societies rarely allows men and women to obtain gender equality in most circumstances but instead promotes men into pursuing leadership roles and responsibilities that are superior to women.

This dissertation built upon Butler’s assertion with the concept that the nature of Grenadian men and their masculinity are based on social and cultural values about masculinity that makes it seem that men are viewed as superior with power to use violence. Therefore, the embodiment of masculinity among Grenadian men was seen not biological, predetermined, fixed or immutable. Rather, it viewed it as constructed and imposed through social, cultural and
historical contexts of Grenada and the Caribbean that has made it more significant to be a man with power than a woman without power.

So far, it has been made clear that the gendered nature of masculinity is intrinsically linked to and cannot be separated from the cultural and social nature of where gender is realized and performed. For men and their masculinity, there is a clear consciousness of knowing other gendered groups such as women especially as entities that can be controlled to validate and increase the significance of gender identities. The male/female juxtaposition appears to have more significance for men because they can consolidate their power over women, but women cannot do it the same way to garner the same results (Mac and Ghaill 1996). These conditions were explored in this research that sought to understand how Grenadian men began to understand their gendered advantage over women and where they learned that the use of violence was one way to demonstrate their power as means to prove their masculinity.

**Defining the Term “Sex”**

The definition of sex in association to the entity of man is usually limited to the biological assignment of genitalia, but sex does not necessarily ascribe gender identity or sexual orientation. The recent works of queer theories and feminist critiques have proven that the biological disposition of a gendered body does not automatically assign the role of man or woman (Butler 1990; Foucault 1980 and 1998; Sedgwick 1985; Turner 2000; Wilchins 2004). Rather, an individual assumes a gender as part of their assimilation into societal norms.
and expectations of existence. The assimilation of gender or sexuality is not as simple as deciding to be masculine or feminine, but is determined rather by the cultural and social constructs of the environment within which the gender is performed. However, the process of defining masculinity and femininity is misconstrued when biology (i.e., having sexual organs) is considered a crucial component in the determination of sex, gender and sexuality (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

This dissertation research addressed the distinction between sex and gender in order to consider the perpetuation of violence as a *performance of masculinity*. I defined “performance of masculinity” as the process of learning, adapting and expressing masculinity as gender, as embodied in the process through which boys learn to become young men and eventually transition to become adult men. The goal was to situate this work in a way that it could contributed to the understanding about the performance of masculinity literature with a cultural focus in the Caribbean, a region that has been noted to be hyper-sexualized and violent due to the nature of its unique masculine identities (Archer 2003; Kempadoo 1999, 2004; Ramirez 2004).

**Class and Status Distinctions**

Boys/men are exposed to masculinity as part of learning their gender role. However, each experience is unique and determined by factors associated with the hierarchical nature of their society including the environment as well as their affiliation to specific class and status groups. Class and status are significant to gender because they are aggregates of interpersonal relationships
and interactions within a given environment and are part of a broad, multidimensional schema of stratification such as race, ethnicity and gender. They compound the experience of gender because it determines which aspects of masculinity a man adopts to define himself as a gendered being and who has the right to make that assumption. Other constructs such as race and ethnicity that determine different masculine distinctions create a plurality of masculine identities that influence such aspects. Masculine identities are manifested in how social relations are constructed, enabling certain men with their unique masculine identity to assume more control and power as the basis of their masculinity. Eventually, the influence of class and status within gender extends the hierarchical distinctions between men and women into areas where men rank themselves upward. For example, European men within the biological deterministic school of thought assumed that they were superior to indigenous men because they had larger brain sizes, lighter skin complexion and education in ways that other men could be considered to be comparable (Wright 2005, 2008). Those qualities were viewed as dimensions of power and control to be held in higher regard than those of men with dark-skin complexion, smaller brain size and oriented to education in different ways.

Examining the significance of class and status more closely, initial discussions about class emerged from Max Weber’s *Economy and Society* (1924), as he conceptualized an analysis of class in capitalistic societies (Wright 2005). Weber writes:
“We may speak of a “class” when (1) a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, insofar as (2) this component is represented exclusively by economic interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and (3) is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labor markets. Class situation is, in this sense, ultimately market situation” (Weber 1924: 927-28; Wright 2005).

According to Weber, class is determined by the kind and quantity of resources a man owns, which in turn affects his opportunities for income. Herein lies the concept of ownership that I will later reference in my definition of Grenadian masculinity. For Weber, ownership is itself a means of production that delineates class groups. Within the hierarchy of producers, the capitalist class (i.e., landowners) has superior authority and exercises the most power to own and accumulate wealth. The middle class situated beneath the capitalists (i.e., managers) claims some liberty to own and produce, but to a lesser degree of power than the capitalists. The working class (i.e., unskilled laborers) are those who are dependent upon the capitalist and middle classes to earn status and a living.

Within Weber’s framework, race and ethnicity become intrinsic to class in so far as characteristics of the dominant group (capitalists) become social markers and superficial defining features of the group, which Anthropologist Kevin Yelvington observes in his field study in Trinidad (Yelvington 1995). In Western civilization such as the Caribbean, White European or lighter skinned ethnic groups have been historically more likely to populate the dominant capitalist group and have thus had greater access to power and control. Some of those White Europeans have remained in the Caribbean post-colonial period,
where they continue to observe a degree of superiority through economic means and actively pursue tactics to disaggregate other ethnic and gendered groups to reduce the probable risk of power inversion through collective action. Such practices were noted in the factory workers of Yelvington’s *Producing Power* (1995), where the laborers were usually lower class men and women that were descendants of enslaved laborers of Trinidad and Tobago (Yelvington 1995). The factory production tactics by management upon the laborers were highly influenced by class and status in addition to race and ethnicity.

According to Weber, the nature of class distinctions in groups correlates to status because status defines the sphere of communal interaction or what Weber calls the "social order." Status projects social order in ways that implies some level of identity expressed in "positive or negative social estimation of honor to a particular group and every other entity that would be associated with it" (Weber [1924] 1978:932). Status among a group cannot exist without its members being in some way conscious of being members of the group and reinforcing their membership by surveying its parameters to ensure that its characteristics remains pure (Weber [1924] 1978:932). Therefore, status groups are based on a collective understanding that determines inclusion and exclusion criteria that garner access to power and control of production—class (Wright 2005, 2008).

Weber’s reasoning surrounding status groups applies to this research about Grenadian masculinity because the consciousness of class and status is entrenched within Grenadian culture due to its similar history to that of
Yelvington’s observation in Trinidad and Tobago. Among the practices of the Caribbean, White men have always had greater access to power and control to express their masculine superiority. The Caribbean cultural assumption about his superiority is that they were always superior upon the establishment of the colonies, and many tactics have been used to delineate his distinction even though the labor production landscape has changed.

The ways the position has been sustained over the generations within society included the promotion of class and status boundaries as regulatory measures that determined access to education, purchasing power, and marriage privileges with spoken and unspoken boundaries to reinforce group distinctions. The way that those boundaries were kept is through the threat and use of violence to punish anyone who opted to break the rules. Thus, it can be found that among these practices, violence became prevalent within Caribbean society during its earliest colonial periods where European explorers and plantation owners used violence to regulated their enslaved labor groups. Today, even though the plantations have been replaced and the laborers emancipated, the consciousness of class and status remained with violence used to keep those distinctions gendered as well as on the basis of class and status. As a consequence, the practices within contemporary society are believed to create circumstances that explain why masculinity and violence is relational and integral within Caribbean culture.

Weber’s framework for class and status in capitalist society is highly relevant to the cultural context of present day Caribbean culture given the way
in which the region was established because of the capitalistic nature of plantations. Today, the aforementioned hierarchy of acquisition that began in the early days of plantation production economies and the imported labor that were used to produce the sugar cane is still evident in cultural and social relations. The onset of such cultural practices dates to the colonial practices instituted in the mid 15th century when sugarcane was introduced as a commodity product for the French and British colonies (Best 1968; Mandle 1972; Ayala 1999). Later in my discussion, I will explore the development of different expressions of masculinity across the spectrum of social class within those contexts of Caribbean history.

**Gender Roles and Masculinity**

During the lifespan of acquiring gender, class and status are embedded in the gender roles of men, in part through childhood experiences imposed by parents and families (Witts 1997). This phenomenon is exemplified by the thwarting of career aspirations that push the boundaries of an individual’s native social class. For example, a lower class boy aspiring to become an entrepreneur will soon learn through the response of others that his choice is abnormal within his class and status of masculinity (Martin, Woods and Little 1990; Vogelman and Eagle 1991). As a result, he will relinquish such interests and gravitate toward a means of achieving masculinity within the confines of his social context that is determined by his class and status (Johnson 2005). Such a socialization process teaches men to conform to the norm for masculine nature so as to delineate themselves from other gendered groups within the
Given class and status. Assimilation to the normative nature of those groups yields positive reinforcement and further enables males to achieve independence, success, strength, and ultimately a competitive edge with respect to his access to power and control (Holland, Ramazanoglu and Sharpe 1994; Seidler 1989).

Within a given class and status group, the process of gender socialization for men “often involves an externalized relation to self, which means that it is about being [in] contrast to what women and femininity is about” (Seidler 1989: 143). Men learn to measure themselves against femininity, which is perceived as weaker and exclusive to women. Thus, gender roles are developed and reinforced socially by the way that men are taught to perform and display specific dimensions of masculinity, coached within a framework of manly principles (Walker 2005).

Judith Butler and Sara Salih (2004) apply a similar framework to explain how masculinity is acquired and argues that gender should be defined as a performance:

“Various acts of gender create the idea of gender, and without those acts there would be no gender at all. Gender is a construction that regularly conceals its genesis; the tacit collective agreement to perform, produce, and sustain discrete and polar genders as cultural fictions obscured by the credibility of those productions... the construction “compels” our belief in its necessity and naturalness” (Butler and Salih 2004: 114).

According to Butler and Salih’s assertion, gender is fulfilled through its co-existences with cultural and environmental factors that reinforce its boundaries. In turn, those factors embody elements of class and status, making it impossible for gender to be independent of socio-economic influences that
decipher what aspects of masculinity are ascribed to certain men (Butler and Salih 2004). As a result, there will be multiple dimensions of masculinity for men within a similar cultural environment, in addition to distinctions between men and women.

Butler expands upon the notion of gender as performance to include considerations of class and status, where she describes the human body as an object that is transformed by and projected through societal discourses (Butler 1993). She argues that masculine ideals are established as a result of conformity. In contrast, those who diverge from normative discourse are usually considered radical for having violated the social order and are subsequently downgraded to a lower tier of masculinity.

**Multiple Masculinities**

Recent social and cultural research studies have documented that there is no one prescribed script for masculinity (Guttmann 1997, 2003, Padilla 2007). Rather, multiple discourses of masculinity emerge continuously in relation to their context offering a new perspective that there are multiple masculinities. Therefore, we need to speak of masculinities, not masculinity, because different cultures and periods of history construct gender differently (Connell 2000; Kimmel 1995). This position is widely shared among theorists, notably among Shefer, Ratele and Strebel (2007), who argue against views of a single masculinity because the historical and social contexts enable the existence of competing forms of masculinity. As noted, the social construction
of masculinity combined with class and status inevitably creates various forms of masculinities (Prusank 2007).

Since masculinity is not seen as fixed, homogenous, or innate, but rather as fluid, relational, contextual, and changing in ways that are constantly being negotiated proves that multiple dimensions exist (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Guttmann 1997, 2003; Padilla 2007). When multiple dimensions of masculinity exist, hegemonic masculinity becomes the prevailing marker among the most powerful men in control and other forms of masculinity are considered subordinate. Hegemony, a pivotal concept of masculinity that draws upon in Gramsci’s *Prison Notebooks* (Gramsci and Buttigleg 2002), which was his most significant contribution to Marxist thinking, signaling masculinity is about winning and holding of power and the formation (and destruction) of social groups in that process to establish power and control (Donaldson 1993). The ultimate goal of achieving hegemonic masculinity is by persuasion, mainly through membership and affiliation to organization of social institutions and situating its existence in way that appears to be natural, ordinary, or normal as masculine practices. Hegemonic masculinity has become integral to the state because institutions have assumed the role of regulating and punishing men that do not conform to the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. Such practices can be found among Caribbean institutions that have been indoctrinated to enforce class and status distinctions. The institutions ensure hegemonic masculinity is the prevailing standard that Caribbean men are expected to achieve as their gender identity.
However, varying degrees of masculinity reflect contradictory desires, conduct, and arguments where some men are likely to be adventurous and ambitious enough to take risks to prove power and strength. In contrast, others use masculine strength in the form of fatherhood to demonstrate risk by saving a child from imminent danger. The core of hegemonic masculinity, power and control are measured with the influence of class and status and rests upon the ability to command control of resources. Therefore, certain men that embody hegemonic masculinity are more likely to access to more resources and be ranked as superior than those who are constrained by a lower position in society. The outcome is social hierarchy of gender order that contributes to the existence of multiple masculinities.

Principles of control and power are integral to class and status by instigating exclusion gendered tactics that limit hegemonic masculinity to a few collective qualities of masculinity (Christian 1994). Historically, European males have believed that they have hegemonic masculinity because as explorers they established their right to rule over the indigenous and enslaved people of the Caribbean. They expanded their domination in the region by imposing European masculinity as the top tier—hegemonic masculinity—within the hierarchy for masculine gender identity of the colonies. As a result, a ranked gendered order that included class, status and race became the basis of gender relations between men and women within Caribbean society.

The establishment of rank-order masculinities juxtaposed powerful White Europeans with an enslaved population in the Caribbean and introduced a new
cultural discourse that reinforced a narrative of domination. Anyone that lived in the Caribbean were subjects to such discourse that held a gendered narrative that was pre-determined in partnership with class, status, race and ethnicity (Gibson and Lindegaard 2007; MacInnes 1998). The pre-determination is important to note because, as Matthew Guttmann argued, what young boys learn to mean masculine in one context or culture could be different in another (Guttmann 1996). Guttmann’s position highlights cultural subjugation of culture upon gender as it is augmented by Davis’ assertion that in order to understand the [male] gendered body, one must account for a social construction of gender that is usually attributable to the men in their immediate context (Davis 1997). With such reasoning, this research has noted that Grenadian men within the PFP program will all have different ways of defining their masculinity based on their cultural and community orientation to gender identity. Therefore, it will be apparent that there will also be multiple justifications for the use of violence by the way that men describe their own masculinity.

**Hegemonic Masculinity**

As referenced previously within the discussion regarding the framework of multiple masculinities, the struggle to arrange masculinities hierarchically is omnipresent due to constant competition for power and legitimacy within distinctions of class and status. The conditions of those competing forces require alliances of domination and subordination to include and exclude men within a given level of expected masculinity—hegemonic masculinity (Connell 2005; Donaldson 1993).
One clear view about masculinity and the practices that are embedded within its gender roles is the desire to consolidate it under the realm of hegemonic masculinity, which has become the standard that men try to attain and retain their gender identities (Jefferson 1994 and 2002). The concept of hegemony is important to the discussion about masculinity because as Antonio Gramsci’s (1971) investigation about class relation referenced, a cultural dynamic in which a particular group develops and maintains a position of power and leadership in society forms the basis of hegemony (Davis and Eagle 2007; Donaldson 1993). According to Gramsci, hegemony masculinity is not always achieved through an active force, but rather, it becomes a process in which carefully laid tactics are used to manipulate and consolidate power among a collective group of individuals within society.

The way in which hegemonic masculinity is most likely to emerge as a point of reference for all masculinity is by limiting access to or designating certain individuals to professions that diminish or curtail their chances of acquiring more power (Donaldson and Howson 2010; Tharinger 2008). This where class and status, race and ethnicity is used within institutions of masculinity to realign power to control and dominate in a way that produces a hegemonic masculinity. Over time, practices that make it to fruition serve to support gendered practices of oversight that stipulate the boundaries of hegemonic masculinity as a way to restricted certain men to their membership and block others from any shared perception of masculinity. Ultimately, those
collective practices establish the origin of hegemonic masculinity and a
gendered ranking order (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005).

Gayle Rubin (1975, in MacInnes1998) argues that the institutionalization
of heterosexuality is a result of hegemonic masculinity, wherein gender identity
corresponds with roles for sexual reproduction. From such a perspective of
hegemonic masculinity, men who ascribe to homosexuality are deemed
subordinate and abnormal, given that same-gender partners cannot reproduce
sexually. The hegemonic demonization of male homosexuality in a social
context such as the Caribbean excludes and demonizes men that refused to
adopt the compulsory heterosexuality—a self-protective mechanism against
ostracism (Rich 1986, in Pascoe 2007). Hegemonic masculinity imposes upon
men to accept, adopt, and internalize the dominant hegemonic values and
norms and to likewise denounce their own feelings about gender (Pearson
1983; McDowell 2000).

The impact of hegemonic masculinity described above is not limited to
subordinate males, but extends to include women. In effect, the desire for
power and control within hegemonic masculinity has been found to justify the
use of violence against women (in the acquisition of women, as described
earlier in this chapter). Through the imposition of fear and the potential for
violence, subordinates of any gender are subject to victimization by the
regulatory practice of hegemonic masculinity.
The Price of Hegemonic Masculinity

Research has shown that assimilation to the principles of hegemonic masculinity can be destructive to a man’s physical and psychological health (Goldberg 1976; Nathanson 1977; Harrison 1978; Verbrugge 1985; Harrison, Chin and Ficarroto 1992, Courtenay 2000). In particular, subordinate men who try to emulate hegemonic masculinity have been found to suffer shorter life spans with higher rate of suicide, alcoholism, and stress-related diseases (Peralta 2007; Barrett 1996; Renold 2001; Jewkes 2010). The ensuing powerlessness and lack of self-esteem have been found to increase the likelihood of engagement in criminal violations (Christian 1994).

The pressures to be seen as a man with hegemonic masculine qualities occur both at internal and external phases that render men at risk for loss of social status and compromised health. Hegemonic masculinity values affirmation through the positive perceptions of others over personal loss. In particular, the fear of being perceived as weak, submissive or fragile justifies the high personal cost of the means (e.g., engagement in avoidance tactics) to achieve the esteem of the dominant group. The end goal of such a demeaning process is the establishment of an unquestionable masculine image among men (Donaldson 1993).

Seidler (1989) argues to this end that aspiration to hegemonic masculinity is internalized by men and causes the desire to dominate despite the possibility of eliminating the lives of others in order to gain such status. Being dominate and in control requires the suppression of nurturing tendencies, empathy,
sadness, and compassion. In a circular fashion, hegemonic masculinity dictates that male emotion focus upon the rather narrow ideal of hegemonic masculinity itself, namely dominance over other gendered groups (Brod and Kaufman 1994; Seidler 1989, 1987):

“So as small boys, we pride ourselves in learning not to feel scared or not crying when we have a fall. We learn to make ourselves invulnerable, and place our experience at a safe distance from ourselves” (Seidler 1989: 147).

The social construction of hegemonic masculinity is thus deterministic, and therefore does not allow for the development of alternative views of masculinity (such as those of gay, transgender or bisexual cultures) and projects for subordinates an unattainable image that must be preserved (Newburn and Stanko 1995). Men of lower class and status, notably poor black men, are at the greatest risk of being hurt in these pursuits because hegemonic society limits their access to hegemonic power and control (Newburn and Stanko 1995). Thus, these men struggle in futility to achieve hegemonic masculinity, aspiring for unattainable ideals that are intrinsically limited by the hegemonic principles of society. Moreover, we find men reduced to a self-conscious struggle to try harder and take greater risks to measure up (Seidler 1989). Ultimately, subordinates who are doomed to an eternal cycle of evaluation and are self-adjusted toward emulation of the hegemonic ideal can never truly reach hegemonic masculinity. However, they will never admit to their failure but continue to modify or exacerbate their practices to gain that recognition. Such desires among those actions is important because it shows the propensity among a certain group of men that may use violence more-so
than those who already have the power and control. This potential link is worth noting in this research.

At this juncture, I would like move forward with this discussion into exploring hegemonic masculinity within the context of the Caribbean and delineate its role as a precursor to the contemporary justification of violence toward women by Grenadian men.

**Caribbean Masculinities—Past and Present**

Past Constructions of Masculinities: It is without any doubt that contemporary Caribbean masculinities are tied to European colonization of the region’s past. The impact of the colonial powers that historically laid claim to the islands and landmasses that define the region and its people is no secret, and by extension it is evident how they impacted gender and sexuality in the Caribbean (Lewis 2003b). Today, the Caribbean is a region built on the *mélange* of colonial conquests, and the resulting racialized and gendered practices serve as the foundation for most dimensions of Caribbean culture (Fanon 1967; Trexler 1993; Shepherd, Brereton, and Bailey: 1995; Kempadoo 1999; Reddock 2004).

Since 1492, European explorers and exploiters seeking to appropriate the region’s natural resources arrived on its shores with slaves from the African continent, indentured servants from South Asia, and East Asian merchants. Throughout the process of establishing the colonies, the fundamental practice was to maintain control of the newly discovered landmasses in the name of their European “fatherlands” (Britain, Spain, France, Denmark and the
Netherlands). The Caribbean thus became a site of colonies for European nations who subsequently enacted mandates upon the indigenous people regarding the production of commodities (such as sugar), which ultimately resulted in plantations that required additional imported labor (Slocum and Shields 2008).

Explorers were replaced by colonial administrators, exporters, and plantation owners who established their presence within the indigenous culture through the self-sufficiency of plantations, supported by the import of slave and indentured servant labor. The Caribbean became a futile ground of what Lloyd Best and Kari Levitt define as a plantation economy (Best and Levitt 1968). The plantation economy perspective shows that the European economic and political domination in the Caribbean among the establishment of plantations and the accompanying practice of importing slave labor eventually became central to Caribbean societies (Austin 1983). Best and Levitt base their assertions regarding the plantation economy on the early works of American Anthropologist Charles Wagley (1913--1991), who depicted the Caribbean and its plantations as hinterlands of conquest, of settlement and of exploitation that were used and abused by European colonizer seeking to legitimize the colonialization of the region (Wagley 1965).

Best and Levitt’s plantation theory describes an economic monopoly, which gradually created a stratified society during the period of chattel slavery that emerged to establish a masculine nature of contemporary Caribbean culture (Best and Levitt 1968). Best and Levitt incorporated class and race
relations into their discussions about the plantation economy because the plantation societies used ethnic antagonism to create gendered and racial order between the Europeans and the enslaved laborers that were brought to work the fields (Girvan 2010).

Thus, a plantation was one of the few sites where Europeans interacted with their enslaved laborers and on a basis of strict rules of distinctions between master and slave, which Silvio Torres-Saillant (2006) describes in his plantation paradigm. According to Torres-Saillant’, the paradigm finds that the Europeans established and maintained absolute control of their slaves because the enslaved outnumbered the slaveholders and there was a precipitous fear on the part of the Europeans that the enslaved would revolt and take control of the colonies. Thus, institutionalized violence, through the use of whippings and hanging, became surveillance measures to retain order in a way that allowed certain gendered and racialized groups to enact violence and fear among their subordinate labor force. Eventually, the European men and their masculine qualities established and retained superiority through those surveillance actions to establish that gendered and racial order in the Caribbean (Torres-Saillant 2006).

In time, European masculine superiority becomes the ruling paradigm across the colonies, amid the growing diversity of languages (Black Carib, Creole, Dutch, English, French, Goajiro, Hindi, Java, Kekchi, Kreyòl, Maya, Miskito, Papiamentu, Saramacan, Sranan Tongo [or Taki Taki], Tamil, and Spanish); ethnicities (African, Amerindian or indigenous, Chinese, European,
Indian, and Middle Eastern); and religions (Obeah, Vodou, Santería, Shango, Quimbois, Hindu, Muslim, Catholicism, and Protestantism) that still mark the region today (Price and Price 1997).

The amalgamation of the aforementioned groups gave rise to the contemporary Caribbean society where those groups continue to exist harmoniously (Trouillot 1992). But four hundred years after the “discovery” and colonization of the Caribbean, plantation paradigm principles are still evident within contemporary Caribbean discourse, notably with respect to principles related to gender and sexual identities, hierarchies of rank, and their expression within public and private spaces (Trouillot 1992). For example, Caribbean economic practices are still dominated by certain ethnic, racial and gendered groups—Plantation/ Estate Laborers were descendents of African slaves and East Indians; Merchants and Shopkeepers were of Middle Eastern and East Asian descent; Politicians, Legislators and Land Owners were descendants of the European colonizers. The shared perception about gender among these groups collectively understands that men embody masculine qualities suited to work outside of the home (the pursuit of professional responsibilities), while women are generally limited to work in the home (household responsibilities) among a narrow range of professions outside of the home, such as cleaners, market vendors or teachers. These disparities will be illuminated in this Grenadian study where the practices still exist. Such rigid expectations have continued through the generations and are reflected in today’s Caribbean class structures.
Stratifications: Implications of Plantation Systems

A seminal work examining the implications of the plantation paradigm is cited within a 1950’s study produced by MG Smith about the class, *Stratifications of Grenada* (1965). MG Smith defined Grenada as a plural society because class stratification was more rigid than ever seen in other Caribbean islands across the region. Moving across and between classes was impossible, and thus a fixed social position remained for generations among the people of Grenada. As a result, there has been a fixed social position that transcended for generations where in 1953, 75,000 of 80,000 of Grenada’s population were peasants; only 5,000 people controlled much of the country’s operations and as a minority in number were vulnerable to overrule by the much larger peasant group (Smith 1965).

The origins of contemporary Grenadian class structure can be traced to the sugar plantations that were established during the colonial eras of French (1649-1763) and British sovereignty (1763-1950). But as sugar production decreased and plantation land was converted into other produce production, the former enslaved workers were forced to become squatters and renters on those lands. The former plantation owners became estate owners, dominant over the squatters and renters in a hierarchy parallel to that of plantation life.

Eventually, a peasant class emerged, composed primarily of people dark in color, poorly educated, and fluent in the Creole-French patois (native tongue). In contrast, the higher-class groups were former White or mixed-raced plantation owners and employers who traced their origins to Europe via
neighboring islands, such as Barbados and Trinidad-Tobago. A Grenadian
class structure emerged with boundaries delineated by race and other
congruent factors, such as distinctions of status based on skin pigmentation
and cultural origin. Both the peasant and higher-class groups remained distinct,
but yet were mutually dependent for their own existence and for that of
Grenada.

Within the peasantry system described above, a “cultured” identity was
attributed to employers and landowners, whereas a “primitive” identity was
ascribed to laborers. Male employers and owners resembled strong
paternalistic and masculine figures that controlled subservient laborers for their
own good. Peasants were characterized as irresponsible, indolent and
prodigal. Violence was common and typically directed from the employers
toward the peasants, notably in response to peasant claims to equality in the
bargaining process, and similarly in thwarted attempts by the peasantry to
make economic decisions such as acquiring ownership of land (Smith 1965).

According to MG Smith (1965), the pluralist nature of Grenadian society
and the formation of a peasantry system established two distinct groups that
emerged throughout Grenada’s history. The predominant characterization of
peasants it they are unpredictable. This stance originates from specific historic
events, namely the emancipation of slaves in 1838 and the subsequent import
of indentured Indian laborer shortly thereafter to fill the ensuing labor gap on
the plantation (Smith 1965).
In contrast, the landowners and employers were considered predictable. They held the highest positions, were typically White or “near-White,” were of a good family with superior income or property, enjoyed expansive occupational opportunities, and had access to education and housing. This elite position could only be obtained through birth into established families with legitimate descent traced over several generations. The following table from Smith’s study reveals that differences between the groups in question were delineated through association with and in relation to institutions and access to resources (Smith 1965).

Table 1: Grenada’s Class Distinctions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elites-Predictable</th>
<th>Folk-Unpredictable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intermarry with families with similar conditions and status or with Whites from overseas.</td>
<td>Mating is initially extra-residential, and marriage is usually deferred until the principals are already grandparents or will be shortly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law sanctions and defines their mode of property, employment and labor recruitment, mating and kinship.</td>
<td>Live on or near estates where they work for low wages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By birth they belong as defined by one of the leading Grenadian churches.</td>
<td>Believe in ancestral spirits, nature spirits, witches, sorcerers, and dealing with the Devil, divination, sacrifice, and spirit possession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated abroad and have limited understanding of the local French patois.</td>
<td>School education is marginal at best while their informal socialization to folk culture is intensive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialized abroad, they regard Britain or Barbados as their cultural base and look upon Grenada as a distinct society that they have to deal with in order to protect or promote their own interests.</td>
<td>Majority is Black, speak French patois among themselves, emphasize rites de passage and have no tradition of political or industrial organization.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Studies that have built on Smith’s assertions about the folk and elite classes of Grenadian society have acknowledge that even though the elite folk classes have coexisted, it is likewise noted that dominant minority have always had ongoing fear stemming from their vulnerability as a minority (Benoit 2007, 2011). Oliver Benoit (2007) describes such fear as a “crisis” in which the elite believe that the folk group will eventually dominate the economic and political spheres of Grenadian society, taking ownership of their longstanding sources of power and control and thereby erode their position in Grenada (Benoit 2007, 2011). Fear within the elite group promulgated propaganda, concrete archived evidence that the aforementioned concern regarding lost ground to the folk class was not simply a subconscious fear but one publically articulated and has remained constant from the colonial days until the present.

Since the colonial era, the elite have continued to maintain a superior position within Grenadian society by invoking the fear and use of violence towards the folk class (Benoit 2011). As a result of a desire to intimidate the lower class majority, the elite developed a cultural framework of violence that has become a fundamental marker of social relations. Eventually, this cultural framework was adopted as a gendered marker for male identity across classes (Benoit 2011). Within the folk class group, this norm toward violence as an expression of masculine superiority targeted women in the same class group in a parallel fashion to the behavior of elite men toward their lower-class male counterparts. The transition of behavioral norms across class thus explains how violence has become engrained as a cultural practice for Grenadian men of all
social classes, where a subordinate group is singled out in order to promote one’s own status of power and control.

**Critiques of MG Smith’s Work**

While Smith’s work is pivotal to this research, I must acknowledge the widespread critiques of MG Smith’s discussion regarding Grenada’s plural society. One of the most vocal critics, Anthropologist Diane Austin (1983), argues for a theoretical adjustment to Caribbean studies that would enable research to focus more on the fact that the Caribbean is “a situation of conflict” contained by dominance (Austin 1983:222). Austin validates the use of the plantation theory, which explains that internally, Caribbean society avoided major class conflict because of the enduring assumptions regarding gender and race relations under the plantation paradigm. Such assumptions were that the White colonial elite established the distinctions to create boundaries to control the enslaved labor and that the enslaved labor eventually became obsessed with achieving the same degree of power and control that the ruling class retained. Austin asserts further that most research to date has made no committed attempt to translate the phenomenon of conflict in the midst of domination into an interpretation of Caribbean culture. Austin advocates that further study of Caribbean culture must examine the social relationships embedded within class structure, which requires further work that necessitates a distinction between notions of culture (i.e., collective practices and ideology) and a common set of values (Austin 1983).
The disconnect reveals that MG Smith treated values and ideology as interchangeable terms where he (1965:174) speaks of divergent value-systems that constitute an ideological conflict and ideology is taken to mean simply a system of ideas. Austin believes that this is misleading because we do not normally think in terms of cultures as being less powerful or more or less convincing, but yet we do think of ideologies in these terms. The ideology of the elite would necessarily be quite different from the shared values of the society as a whole, which in turn suggests that such ideology is not an instrument of integration but one of domination (Austin 1983).

In conclusion, Austin’s critique is valuable to this project for its cautionary stance toward assumptions about power and control and the systems of production that they have created within Caribbean society. The distinction between ideology and culture highlights the importance of examining the specific end goal sought between the various class or gendered groups within Grenada. Within the context of Caribbean culture, the rationale for power and control among elite men has been establish a gendered order to sustain control over the masses of the folk class. However, for the folk men their power and control through violence has been targeted towards women within their class and status. Such early indicators helped this research to realize that it was problematic to assume that there was a singular culture of violence in Grenadian society; rather, the rationale among the class groups would be uniquely different in pursuit of their own desired outcomes.
Caribbean Discourses

Moving beyond the discussion about stratification and societies, the establishment of the colonial Caribbean and its identities cannot be understood without considering the discourses of slavery and indentured servitude, the means by which the majority of the Grenadian population arrived and settled in the Caribbean. An imported labor force established both the viability of the colonial Caribbean economy and family formation, based on the ethnic diversity within the resultant Caribbean cultures.

Most contemporary Caribbean cultural practices use gender, ethnicity, class and status as ways of determining the positions of individuals and groups within society. The purported practice began among the establishment of a Caribbean discourse that where the European colonizers purportedly established their power and control to dominate the enslaved and indentured populations. Such discourse instituted norms that forbade conjugal marriages, separated and destroyed familial lineages, and displaced cultural affinity toward the homeland; at the same time, multi-partner sexual relations were intentionally encouraged to increase birth rates as a means of expanding the labor force (Barrow 1998; Bisnauth 2000; Herskovits and Herskovits 1947; Cooper 1995; Phillips 2002; Hope 2006, Wekker 2006; Chevannes 2001). In addition to the social manipulation of the enslaved labor force, the European elite maintained superiority in all social and cultural interactions with the indigenous people in order to preserve their dominant managerial role with respect to the economy, religion, education, and government. Such subjective
practices were justified by labeling the controlled laborers as *other or subordinate*, which suggested that they were primitive, out of control, and in need of containment. Violence, separation, and humiliation were used to secure distinctions of class-lines, race, ethnicity, and economic prosperity (Alexander and Mohanty 1997; Kempadoo 2004). Gradually, such class labels became an integral part of the Caribbean culture.

By the year 1850, plantations and trading posts became towns and cities and emerged as critical sites of the establishment of unique Caribbean cultural identities that would now include the emancipated slave laborers. As economies began to diversify and the colonies became semi-autonomous territories, they began to establish their own legislations, legal frameworks, and social and cultural institutions (Lewis 2004). Most establishments continued colonial practices within the contemporary Caribbean social relations and recognized hegemonic masculinity as a marker of success for all class groups. Since this phase, violence was condoned as a justified means of maintaining the status quo of the Caribbean. This was reinforced among the ideologies of churches and their ancillary schools that promoted European doctrines endorsing rigid gender roles and the practice of sexual submission to male dominance throughout the Caribbean (Ricardo and Barker 2008).

Hegemonic masculinity assumed dominance within Caribbean culture and as a result, a few men dominated, controlled through consensus about myths of divine superiority (Barthes 1989; Foucault 1980). It is interesting to note that Pierre Bourdieu characterizes such behavior to be characteristic
male gender across cultures in that, “the strength of masculine order is seen as a fact that is dispensed with a justification of an andro-centric vision that imposes itself as neutral with no need to legitimize itself as discourses” (Bourdieu 2001: 9). Hegemonic masculinity became a standard system that normalizes and rationalizes the reproduction of gender inequality; it manifests an imaginary network of power and culture, becoming a hegemonic discourse that is flexible and adaptable to those who already held status (Watson 2003:55). Hegemonic masculine principles thus became the core structures within Caribbean society. Laws and cultural distinctions within Caribbean society are thus based on the boundaries of gender, ethnicity, race, and class (Barriteau 2003; Lewis 2004). The aforementioned cultural distinctions are, therefore, an extension of European colonial practice.

**Caribbean Masculinity--Structure and Functionality**

I have delineated thus far the causal relationship between European colonial rule and the ensuing social norm of social violence and the longstanding social hierarchy where a ruling-minority controls both the social practices and the resources of the nation state. Let us take a closer look at the structural and functional nature of Caribbean society that reinforced gendered relationship and the superiority of hegemonic masculinity within Caribbean society.

Durkheim’s (1893) discussions about structuralism are of particular importance to this study, providing a conceptual framework for defining is central to this study, Caribbean masculinities as an extension of the
“causalities” of Caribbean society. Taking Durkheim lead to use causal analysis, it becomes clear that Caribbean masculinities used violence on the basis that it provide a need for men that pursue it for power and control, and it offered leverage for men to occupy themselves with intentions of retaining that position of power and control. Using that standpoint, Durkheim acknowledged that knowledge of the function is necessary for the complete explanation of the phenomena, because it is generally necessary that [a fact] be useful in order to maintain its relevance (Ragin and Zaret 1983). Therefore, the colonial establishments indeed “determined” all social relations in ways that legitimized the dominance of Caribbean masculinities, and subverted the power of other gendered groups.

So far, we have seen that the Caribbean hegemonic masculinity and gender consciousness predicates that men are superior over women, and practices of violence as masculine identity have become normal means of retaining power and control (Blommestein 2011). Above all, it can be assumed that there is an inherent rule that masculinities are exclusively associated to certain men, and that these men were superior to all other gendered groups (Kempadoo 2003; Barritteau 2003; Mohammed 1998, 2002). To achieve that masculine superiority, the structures of Caribbean society positions men to have greater power and control among the cultural practices that limited leadership roles for men. The functionality of these causalities started with the desire to have plantations led by European mean with a gendered and racial
relationship between masters and the enslaved that was reinforced with violence and limiting power and control exclusively for elite class men.

Durkheim’s (1893) structuralism shows that institutions was functional relevant to Caribbean men because it allowed violence to go unpunished. Violence has become important within the Caribbean because through its historical institutions, it has served as functionality of sustaining class, status and gender distinctions on the basis of securing hegemonic masculinity. Today, the inherent perceptions about the class society such as the Caribbean have transcended with the same functional nature enacting a presumption that masculinity is about power and control for men with the liberty to dominate women. Such reasoning supports institutional practices embedded in the structural frameworks that limit employment; education and access to justice with a gender bias towards protect men. While some women may have access to those frameworks, their level of engagement is limited and not equal in comparison to Caribbean men. Lets take a look at Caribbean family structures and the role of women within those structures to augment this discussion about Caribbean masculinities.

**Caribbean Family Structures and the Role of Women**

Most comparative assessments about the Caribbean family are derived from early anthropological and sociological studies that were ethnocentric and biased toward perceiving that the British and North American Anglo-Saxon conception of the normative family (that is, co-residential, nuclear, and stable) would be applicable to the Caribbean. Instead, the unique circumstances of the
evolution of the Caribbean makes the comparison of Caribbean family it incompatible because of the presence of slavery and indentureship that once had laws and policies for family formation that control how men and women were defined in family structures. Instead, the region’s colonial and plantation historical practices have made most family structures in the Caribbean to be perceived as fluid and diverse (Barrow 1996; Bolles 1996:42; Clarke 1996,1957; Herskovits and Herskovits 1947; Smith 1996). For example, a 2003 anthropological study conducted in Tobago by Cheryl Levine describes the following fluid examples of Caribbean families that have been researched in the literature:

1. “Visiting” unions are non-residential relationships that may range from intermittent, sexual liaison to permanent partnerships. They may constitute viable relationships, lacking a shared domestic domain;

2. “Co-residential,” “common law” or “keeper” unions also known as “compassionate” or “faithful” concubine unions are defined as non-legal relationships, involving casual cohabitation that may be short or long term. Partners share equal responsibility in household responsibilities and practical affairs;

3. “Marriage” unions adhere to the patriarchal model and are intended to be monogamous, life long associations wherein the husband is liable to support his wife and children. Marriage provides respectability and legal sanctioning (including provisions for divorce or separation), legitimates children, and involves co-residential nuclear families.
4. “Matrifocal,” “maternal,” “grandmother,” or “disintegrate” or “female-headed” families lack stable male-female nuclear families, but may include multiple generations of matrilateral kindred extending from the mother-child units. These structures include a female-heads-of-household at the center of decisions-making, domestic affairs (Levine 2003).

In seeking to understand the diverse family formations of the Caribbean, scholars have constructed concepts and typologies as well as research on how and why these unique family structures became functional and have sustained long enough into becoming the contemporary ways in which Caribbean families are currently formed. Some studies of the West Indian family have been conducted among categorical focuses such as: historical and cultural diffusionism, social pathology, and structural-functionalism (Levine 2003), while others have shifted the focus to personal choice and adaptability. For the purposes of this research, the historical and cultural diffusionism and personal choice and adaptability provides the most insights that highlights the role of women in families and the implications of their role to domestic violence.

**Cultural Diffusion/Historical**

Within anthropology, interest in historical developments and origins of the West Indian family begins primarily with Melville Herskovits and E. Franklin Frazier (1939, 1947). Herskovits viewed Caribbean social structure as the remnants of tenacious West African cultural heritage that were found among the descendants of the enslaved laborers of the Caribbean plantation.

According to their “historic derivation” model, customs did not survive intact;
rather they passed through transitions from adaption to reinterpretation. The family was perceived as transitional between African cultural traditions and acculturation under the oppression of slavery. The gendered and racial practices within slavery illuminated how class, race, status and gender were used to delineate boundaries that created distinctions among the enslaved population. According to Herskovits (1947:296), among former enslaved population the mother and children were the “nucleus of the family,” where the maternal “yard” (consisting of the African co-wife in her own hut) was retained and reinterpreted under slavery to include the maternal household (consisting of an elderly woman, her daughters, and their children). Such adaptations in family forms were related to slavery conditions in which a woman and child were more likely to be kept together while a male slave was easily transferred and sold away from his children. Eventually, the enslaved family nucleus of a mother and child learn to function within customs of resilience and malleability in the Caribbean context (Levine 2003).

For Frazier (1939), the African-Diaspora institutions were not fully acculturated into North American colonial social structural standards (due to oppression under slavery) and therefore, were considered “culturally deprived” (Mintz and Price 1992(1976): 63). According to Frazier (1966/1939), since African cultural traditions were disrupted and destroyed under slavery, “irregular” mating patterns (such as common law unions) resulted as Africans attempted to adopt the planter’s culture. Frazier (1966/1939:5-6) explained that the larger contingency of Africans in the Caribbean facilitated cultural survival,
such as the retention of polygamy. According to Frazier, the influences of social and economic conditions precluded the development of the “normative” nuclear family (Smith 1966:viii, Levine 2003).

Another perspective of Caribbean families can be situated in the cultural-historical approach of Sidney Mintz and Richard Price (1992/1976) that emphasized the uniqueness and complexity of Afro-Caribbean culture as a remodeled, combination of different beliefs rather than as an asymmetric borrowing from African and European cultures. Mintz and Price’s argument is based on that cultures do not exist in a vacuum, making it difficult to speculate on the continuity of influences of West African cultural heritage or experiences under slavery in contributing to the post-emancipation, Caribbean social structure. Slave communities did not evolve coherently as institutions and relationships were constantly and intentionally being broken up through the introduction of new categories and policies. Although the nuclear family was normative in the seventeenth century, it decreased proportionately in the eighteenth century with the increasing slave trade. The high proportion of African males increased the size of the group lacking kin (Higman 1975:287), since slave masters preferred not to import ethnically homogenous slave in order to inhibit communication and solidarity (Higman 1979:55). Despite the difficulties of creating stable unions, “tiny families” occurred as “the basic unit of economic cooperation” consisting of a woman, her children, and her current spouse (Mintz and Price 1992/1976:72; Levine 2003).

These multiple angles of Caribbean families are all relevant to this study
because they underscore the significance and influence of how plantation setting and slavery practices of the Caribbean precluded the fluid nature of Caribbean families. The evolution of the current status of Caribbean family structures is a direct result of intentional practices to disenfranchised the enslaved and in turn the enslaved had to learn how to survival under the multiple-layers of oppression. Thus, the normative Anglo-Saxon model is completely incompatible because men were intentionally stripped and banned from being considered a part of the family nucleus. Instead, laws and policies reinforced the recognition of an enslaved family as one that is solely based on a mother and child. Much of these practices were instigated by fear among the plantation and slave owners because the slave population outnumbered them. They feared that family camaraderie would ignite revolt against the harsh labor practices that would jeopardize the plantation production.

To handle their fears through exercises of power and control, early accounts illustrate the use of violence such as whipping and lynching to enforce some of these social relations and family formation practices. It is among these practices, violence emerges as part of the relationships between people within Caribbean society in ways that eventually it became systemic in interactions. Eventually the presence of violence or threat of violence began to become a part of the cultural definitions of how Caribbean society evolved to define itself. Observation shows that the patterns evolved from the relationship between the plantation and slave owners and the enslaved into the relationship of an enslaved man and his relations with his family. Violence becomes a normative
form of Caribbean expression within the frameworks of race, ethnicity, gender, class and status that converged within family structures.

**Economics of the enslaved laborers**

Within plantation systems, slaves were often required to grow their own food (at a reduced cost) under a system of provision-plot agriculture (Mintz 1953). Except during crop time, slaves were permitted to cultivate their plots and to participate in local markets (usually held on Sundays). This system relied on the cooperation of kin groups (who were able to accumulate money), “facilitated a wider division of labour within the slave group” due to surplus and specialization, and reinforced the sexual division of labor (Mintz 1953:96).

Based on this historical practice among Caribbean women to generate income through their own production, they held early signs of autonomy to generate an income that was separate from the dependency of men.

For Caribbean women in particular, entrepreneurship and the internal marketing structure originated in this system enabling, “resilience and independence among the slaves which gave their otherwise depressing lives meaning and purpose” (Bush 1990:47). Among those practices, the enslaved women had some degree of autonomy that even the plantation owners’ wives could not afford, to generate an income for their families. The practices of enslaved women afforded some degree of autonomy that have eventually trickled down into the post-emancipation internal marketing structure where the lines remain that men would be cultivators and women would be marketers enabling women to sell the produce for the sake of supporting her family (Mintz 1953:96-97). The female role as *higgler* involved the independent, small
business of buying a range of stock from rural farmers and transporting it for resale at the market (Katzin 1959; Mintz 1953; Mintz 1989(1974). From these cooperative units, the bilateral kinship system developed where complex networks of exchange and mutual aid extended out from the conjugal pair. These family ties are “rooted in the customary system of land use, tenure and transmission that evolved in the slave communities and become firmly established in post-slavery villages with the purchasing of land” (Besson 1993:21). The connection of such assessment to this study is the fact that most of the descendants of these practices continue to separate their income generating practices from male production ensuring that Caribbean women retain some degree of autonomy. This has proven to help contemporary Caribbean women as the economic landscape of the region has changed from production into service industries. Women continue to benefit from the economic transition because the demand for higglers has not changed. However, the absence of production fields have diminished the role and responsibility of Caribbean men and cause an identity crisis in which Caribbean men search for new ways of legitimizing their roles in society in the absence of being cultivators. The emerging imbalance of Caribbean men lost identities as cultivators and the sustainability of women as higglers creates tensions in how Caribbean men and women relate within relationships. Some men have expressed feelings of being inadequate for losing their social value in comparison to Caribbean women that have been able to retain their autonomy. Such uneven value underscores some of the violence that has been observed
between Caribbean men and women in today’s relations.

**Personal Choice and Adaptation**

By the 1970s, the emphasis on personal choice, adaptation, and a conception of alternative household and family structures were considered a better way of understanding Caribbean families (Barrow 1996:65). In this theoretical focus, some anthropologists maintained a preference for research within a small village, thereby perpetuating the perspective of the Caribbean as a marginalized, ahistorical, rural setting without large urban centers or disconnected community identities (Slater 1977; Greenwich 1997; Goulbourne 2003; Potthas-Jukeit, 1997). Another justification for the personal choice and adaptation focus involved on the dismissal of cultural traditions and local values in favor of a homogenizing perspective and overly deterministic emphasis on economic and environmental features (Barrow 1996). Despite these criticisms, scholars contributed by broadening the understanding of family structure. Some of the emerging themes from this focus of Caribbean families that were relevant to this study are issues such as migration (historically, of men, and currently of any able-bodied individuals who must leave to find work); individualism (rather than the nuclear family as the basic unit); and matrifocality (women-centered by default as male roles were diluted and deleted) (Levin 2003).

Karen Fog Olwig’s (1993) study of Nevis focused on the influence of migration on West Indian family life, a social pattern that emerges in my dissertation study. Although historically migration was a male dominated activity, later trends in transnationalism also began to recognize that Caribbean women were also on the move within migratory patterns. Similarly, Bolles
(1996) described a series of transitions in the division of labor starting in the
nineteenth century when peasant men left Jamaica in search of work.
Meanwhile, young women migrated from the countryside to the urban setting
seeking employment as domestic servants. Unlike the relative household
stability during slavery and among the early rural peasants, urban households
became highly flexible. By the twentieth century, men further displaced women
agricultural workers thus, reinforcing women’s internal migration towards the
urbanizing commercial sector. “Working class households were increasingly
female-headed and composed of a variety of children and female kin” (Bolles
1996:37-38,40). As a result, the mother-child unit became the central
relationship wherein matrilineal obligations were honored through remittance
when mothers travelled abroad in search of employment opportunities. Yet,
after many years and great distance, new networks have replaced those
transnational relationships (Levin 2003).

In his research in Trinidad, Rodman (1971) found that male economic
inadequacy significantly influences family and household functions. Through
circumstances of un- and under-employment, men were marginalized and
unable to provide for their families (Rodman 1971:177-78). Male marginality
contributed to the loose structure of conjugal relationships as enslaved men
formal authority or alternatively, may prefer less-demanding, visiting unions.
This mating pattern contributed to the dissolution of familial institutions where
marriage and child “shifting” become common strategies. Such shifting
strategies was that children were no longer seen as means for men and women
remain together as a family unit but rather children was used a definitive way of how women proved that they were adult women. Rodman (1971) distinguished between childcare (the physical job of child-rearing) and child minding (by providing resources) wherein flexible patterns of family, kinship and mating structures allowed "stretching" of traditional values to accommodate and maximize individual needs pragmatically. Peter Wilson (1973:219-220) further expanded Rodman’s model of "stretching," which implied a single value system based on a dominant model imposed through adherence to middle-class, Euro-American values, to an “alternative set of values” reflected by his gender-based model of reputation and respectability (Levin 2003). Such perspective illustrates the role and power of larger structural influences of the state to enforce measures that influenced how gender constructs were defined and function. Those larger structural influences included laws and policies that limited the definitions of fatherhood through economic responsibility policies while women are expected to be solely responsible for the rearing of children.

One highly debated concept involved defining the so-called “matrifocal” family. In clarifying the term “matrifocal,” Gonzalez (1970) described the interchangeable misapplication of terms such as “female-centered,” “matriarchal,” or “female-headed” family. Implicitly, these generalizations suggested, “that women are somehow more important than the observer had expected to find ... [and] that the general status of women in the society is ‘rather good’” (Gonzalez 1970:231-232). Gonzalez noted that the main definition of “matrifocality” involved the following criteria; (1) the mother/woman
as the stable, central focus of the social unit and (2) her position of dominance and authority within the family (Barrow 1996:73; Besson 1993:20; Gonzalez 1970:233-34). Gussler (1980) illustrated matrifocality in St. Kitts where girls are socialized to be independent, aggressive, competitive, and resourceful in order to survive. Though women are not characterized as promiscuous, they may consciously establish sexual relationships with a series of men to “maximize their chances of receiving financial support,” although “there is some embarrassment in bearing an illegitimate child” (Gussler 1980:191). Women’s adaptive strategies involved building networks of support “expressed in the bearing of children” although they do not consciously plan to have many children. Children were regarded as an investment that will pay off in the in the long run, they are “social security” for an elderly woman (Gussler 1980:201-202). The majority of childcare duties fall onto females (both young and old), a situation upheld by a fatalistic ideology “that a woman’s life is supposed to be hard” (Gussler 1980:191,200; Levin 2003).

Due to the absence of, “structures, institutions, or circumstances that have been thought to coincide with or induce matrifocality cross-culturally” (Gonzalez 1970:234). Gonzalez discounted any direct correlation with African heritage, slavery, or historical familial characteristics in the Caribbean context. Thus, the tradition of female-headed households has been characterized as endemic to the Caribbean since women’s economic roles predate modernization and male migration, extending back to slavery (Barrow 1996:77; Gussler 1980:122). More recently, Safa (1995:55-56) extended the definition of matrifocality as traceable
to “African retention, slavery, a high level of male migration, and male marginalization due to the man’s inability to carry out his role as male breadwinner.” Historically, this inability has not always been a man’s personal decision but more so entrenched in how men were ostracized from slave families in ways that made their role seem irrelevant. For example, children born to enslaved women were only denoted to their matrilineal connection but the patrilineal connection was never documented. So, matrifocality has been associated with “the development of modern society and bilateral kinship” (Barrow 1996:75) due to restructuring of gender roles in association with the division of public and private spheres and the expansion of the domestic domain outside the home significantly contributing to the expansion of women’s roles (Levin 2003).

**Afro-Caribbean Women’s Survival and Adaptive Strategies**

Based on this focus to understand personal choice and adaptive strategies among Caribbean families, a corresponding change in Caribbean studies directed attention away from West Indian family forms and household structure and refocused attention towards women’s agency where actions are understood as motivated by more than “natural” instincts and cultural values. Afro-Caribbean women consciously strategize to maximize their personal potential according to individual circumstances. The study of Afro-Caribbean women has shifted to focus on lower class women where un- and underemployment coincides with limited education in addition to the absence of the male breadwinner. Under circumstances of constant instability and constant variability as the result of social change and underdevelopment (Bolles
1996:41), scholars have suggested that survival strategies among poor women may include manipulation of mating partners, modification of household composition through friendship and kinship network, as well as work (Massiah 1982; Levine 2003).

Women’s reasons for consorting with men may be highly practical where the hope is to find a stable relationship that will provide financial support. As stated before, more stable unions require men to fulfill their head-of-household duties financially. As stable unions typically occur later in life, they may include older children in the household as wage earners. Aside from the financial stability of these unions, women’s unremunerated domestic work is devalued and women find they are more isolated, having fewer kin in the household (Bolles 1996). As conjugal ties tend to be weak (or delayed until later in life), there is a strong tendency towards matrifocality wherein the female kin provide an important source emotional and material support (Safa 1995). Matrifocality serves as a viable adaptive mechanism to unstable conditions of poverty and marginalization within which people live (Barrow 1996:80). Although marriage ultimately offers higher status (Wilson 1973), women may express a preference for visiting relationship with a mate who will contribute money, goods, and services of various kinds without moving in, since he is less likely to try to dominate and control under these circumstances (Gussler 1980:200). In co-residential unions, partners will share responsibility for basic necessities; thereby giving the person sanctioning rights over the household (Bolles 1996). Women may strategically avoid co-residence in order to maintain their freedom
from male authority, independence over their finances, and stability over their social networks (Bolles 1996; Gussler 1980; Roberts 1978; Levine 2003).

Massiah (1982) suggested that the adoption of visiting unions and the prevalence of female-headed households related to socioeconomic factors that have evolved as result of the Caribbean historical past. For example, the absence of men as part of the nucleus family does not necessarily reduce the cost of providing basic services that Caribbean women have already taken the responsibility to provide (Massiah 1982:88). Instead the formation of families with female headed-household have adapted to the absence of having dual incomes as way to be innovative based on the ability to have enough income to support and survival (Massiah 1982). Therefore, women have had to create cooperative networks among their kin to share the responsibility and sustainability of households. For example, some members of the household may be absolved from certain family duties due based on social values that place domestic duties above education and employment (Marshall 1978). Particular tasks may be assigned in accordance with age, gender, experience, or personal status between children and associated adults within structures (Bolles 1996). Some of those tasks extend beyond the nucleus of a mother and child family unit as survival strategies, providing the stability and security (Massiah 1982). Communal living enables women to delegate some of their household duties (such as childcare) to a residential partner, thereby avoiding working a double day (Levine 2003).

Other noted survival strategies for Caribbean women involved building
social networks in addition to recent trends in pursuing educational opportunities aimed at benefiting women (1994). In Jamaica for example, kinship and friendship networks play an important role in childcare, the operation of cooperative enterprises, and in obtaining capital to start up a business (McKay 1993). Women’s solidarity has always played an important role in production and reproduction. Moreover, there is a long history of women’s involvement in voluntary associations, informal networks, and social groups (Ellis 1986; Green 1994) whose primary function is emotional support through close knit informal relationships ... which provide a means of adaptation to marginal resources and develop a sense of solidarity (Massiah 1982). Within the informal economy, social support networks provide a range of goods and services that otherwise may be inaccessible to the poor.

From the earliest days under slavery, the mother played the central role as head of family. Stable co-residence or marriage was largely unavailable (Massiah 1982), so women have depended on their own labor to provide for themselves and their children (Safa 1995). Work, for Afro-Caribbean women, has always been a natural part of life, providing them economic self-sufficiency, broadening their social networks, and increasing their self-esteem due to their power over their families and their communities (Ellis 1986). After Emancipation, women’s roles shifted from personal and economic autonomy under slavery to a weakened minority force, through a process of redefining women as dependents and housewives (Green 1994). Colonialism and capitalism functioned to enforce patriarchal hegemony in the Caribbean,
relegating women’s work to a low status and denying them access to productive resources. In the past, wage labor was not the only way women acquired greater economic autonomy or gender consciousness. Women’s domestic production ... also comprises an important contribution to the household economy (Safa 1995:41). Within the context of wage labor, bonds among women based on race, ethnicity, neighborhood, and kinship also offer women collective forms of resistance to capitalist exploitation” (Safa 1995).

Based on these patterns found when examining the role of Caribbean women, it becomes evident that the nature of the Caribbean family must be understood in terms of the history of slavery and the plantation system as well as in contemporary conditions and individual circumstances that continues to emphasize certain gendered expectations. Despite ethnocentric definitions and policies that threaten to erase African heritage by homogenizing the Caribbean family through the enforcement of the European/North American model of the normative nuclear family, the centrality of women in this culture cannot be overlooked. Moreover, in tracing the roles of women under slavery, during the post-emancipation period, and in the contemporary context, the adaptive, flexible, and functional nature of the Caribbean is largely facilitated by the independent and resourcefulness of these women. Such coping strategies are part of maneuvering through multiple layers of oppressions.

In summary, these discussions about the Caribbean family and the role of women were intended to demonstrate that Caribbean women are as much active agents within Caribbean society despite many oppressive factors. Their
sustainability can be viewed as survival tactics that have clearly retained their ability to keep some degrees of autonomy that they once were afforded during slavery. However, their independence has not been complete as the role of men within Caribbean society has changed, imparting greater pressures between how Caribbean women and men relate. The most notable problem of that change has been the presence of violence that infringes on the human rights of Caribbean women. Such disjuncture between social relations, women’s autonomy and presence of violence, guides this research as part of exploring how gender expressions embody acts of violence that specifically target Caribbean women. One of the central questions in this exploratory study is whether Caribbean men’s concept of autonomy hinges on eradicating some of the autonomy that Caribbean women have always enjoyed.

Present—Contemporary Constructions of Masculinities

One of the fundamental markers of Caribbean cultural discourse has been the prevalence of violence during the establishment of the colonies as a means to institutionalizing the plantation paradigm. According to Morgan and Youssef’s *Writing Rage* (2006), violence has been woven into the social fabric of modern Caribbean societies since the region’s inception. Contemporary Caribbean societies have emerged out of what has been termed, the most violent, destructive forms of the colonized process (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 1995). Today, those destructive realities result from historical practices of a master-slave power relation that disempowered enslaved labors along the lines of race, class, and gender, and used sexual exploitation and violence as a
marker to remind people of their position within society. The historical ban on conjugal marriage and the promotion of procreation specifically for reproductive purposes among the enslaved labor force was imposed through the violent nature of the environment, which explains why gender-based violence continues to pervasive especially towards Caribbean women (Morgan and Youssef: 2006: 11).

During the early 1970s, second-wave feminist critiques of Caribbean gender called “unpacking” Caribbean masculinities focused on drawing attention to the nature of feminism in the third world context and the unique circumstances as it relates to dominance of hegemonic masculinity (Barritteau 2003). In particular, such feminist critique took to task the patriarchal masculinity and violence within Caribbean society on the basis of two key assertions: (1) individual instances of violence against women were symptomatic of a singular structure of gender-based oppression; and (2) domestic violence needs to be divorced from the private space of the home and brought into the public space of state jurisdiction (Morgan and Youssef: 2006). This Caribbean scholarship expanded its critique to demonstrate the systemic role of patriarchal masculinity and the use of violence in various dimensions (Ramirez 1999) including: literary theory and popular culture (Ramchand 1986, 2003; Morgan 2003; Lewis 1998; Meeks 2000); masculinity, nationalism, ethnicity, and identity (Hanniff 1998; Mohammed 1998; Reddock 1994, 1998; Lewis 2000); and sexuality and sex work (Herold, De Moya and Garcia 2001; De Moya 2004 and Phillips 1999, 2002; Allen and Bombereau 2008; Kempadoo
Violence perpetrated by Caribbean men draws attention to the manifestation of rigid gender norms and power imbalances between men and women in Caribbean culture. These rigid gender norms espouse men’s superiority and dominance, orienting elite class Caribbean men into condoning inequitable hetero-normative assumptions and the expression of violent hyper-masculine attitudes and behaviors.

Michael Kaufman provides a helpful lens to understand the association of hegemonic masculinities and violence from his featured work, *Triad of Violence* (1998). Kaufman used a cultural ecological perspective to emphasize the degree to which violence is common, as is the case in the Caribbean, and analyzes who within society such as is most likely to become victim and perpetrator. He examines violence against women, against men, and against oneself, based on the six P’s—Patriarchy; Privilege; Permission; Paradox of Men’s Power; Psychic Armour of Manhood; Psychic Pressure Cooker; and Past Experiences (Kaufman 1998).

- **Patriarchal Power**—the nature of violence is innate to the survival of men in society. It is intuitive that men seek to be in control not just of women but other men as well.
- **Privilege Power**—Sense of entitlement and privilege to exercise his masculinity. Thus, violence is an extension of his masculinity.
- **Permission**—Social customs, laws and religious teachings have given permission to use violence as an expression of masculinity.
• Paradox of Men’s Power—Violence is a source of garnering confidence but also a source of invoking fear.

• Psychic Amor of Manhood—controlling and reducing emotional expression.

• Psychic pressure cooker—violence is a reaction of keeping frustrations within.

• Past Experiences—exposure to violence within course of a lifespan.

These six lenses correlate to this dissertation's initial discussions about the socialization of gender, and suggest that Caribbean men have been socialized into inherent patriarchal behavior-practices within a culture that legitimizes their gender and sexual identities. Caribbean men learn of their position within society from their home, school, and community environments through a process of gendered orientation that reinforces the ideologies that allowed violence in lower income spheres and high political powers to go unpunished (Morgan and Youssef 2006).

The interplay of elite and folk class status and gendered ranking within Caribbean institutions and legal frameworks have allowed Caribbean men to justify the use violence as a normative expression of their gender and sexual identities. However, those practices and assumptions are being critiqued by feminists as way of unpacking the presumptions about Caribbean masculinities. This has been viewed as a call to action the need to protect the human rights of women. Such efforts have been lead by the United Nations as it helps Caribbean countries modernize their legislations and criminalize domestic
violence (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). Along with updating the criminal codes, new attempts have been made to document the prevalence of violence in the Caribbean region. The argument among these efforts is to enhance and focus on protecting the human rights of Caribbean women.

Advocates against Caribbean violence have said that the first priority is to define “violence,” specifically gender-based violence, in way that embody both physical and non-physical attributes. This will ensure that domestic violence is viewed as being emotionally, psychologically or financially (Morgan and Youssef 2006). Caribbean violence must therefore be recognized as an elaborate, all-encompassing system of power, engrained within the psyche of Caribbean society. Given the longstanding assumption within Caribbean society that violence is normative to male/female social, it is not surprising that many Caribbean states fail to protect women from acts of violence (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). As late as the millennium, many Caribbean states have failed to adequately protect against domestic violence even with the legal framework to prosecute perpetrators.

In recent times, change in societal structures, such as access to justice, economic improvement, and political freedom have increasingly favored women. But the achievement has revealed the material privileges of hegemonic masculinity. For example, law enforcement has lagged behind the enforcement of domestic violence laws because of fear that they are infringing on the domain of a man’s home. The challenge of changing cultural perceptions is most evident among contemporary Caribbean societal structures, where the
perceived innate superiority of masculinities is being reformulated to protect human rights and promote gender equity.

Given the nature of trying to understand the connection between Caribbean masculinity and violence as well as the complex resistance to criminalize domestic violence, this study is well positioned to understand why violence is so crucial to the psyche of Caribbean masculine identity. Therefore, in an attempt understand the significance, I decided that this research should continue the unpacking process in a way that deconstructs Caribbean masculinity to understand the significance of domestic violence within contemporary Caribbean society. This requires a critical inquiry to look beyond the daily language and assumptions about gender and deeper into the meaning that is transmitted through cultural thought of gender.

The concept of deconstruction originated in the works of French linguist Jacques Derrida with attributes to Lévi-Strauss, where Derrida (1967) argues that in Western culture people tend to think and express their thoughts in binary oppositions that provides one layer of mean. But to understand the boundaries, it is important deconstruct what are the binary constructs (Derrida 1967). In this case, the binary constructs are gender—masculinity and femininity based on the notion that violence is an outcome of their relationship. So far, we have learned that the formation of gender has been culturally framed into the meaning of Caribbean culture allowing violence to be used as way to keep those boundaries intact. Therefore, the quest of this research is to center the deconstructive approach upon Caribbean masculinities to understand the
significance of violence beyond the overt meaning that it has for men but also the relationship that it has for the sustainability of Caribbean society (Culler 1982; Segiel 1986). This means it will require the understanding the meaning of violence for women as victims of the men’s actions.

The deconstructive approach is ideal given the fact that the PFP program is focused on altering the way that men express their masculinity without the use of violence. With a deconstructive lens to understand how Grenadian men decide to make those behavioral changes and keep their masculine identity intact, will help this research to determine the significance of the relationship and how much of its connection is negotiable and what aspects are non-negotiable. The PFP model creates a perfect space for this research to understand how Grenadian men refashion, rethink and recapture their masculine in the face of trying to stop using violence against women.

The PFP project provides a unique platform to investigate the transformation of Caribbean masculine identities because it is part of a modernization movement within UN developmental initiatives to improve the living conditions among Caribbean countries. In particular, PFP was developed to assist countries in modernizing their legal framework, beyond the legislation that prohibits violence against women and with rehabilitation programs to curtail the problem from the male perpetrator’s perspective (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). More details about this program and its response to this call to action will be explained in chapter four.
**Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the multi-dimensional threads defining masculinity. The discussion began with a broad-based review of how masculinity is socially and culturally constructed in ways that benefit men but its relational significance to other gendered groups such as women. Then, we moved on to looking specifically at masculinity within the cultural context of the Caribbean, where it first began to emerge among the plantation economies of the region. Caribbean masculinities have weaved its existence into almost all social and cultural phenomena of the region enabling men to consistently remain in positions of power and control. The unique position of men and their masculinities are compounded by the significance of race, ethnicity, class and status that has made the Caribbean a very pluralistic society of gendered orders that again ensuring men to be superior to women. Drawing on the works of Durkheim and Gramsci, the discussion moved into the ways that masculinity has been operationalized within structural ways that used violence as an oversight measure to sustain the plural nature of society. It is within this discussion that we began to see how that was done specifically in Grenada from the works of MG Smith’s *Stratification in Grenada* (1965). The irony of featuring Smith’s work was positioned to show that gender remains interconnected to race, ethnicity, class and status that continue to permeate today’s contemporary gender relations. The constant variable through these features has been the presence of violence as regulatory way of keeping men
in control with power and subjugating the lives of women and other men within Caribbean society.

In an attempt to improve the lives of Caribbean women, feminist critiques have been invoked to draw attention to violence and masculine identities that have impacted the lives of women. Today reality shows that women continue to be victimized in how men try to achieve and sustain their masculinities. As a result, new efforts have been developed to address violence by targeting men and use of violence, which situates this discussion into the answering why the PFP has focused on targeting men and their masculinities as way to improve the human rights of women. The next chapter is set to focus more on the act of violence to augment this discussion about masculinity as a gender construct.
Chapter Two: Gender-based Violence in the Caribbean

This chapter provides a review of scholarly literature on violence, with an emphasis on works specific to the Caribbean context. As an extension of the preceding chapter, this review correlates to the emergence of colonialism in the Caribbean (and its resultant hegemonic masculinity) with the practices of violence that impose and reinforce masculine superiority in Caribbean society. It will be argued that violence remains a gendered marker for masculinity within contemporary Caribbean society.

As discussed in chapter one, violence has been situated among Caribbean cultural practices and recognitions that ensured that Caribbean men and their masculine identities would be superior among a gendered ordering of social relations. Furthermore, the ideals associated with being superior within Caribbean society gave men the power to exercise the control that validated violence against women. As a result, one of the caveats of Caribbean masculinity and its use of violence against women has been to intimidate and enact control over women. It is from such standpoint that this chapter critically examines violence against women.

The sequence of this chapter begins with a working definition of violence, followed by an analysis of the specific means of violence toward women in the Caribbean. The subsequent discussion will move toward examining violence as a cultural measure of Caribbean masculinity, followed by a consideration of how
violence impacted the human rights of women in such a way that enabled the establishment of the United Nations Partnership for Peace Program.

**Contextualizing Violence**

Violence has become a major social problem of our times and the focus of many contemporary debates about gender relations and education (Mccarry 2010). It is estimated that worldwide approximately 8.7 million women are victimized by a current or former intimate partner, which especially draws attention to the role of violence within family relationships (Day, Chung, O’Leary, Carson 2009). In recent years, there has been a plethora of research about violence that demonstrates how it is grounded with a purpose of a perpetrator exercising control over other human beings through multiple ways of exercising violence at multiple levels--personal, structural and cultural (Hegarty, Hindmash and Gilles 2000; Astbury and Cabral 2000: 67; Straus and Gelles 1986; Strause, Hamby, Boney-McCoy and Sugarman 1996; Stets and Straus 1990;), as well as a practice condoned as integral to normal gender structures (Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz 1980; Zlotnick, Kohn, Peterson, and Pearlstein 1998; Zink, Regan, Jacobson, and Pabst 2003). There are many dimensions to violence, which makes it extremely difficult to pinpoint the prevalence and the implications among those who are likely to be perpetrators and victims.

**Three Aspects of Violence**

The field of Peace Studies recognizes “personal” (also referred to as “direct”), “structural,” and “cultural” dimensions of violence as the way to understanding violence (Christie, Wagner and Winter 2001; Galtung 1990, 2001).
Their standpoint is important to this project, because it serves to assess who are most likely to be victims and perpetrators especially when violence is grounded in a society that is heavily stratified along the boundaries of class, status and gender (Galtung and Ruge 1969, Galtung 1990; Farmer 1996; Farmer, Nizeye, Stulac and Keshaviee 2006). For example, early indicators show that men are likely to be the perpetrators because of their obsession to prove their masculinity through dimensions of power and control. In contrast, women are most likely to be the victims because they are socially oriented into being considered weaker for various reasons such as a weaker gendered group. Such distinction about gender distinctions is culturally grounded and enables men to men to assume that violence is an acceptable or natural way of interacting with women.

Personal violence shows that the targets of violence are individual on the basis of one's societal position in relation to a perpetrator. For example, the plantation economy of the Caribbean required imported slave labor for the sugar plantations, which made those laborers subjects of personal violence by the plantation owners because of their label as imported laborers. Eventually, such personal violence toward the enslaved laborers because of their lower class status materialized into structural violence for the sustainability of the plantation economy that needed laborers, but was done so in the backdrop of fear of the plantation owners being outnumbered by the laborers. The positions on the plantation fostered fear and intimidation that rationalized personal violence as a way for European plantation owners to keep the enslaved laborers under their control. The Caribbean’s plantation economy formed the basis of structural
violence by enacting practices that blocked or curtailed access to resources, political power, education, health care, and legal standing that could have given the enslaved laborers greater control and power (Farmer et al. 2006). As time went on, this structural violence reinforced the cultural existence of distinctions such that it became culturally normative in ways that culture parameters (e.g., religion, ideology, language, art, and empirical and formal science) justify personal and structural violence toward the enslaved force and validate these acts as part of the gender ordering of Caribbean society (Galtung 1990). Thus, violence among these three dimensions became a circular process without any outlets or venues to avoid its consequences.

As noted earlier, the plantation paradigm institutionalized violence in the Caribbean colonies through personal, structural and cultural practices of violence. The purpose among those dimensions of violence was to establish what Durkheim considers to be organic solidarity to maximize the commodity production of sugar with an enslaved labor force in a controlled environment. This was enacted out of fear because the enslaved labor force outnumbered the plantation owners that were in control (Best and Levitt 1968; Torres-Saillant 2006). The imported principles of European patriarchal masculinity introduced hegemonic masculinity that would eventually serve to delineate boundaries between the groups by creating a hierarchy based on race, ethnicity, gender, and class. As discussed in an earlier section, this plural relationship was documented in Smith’s 1950’s study on the stratification of Grenadian society and became the foundation of Grenadian contemporary society after the emancipation of
enslaved labor practices. Eventually, those practices extended into becoming normative ways of gender relations that enabled the existence of violence as a primary way to control people.

**Feminist Perspective of Violence**

One way to examine violence is through the feminist perspective that moves beyond the broad-based acts of violence that embodied structural, personal and cultural dimensions, and toward the personal gendered reality of male domination over women, which also is based on power and control (Pence and Paymar 1993; Yllo 1993; Chornesky 1978; Denham and Gillespie 1998; MacLeod and Kinnon 1997; Rinfret-Raynor, Pâquet-Deehy, Larouche, and Cantin 1992). Given the fact that feminism necessitates its focus on the female perspective, namely the life of women, it is natural that it draws attention to why women are disproportionately victims of male perpetrators. Such violent acts by men against women are not only physical in terms of rape and sexual assault, but also verbal and psychological harassment (Straka and Montminy 2006; McCary 2010).

By the 1980s and 1990s, feminism established a theoretical framework for understanding violence against women by emphasizing women’s agency and resistance to male control (Bowker 1983; Kirkwood 1993). Domestic violence was thus framed as the intersection of physical, structural, and emotional forces sustaining men’s control over their female partners (Kirkwood 1993; Pence and Paymar 1993). Such feminist literature connects gender and violence with Judith Butler’s notion of gender as performance, because gender is a social
construction that insinuates gendered beings to pursue ways of distinguishing themselves from other gendered groups (Butler 1990, 1993; West and Fenstermaker 1995). Due to the significance of masculinity within this project, it is important to note the masculine identity exists only in so far as it is an expression of men who stylize their bodies and their actions in accordance with hegemonic masculinity.

Hegemonic masculinity becomes the standard way of defining men and their masculinity (Butler 1990). Hegemonic masculinity ensures a specific gender performance and standard as part of a system of relations that sustain heterosexual male privilege by denigrating or erasing alternative (i.e., feminine/gay/lesbian/bisexual) identities. The most common ways to obliterate those groups have been through the use of violence to intimidate and suppress their expressions and inculcate a fear of challenging hegemonic masculinity (Butler 1990).

Through the extension of the aforementioned early feminist critiques, we have come to recognize principles of patriarchy that are embedded within hegemonic masculinity as integral to the gendered nature of violence. Patriarchy is defined as a systemic way of ensuring that men retain their primary authority in society through political, economic, social, legal and cultural organizations. The significance of patriarchy to hegemonic masculinity is that it reinforced the legitimacy of that particular type of masculinity to ensure the position of men in society. One of the ways this was accomplished was through the existence of violence. As described more fully in the preceding chapter, the basis of
hegemonic masculinity is to regulate gender performances within a system that bell hooks (2004) describes as “a political–social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and anyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance through various forms of psychological terrorism and violence” (hooks 2004:18). The connections between patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity are power and control that are most notable exercised over women. Such reasoning is relevant for this research, because it establishes why men are so obsessed with power and control and it shows where that obsession began within the Caribbean’s early periods of colonialism and plantations.

As described in chapter one, the practice of fear-tactics rendered violence a marker of social relations and practices (especially in association to one’s race, class, ethnic, color, and gender identity) within the ranked order. Even as Grenadian society moved away from plantation production into becoming post-emancipation, post-colonial independent states, the threat of violence continued as cultural practices between elite and folk class groups reinforced class and gender lines to keep certain groups in power to exercise control in politics, economics, religion, and education. In the Caribbean, those entities remained revered spheres of society that one can use as a key to upward mobility (Enloe 2000; Kaya 2010).
Socio-Ecological Nature of Violence

Violence is both highly complex and context specific, especially in relation to who is able to act on it and the factors that influences their ability to leverage it (Shrader-Frechette 1991). Such reasoning is relevant to this discussion about the social-ecological nature of violence, because, as noted in the two previous discussions, the use of violence by men is part of their environment where they are allowed to be antagonistic toward women simply to assert masculine identities.

However, it is important to note that the environment is not a single entity that exists with a linear connection to how men situate their identity and the use of violence. Rather, the environment encompasses many layers such as structural, institutional, interpersonal and individual factors that are instituted by laws and cultural practices that have formed the culture of violence. To illustrate my point about the environment, I draw upon the following socio-ecological model of violence within Figure 1 (Heise (1998) to illustrate how violence becomes embedded within social relationships that are reinforced by co-existing facets of our environment:
Within this model, the first (Individual) level identifies biological and personal history factors that influence how individuals behave and increase their likelihood of becoming a victim or perpetrator of violence. Examples of factors that can be measured or traced include demographic characteristics (e.g., age, education, income), psychological or personality disorders, substance abuse, and a history of behaving aggressively or experiencing abuse.
The second (Relationship) level elucidates the close interactions that are important to individuals, such as those with family, friends, intimate partners and peers, and explores how these relationships increase the risk of being a victim or perpetrator of violence. In youth violence, for example, having friends who engage in or encourage violence may increase a young person’s risk of being a victim or perpetrator of violence. There is a distinction between factors that make an individual more likely to be a victim such as sexual abuse in childhood, economic vulnerability, limited educational exposure and low self-esteem, in comparison to those that influence individuals to become perpetrators such as early exposure to violence among parents, suppressing emotional feelings, and obsession with competitiveness especially against other individuals within the same gendered group (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano 2002).

The third (Community) level explores the community contexts in which social relationships occur, such as schools, workplaces and neighborhoods, and seeks to identify the characteristics of these settings that increase the risk for violence. Risk at this level may be influenced by factors such as residential mobility (for example, whether people in a neighborhood tend to stay for a long time or move frequently), population density, high levels of unemployment, or the existence of a local drug trade.

The fourth (Society) level examines the broad societal factors that help create a climate in which violence is encouraged or inhibited. These include the availability of weapons and social and cultural norms. Such norms include those that confer a premium to parental rights over child welfare, those that regard
suicide as a matter of individual choice instead of a preventable act of violence, those that entrench male dominance over women and children, those that support the use of excessive force by police against citizens, and those that support political conflict. Larger societal factors such as economic, educational and social policies have a role in maintaining inequality between groups in society and cultivating the use of violence (Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano 2002).

The overlapping rings in the model illustrate how factors at each level are strengthened or modified by factors at another. Thus, for example, a person with an aggressive personality is more likely to act violently in a family or community that habitually resolves conflict through violence than if he or she were in a more peaceable environment. Social isolation, which is widely defined as a community factor in the mistreatment of the elderly, may be influenced both by societal factors--for example, less respect for the elderly in general and relationship factors--the loss of friends and family members (World Health Organization 2002).

This socio-ecological model is important to this research, because it explains how violence through the socio-ecological layers of Caribbean society has been woven into the gender ordering of the Caribbean in these four ways with a particular message of masculine superiority. The relevance of this model is very powerful to understanding the linkages between masculinity and violence that reinforces a consistent message of patriarchy. The consistency across these four levels is the superior role of men that started the early days of the plantation
economy and continues into today contemporary understandings of Caribbean gender identities. This socio-ecological model enables this study to insert other important factors of Caribbean society such as class, status, race and ethnicity, which are as meaningful as gender and have been used to justify the limitation and control of certain groups through violence. Thus, it can be assumed that violence has kept the markers of this model together in a way that explains how gender relations embody the use of violence (Davis and Eagle 2007; Donaldson 1997; Donaldson and Howson 2005).

**Dimensions of Violence**

Building on the previous discussion about the nature of violence as it relates to three dimensions—structure, personal and cultural as well as a gendered nature between men and women—the socio-ecological model helps to move this discussion forward by focusing on how men in the Caribbean pursue their violent acts as means to reinforce their gendered superiority (Carrington, McIntosh and Scott 2010; Chevannes 2001; Plummer 2005; Plummer and Simpson 2007). To accomplish this, I have chosen to illustrate the relevance and significance of violence to Caribbean men based on how they have used violence to impose and perpetuate their gendered message.

Studies have shown that violence is motivated by the desire to hold power, particularly power over women, as one of the essential elements contributing to a gendered order that dis-empowers women (Amaro and Raj 2000; Heise and Elias 1995; Pulerwitz, Gortmaker and DeJong 2000; Zierler and Krieger 1997). Past scholarship has recognized that women have limited access
to power, both structurally and interpersonally, which reduces their choices and
at times constrains their ability to exercise control even over their own bodies
(Connell 1987, 2000; Connell and Messirschmidt 2005; Davis 1981). The socio-
ecological model draws our attention to how violence is manifest among four
bases of gendered-power levels: force; resource control; social obligations; and
consensual ideologies (Rosenthal and Levy 2010). The relevance of these levels
to this research augments initial discussions in how it reinforces the idea that
violence it not exclusive, but rather mutually exchangeable with implications for
men and women (Pratto and Walker 2004). Such perspective provide guidance
to this research about domestic violence, because it shows that when exploring
violence among gendered groups in Grenada, there are many influential linkages
that affords violence to be used as a marker and boundary to how social relations
are sustained. Such perspectives are embedded within the socio-ecological
nature of violence and are made possible by what Pratto and Walker’s describe
as gendered-power levels of violence (2004). The following sections provide a
closer examination of those gendered-power levels:

**Force**

Force is the primary basis of gendered power (Pratto and Walker 2004),
and it is exerted through violence as acts of abuse, rape, assault, and any other
forms specifically to undermine the power of victims (McCormick 1994). Rape
and sexual assault are constant threats not only for women but also for men
(Scott, Gilliam and Braxton 2005; Evans-Campbell, Lindhorst, Huang, and
Walters 2006; Pauw and Brener 2003; Ackermann and de Klerk 2002; Pettifor,
Measham, Rees and Padian 2004; ), which illustrates that the concept that “force” centers on imposing power and control over someone else for reasons beyond the perpetrator’s own biological distinction as being a man with a penis or the victim’s identity as female with a vagina.

Force can also be imposed through emotional and physical abuses in gendered relationships that challenge a person’s ability to assert his or her autonomy. In such circumstances, men exert their power and control (through their masculine behaviors) for the sake of trying to validate their own gendered position. Having power and control to exert force has more significance to the male perpetrator than it does for his victim, as the perpetrator wants to be seen as strong and powerful enough to prove to others that he determines his own destiny. The unfortunate consequence of men seeking to use force to prove masculinity is that women are usually the victims of his forceful acts. However, we must not ignore that men can likewise be victims, especially if they appear to be weaker and controllable (e.g., Molina and Basinait-Smith 1998).

**Resource Control**

Resource control is defined as being able to access well-paying jobs, education, health care, and institutional influence (Connell 2005). Given that the post-colonial era Caribbean society inherited cultural structures emerging from the plantation paradigm, European gender-based inequities and group-based hierarchies based on race, ethnicity, and class remained in tact to influence those who had access to these resources. Men continued to dominate the spheres of control, and clear relational patterns emerged from the access to
resources that created economic dependence, resulting in intergenerational poverty, lack of education, and limited institutional influence (Benoit 2007). Such patterns reinforce the class distinctions that were noted by MG Smith that illustrates the continued differences between folk and elite groups in Grenada.

Beyond the class difference, there is also a gendered nature of access to resource control, where once again men benefited from the patriarchal nature of how laws were made for men to have greater power to exercise his desire for resource control unlike women. For a long time, legal frameworks gave men autonomy to purchase and inherit land (Monsen 2004). However, legal practices forbade women from being able to do the same, thus reducing her chances of acting autonomously unless her husband, brother, or father acted on her behalf. Therefore, men had greater opportunities to exercise power in public spaces than those of women. In contrast, among the private spaces men also appeared to have some advantage over women with religious teachings that insisted that men become the head of the household. Once again, being head of the household meant greater opportunities to exercise power where women were regulated to being subordinate to their husbands.

Given these circumstances, the Caribbean patriarchal realities of disproportionate resource allocation made some provisions for Caribbean Black women of the folk class who maintained some degree of economic autonomy from men outside of the home. Examples of this autonomy include engaging in commerce exchanges such as market vendor sales, housekeeping, or teaching, which were all unconventional for most other gendered stratified societies around
the world (Safa 1990; Anderson 1986; Henry and Wilson 1975). However, these Caribbean women’s ability to conduct commerce was not enough to elevate their status as independent women with power and control due to other mitigating factors such as education and laws that prohibit how to use the resources that were earned from their activities. Instead, these women remained dependent and considered inferior to men.

As discovered thus far, limited access to financial resources resulted in chronic dependence upon men for survival, making it especially difficult for women to avoid abusive men (Sikkema, Wagner and Bogart 2000). The experiences of Caribbean women are emblematic of similar issues confronting low-income women across the world. They are faced with realities that are more about survival such as paying rent and finding food rather than advocating for gender equality in systems that will not change for generations (CDC 2005; Mays and Cochran 1988; Sikkema et al. 2000). As a result, women would opt to tolerate an abusive situation for the sake of having access to resources that would sustain their basic livelihood.

**Social Obligation**

Environments where strong cultural gendered norms exist for women, likewise dictate the norm of reconciliation with men following their abusive behavior. As a result, social obligations impose burdensome demands upon women, a dynamic which some scholars have conceptualized as the third base of gendered power (Pratto and Walker 2004). The third base of gendered power is usually found within systems and institutions such as legal courts and religious
institutions that promote the superiority of men and masculinity. They become the third base because they impose an ideology among women to be tolerant and forgiving of their abuser for the sake of cultural and family honor (Spooner 2009; Church, Albert and Nemati 2011). Eventually, a woman would retract her desire to press charges or seek help, instead allowing the male abuser to continue as part of her social obligation as a woman.

Men are important to the social obligation, because culturally they establish the family structure as heads of households. The structure becomes important, because it helps to delineate their status in society among the stages of life. The rationale of the social obligation draws attention to the significance of the household as a physical structure that provides the label of honor for a man that is able to build it with a responsible woman who is capable of maintaining it. Thus, social and cultural expectations are formed for women to be responsible for the household as part of the man’s honor while he is able to go out and earn his status as a breadwinner and provider (Ford 2006; Pratto and Walker 2004). There is some significance to this perspective for this research, because it provides insight into why some women have endured their abusive relationships.

Consensual Ideologies

The final basis of gendered-level power consists in consensual ideologies (Pratto and Walker 2004), which justify and sustain female disadvantages in relation to men. The conceptual framework of consensual ideology is particularly relevant to the study of the Caribbean because of the prevalence of violence against Caribbean women and the existing consensual ideologies of gender...
roles, defined as norms, stereotypes, beliefs, and/or expectations about men and women. The ideologies of what defines a man and woman are usually gendered and ranked in a systematic way that allows men to maintain their superior position over women, whereby women are to accept and tolerate their compromised status (Alcalde 2011; Mora 2010).

The ideology is reinforced through broad-based cultural practices that are built within hegemonic masculinity as well as overall gender expectations about masculinity and femininity (Eagly, Wood and Johannesen-Schmid 2004). For example, Margaret Kearney's study found that within some socio-cultural contexts, violence against women was invisible and accepted by the women themselves, the couple, their families or origin, and their acquaintances and community in order to preserve the values of commitment and social stability (Kearney 2001). Anyone who attempts to defy or alter this consensus will be considered problematic and unconventional, making it harder to integrate into other cultural and social obligations if they do not adopt the consensus within the community. This perspective would be relevant to this research in locating any men or women who have opted not to use violence as a gendered marker, and in so doing examine what cultural and social repercussions they may face for taking such actions.

In summary, these four gendered-power levels draw attention to the manifestation of violence within the Caribbean in how power is leveraged through four dominant arenas. These arenas are all intrinsic to social relations that legitimize gender ranking. These points also support this dissertation research by
providing guidance for considering the multiple dimensions of how power can be used to influence violence against women. Therefore, understanding power and how it is used to justify social relations will pinpoint how violence can be imposed, whether it be personal, structural or cultural. From that vantage point, it will be clear how gender and violence against women connect. Let's consider the anthropological literature of violence to provide a cultural advantage point of view about violence

**Anthropology of Violence**

Anthropology of violence has been an important sub-field within anthropology because of its focus on violence, despite being considered a slippery concept defined as nonlinear, productive, destructive and reproductive (Scheper-Hughes 2007: 161). Any form of violence is difficult to study because the aftermath can extend for years and evolve into the myths and psyche of people as part of their own identities. The prolong presence of violence becomes embedded within a group’s identity as normative, making it harder to decipher a life without violence.

Anthropology of Violence has also been credited with showing how violent actions are influence by socio-cultural constructs such as class, race, ethnicity, gender and status. Such expansive understanding of violence shows that violence is more than physical attacks between individuals, but also includes broader meanings that are tied to the values of socio-cultural constructs of social relations. For example, greater social value is placed on the construct of masculinity, which positions men to be perpetrators of violence rather than
victims. The correlation of violence to the values of socio-cultural constructs illuminates the significance of power and control and draws attention to how violence becomes a way of asserting social positions of certain groups.

Anthropology of Violence has been credited with showcasing that violent actions are reproduced in several dimensions such as structural violence---violence of poverty, hunger, social exclusion and humiliation that ultimately translate into intimate and domestic violence (Schep...

Politically motivated torture—usually targeting individuals based on varied issues such as gender, class, status where people are tortured or shamed for being against a political movement; Rape—as a gendered exercise of power and control against women and children, but as victims they are ostracized by their kin and community because of the shame of being gendered-based violence (Das 2004 and Fanon 1963/2004). Those dimensions are not lineal or exclusive, but co-exist in ways that can be imposed simultaneously upon certain groups because of their race, ethnicity, gender, class and status. The outcome of having multiple burdens of violence is less autonomy or the ability to determine a life without violence. Eventually, the continued presence of violence within a person’s life rationalizes their lower social position and justifies the prolong assumption of being suppressed. Such practices can occur over generations and become embedded as cultural constructs of society in how people value their contribution to the sustainability of society. Based on such patterns of influence, Anthropology has enabled research to critique violence on how it is used to reinforce cultural identities within social relations, particularly among practices...
that positions men into being perpetrators and women as victims. The gendered disparities of violence are the core purposes of Anthropology of violence as a standpoint that seeks to decipher why violence is so closely affiliated to social and cultural constructions of identities.

**History of Anthropology of Violence**

The beginning of Anthropology of Violence emerges among the works of David Levinson, who ushered in one of the earliest anthropological studies of domestic violence in his published study, *Family Violence in Cross-Cultural Perspectives* (1989). Levinson’s production was part of a larger social science shift to focus on gender-based violence to pay attention to it as a social problem (Counts 1990: 248). The thrust of Levinson and other anthropologists began with studying gender-based violence from an anthropological lens to establish culturally specific research that would interrogate the universal assumptions about the use of violence. As a side note, the timeframe and approach of Anthropology of violence are coincidental the emerging shift in another important body of literature for this study called Interrogating Caribbean Masculinities (Reddock 2004). The significance of this anthropological study of violence in this paradigm shift was to create new categories of analysis for anthropologist to focus on identifying and recognizing victims, and to explain the value and significance of violence in certain social contexts. Most of the concentrated works that were influenced by Levinson’s initial work have centered on issues of alcohol consumption, gender equality between men and women, changing political-economic dimensions and the efforts of development within evolving economies (Weis and Haldlane 2011).
Eventually, studying violence against women became a legitimate anthropological domain enabling other productions to build on that seminal work. For example *Sanctions and Sanctuary: Cultural Perspectives on Beating Wives* (Judith Brown and Jacquelyn Campbell 1992) and *To Have and to Hit: Cultural Perspectives on Wife Beating* (Dorothy Counts, Judith Brown and Jacquelyn Campbell 1999), inspired anthropologist to study gender-based violence as main point of inquiry. Based on the impact of this new phenomenon, anthropologist from various sub-disciplines led the way for researching gender-based violence against niche specializations. Of particular importance was for medical, legal and political anthropologists that began to address issues such as social service providers faced, the role of the law enforcement, and the way policies often fall short of protecting victims (Weis and Haldane 2011).

Diversity voices and perspectives began emerge in the scholarship of Anthropology of violence with Laura McClusky’s *Our Culture is Hard: Stories of Domestic Violence from a Mayan Community in Belize* (2001), offering unique first-person narratives and studying the issue as cultural taboo that occurs only behind closed doors. Donna Goldstein’s *Laughter Out of Place: Race, Class, Violence and Sexuality in Rio Shantytown* (2003), explores the interpersonal and state-level violence through a political-economic lens, examining acts of battery and rape within the structures of inequality specific for black women. Her works shows how people cope with violence through acts of laughter as way of making sense of it all (Weis and Haldane 2011).
The significance of these works has been that while anthropologists were addressing gender-based violence in multiple locations within various political and legal arenas, it has been most useful in providing a voice to the individual perspective of how the human entities involved define, negotiate, and respond to various categories of gender-based violence. For example, Sarah Hautzinger’s, *Violence in the City of Women: Police and Batterers in Bahia, Brazil* (2007) and Margaret Abraham’s *Speaking the Unspeakable: Marital Violence among South Asian Immigrants in the United States* (2000) looks upon the legal frameworks that complement cross-cultural, ethnographic research that examines how women are protected by laws. Mindie Lazarus-Black’s *Everyday Harm: Domestic Violence, Court Rites, and Cultures of Reconciliation* (2007) and *Marriage on Trial: A Study of Islamic Family Law* (2001) by Ziba Mir-Hosseini, collectively illustrate the systematic flaws such as court proceedings, the disjuncture between laws and the lived experiences of victims, and the economic barriers that inhibits access to justice. These problems conflate the impact of violence in ways that deters victims from reporting or inherently believing that culturally acceptable.

Patterns of Anthropology of violence have emerged among three main research approaches:

1. The operational approach, focusing on the etics of antagonism, in particular on the measurable material and political causes of conflict;

2. The cognitive approach, focusing on the emics of the cultural construction of war in a given society; and
3. The experimental approach, focusing on violence as not necessarily confined to situations of intergroup conflict but as something related to individual subjectivity, something that structures people’s everyday lives, even in the absence of an actual state of war (Schroder and Schmidt 2001).

The experimental approach is singled out as the most relevant to this study because it draws attention to the overall status of the Caribbean, as a region that has been built on uncontested social relations that enable the lines of class, status, race, ethnicity and gender to go unchallenged (Austin 1984; Benoit 2011). This research explored those unchallenged assumptions, for which it has positioned men with power and control, to use violence to sustain their superiority as a rationalization of Caribbean culture. The consequence of men using violence through generations of Caribbean society, is the prolong risks and vulnerabilities that women and children have consciously embody as they define themselves against the presence of Caribbean men’s violent expressions.

This standpoint is also important to this research because it helps guide the research inquiries along to understand the intersection of gender and violence based on the assumption that violence is embedded with cultural and social meanings. To do that, Anthropology of Violence argues that it is important to equally understand the relevance of violence from both victims and perpetrators perspectives. Therefore, this research included both the men and women perspectives to equally balance the meaning of violence against the relevance of gender expressions as way to understand the implications of their social
positioned as victims and perpetrators. The following discussions about gender-based violence within the realm of anthropology of violence speak to the value of having those both perspectives.

**Anthropology and Gender-Based Violence**

According to Jennifer Weis and Hillary Haldane (2011), anthropologists have a long history of studying violence and conflict (Fortune 1939; Gillin 1934; Gluckman 1955, 1963; Hadlock 1947; Malinoski 1959; Skinner 1911; William 1941). Among the early anthropological works, there was a focus to examine acts of violence as defined by warfare, cultural ethos, conflicts of material resources, or cultural rituals related to rites of passage such as genital cutting, nose-bleeding, and force scarification (Boddy 1982; Harrington 1968; Hayes 1975; Singer and Desole 1967. Weis and Haldane (2011) observations’ about gender-based violence such as rape, domestic violence and human trafficking have been largely under-theorized (pg 4). It was not until 1970s, gender-based violence was identified as a cultural phenomenon in most societies that was worth deconstructing and interrogating. Therefore, this late focus of gender-based violence has made the literature about anthropology and gender-based violence sparse.

Since the novelty of study violence began focusing on gender-based violence since the 1970s in anthropology, new detailed studies have emerged with focuses on social forms, causes and functions (Ghassem-Fachandi 2009). In 1997, Krohn Hansen argued that studying violence was in response to a new phenomenon with anthropology within North America (Ghassem-Fachandi
The new phenomenon included modern theorists of violence and conflict especially among social scientists such as George Simmel, Walter Benjamin, Hannah Arendt, Georges Bataille, Jacques Derrida, Pierre Bourdieu Michel Foucault, Rene Girad, Hans Magnus Enzenberger, and Giorgia Agamben.

By the 1980s and 1990s, a change emerged among few contemporary theorists such as Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Phillipe Bourgeois, Vena Das, Arthur Kleinman, Penelope Harvey and Paul Farmer, ushering in a new way for anthropologists to mitigate the focus of violence based on the numerous meanings that violence can impose upon the lives that are affected both as active perpetrators or passive victims (Parvis Ghaseem-Fachandi 2009). The following four dimensions of Anthropology of Violence showcase some of those works that have focused on gender-based violence as result of the new shift of inquiry:

**Violence, emotion and subjectivity**

Veena Das, Arthur Klienman, Margaret Lock, Mamphela Ramphele, and Pamela Reynolds, were pioneers of establishing that violence is part of structures and social relations within people’s daily struggles. They proposed understanding violence as a framework of survival that illuminated the emotions and subjectivity as processes of how people situate their identities as part of their social relations in the presence of violence. Such thoughts were presented in, *Remaking a World: Violence, Social Suffering and Recovery (2001)*, a three-part volume featuring studies that concentrated on everyday aspects of the subjective experience of violence—from the viewpoints of victims (Kleinman, Das, Lock 1997; Das, Kleinman, Ramphele and Reynolds 2000, 2001; Das 1990). The
central theme among the readings was to emphasize that violence was not an interruption of what is considered to be ordinary in life but rather it was something that was part of the ordinary. Such meaning draws attention to the fact that violence is a way of life that is entrenched within people’s emotions making the role of violence a part of their identity.

Furthermore, the works in this dimension argued that violence must also be understood as subjectivity that speaks to the role of the institutions and structural process that inflict violence upon the position of an individual within society. From this angle of subjectivity, violence is viewed through a historical lens that demonstrates that it is not random and abrupt, but rather built on how societies have come to value certain groups based on shared characteristics such as race, ethnicity, gender, class and status. The state and its structures operationalize subjectivity through acts of violence such as limiting education, health and economic opportunities for people that have very little value to sustain the validity of the state. Such limitation and intentional suppression of individuals and groups are viewed as acts of violence because the state actively controls who has access to positions of power and control, while entities within the structures have been built to control other groups that have lesser value within state’s value systems. Acts of control through the concept of subjectivity are considered forms of violence.

It is among these discussions, the concept of structural violence emerges within anthropology. Structural violence argues that the interpretation of violence be removed from the individual standpoint and retracted into a larger ideology of
state that uses class, status, race and gender to subjugate certain lives with violence. The state enables the use of subjectivity by targeting certain groups such as women by allowing violence against them as way to control their bodies. Over time and through generations, women have learned to consider violence as part of their survival in oppressive states.

**Gendered Violence**

Within this realm of anthropology of violence specific studies led by Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Phillipe Bourgeois are specifically noted for their emphasis of gendered violence within anthropology. Their approaches have centered on the notion that violence cannot be conceived without addressing its inevitable gender contours. Therefore, it is important to single out and review how gender operates throughout all forms of violence (Scheper-Hughes and Bourgeois 2004). Their argument for the gendered perspective of violence speaks to the fact that the relationship between gender and violence is sometimes visible, cruel and targeted (Das 2001; Danner 2004). However, it can also occur in times of peace (Bourgois 2001) and it is deeply structural and symbolic with people’s lives (Cohn 2001).

For example, Phillipe Bourgeois is best known for his ethnographic work with crack dealers in East Harlem, which addresses the interface between interpersonal “delinquent violence,” including self-destructive substance abuse and the gendered dynamics of brutality in the family and of adolescent gang rape, with the larger structural violence of what Bourgeois called US inner-city apartheid (Bourgeois 1996). Then, in her fieldwork in the Northeast Brazil, Nancy Scheper-Hughes gradually came to the realization that family is one of the most
violent locations among social institutions that enables violence. Her discovery was coached within her research about hasten deaths of “angel babies”, where she chronicled the suffering of Brazilian women based on their family and reproductive health histories, migration and employment histories and their personal accounts of survival. Those factors influences the risk of giving birth to sick infants which in turn influenced how women became emotionally detach from those high risk babies because they had very little chance of surviving in the absence of adequate healthcare. Eventually, the practices of chronic child loss became normal for women in poor families, such that mothers were more likely to invest heavily in the survival of children that were healthy but distance themselves psychologically from sick infants. Scheper-Hughes eventually situates her interpretations to the larger social-political economic problems of inadequate health services that exacerbate how women cope with sick babies in the absence of adequate prenatal care (Scheper-Hughes 1992).

The emerging themes of gendered violence were to illuminate the suffering of violence because of someone’s gender. In most instances, women and the impoverished segments of society were most likely to bear the repercussions of gender violence because they are easy targets and are less likely to be considered important or valuable. In some instances, violence was intentional used to suppress their threat of being collectively powerful enough against the dominant discourse. The reality of gendered violence is that women and the poor have begun to embody the emotions and subjectivity as part of their own gendered identities.
Sex and Violence
Penelope Harvey and Peter Gow framed, Sex and Violence: Issues of representation and experience (1994) ushered in a completely different feature in anthropology of violence that centered on the oft-cited crisis in anthropological representations of sex and violence with a feminist criticism. This work was conceptualized based on an interface between anthropological studies of cultural difference, feminist concerns with the politics of western gender relations and their social effects, and an acknowledgement of a genre of mass appeal, the co-modification of persons and bodies, and the desire for participation with responsibility that sells within the media (Harvey and Gow 1992:1-2). Their intentions were to investigate why anthropological interests about sex and violence were not so different from people who were interested in pornography. This work delved into two central fantasies—the eroticization of dominations, and the eroticization of the dominated other. The emerging pattern both approaches was the conceptualization sex and violence in a transgressive framework that had showed enabled violence to be interpreted as legitimate violations and interruptions of women’s bodies. The transgressive slant about violence and women’s bodies is particularly troubling because reinforces notions that men are innately sexual reactors that are obsessed and in pursuit of women’s bodies as objects. This research also showed two different positions of power as regards to the pursuit of sex in which men are seen as active players and women as passive entities. The message of power is that men have legitimate reasons through their obsession of pornography to control women’s bodies. This research shows that the boundary between acceptable and unacceptable actions of sex
and violence become a slippery slope as how sex is defined as pleasurable and legitimizes violence as a gendered expression for men.

**Violence and Global Health**

Barbara Rylko-Bauer, Linda Whiteford and Paul Farmer ushered in another dimension of anthropology of violence in their *Global Health in Times of Violence* (2009), with a focus on violence based on its manifestations, causes and consequences to public health (p6). The strategy among this body of work was to make violence more visible from a medical anthropological standpoint that would include the voices those who suffering from the consequences of violence and health within the global context. The power of this project was situated among the narrative captions of individuals and groups to show how they navigate through manifestations of violence—physical, structural, symbolic, intimate interpersonal, and everyday vis-à-vis several lens such as Bourgeois’ suggested analytic framework of synthesized facets of genesis, evolution, pervasiveness and mutability of violence (p7).

Along with presenting a global perspective of shared public health suffering of violence, this work personalized the implications of violence to position the significance of human rights. The intersection of violence and global health provides clear evidence of systemic and historical patterns of human rights violations that subjugated people around the world because of their gender, race, ethnicity, class and status. The human rights discussions permeates this work with a clear message that anthropology has a unique position of understanding violence because it is situated the human rights argument from the ground level of where violence occurs through the captions of visible and invisible realities of
violence.

The shared perspective among this project can be symbolically characterized as a call to action for anthropology to continue engaging in the promotion of health and violence within framework of promoting social justice. Anthropologists are well positioned to argue for victims of violence because its work make the invisible visible, to hear those without words, to trace the hidden connections, and to keep the individual close while seeing the global (p 231).

**Summary**

The summary of these works along with the previous historical discussions about anthropology of violence were to illustrate the value of an anthropological perspective within researching violence especially in a context of such as the Caribbean where race, ethnicity, class, status, and gender are crucial constructs of social relations. The featured works of Anthropology of Violence provide solid evidence that incorporating the principles of anthropology, specifically of anthropology of violence, enhances the exploratory approach of this study through methods of observations, personal stories and narratives, as a way to learn about gender expressions and violence between Grenadian men and women.

To garner those insights, anthropology of violence argues that violence must be critiqued further than personal attacks between individuals but that it is embodies principles subjectivity, emotions, and gendered values that infringes on the human rights of people. Anthropology of violence shows how to witness, advocate and expose not only the perspectives of victims of violence but also of
the perpetrators within research. From that standpoint and with dual intention, this research considers this sub-field important as it justified a need to elevated inquiries into a critical realm that enable a review of the socio-cultural factors of the Caribbean history and environment that have enabled the gendered brutality of violence against women.

Now, for the latter half of this chapter, I present data about violence within the Caribbean to highlight the trends and realities of violence. These data are important in hindsight of the preceding discussion about social, cultural and ecological natures of the Caribbean simply to contextualize the significance of this research. It is important to note that due to a lack of data specific to Grenada (the primary focus of this dissertation research), I relied upon trends of violence reported in neighboring countries to draw comparisons.

**Violence within the Contemporary Caribbean**

Violence against women affects a significant percentage of women and girls in the Caribbean, where rape is a widely occurring form of gender-based violence and is still not legislated as a criminal act when occurring within marriage (United Nations Office on Drug and Crime--UNODC Report 37820 2007). According to the latest crime trends survey (CTS) data made available by UNDOC, the Caribbean ranks within the top ten rates for rape for the world. As seen in Figure 2, the highest rate is attributed to the Bahamas, followed by six additional Caribbean countries--all of which have rates that are higher than the global average.
All seven countries that yield comparable data are included in this figure that shows a higher rate of rape than the unweighted average of 102 countries responding to the CTS (15 rapes per 100,000). The significance of this comparison shows that violence is not random or isolated, but rather a fundamental public health issue for Caribbean women who live in a region that has a high probability of rape within their lifespan.

![Graph displaying reported incidences of rape per 100,000](image)

**Figure 2: Rates of Rape in the Caribbean and Comparison Countries.** Crime Trends Surveys—United Nations (various years)

According to police records from the Dominican Republic, women between the ages of 15 and 34 account for nearly two-thirds of all deaths from violence among women, despite the fact that this age group only represents 36
percent of the female population (Kishor and Johnson 2006). Those at highest risk are young women working as domestic laborers and those who recently ended an intimate relationship. In approximately 63 percent of cases, the perpetrator is the victim’s male partner (husband or boyfriend) or ex-partner (ex-husband or ex-boyfriend). In comparison, mothers who make up the next highest percentage of perpetrators account for 14 percent of violent deaths; fathers comprise 10 percent (Caceres 2002). These indicators show that the family unit features prominently as the locus for domestic violence, and further spousal death appears to be a growing trend, thus indicating a call for interventions for these conditions.

While there has been no comparable study of domestic violence over a large number of Caribbean countries, national studies of its prevalence generate similar victim rates. In Haiti, a recent Demographic and Health survey found that 28.8% of currently or previously married women had been beaten by a spouse (Kishor and Johnson 2006). Older data from national surveys undertaken in Antigua and Barbuda and Barbados in 1990 indicate that 30% of all women in each country had been victimized by physical violence at the hands of an intimate partner at some point in their lives (Heise, Ellenberg and Gottomoeller 1999). The relevance of the Caribbean indicators can be matched with the rates of lifetime physical violence that range from a low of 12.9 percent in urban Japan to a high of 61 percent in rural Peru, with a non-population weighted average prevalence rate of 36.3 percent over the 15 study sites in the ten countries (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Elisberg and Watts 2006; UNODC Report 37820 2007).
Therefore, these indicators from Haiti, Barbados and Antigua and Barbuda demonstrate a systematic propensity for Caribbean women to be subjugated by violence at a higher percentage than women outside of the region. As noted previously, most of these acts of violence are usually at the hands of their husbands or partners (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen, Elisberg and Watts 2006; Rath, Jarratt, Leanordson 1989).

**Violence Against Women in the Caribbean**

The quality of data on violence against women in the Caribbean is highly inadequate (St. Bernard 2002; Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005), just as it has been in other developing countries such as South Africa (Jewkes and Abrahams 2002). Several factors contribute to disparity of information, namely that many women do not report incidents due to consensual ideologies, technical inefficiencies in recording data and difficulties in establishing standardized definitions of violent acts that clearly delineate when a domestic violent act has been committed. Moreover, the data captured is generally collected for purposes other than that of establishing an epidemiology of violence (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). Those factors pose a major challenge to justify the need to investigate domestic violence as a major public health problem in the absence of having prevalence and incidence rates. However, the anecdotal accounts from studies conducted by Roberta Clarke and Jacqueline Sealy-Burke (2005) and Mary Spooner (2009) show that there is a significant problem.

Clarke and Sealy-Burke (2005) note that most research conducted to establish the prevalence of gender-based violence in the Caribbean has been
overseen by women’s non-governmental organizations (NGOs), whose operating budget is small and whose methodology for data acquisition is questionable due to inconsistencies. Further, such research is not yet regarded as scientifically valid because of the paucity of overall research that measures the unique circumstances of domestic violence within the Caribbean. Nonetheless, we will examine one of the few attempts to summarize the data found across those numerous studies in Table 2.

Table 2: Prevalence of Violence against Women among Various Caribbean Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Estimated Prevalence (%)</th>
<th>Study Population</th>
<th>Type of Abuse</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Antigua and Barbuda</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Adult women in intimate relationships</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>(Heise, Pitaguy et al. 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Adult women in intimate relationships</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>(Heise, Pitaguy et al. 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guyana</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Women in a union</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>(Red Thread 2000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Virgin Islands</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Women 15-44 years old</td>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>(Haniff 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Domestic violence</td>
<td>(CAFRA 1998)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suriname</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Violence in a conjugal relationship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005).

In sum, these indicators show that violence against women is endemic in Caribbean countries—as it is in most countries around the world (UNODC Report 37820 2007). However, the risk of violence is greater, and alarmingly rates are far above global prevalence rates. To decipher why this is so, this dissertation
research examines the fundamental causes for these high rates with a specific focus on understanding why Caribbean men perpetrate domestic violence.

**Availability of Data**

Thus far, the review of literature on domestic violence in the Caribbean indicates that prevalence data are scant for this geographical area, despite good surveillance of other major indicators (i.e., mortality, morbidity, education, HIV/AIDS, etc.). The absence of domestic violence data signals both a lack of willingness among political and legal institutions to document the occurrence of domestic violence in the region, and the extent to which domestic violence is established as a cultural norm within the Caribbean (MacCulloch 1997).

According to a recent review conducted by Mary Spooner (2009), the absence of reliable data and mounting anecdotal evidence suggest that the frequency and severity of violence against women in Caribbean states have continued to rise. The U.S. Department of State concurs with this position, documenting in its 2006 Country Reports on Human Rights Practice that violence against women is a significant social problem in all Caribbean states (US State Department 2006).

Data collected in 1990 from women in Antigua, Barbuda, and Barbados similarly estimates that 30% of women in these states experienced violence at the hands of an intimate partner at some point in their lives (Heise et al. 1999; Spooner 2009). Studies have shown that between 7% and 22% of all adult women have been the victim of domestic abuse, and one in every three women reported being physically attacked by an intimate partner at some point in her life.
(Wilt and Olson 1996). This research attempted to fill some of those deficits with qualitative research to contextualize the severity of the violence.

This research concurs with Spooner’s (2009) use of Caribbean cultural norms of acceptance of violence in interpersonal relationships with the origins of the plantation paradigm among Caribbean countries (Danns and Persad 1989; Gopaul, Morgan and Reddock 1997; MacCulloch 1997; Moser and Holland 1997). Her standpoint also justifies the relevance of this research by demonstrating that given the high levels of reported violence found in societies with similar kinds of history, there are causes such as the gender-levels of power that contribute to justifications of the nature of violent behavior in the Caribbean.

In one of the few major surveys of interpersonal violence (IPV) among 15-30 year olds that was conducted in Barbados, Jamaica, and Trinidad-and-Tobago with 3,401 respondents (Le Franc, Samms-Vaughan et al. 2008), the Revised Conflict Tactics Scales (CTS2) was used to assess the characteristics of violence in the Caribbean. Approximately three-quarters of all respondents (ranging from 63.1 to 72.5% for men, and from 65.1 to 83.1% for women) reported being a victim of some form of violence, with the violent act most commonly perpetrated by a partner within a relationship (59.0% on male victims and 66.7% on female victims). Among women, Jamaica reported the highest level of any form of violence; among males (72.5%), Barbados reported the lowest levels of any kind of violence (63.1%). There was no statistically significant difference by gender or by country in the prevalence of physical violence. However, women reported significantly less physical violence from
strangers or acquaintances than the men (34% less). The inferences that can be
drawn from these indicators shows that experiences of violence is concurrent to
other literature that usually state that the victims of violence are aware of their
perpetrators.

In other aspects of this study and after adjusting for age, women were 1.2
times (20%) more likely than men to be victims of any violence. Women were 1.6
times more likely than men to be victims of sexual coercion. Barbados and
Trinidad-and-Tobago had similar levels of sexual coercion, whereas Jamaica had
significantly higher levels of sexual coercion. Women were 4 times more likely
than men to be victims of sexual coercion from strangers and acquaintances.
These findings illustrate the severity of impact against women who are
victimizd, which is possibly compounded by other factors in their lives that
exacerbate their vulnerability. This is particularly relevant for this study,
especially in justifying the need to get the woman’s perspective in this domestic
violence program.

Among the relationships reviewed in the study, levels of psychological
aggression were high, with no significant gender differences in the levels
experienced. More than 70% of both men and women in Barbados had
experienced psychologically aggressive behavior toward them in a past or
current relationship. Large proportions of both men and women also reported that
they had perpetrated psychological aggression against partners. Notably, in
Barbados 75% of women and 77% of men reported this practice. The
psychological aggression contextualizes the need to consider the relevance and
impact of violence beyond the physical acts, because it appears to be a median in which both men and women are parallels in being perpetrators or victims. The comparable use of this type of aggression shows women were as much perpetrators and victims of psychological aggression. This equal balance may demonstrate that Caribbean women have learned through coping strategies or understanding of their own agency to use this type of aggression. However, I am sure there are gendered differences for the use against men, as men towards women would do it.

In another empirical study by Bailey, Le Franc and Branche (1998), the authors note that violence in urban, lower class communities in the Caribbean is common. It is seen as a normal and natural response to “the harshness of the circumstances and the dangers of the environment that are associated with poverty and high unemployment rates” (Bailey, Le Franc et al. 1998:1). They also noted that violence is:

“...very much a part of the parent-child relationship and, in disciplining children, there are cases in which violence is deployed to the extent of being regarded as abuse…. Many teenagers carry the memory of beatings received as children into the adolescent years… These conditions tend to breed aggression and a host of other manifestations of negative interactions with those with whom they come into contact” (Bailey, Le Franc et al. 1998:4).

Women as well as men are perpetrators of violence against children. This violence is mostly non-sexual, perhaps in part because women often head households and experience the burden of responsibility for discipline as well as other aspects of childcare and socialization. Physical punishment is widely considered an appropriate method of child socialization in Caribbean culture.
During the focus-group discussions with children and youth aged 8 to 20 years in Barbados, Dominica and Jamaica, stratified by gender and age group, were used to explore the views and experiences of these young people about personal relationships. Findings revealed that patterns and gender-related norms of violence established in childhood tend to be carried on into later relationships. Even very young males “were very combative in their expectations of the course of personal relationships… [They anticipated] inevitable conflicts between materially demanding females and the fighting male” (p. 2). The authors of that study cited three situations associated with violence against women within intimate relationships, 1) Difficulties by the man in fulfilling prescribed gender roles regarding males being the principal economic providers within relationships; 2) Males fear that non-violent responses may give the impression that they are soft and weak. Conversely, being violent may enhance sexual attraction and respect; and 3) Suspicions about the female partner’s infidelity. Males may fear that their partners will have sex with more attractive males.

Finally, in a qualitative research by David Plummer and Joel Simpson (2007) on Caribbean masculinities in Guyana, Trinidad and St. Kitts highlights the current valorization of hard and risky masculinities, which they coined as “hyper-masculinities” (Plummer and Simpson 2007). They found that codes of masculinity have become harder to decipher as the parameters of hegemonic masculinity from the traditional ways of measuring masculinity in arenas of education, economics and legal institutions. Today’s Caribbean men feel the
pressure to ensure that their behaviors conform to prevailing masculine standards but are pursuing it different ways.

In contemporary male culture, masculine status is enhanced greatly by displays of sexual prowess, physical toughness and social dominance. Having multiple sexual partners earned respect while being faithful meant losing face (Plummer and Simpson 2007:6).

These findings draw attention to the gender levels of power that allow men to exercise varying degrees of power to define their masculinity. Though men appear to have more leverage to exercise power and control, they are changing their tactics and taking increased risks in non-traditional ways.

These findings are significant for this dissertation, because they offer some reasoning to explore dimensions of Caribbean masculinity at multiple angles to understand the linkage to violence. It signifies the need to include points of inquiry that explore childhood exposures, gender acquisition and gender relations that men and women learn as becoming masculine or feminine.

**Legal Framework of Responding to Violence in the Caribbean**

Societal acceptance of domestic abuse has been so pervasive that the idea of its criminalization was considered to be a monumental challenge to suggest making such adjustments in the criminal codes of the Caribbean (Spooner 2008). For example, during the parliamentary debate of the Domestic Violence legislation in 1993, the Barbados’s Opposition Leader, Mr. L. R. Tull, called it “frightening” that domestic violence should be criminalized when for so long it had been accepted as normal behavior (Official Report, House of Assembly Debates, First Session 1991–1996:163). It has been asserted that Tull’s anxiety reflects fear that Barbados’ domestic violence legislation would not
only punish male perpetrators, but would moreover change the status quo for men, eroding their superior status (Spooner 2009).

Criminalization of violence among household members in Caribbean states that began in the 1990s marks a watershed in Caribbean family law and policy (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). Enactment of domestic violence legislation occurred at a time of global engagement between international governments and bilateral agencies, such as UNWomen, to attack the problem of domestic abuse. External pressure to address the problem of domestic abuse came at a time when the Caribbean states were struggling to maintain stable economies and to push for economic growth. Ongoing constitutional reform focused on political institutional capacity building and economic stability. Several independent Caribbean states introduced protection-order legislation in the early 1990’s to deter violence within households (Lazarus-Black 2008; Spooner 2009). For example, Grenada enacted its first Domestic Violence Act in 2000 and scheduled the adoption of new provisions in 2011 (See Appendix for Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act 2000).

Most of these legislative acts resembled those of the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada, with the exception of the focus on promoting mediation between couples and, in most cases, exclusion from protection of persons in non-cohabiting relationship and criminalize marital rape (Spooner 2009). All household members are now eligible for protection against emotional, psychological, or physical abuse inflicted by another household member. Though it was monumental that Caribbean society has begun to embrace and protect
human rights for women and other minorities, social justice initiatives that help local citizens to access the legal system prove to be a challenge for many Caribbean states (Clarke and Sealy-Burke 2005). As a result of these measures, United Nation have tried to support several Caribbean nations to move beyond the criminalization of domestic violence and towards a social process of rehabilitation. Such a shift in focus is the basis of this dissertation that reviews one of those measures, Partnership for Peace (PFP).

As stated previously, the PFP was established to address male perpetrators of violence against women. The intent of the PFP was to increase the degree of accountability amount among men from the minimal fines that the courts were imposing on abusers and putting into place a program that actively engages in changing the gender dynamics in relationships. The goal of the PFP is not to salvage existing relationships, but rather teach men that their actions have consequences on women and that there are alternatives to expressing their gender identities without the use of violence. The PFP unique programmatic framework of working with state entities such as the Magistrate courts where men are referred to the program is the first attempt to build strong relationship between the state and public sector within a coordinated response to domestic violence.

**Conclusion**

This focus of this chapter was to provide an overview about violence from different angles including a definition, the way it is manifested in social relations and especially from a standpoint which men benefit with power leverages.
Among the various discussions, the common theme that emerged is the fact that women are at a higher risk as well as vulnerable to violence in societies that enable violence to be a part of its cultural consciousness. The intentions of illustrating violence from these points was to equally reveal both sides of the argument about violence from the standpoints of the perpetrator as well as of the victim. These discussions made it clear why violence has been a problematic within the cultural relevance of Caribbean gender relations.

The second half of this chapter showed the relevance of violence within the Caribbean context. The limited data showed the causal linkages of violence to gender expression from an socio-ecological standpoint within the Caribbean as well as the power-leverages that are used to enable men to be positions that leverage it against women. The purpose of these discussions was to highlight the relevance of violence within the Caribbean despite the availability of continuous data. From this compromised view, it is hard not to see how violence inhibits the human rights of women in the Caribbean.

Looking ahead, chapter three explores the significance of Caribbean masculinities and violence against women to propose how this research plans to investigate the linkages that enable men to use violence against women. It is on this basis that the PFP was proposed and expected to address domestic violence in the Caribbean. The theoretical goal of this research is carefully guided within the stages of inquiry to illuminate gender expressions that explains why violence is relevant to the lives of both men and women in the Caribbean.
Chapter Three: Theoretical Perspectives

Chapter three explains the theoretical perspectives of this research that was used to investigate the relationship between Grenadian masculinities and the prevalence of violence within Caribbean society. This chapter presents justification for the feminist anthropological perspective, with particular attention to Black Feminist Thought that guided the selection of methods and analysis of this study. After presenting the theoretical perspective, I will present the system of analysis that was applied. Lastly, chapter three will conclude with a discussion about the limitations and challenges of researching violence and explain why the theoretical approach of this research helped address some of those potential limitations and challenges.

Feminism

Feminism is a diverse collection of social theories, political movements, and moral philosophies that began as a cause to promote the equal rights of women (Offen 1988; Hoffman 2001; Thompson and Walker 1995). Since its emergence during the 18th century, it has become more than a movement with a cause for women’s rights and has expanded its scope through collective phases (called waves) that given birth to a social consciousness framework, a movement, and a foundation of theories that address the ways that gender as social constructions of masculinity and femininity are organized political, personal and intellectual life (Ruddick 1989).
Denise Ward Hood and Denice A. Cassaro say, “feminism is a paradigm for social inquiry that falls under the genre of critical theory” (Hood and Cassaro 2002:28). Feminism has become a discourse of critical gender theories that focuses on analyzing social constructions of gender and sexuality, studying gender inequality and promoting women's rights, interests, and issues, through processes of cultivating cross-disciplinary paradigms of social justice within research and intellectual formation. The fundamental basis of feminism centers on acknowledging gender inequality and calling to action ways to defuse practices of gender bias. Its broad-based approaches center on showing that inequality not only exists, but also permeates in every level of society and culture in many forms. Within research practices, feminist-oriented inquiries have been able to prove, through quantifiable measures the overt sexist practices such as gaps in women’s and men’s earnings for same job tasks as well as subtle actions of gender bias such as the scheduling, placement, or staffing of women in lower employment positions to men (Seilbeck-Bowen, Brisolara, Siegart, Tischler and Whitmore 2002). The collective goal of feminist works has been to demonstrate the prevalence of gender bias exist within all aspects of social relations.

The origins of the feminist movement can not be pinpointed to a specific date or cause, but the movement began to garner attention by the 18th century with the critique of practices within institutions that discriminated against women such as voting, marriage, parenting, and owning property, for which women were barred or limited from having the same rights and privileges as
men. The emphasis among the movement was to garner equal rights for women that were comparable to what men had as well as debunking the systemic biases that limit and distort female existence and their human rights (Brooks and Hesse-Bieber 2007). Through coordinated efforts with other activist causes such as the civil rights movement that focused on the abolition of slavery and advancement of African-American rights, the women's movement in the United States and United Kingdom achieved major accomplishments that elevated the status of women and gender rights. The successes of feminism in the Western countries became a global phenomenon for social justice, gender equity, and equality for everyone.

Building upon its success in the United States, the women's movement extended its influence beyond its focus on social causes for women's rights and into academia, where it became a multi-dimensional discourse that influenced disciplines such as anthropology to produce epistemological frameworks and interdisciplinary research that investigated all gender identities. The feminist focus within academia cultivated research that centered on demonstrating how the social and cultural conceptions of gender influenced behavioral and social interactions that subsequently enabled biased practices and actions such as violence as a form of gender expression (Ferre 1994). The purpose of feminism within academia was to ignite critical adjustments in both popular and scholarly conceptualizations of women, men and children that countered the injustices that were gendered and ranked on the basis of race, gender, class, and status (Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Brandley, Hofferth and Lamb 2000).
As a result of such conceptualization and cause for justice, this research project was influenced by the feminist orientation to critically investigate the relationship between masculine identities among Grenadian men and their use of violence against women. The feminist perspective within this research provided a vantage point not to assume that the longstanding assumptions about Grenadian masculinity was natural but to critically examine how gender was constructed based on the historical, social, and cultural make-up of Grenadian society that has enabled men to be in positions of power and control above women and use violence as a way to express their gender identities. This project incorporates feminism fundamental questions: (1) why this has been conceptualized? And (2) what does it mean for those who did it? These questions are set to help this project reveal the impact of masculine expressions and expectations upon those who are sanctioned by them.

**Evolution of Feminist Anthropology**

As noted before, the foundation of feminism within academia focused on promoting critical investigations about gender that were guided by feminist theories that challenged discrimination, particularly the White-male hegemony that emphasizes women’s subordination (Clark 1983; Annadale and Clarke 1996). The challenge to discrimination was about the assumed superiority of men and masculinity by focusing on behaviors and assumptions that were reinforced through systems that sustained gender limitations and restrictions. The purpose was to show that those entities inhibited women from accessing resources that could cultivate their independent thoughts and actions. Through
such critical thinking, it became apparent that White-male hegemony perpetuated a biased discourse in theories and schools of thought that distorted views about women, making it seem that women depended upon men to justify their feminine identities. It implied that men had to be in control to support the relevance of women. Such biased assumptions become so engrained within the scientific community that women were not viewed as individuals with their own perspectives and feelings about gender such that it was enough to be valued within research. As a result, they were ignored and overlooked assuming that men could speak on behalf of the women’s perspective (Keller 1982).

The challenge to the above-described perceptions of gender fostered the growth of feminism in academia, for which anthropology has contributed to the three waves of feminism. The first wave of feminism began during the 1850s, when feminist scholars were involved in documenting the issues of suffrage. Up to this point, ethnographies and research in general were conducted primarily by men for men and informed by the presumption that biological-sex determined an individual’s role in society (Milton 1979; Scheper-Hughes 1983; Strathern 1987; Reiter 1979; McGee and Warms 2003; Zihlman 2009).

Anthropologists in the first feminist wave sought to include women’s voices in ethnography by providing a female perspective on experience and events. Such measures resulted in the acknowledgement of a completely new perspective and discourse, where women and their perspectives were viewed as independent of the traditional practices among male ethnographers that
generally derived all research from the perspectives of male informants. Female researchers actively began to seek out the voices of women during this period, thereby providing a more balanced gendered perspective within the sciences that complement the voices of men and what men were already reporting in their research (Bratton and McCracken 1998).

After the first wave ended in 1920, a second feminist wave began and continued until the 1980s focusing on the separation of sex and gender (as descriptive categories) from earlier discourse. The strategy among this phase was to make clear that gender and sex were different, and diminish the interchangeable use of the terms. Out of the second wave, sex was defined as determined by biology (i.e., penises or vaginas). In contrast, gender was culturally defined and conceived as a performance, which Judith Butler (1990) conceives as social and cultural expectations that denoted being a man or woman (Mitchell 1974).

The second wave was the point at which feminism and anthropology began to work in greater synergy to prove that gender was a cultural construction. One of the most influential contributors to anthropology was French existentialist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir, whose Second Sex (1952) argued that men define women as companions to their existence—diminishing the thought that women can be autonomous beings without the association of a man (i.e., father, husband, brother). Furthermore, women were seen as projects that men were responsible to keep and maintain as part of his masculine identity (De Beauvoir 1952; Simons, Benjamin and De Beauvoir
The feminist movement challenged those assumptions and cultivated new inquiries about women’s existence that focused on women’s perspectives that centered on their independent as gendered beings. One of the first products from Simone de Beauvoir’s concept was Betty Friedan, psychologist cofounder of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and author of *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). The message within Friedan’s work was embodied into a very vibrant movement for women that emphasized the liberation of women through mobilization of social actions. Since the 1960’s, NOW has been propelling women’s liberation into new areas of voting rights, equal employment opportunities and compensation and sexual reproductive health. The goal was to raise the social consciousness about women as independent, gendered beings that did not require the validation of men. This movement was credited with advancing the rights of women in work settings and sports on the basis of equitable practices. The outcome of these efforts include the United States Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 that amended the Title IX of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 that made gender discrimination a federal offense under the protocol of the law that stated,

“No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance...”—United States Code Section 20.

In other efforts, the second half of the feminist second wave, also known as the period of Feminist mobilization, was influential in its own right to produce Rayna Reiter’s (1975) *Towards an Anthropology of Women*. This text features Eleanor Leacock’s influential contribution to anthropology with her ethno-
historical study of the Innus—indigenous Indian tribes of Quebec, Canada (1958). Leacock focused on social and gender relations on the basis of re-evaluating Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels’ work. Leacock’s work challenged Julian Steward’s work (1918-1943) on hunting and trapping by using a method called “anthropology on the ground” that countered the practice of only talking to English speaking informants to find out what, when, and where they hunted.

Instead, Leacock mapped out a pattern herself that looked deeper into the realities of culture on the ground by seeking to connect with native speakers and gather data from women about their lived experiences while avoiding male informants that overgeneralization because they had the advantage of speaking in English (Gacs, Khan, McIntyre and Weinberg 1989). This perspective showed the relevance and significance of considering gender within research that may produce a different outcome compared to what men did. The emphasis of this work was to argue that gender could not be ignored in the production of scholarship. Rieter’s collection (1975) of Leacock and others work became a seminal anthropological work that drew attention to the influence of gender within ethnographic research, especially in terms of how data are collected, conducted and analyzed when gender is consciously considered. This angle showed that gender matters in all facets of life and elevated the significance of ensuring that gender is considered in all aspects of scholarship production.

Among other prominent works that have emerged from the influence of feminist scholars is Gayle Rubin's (1975) Traffic in Women: Notes on the
Political Economy of Sex. She insisted that gender be brought to the anthropological table by introducing the "sex/gender system." This construct again distinguished biology from behavior and started a discussion that has kept its momentum for the last 45 years. Rubin’s work discusses the historical social mechanisms by which gender and compulsory heterosexuality are produced. Rubin also describes how women are cosigned into a secondary-gender position that reinforces masculine superiority.

Rubin defines the "sex/gender system" as "the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity where transformed sexual needs are satisfied (Rubin 1975). As a starting point, she cites writers who have previously discussed gender and sexual relations as an economic institution (Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels), discussing how the institution served as a conventional social function (Claude Levi-Strauss), and explores how the convention is reproduced in the psychology of children (Sigmund Freud and Jacques Lacan).

Rubin argues that some writers fail to adequately explain women's oppression and instead offers a reinterpretation of ideas. For example, She addressed Marxist thought by identifying women’s role within a capitalist society and puts forth an argument that the reproduction of labor power depends upon women’s housework to transform commodities into sustenance for the worker. The system of capitalism cannot generate surplus without women, yet society does not grant women access to the resulting capital. Rubin argues that historical patterns of female oppression have constructed this role
for women in capitalist societies. She attempted to analyze these historical patterns by considering the sex/gender system. The uniqueness of Rubin’s work created greater synergy between women’s studies and anthropology that eventually ushered in a formalized research paradigm called feminist anthropology (Morgen 1989).

Finally, one of the prominent works of feminist anthropology was Sherry Ortner’s *Is Male is to Females as Nature is to Culture?* (1974). This text examined the subordination of women to men cross-culturally and through time, arguing that women have always been symbolically associated with the nature of subordination to man (Ortner 1974). Ortner’s focus was not an attempt to legitimized long-standing practices of controlling and limiting women, but rather usher in a new way of examining how women’s lives have been controlled from a standpoint of cultural practices. However, critiques of Ortner’s findings used Marxism, such as Gayle Rubin’s work (1975), to explain that women’s subordination results from their lack of access to the productive sphere that would enable them to earn their own income, there was a cultural normative reality that reinforced the idea that women are not a capable of being independent if they never have been given the chance to have their autonomy (Dinnerstein 1999). Such views show that the subjugation of women’s lives by men is not individualistic or consciously performed in isolation. Rather, it is heavily entrenched within the reproductions of culture that have limited women’s access to resources, thereby making it culturally normative to believe that women are predisposed to being subordinate.
Following the second wave, the third wave of feminism began roughly in the 1980s and is considered ongoing within present day feminist works. The focus among this wave’s work has been pioneering the issues of representation. The focus of representation centers on a call for more attention for feminist-oriented theories that consider how gender is influenced by historical, political, social, and cultural contexts. Most works in this era have centered on areas of production and work, reproduction and sexuality, and gender and the state. The goal of this wave has been to show that gender inequality was very much entrenched in how institutions have been established to reinforce subjugation of women lives (Lamphere, Ragone, Zavella 1997; Morgen 1989).

“A central tenet of [third wave] feminist thought has been the assertion that ‘all women are oppressed.’ This assertion implies that women share a common lot, that factors like class, race, religion, sexual preference, etc. do not create a diversity of experience that determines the extent to which sexism will be an oppressive force in the lives of individual women” (hooks, 1984: 5).

Such consciousness among the third wave feminist movement really galvanized the perspectives of Women of Color and Third World Women, for which there has been a long-standing uneasy history with White feminists. Women of Color perspectives argue that subjugation of gender cannot be separated from race, ethnicity, and other categories that devalue their existence. At the same time, Women of the Third World were women that do not live within the developed world as represented in most prominent feminist works and thus makes their experience within a developing context quite different than those who may have more privileges in a developed context. The
uniqueness of feminism among Women of Color and Women of the Third World was the foundation of Black Feminism and its approach called Black Feminist Thought, which posits that race and gender (and more recently, class and sexual orientation) are intersecting social constructions that must be considered within gender critiques.

Black Feminism illustrates that the unique experiences of Women of Color and Women of the Third World are different because they have multiple dimensions of oppression that is more than those of white feminist in the developed context. Their experiences can be viewed as privilege standpoints to those of Women of Color and of the Third Women. Therefore, it ushered in a new critique simultaneously considers racism, sexism, and classism as a reflection of the power of the White male patriarchy. They argue that such acknowledgement makes the experiences among Women of Color to be even more traumatic (Collins 1991; hooks 1984; Lorde 1981). Therefore, Woman of Color and Women of the Third World experiences are unique in their own right; because White feminist works falls short of considering more than the victimization of gender. As a result, Women of Color and Women of the Third World put forth a call for Black Feminist Thought to show that there are power dynamics that exist that privileged have women’s voices ignore their own perspectives (Hood and Cassaro 2002).

Finally, a major contribution among the third wave of feminism that is relevant to this study is the emergence of men feminism to identify their own experiences among social expectations that are linked to hegemonic
masculinity. With the lead of Gayle Rubin’s *Traffic in Women* (1974), Anthropologist Matthew Guttman proposed *Trafficking with Men: Anthropology of Masculinity* (1997). Guttman’s text ushered in a new era of research in anthropology that considered men as gendered beings. The scope of works within this discourse centered show that research should not be assuming of all men’s experiences and that there is a need to be gender sensitive to men in the same way that research has been for women, to illustrate that gender performance can have consequential impacts on the lives of men. The shared perspective of this work is the realization that men can be haunted by hegemonic masculinity, especially men of color that could never achieve European hegemonic masculine qualities.

This focus within anthropology is part of a larger call to action for men’s voices with a feminist perspective in a scholarship called Men’s Studies (Bratton and McCracken 1998). The significance of this scholarship is that it provided a space for men voices in support of gender suffrage to highlight the impact of achieving a hegemonic masculinity that has imparted unfortunate consequences for men. Such a perspective is pertinent within this research, because the PFP enables Grenadian men through a domestic violence intervention to learn about how their gendered masculine identity and the use of violence harm Grenadian women. Given the existence of socio-cultural factors of class, status, race and ethnicity within Grenadian society, it also ensures that this research consider those entities as equally important among the men’s perspectives. The following section provides a closer look at Black Feminism in
particular Black Feminist Thought offers the ideal principles of theoretical inquiry.

**Black Feminist Thought: Praxis of Gender, Ethnicity, Class and Status**

Feminist theories are based on a gendered-neutral, interdisciplinary approach that promotes the achievement of equity and equality. The objective of this approach is to consider women and their lives as central to the understanding of social relations as a whole (Wilson 1993). The shared theoretical principles are centered on several core questions include the following: (1) what is gender? (2) How does gender relate to anatomical sexual differences? (3) Are there more or less universal attributes of masculinity and femininity? And (4) how does gender relate to other sorts of social relations, such as class and race? (Wilson 1993). Most feminist theories intend to reveal how gender is constructed in ways that positions men with power and control as a dominant gendered group and give voice to the subjugated lives of women and men (Bratton 1998).

Among the numerous feminist theories that have been established, the most pertinent to this Caribbean study is Black Feminist Thought because of its recognition of the interconnectedness of class, race, and status. Black Feminist Thought argues that it is impossible to ignore the various relations of race, class, sexual orientation, and gender among the practices of domination that are unique to the subjection among people of color. What is also pertinent about Black Feminist Thought is that the interconnected nature of systems of oppression indicates that each one is dependent on the others to exist and
operate. This means that when each of these systems is considered alone, the influence of one in the development and shaping of the other can be obscured. Given the discussions of the plantation economies that have enabled the establishment of a particular hegemonic masculinity and very stratified gender order, both of which are based on class, status, ethnicity and race, Black Feminist Thought provides the ideal critical lens to interrogate the interconnection of those units that have sustained Caribbean masculinities and legitimized the use of violence against women. Black Feminist Thought starts with the ideology that when oppression is seen as a system that impacts the lived experiences of individuals on multiple and simultaneous levels, it is impossible to conceptualize oppression as a series of isolated and unrelated events (Hood and Cassaro 2002).

Even though various forms of oppression interconnect, they are not interchangeable due to variation in their consequences and responses, as Patricia Collins points out:

"Whereas race, class, and gender oppression operate on the social structural level of institutions, gender oppression seems better able to annex the basic power of the erotic and intrude in personal relationships via family dynamics and within individual consciousness. This may be because racial oppression has fostered historically concrete communities among African Americans and other racial/ethnic groups. These communities have stimulated cultures of resistance. While these communities segregate Blacks from Whites, they simultaneously provide counter-institutional buffers that subordinate groups such as African-Americans use to resist the ideas and institutions of dominant groups. . . . Existing community structures provide a primary line of resistance against racial and class oppression. But because gender crosscuts these structures, it finds fewer comparable institutional bases to foster resistance" [Collins 1991: 226].
Because systems of oppression are interlocking, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to dismantle one system of oppression without subsequently unraveling the others. While not advocating a hierarchy of oppression, feminist-oriented research acknowledges the unique position and significance of gender as a central category of analysis in conjunction with the other systems of power, dominance, and oppression. “In developing a Black feminist praxis, standpoint theory has provided one important source of analytical guidance and intellectual legitimization for African-American women” (Collins 1998: 201). With such standpoint, the individuals in a group share similar challenges because of the way groups are located within hierarchical power relationships. As a result of these shared challenges, the individuals develop similar group perspective or vision that leads to group knowledge or “standpoint” that determines and limits of what we can see and, consequently, know (Hood and Cassaro 2002).

Patricia Collins’ works (2000) proposes the concept of “intersectionality” for Black Feminist Thought as a way to consider the social phenomena such as race/ethnicity, sex/gender, class, and sexuality, among inquiries of gender for people of color. Since none of these aspects of identity occur in isolation, they all contribute to the mutual construction of each other. Collins stresses that, because there are many possible developmental trajectories stemming from the common challenges Black women face, there is no singular, homogenous, Black woman’s standpoint, “There is no essential or archetypal Black woman whose experiences stand as normal, normative, and thereby authentic. It may be more accurate to say that a Black woman’s collective standpoint does exist”
Membership within a marginalized racial/ethnic group forges some indisputable group identities. However, while there is a commonality of experience, there are multiple iterations of women’s lived experiences especially when considered with race, class, culture, sexual orientation, skin color, ethnicity, and so forth (Lather 1992).

Collins’s (2000) Black Feminist Thought and its proposed intersectionality offer unique ways of capturing such perspectives because, “this alternative epistemology uses different standards that are consistent with black women’s criteria for substantiated knowledge and with our criteria for methodological adequacy” (Collins 2000: 256). Though her proposed approach was developed specifically for African American women, her argument is applicable for Caribbean women because of the shared historical experiences of slavery and gender suppression by patriarchal systems. As a way to operationalize intersectionality within this project, this research adopted Collins four research principles of intersectionality.

The first of these principles is lived experience as a criterion of meaning. In order to survive, Black women needed knowledge about intersecting oppressions. This knowledge about race, gender, and class resulted in wisdom that is highly valued in assessing knowledge. Those who can bear witness and provide testimony to lived experience are seen as more credible than someone who cannot.

The second principle is the use of dialogue in assessing knowledge claims. New knowledge claims are developed through dialogues with
community members. While the use of dialogue is deeply rooted in the African and African American culture, Collins points out that this way of knowing may also resonate more with women due to gender differences in socialization.

Ethic of caring is the third principle of intersectionality as it is concerned with the knowledge-validation process, this dimension states that “personal expressiveness, emotions, and empathy” are vital (Collins 2000: 250). The influences of African culture and feminist principles converge most profoundly in the ethic of caring. Collins points out that Black women (and men) have a long history of support for this ethic within the Black church.

The fourth principle is an ethic of personal accountability that views individuals as being accountable for their knowledge claims. Knowledge claims cannot simply “hang out there,” suspended in isolation. “Every idea has an owner and the owner’s identity matters” (Collins 2000: 265). All four dimensions are interrelated, and all are critical components of assessing knowledge claims. Collins argues that this intellectual tradition emerged from Black women’s experiences of resistance and struggle (Hood and Cassaro 2002). Though Collins’ work was established to support the causes of African American women, given the strong similarities between African Americans and Caribbean people that are rooted in the shared history of enslavement, her work enables synergistic strategies for research that are applicable to the Grenadian context. This project plans to take her perspectives of Black Feminist Thought standpoint as a step towards not only focusing on the lives of Caribbean women, but also including the perspectives of Caribbean men as oppressed
gendered beings that have used violence as part of their quest to achieve. From that point of view, the goal is to show that men are victims of their own conceptualizations of masculinity because of other related factors such as class, status, ethnicity and race.

The project embraces this concept of intersectionality because it compliments the Partnership for Peace Program’s ultimate goal of feminist inquiry to dismantle systems of oppression and eradicate the ideology of domination (hooks 1981). In order to measure the success of PFP model, this research considers the participants of this research as the marginalized groups (women, minorities, and low-income individuals). Intersectionality allows the clearest illumination of power relations and inequities among Grenada’s social relations. By placing marginalized groups at the center, the four dimensions of intersectionality proposed by Patricia Collins, guides this research methods and interpretation (Hood and Cassaro 2002).

The significance of Black feminist Thought in this research helped direct this exploratory research to understand how race, class, status, gender and ethnicity have historically functioned within Grenada’s society that enabled violence to be used against women. By addressing those multiple dimensions of Grenadian society, the intersectionality principles of Black Feminist Thought, allows this research to illuminate the relations of domination and subordination that have enabled masculine identities and violence to co-exist.
(Pro)Feminism and Men

Given the centrality of men and their experiences of masculinity, one of the emerging reactions out of the second and third waves of feminism and Black Feminist Thought has been a concerted effort to capture the experiences of men as it relates to hegemonic masculinity. Works within the scholarship that have taken that position and featured the stories of men have been labeled as (pro)feminism because it is based on a feminist approach to show the consequence of gender performance in the same ways that it was used to illuminate the experiences of women. Several (pro) feminist works have been featured with Men’s Studies as a sub-category to reveal that the social and cultural expectations of masculinity are harmful to certain men when correlated to issues of class, status race and ethnicity. This scholarship has introduced a new way of viewing practices and ideologies of masculinity that victimizes the lives of men (Marsiglio, Amato, Day and Lamb 2000).

Most works in (pro)feminism have been influenced by the heightened awareness of the Women Liberation’s Movement, the growth of the Gay Liberation’s Movement and the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s and 1970s, and came to flourish a Men’s Liberation Movement that called for a critical investigation of masculinity from the perspectives of men. The shared goal of those moments focuses on a reflexive analysis that questioned how a man’s social role with access to power, perpetuated systemic discrimination (Connell 2005).
It also draws upon the second wave feminist critique to illustrate how patriarchy embedded within hegemonic masculinity was not only harmful to women but also to men. As a result, the movement became the platform for (pro)feminist men to produce their work in a discipline called Men’s Studies (Stoltenburg 2000). Such perspective is relevant to this research because the PFP shares the same principle to facilitate a space through guided dialogues for men to discuss their masculine identities and re-conceptualize a new approach that is about gender equity and equality. The PFP goal fosters a new understanding of gender equality and equity that supports the goal of the PFP program.

Recent works by (pro) feminist men provides ample evidence that this research can capture voices of men to understanding the consequences of masculinity. Features such as Gary Lemons (2008 and 2009), Mark Anthony Neal (2005, 2006, 2010) Kevin Powell (2001, 2002, 2006, 2008), and Michael Awkward (1995 and 2000), who wrote about their revolt against hegemonic masculinity, proves that feminist oriented perspectives among men can reveal many uncharted stories that men have never discussed before.

For example, Lemons traces his consciousness as a Black, male, (pro) feminist professor in Black Male Outsider (2008), as he explores the meaning of Black-male-feminism within his experiences at a New York City college among a student population that was overtly white and female. Through a series of classroom case studies, his work presents the transformative power of memoir writing as a strategic tool for understanding feminism and the
relationship between the personal and the political dimensions of being
gendered beings. He uses his personal narratives about his childhood
experience of domestic violence to enumerate his journey what it means to be
Black, male, and pro-feminist.

In a similar project, Kevin Powell’s essay, “Sexist in Me” (2001),
describes his role as perpetrator, committing an act of violence upon a former
girlfriend. In the essay Powell recalls,

“I grabbed her by the seat of her shorts and pulled her back into the
apartment. We struggled in the kitchen, the dining area and the bathroom.
As we were moving toward the living room, I shoved her into the bathroom
door. Her face bruised, she began to cry uncontrollably, and I tried to calm
her down as we wrestled on the living room floor shaking with fear and
exhaustion, I watched my girlfriend run barefoot out of the apartment into
the street” (Powell 2001: 221).

Writing about the incident a year later, Powell admits that he “managed
to join the swelling ranks of abusive men with relative ease” adding that “it
wasn’t until I committed a violent act that it hit me how deeply I believed women
to be inferior to men” (Powell 2001: 223). Powell’s essay exhibits the kind of
self-critical reflection that is absolutely necessary for the realization of Black-
male-feminism, and further illustrates the unfortunate consequences of his
pursuit to demonstrate power and control over a woman as means of asserting
his masculine identity.

The previously described works provided motivation for this dissertation
research, particularly with respect to the inclusion of dialogue from men with the
use of life narratives as Patricia Collins (2000) suggest to complement the
evaluative study of the PFP program in way that shows their experience is part
of a larger framework of co-existing principles of race, ethnicity, class and
status. Lemons and Powell’s works illustrate how the process of reflection can
be empowering for the men such as those within the PFP, to learn about their
gender identities and the consequences of violence. (Pro)feminism and Black
Feminist Thought compliment the strategy of the PFP program without
interrupting the existing strategies of the program.

**Feminist Nature of this Research**

Feminism offers a powerful framework and starting point for
understanding how gender is conceptualized and materialized in a variety of
ways. A feminist framework has further enabled me to consider gender in terms
of that which constitutes being a man or woman from the standpoint of
performance. Several years ago when I embarked upon this research, I sought
a theory that supported my personal philosophy, one that had evolved through
my fifteen years of global public health practice. In a somewhat serendipitous
fashion, I discovered how the feminist critiques supported my aspiration to
debug the hetero-normative practices regarding masculine domination. As I
began to understand feminist critiques and to pursue this research, it made
sense to incorporate my professional experience in public health toward
understanding how the masculine gender is tempered by awareness of
hierarchies that privilege and uphold the cultural and social construction of
gender. It is for this reason that I drew upon these relevant dialogues within
contemporary feminist theory and anthropology to answer the question as to
why violence is associated with masculinity. Moreover, feminism enables me to
consider the need to envision a new theoretical orientation regarding gendered-based violence in the Caribbean.

**Caribbean Scholarship and Feminism: Natural Pairing**

Second wave feminism gave rise to a critical review of Caribbean gender focusing in on men and their masculinities from the seminal works of Errol Miller (1991), Barry Chevannes (2001), Eudine Barriteau (2003), Linden Lewis (2003a, 2003b, 2000), Rhoda Reddock (1994, 1998 2004a, 2004b) and Patricia Mohammed (1998, 2002). In a rather rare immersion, the Caribbean region experienced a surge of social science and educational research about the transformation of gender relations, notably pertaining to the increase in the enrollment of women in educational structures that had previously been exclusively masculine domains. Their works highlight the great extent to which Caribbean social relations have been influenced by factors of class, status and gender. Their conclusion has been the same, calling for a need to reconceptualize Caribbean male gender and sexuality and its use of power and control that negatively affects the lives of women (Lewis 2000). For example, researchers (Lewis 2003a; Lindsay 1997a; Reddock 2004a; Barriteau 2003) have argued against the long-standing, unchallenged Caribbean perceptions that men and their masculinities have been seen as superior, and propose moving toward the recognition of non-traditional and subordinated masculinities, especially of lower class poor individuals. Inadvertently, some of these seminal works (Lindsay 1997a, 1997b; Plummer 2005) have begun to draw attention to the consequential impact of achieving Caribbean masculinities
showing that the prevalence of hegemonic masculinity has been detrimental not only to women and children but also in to men themselves.

Under the new scholarship, known as the “Interrogation of Caribbean Masculinities,” feminist scholars such as Rhoda Reddock, Rafael Ramirez, Patricia Mohammed, and Mark Figueroa led critiques of the pervasive patriarchal practices within Caribbean society that maintained gendered hierarchies for the sake of masculine domination (Reddock 2004; Ramirez 2004). Their works ushered in a new discourse centered on challenging presumptions of Caribbean masculinities that embodied hegemonic masculinity that legitimize violence and gendered risk behavior. The feminist nature of the “Interrogation Scholarship” introduced a critical lens that concentrates on the cultural, social and structural issues that are embodied within Caribbean masculinities that overtly protect the position of Caribbean imposes their power and control over anyone else that may threaten the position of Caribbean men (Lewis 2003; Ebert 1996; Nurse 2004). Numerous scholars have cross-examined the concepts of Caribbean gender and Caribbean sexualities with power and control and have identified that the nature of contemporary gender order of social relations are a result of the Caribbean's colonial past (Watson 1994; Segal 1990 and 1994; Reddock 2004a and 2004b; Marshall 1997).

Thus, the Interrogation Scholarship is credited with establishing a shift in long-standing perceptions that the masculine gender was innate. The new focus has drawn attention to how practices among masculinities such as violence against women has compromised the lives of women as well as men.
themselves. Therefore, violence has become a major public health priority recognized by several international entities (World Bank 2007, United Nations, etc.) as a volatile situation that affects the lives of Caribbean people. In particular, the World Bank (2007) noted that violence remains a significant economic, social welfare, health and governance issue for many developing countries in the region (World Bank 2007). Global organizations have leveraged new efforts such as the Partnership for Peace Program that have been developed and implemented to respond to violence as a chronic problem.

Violence in the Caribbean has become one of the unfortunate global spotlights on the Caribbean that many countries are attempting to reduce (Ayres 1998). This research seeks to measure the impact of the PFP as part of Grenada’s effort to reduce violence against women while understanding the linkages between Grenadian masculinity and those acts of violence. The feminist theoretical orientation of this research provides the most suitable way of measuring the PFP and understanding the connections between gender, class, status, race and ethnicity.

Framing Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean Violence

Given the unique position of this project to extend the scholarship of interrogating Caribbean masculinities with a particular focus on violence against women, the feminist theoretical framework presented earlier enables this project to establish theoretical understandings about Caribbean violence. Therefore, this project intends to use the findings of this inquiry to establish a framework that can be used to augment the current efforts of the PFP and
guide the building of new research and programs to address violence against women.

The Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) offered an ideal setting, because it is a model and program created to respond to violence against women by focusing on Grenadian men and their masculinities. The project has more than five years of experience and influenced at least two hundred men within that timeframe. The fact that less than 5% of former PFP men have been accused of reoffending shows that the model and program can influence. Therefore, this research provided how that behavioral change occurred and how Grenadian masculine identities have been related to violence against women. Capitalizing on measuring how men make those changes as well as understanding the linkages between Caribbean masculinities and violence, will be used to build Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean violence as warranted output that can be applied for future works.

The way to achieve the theoretical understanding centered on research practices proposed by Clifford Geertz’s thick description (1973) to illuminate the answers embedded within the findings. According to Geertz, using a thick description approach to qualitative research will guide the phases of analysis to look at human behavior as one that explains not just the act, but it carries messages about the context, in ways that offers meaning to both actor and someone that is observing the act (Geertz 1973). Thick description creates a perfect niche within this project that is led by Black Feminist Thought to examine violence that is used by Grenadian men as more than just an act of
masculinity. It also embodies messages of class, status, race, and ethnicity, which are all important within the realm of social relations in the Caribbean.

In order to operationalize thick description within this Black Feminist Thought project, this research used multiple methods such as surveys, participant observations, stakeholder interviews and follow-up interviews to cultivate rich data to garner enough insights from the perpetrators of violence as well as the victim and the society to interrogate the connection between masculine expressions and violence against women. The connection between the Black Feminist Thought theoretical perspective and the purpose of thick description in the analysis made it easier for this research to propose the theoretical understand of Caribbean violence with a solid critique that considered all of the important elements that influence Caribbean gender identities--class, status, race and ethnicity.

Research Gaps

Little attention within qualitative research has been given to the perpetrator’s perspective of violence in the Caribbean with a qualitative research perspective (Johnson and Ferraro 2000; Carlson, Harris and Holden 1999; Fornagy 1999; Platt, Barton and Freyd 2009; Johnson, Ollus and Nevala 2008). To augment the scope of this research, the goal was to establish some theoretical understanding about the relationship between masculinities and violence that subjugates the lives of women. To accomplish this aim, the feminist perspective and its critical review of gender construction and performance drew attention to the role of men and their pursuit of hegemonic
masculinity with the use of violence. Furthermore, no other research has embarked on this critical review with Geert’z thick description as a way to position the masculine activities to understand the significance of violence against women.

Additionally, few qualitative studies have examined the change process in domestic abuse treatment with a focus on the men's perspective (Brownlee and Chiebovec 2004; Gondolf and Hanneken 1987; Pandya and Gingerich 2002; Scott and Wolfe 2000; Silvergleid and Mankowski 2006). Among the five studies that have been published, all focus only on the men's process of recognizing their abusive behavior and taking responsibility for it. Given the discussions in chapters one and two, it is quite evident that masculinity is relational and influenced by women; therefore, this project plans to take this review of the behavior changes among men in a domestic violence program into a new realm that includes the perspectives of women associated to these men. This perspective of women is seen as important in this project as an excellent measure of showing how genuine the behavioral changes have been and their significance to enhance the human rights of women. This focus ushers in a new era in research about domestic violence and the significance of women presence towards masculine identities.

**Conclusion**

This chapter began with a very broad discussion about feminism and its evolution as a paradigm of critical social inquiry. The purpose was to provide the historical context that explains why feminism is recognized as the foremost
scholarship in critiquing the innate practices and assumptions about gender.

Through the discussions of the feminist waves, it became evident that feminism has extended its influence into the scholarship of anthropology by ensuring that research about culture and cultural practices were balanced activities that included women's as well as men's perspectives. A focus was drawn to the diversity of feminism that have led specific critiques of gender that are embodied on the premise of interconnectedness. Black Feminist Thought has led this particular focus within feminism to underscore the connections of race, ethnicity, class and status that influences the unique experiences of Women of Color and Third World Women. This feminist standpoint is ideal for this research about Grenadian masculinities, because it considers those relational units as vital conditions that influence gender. The discussion further showed that feminism was not about women only, but also provided a space for men to use its critical questions to show that men can be victims of dominant discourse of hegemonic masculinity. The build up of all of these realms within feminism provided the argument for using feminism as the guiding theoretical perspective of this research.

Given the major implications within the project among the scholarships of domestic violence and Caribbean studies, this project seeks to establish the theoretical understandings of Caribbean violence from its investigation about the linkages between Caribbean masculinities and violence. This segment of this research is led by Geertz’s thick description that guides the methods of inquiry a way to compliment the Black Feminist Thought of the analysis. By
taking deeper look violence as something that has significant meaning to Grenadian provides offers a chance to understand how race, ethnicity, class and status influence violence as important units of Caribbean gender expression. This strategy ushers in a new way of looking at domestic violence and Caribbean masculinities with better realization of the influential factors that enables the relationship.

I would like to end this chapter with a final note on research and dissemination. The literature on domestic violence in the Caribbean is scarce, and it is almost non-existent where features of male perpetrators are concerned and the impact of domestic violence interventions. While resources on Caribbean masculinities may be improving, discussion on the intersection of masculinity and violence is absent in current scholarship. More effort must be made to promote the work of this research project so as to support and improve the dynamics of Caribbean gender relations toward the positive influence in other aspects of their lives.
Chapter Four: Field Site and Methodologies

Introduction

In this chapter, I describe the United Nations Partnership for Peace (PFP) Program field site located in Grenada, West Indies, and present the methods used for this evaluation study. After that, I discuss the process of data analysis and acknowledge the challenges and limitations of the research project. I conclude by describing the significance of this study for the interdisciplinary fields of Anthropology, Public Health, Gender Studies and Caribbean studies.

Field Site: Grenada, West Indies

Grenada is the most southern of the Windward Islands in the Caribbean and consists of three islands forming an archipelago—Grenada, Carriacou, and Petit Martinique. The largest island, Grenada, is the seat of Government and largest base of the country’s population. Together, the islands have a landmass of more than 340 square kilometers. The country is divided into seven parishes, with the islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique counted as one parish (see Figure 3) (Government of Grenada 2008a).
The Grenadian legislature resembles that of most democratic, commonwealth nations with a bicameral legislature composed of a 15-member elected House of Representatives and a 13-member appointed Senate. Executive powers are vested in the Prime Minister as the head of government. These legislative structures are a result of Grenada’s history as a colony of Great Britain (1763-1950) and its membership within the British Commonwealth. The Queen of England serves as its symbolic head of state (PAHO 2007a). Grenada gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1974; making it one of the last Caribbean islands to earn its right to self-autonomy. As discussed in chapter two.

Figure 3: Map of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique with its Parishes
about violence, the relatively young independent Grenadian government has
inhibited the modernizing of the legal structures with laws in place to adequately
address numerous issues including domestic violence. For example, in 2000,
Grenada finally adopted a Domestic Violence Act with the help of UNWomen and
has since revised it with new statutes in 2010 (See Appendix A for a copy of the

For much of Grenada’s post-independence history, it has been a relatively
peaceful nation until a 1979 coup d’état that overthrew a legitimate government
and established a socialist government with strong ties to Cuba. The political shift
and alliance with Communist Cuba prompted the United States to invade the
country in 1983. The goal of the United States was to restore a legitimate, elected
government (Beck 1993; Wheeler 1985; Pindar 2010). Since the restoration of a
legitimate government, there has been stability and reductions in the anarchy of
violence and human disappearances between 1979 and 1983. Today, Grenada
enjoys a peaceful political climate with sustained economic growth and
development (PAHO 2007a and 2007b; UNDP 2005).

Grenada’s economy is greatly influenced by its location and vulnerability to
hurricanes that emerge annually from July to December. Since the mid-1990s, it
appears to become increasingly destructive to countries like Grenada (PAHO
wrought havoc on the physical infrastructure of the country with long-term
detrimental effects to its housing, agriculture and tourism industries, causing
damage to 90% of the country’s buildings and widespread homelessness (PAHO
Hurricane Ivan’s legacy was a major setback for Grenada’s economy, especially in the areas of agriculture and tourism that sustained losses of about 6.9%. The health sector suffered an estimated US $4 million loss, leaving many health facilities damaged (PAHO 2007b). The relevance of these socio-economic factors demonstrates the challenge of the government to prioritize its responsibility to its citizens, which has hindered its efforts to focus on other human rights issues such as domestic violence. The most vulnerable, women and children have been affected because they are the large percentage of the population, with greatest needs and challenges.

One indicator about the risk and vulnerability of poverty is the rate of unemployment; the 2005 Core Welfare Indicators Survey estimated that the country had an 18.8% unemployment rate, and of that rate 35.9% were women (Crawford-Daniel and Noack 2010). The rate of unemployment among women signals a gendered bias of employment patterns, because women are known to have higher educational experiences and exposure when compared to men. Taking this into account, nearly one-third of Grenada’s young adults (30.9%) are unemployed and again with higher rates among females (Government of Grenada 2008b). The last Poverty Assessment Survey conducted in Grenada in 1998 revealed that 31% of the population was poor, living on a poverty line of less than US $1,231 per annum or a daily rate of US $3.37. Fifty-one percent of Grenada’s poor were women, which implies that it affects children because almost half of all households are female-headed households. Among the female-headed households, 52% lived below the poverty line. Twenty percent (20%) of individuals
living below the poverty line were unemployed; over sixty-four percent of the poor had no educational certificate; fifty-six percent of individuals living below the poverty line were under the age of twenty-five; and 51% were less than 20 years old (Crawford and Noack 2010). These indicators of poverty correlate to living conditions that are economically deprived and fuels speculations that they are related to some of the issues that correlated to violence. The study intends to determine if such economic challenges have influenced rates of domestic violence.

**Population Demographics**

Although the Government has never certified its 2000 census data for political reasons, it estimated that its population is about 108,419 and has a growth rate of 1.8% (CIA 2011). Among the population, the typical average household size is 3.6 persons per home; forty-six percent of households had one to two persons; 30.4% households had three to four persons; 18% of households had five to six persons, and 11% of household had seven or more persons. About 50% of all households were in the rural areas (Government of Grenada 2008b). Grenada’s population is young, with 20.8% under 10 years old, 23% between 10 and 19, and 9.1% of persons 65 years and older (see Figure 4) (Government of Grenada 2008b). In 2011, the life expectancy was 73 years with a propensity of women outliving men by at least three years (CIA 2011).
The ethnic and racial compositions have not changed when compared to MG Smith’s observations in the 1950s. The majority of Grenadians (85%) is of African decent and identify as Christians (CIA 2011). Other documented categories such as race and ethnicities include the following: East Indian (3%), Mixed—White/Black, Black/Indian, etc. (11%) and White (1%) (Government of Grenada 2008). The religious distribution is Catholic (53%), Other—Jehovah Witness, Evangelical, Latter Day Saints, etc (17%), Anglican (14%), Seven Day Adventist (9%), and Pentecostal (7%) (Government of Grenada 2008). The minimal ethnic change that correlate to MG Smith’s 1950’s study indicates that the White minority is still relatively small compared to the larger groups of African and Indian descent people (Benoit 2007 and 2011).

**Caribbean’s Legislative Framework for Gender-Based Violence**

In 1980, a regional meeting of technical officials among the Caribbean Women’s Bureaux was held to promote the need for more legislation that
addressed gender-based violence in the Caribbean. At that meeting, the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC) encouraged the Caribbean Common Market Community (CARICOM) to conduct an investigation into the current legal status of women. Based on the outcome of that review, it was clearly recognized that the current legal frameworks were not sufficiently protecting the human rights of women.

Therefore, the legal division of CARICOM proposed several modelled legislations for Caribbean countries to fill the deficits with specific focuses on issues related to domestic violence, sexual offences and sexual harassment. The following is summary of how the model legislations for Caribbean countries were set to address violence against women through legislation.

As it pertains to domestic violence, the CARICOM model legislation aimed to increase women’s legal options to ensure protection from further abuse. Prior to the suggested model legislation, criminal offences were only identified when court orders were breached, and only punishable with imprisonment or a fine. The new legislation sought to complement existing criminal laws, which already considered that all forms of physical abuse and threats of physical abuse as crimes. Caribbean states have generally followed the thrust of this model, which helps individuals who are abused in the household or family context, with the right to apply for non-molestation, exclusion, occupation and tenancy orders in the Magistrates’ Court. The model law have made provisions to ensure anonymity and confidentiality in the protection order applications by requiring that the review of an application be conducted in closed court sessions and the press forbidden to
publish names associated to the requested orders. The individuals protected by the law include spouses, common law spouses and children. Since the initial adoptions in the 1990s, several countries have revised their legal codes with additional provisions. For example, Grenada’s newly modified Domestic Violence Act of 2010 has been expanded to consider visiting or former visiting relationships or otherwise in close relationships as legitimate unions that can request protection orders. It also allows other individuals to apply for protection orders on the behalf of abused.

In contrast, fewer countries have move as quickly to enact legislation for sexual harassment, despite the existence of a CARICOM model. The Bahamas, Belize, Guyana, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago are the only countries in the region that have adopted measures making sexual harassment an offense. In particular, Guyana, St. Lucia and Trinidad and Tobago consider sexual harassment as a form of sex discrimination while in the Bahamas considers it a sexual offense. Among these laws, there are several criminal sanctions with a wide range of definitions including indecent assault, sexual intercourse with a female under 14 years, procurement and abduction of females.

More countries have adopted the CARICOM model of legislation on incest, which defines the offense as sexual intercourse between parent and child, brother and sister, uncle and niece or grandparent and grandchild. Legislation in the Bahamas, Barbados, Grenada and Trinidad and Tobago have made it a criminal offence for an adult to have sexual intercourse with a minor even if the adult’s
adopted child, stepchild, ward or dependent. Penalties for incest are generally higher if the victim is a minor.

Historically, rape has been only legally defined as sexual penetration of the vagina against the will of the woman. Recent amendments in a few countries have broadened the definition of rape to include forcible anal intercourse, oral intercourse and other invasive sexual acts. For example, Barbados Sexual Offence Act, 1992, defines rape to include not only “the introduction of the penis of a person into the vagina of another” but also “the introduction of the penis of a person into the anus or mouth of another person” or “an object not being part of the human body manipulated by a person into the vagina or anus of another”. Grenada’s legislation delineates the offense of unlawful sexual connection, including penetration of the vagina or anus by a body part or object other than the penis, as well as the act of oral sex. All of these conditions are defined as acts only against women omitting the possibility of being used against men.

Instances of marital rape, it is only recognized and considered illegal under certain circumstances, such as a divorce, a decree of judicial separation, a separation agreement or an order for the husband not to molest his wife or have sexual intercourse with her. The only countries that recognize marital rape are Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize and Dominica. Currently in Grenada, there are no provisions to consider marital rape as a criminal offense but there are grassroots efforts led by Grenada’s National Organization for Women (GNOW) include marital rape within the current definitions of rape as criminal offense.
Services for Victims of domestic violence

According to a 2011 United Nations Human Rights Commission report, Grenada’s Ministry of Social Development established a Domestic Violence Unit, "to address the increasing incidence of domestic violence" in 2003, (November 1st, 2011). Furthermore, the Ministry's website states that its Domestic Violence Unit runs the following programs:

- Public awareness: production of audiovisual and other promotional material to sensitize the public;
- Education and training: consisting of workshops for police officers on how to respond to domestic violence situations;
- Community outreach: dissemination of booklets and pamphlets providing information on domestic violence;
- Counseling: assistance to victims of domestic violence;
- Relationship building: to ensure the Domestic Violence Unit is meeting the needs of the community; and
- Information and education materials: print materials on domestic violence to inform victims and stakeholders (Grenada Ministry of Social Development 2012).

The Domestic Violence Unit is located within the Ministry of Social Development and coordinates all domestic violence services such as conducting home visits for suspected cases of abuse, establishing a domestic violence hotline, referring victims to counseling, assigning social workers to the Magistrate Courts in each district to enforce the domestic violence act, making referrals to the PFP and overall management of the country’s shelter for abused women—Cedar Homes.

Cedar Homes for Abused Women and Children was established in 1999 in the Madeys, St-Patrick Parish. Madey is a rural community in the northern
Grenada near the urban center called Sauteurs. Cedars Homes it provides a safe and supportive environment for abused women and their children with the a purpose to provide temporary shelter to women and their children who are in abusive relationships; to provide counseling and support for women and their children; to provide services that will strengthen and empower women and their children through education and enrichment opportunities; to advocate on behalf of women and their children with legal matters; to facilitate opportunities for families to explore options and future plans; to facilitate awareness programs aimed at eradicating domestic violence; and to provide support and follow-up mechanisms for past residents.

The shelter offer services that help women to be more independent and self-reliant through the following program and activities:

- Personal development and inter-personal relationship
- Counseling, Conflict Resolution & Coping Skills
- Reproductive & Adolescent Health Issues
- Pregnancy, Child Care, Parenting and General Health Issues
- Moral support with addressing legal and logistical matters while in the Home
- Opportunities for developing or improving life skills, employability and other skills, including for self employment
- Assistance with organizing for physical and emotional needs to be met upon discharge from the Home
- Follow-up and outreach work with former residents and their families
Most of the shelter’s services are set up so that the clients will achieve those goals within six months, with hopes that eventually they will transition into independent lives on their own in that short time period. That’s why, the shelter can only accommodate eighteen women and children. However, in UNHCR report (2010), a Grenada National Organization for Women (GNOW) representative revealed that the Cedar Homes was overcrowded with more than 30 women currently residing the facility. The demand for services was greater than what was established to provide because most women needed more than 6 month to achieve their independence. Other anecdotal reports support GNOW claim, citing that some women in need of domestic abuse support have been turned away or placed on waiting list until space has been made available at the shelter (Jeremiah 2011). People have also raised concerns that the remote location of the shelter compromises women’s ability to be self-sustainable and resilient because access to other services is impossible to get to with limited transportation resources. The outcome of some of those limitations has forced some abused women to decide on remaining in their volatile abusive environment (Jeremiah 2011).

In addition to the Cedar Homes services, the Government also provides subversions to several non-governmental organizations that focus their services on disadvantage people and families that maybe vulnerable to violence in their home. Such organizations include Grenada’s Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) and Grenada’s National Organization for Women. These agencies have become points of reference for the government services that augment what the
Ministry of Social Development offers and have been integrated into the Partnership for Peace Program.

**Scope of the Research Project**

As previously discussed in the introduction, the Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) was commissioned by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women—Caribbean Office in Barbados, West Indies. It was launched in Grenada in 2005 by the Grenada and Legal Aid Counseling Clinic (LACC) in collaboration with the Magistrate court system with conditions that Grenadian men who are charged with domestic violence would have the option of participating in the program as an alternative to serving prison time or paying fines.

PFP was marketed as a social responsibility program that the Government of Grenada supported with monetary subvention to LACC and augmented with UNWomen financial backing to support one of the few domestic violence interventions that caters to male perpetrators in Grenada. The Government strongly supports the PFP and has used the program as one of its social service success stories. UNWomen, LACC and the Government of Grenada collectively agree that the PFP has enhanced the human rights of Grenadian women.

The scope of the PFP model is a sixteen-week cycle program where Grenadian men participate as part of their conditions with the Court System. They are required to attend all sessions to learn alternative life skills that can be used instead of violence to express their masculinity. The psychosocial focus of the
curriculum promotes the ideology that Caribbean masculine gender can be expressed without the use of violence against women.

On average, a program cycle is offered at least twice a year with an enrollment of about ten to thirteen men in a closed group session at LACC’s main offices in St. George’s Grenada. UNWomen and LACC monitors the progress of the men with built in evaluation mechanisms that assess their behavioral changes and the adoption of the program principles of raising awareness about domestic violence.

To support UNWomen and LACC, this research was conducted to measure PFP’s impact among its participants and Grenadian society within an evaluative framework. In addition, this study also explored the potential linkages between Grenadian masculinity identities and violence against women under the presumption that they are relational and entrenched into the cultural and social expressions of Grenadian social relations. To gather the data needed for this research, surveys, participant observations, life narratives and follow-up interviews were conducted among PFP men, women associated with the PFP men and PFP stakeholders to decipher the results. The next section will examine the organizations that are affiliated with the PFP program.

UNWomen

In July 2010, the United Nations General Assembly created UNWomen, the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women. The newest of the United Nation’s agencies, UNWomen was created as an outgrowth of four previously distinct programs within the UN system, which focused
exclusively on gender equality and women’s empowerment: (1) Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW); (2) International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW); (3) Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI); and (4) United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

The main roles of the resulting, hybrid program called UNWomen was to establish support for inter-governmental bodies, such as the Commission on the Status of Women, to formulate policies, global standards and norms that helped Member States to implement these standards. Furthermore, UNWomen made technical and financial support available to countries that request it, forged effective partnerships with civil society; and held the UN system accountable for its own commitments on gender equality, including regular monitoring of system-wide progress (UNWomen 2011).

Under the 1965 mandate of the United Nations Development Program, the United Nations (UN) signaled its desire to make significant progress in advancing gender equality through landmark agreements such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1981. The UN viewed gender equality not only as a basic human right, but an achievement with enormous socio-economic ramifications. It approach has been centered on empowering women as a way to fuel thriving economies, thereby spurring productivity and growth (UNWomen 2011).
In the Caribbean, UNWomen replaced the United Nations Development
Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and retained its regional Caribbean office in Barbados
to provide support in 26 countries such as: the CARICOM member states---
Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana,
Haiti, Jamaica, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines,
Suriname, Trinidad and Tobago; the British Overseas Territories--Anguilla,
Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Montserrat, Turks and Caicos
Islands; and the Netherlands Antilles--Bonaire, Curacao, Saba, St. Eustatius, St.
Maarten and Aruba (UNWomen-Caribbean 2011).

Among the Caribbean regional efforts, UNWomen maintains UNIFEM’s
lead on addressing violence against women with four priority areas—Peace and
Security; Leadership and Participation; Economic Empowerment; National
Planning and Budgeting and the Millennium Development Goals for the Caribbean
(UNWomen 2011). The focus of eliminating violence against women was defined
in the UNWomen’s Women’s Empowerment and Gender Equality Strategic
Framework for 2008—2013 with the following statement:

“UNIFEM/[UNWOMEN]’s efforts are based on the understanding that
violence against women and girls persists because of structural gender
inequality and discrimination. To eliminate violence against women,
programming approaches must strive to be transformative and
empowering: transformative, in terms of fostering individual and collective
reflection and rejection of the root causes of gender-based violence, a key
process in longer-term behavior change, by challenging prevailing gender
norms, attitudes and practices; and empowering, by providing women with
access to information, skills, resources and opportunities to overcome
barriers and exercise control over their choices and destinies. Tackling the
structural underpinnings of the perpetuation of violence against women
requires sustained mobilization of political will and resources for women's
empowerment and gender equality” (UNWomen 2010:9).
In addition to the broad-based UWomen’s mandate, UNWomen—Caribbean established its own mandate for the region, indicating its commitment to respond to violence against women with at least two of its five priority areas focusing on violence: (1) ending violence against women and girls, and (2) strengthening women’s full participation in conflict resolution and peace processes.

Prior to becoming UNWomen, UNIFEM began developing a curricular model based on the previously mentioned objectives, called the Partnership For Peace Program (PFP) in 2004. The domestic violence behavioral intervention program focused on helping male perpetrators recognize domestic violence in terms of intentional, abusive behaviors resulting from a need to control other individuals, particularly their female partners. The PFP model serves two core principles to protect women’s rights, with a particular emphasis on victim safety and to hold male perpetrators accountable for their behavior.

The PFP curriculum is offered as a sixteen-week cycle program and is based on a psycho-educational approach with a goal to illustrate among the enrolled men that their violent acts have social implications and significance. PFP men learn that their violent acts against women are-- and are predicated upon-- unacceptable notions of gender inequality. Furthermore, the PFP curriculum introduces alternative life-skill techniques, such as respect, open communication, and healthy social and sexual behavioral patterns that support equitable balance within relationships. The PFP was launched in Grenada in 2005 and has
expanded to five additional Caribbean countries--Trinidad and Tobago, St. Lucia, Jamaica, The British Virgin Islands, and Belize as of 2011.

**Grenada Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic**

Although the PFP is an UNWomen’s initiated project, it delegates its operational tasks to local non-governmental organizations (NGO) in each Caribbean country. For example, within Grenada the Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) administers PFP/Grenada. LACC was chosen to lead the program because of its twenty-five year history of offering legal services at reduced rates to Grenadians that cannot afford private legal representation. According to the current director, Mrs. Jacqueline Sealy-Burke, most of LACC’s clients are women and children that are also vulnerable and at risk of domestic violence at some point in their lives (Sealy-Burke, Personal Communication). LACC recognizes that many of its clients have been victims of domestic violence prior to the existence of PFP. LACC believed it could not adequately address domestic violence until it focused on male perpetrators with the PFP (Sealy-Burke Personal Communication).

During the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan in 2005, LACC became increasingly concerned about the anecdotal indicators that domestic violence against women was alarmingly higher during the post-disaster period (Sealy-Burke Personal Communication 2010). Therefore, LACC approached the UNWomen—Caribbean Office for support in the form of developing or sponsoring a program for domestic violence in Grenada. Coincidentally, UNWomen was finalizing the PFP model and curriculum and gave LACC permission to pilot the Partnership for Peace Program.
(PFP) as the administering agency in Grenada. LACC was best suited to launch and administer PFP, because of its reputation as an advocate within the local communities and its desire to lead a domestic violence intervention program targeting male perpetrators. Since 2005, LACC in partnership with UNWomen and the Government of Grenada has been administering the PFP, locally known as PFP/Grenada or the Man-to-Man Program. LACC’s offices in St. George’s, Grenada is the primary site for programmatic operations, including cycle sessions, recruitment and the processing of male participants.

**PFP/Grenada/ Man-to-Man Program**

To launch PFP/Grenada, LACC established an agreement with the Chief Magistrate that designated that the Magistrate Court System would be the primary source for referring male perpetrators of domestic violence cases. The cooperation is centered on the belief that the PFP/Grenada would become one of the court’s mechanisms of holding men accountable for their actions, thereby replacing some prison sentences and fines. Magistrates in each parish district court, along with State Prosecutors and Social Workers, work collaboratively to identify and refer men based on the following conditions for participation: male participant willingness to participate in a program; admissibility—have non-existent usage of alcohol and drug dependency; and the absence of non-custodial requirements in the courts.

When courts identify a male perpetrator, it initiates the referral process with LACC in collaboration with the other stakeholders. First, stakeholders offer to the men and document acceptance as an agreement that LACC and the Courts will
monitor his case as he enrolls into the program. Then, in collaboration with the State Prosecutor and the Court’s Social Workers, stakeholders recommend the candidate for admission to LACC.

After the referral is made to LACC, the organization takes the following steps to process and admit the male participant into PFP/Grenada: the PFP Program Coordinator conducts an intake interview and determines the referral’s eligibility; if approved, the referral is translated into an acceptance and LACC informs the court of the program admission. Then, the court will table the case with the PFP provision until the man has completed the PFP program. During the course of a PFP cycle, the court and LACC will initiate a mid-term checkpoint and final review date when the PFP man, PFP Program Coordinator and PFP stakeholders meet to assess his progress. In situations where a male participant fails to comply with program rules and/or was dismissed from the PFP before completion, he will be returned to the court and his case will be converted back to being treated as a regular criminal case without the option of undergoing the PFP again.

LACC waits until there is enough men accepted to start a cycle and has typically convened two cycles per year. Each cycle is led by one male and female facilitator and supervised by a Clinical Supervisor to ensure the psychosocial integrity of the program. The PFP Program Coordinator maintains the daily operations, including submitting interim reports, assessing progress and attendance, conducting the exit interviews, and preparing a brief final report for the Court. When the final report has been submitted, the Program Coordinator will
also present LACC assessment to the court and offer any additional comments and suggestions to the Magistrate, Social Workers or the State Prosecutors. Ultimately, the Magistrate makes the final decision to close the case if the PFP man’s involvement has been deemed satisfactory.

Since 2005, there has been a steady flow of referrals from the courts to LACC for PFP/Grenada. The Magistrate courts remain the primary source for referrals. Most referrals have been made from the capital district, St. George’s Parish, but PFP/Grenada has processed referrals from all of the judicial district courts, including its parish island district, Carriacou.

PFP Trained Facilitators

When the PFP was established in 2005, the PFP administering agency, Grenada’s Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) collaborated with the Government of Grenada’s Ministry of Social Development to offer a Training of Trainer (TOT) Workshop to a selective group of individuals identified as potential facilitators. The individuals recruited to become PFP facilitators were based on specifically criteria stipulated by the PFP protocol and procedures manual:

- Understanding domestic violence.
- Some knowledge about batter intervention programs.
- Familiarization with program rules and objectives.
- Understanding of group dynamics.
- Experience with implementing of actual sessions, including a review of all relevant forms and checklists.

Upon reflection about the recruitment process, LACC also indicated that it took additional steps to ensure that selected individuals would enhance their goals for
launching the program. For example, the LACC Program Director identified additional criteria, such as intentionally recruiting government officials—social workers and educators, as a specific strategy to increase the state involvement within the PFP; ensure that potential facilitators did not have any criminal history of domestic violence; recruit as many women as men to have an balanced pool of facilitators; and recruit community activists and leaders that PFP participants would recognized as reputable individuals,

LACC and UNWomen officials conducted the weeklong TOT workshop in 2005. On each day of the workshop period, the PFP curriculum was sequentially introduced and the participants were taught present and navigate the PFP program with a group of men. Facilitators were taught how to encourage the PFP men to move beyond the violent actions of their past and embrace the new knowledge as steps of improving their personal outlook.

While the potential facilitators were participating in the TOT workshop, the PFP Clinical Supervisor observed the facilitators grasp of the psycho-educational components of the PFP program. And then, LACC reviewed the participants’ performance along with the Clinical Supervisor’s recommendations to determine the best potential facilitator’s candidates. Eventually, 15 individuals (men and women) were invited to join the PFP facilitator pool based on the conditions that they would be available to facilitate a sixteen-week cycle at anytime.

LACC established that when a male and female facilitator is identified and called upon, both facilitators are expected to welcome all of the PFP participants each week; establish rapport among the group members to foster dialogue
discussions; ensure that the program cycle are executed such as avoiding personal attacks; encourage respect among members; the PFP men would participate in the activities and discussions; begin each weekly session with a reflection on previous week’s topic; answer any questions and concerns that the participants may have about their status in the program; present the weekly assigned materials for the session within the format provided; and administer the checkout and assessment materials after each weekly session. If there were any lingering issues or problems, the facilitators were required to report their concerns to the Clinical Supervisor and the PFP Program Coordinator.

According to LACC, since the 2005 TOT workshop, there has been attrition among the number of facilitators reducing of the pool of individuals to about six to eight core facilitators from the initial fifteen trained facilitators. According to LACC, maintaining this smaller pool of facilitators has benefited the PFP because the facilitators have a greater chance of practicing and enhance their skills when they are assigned to a cycle; they demonstrate greater receptivity and ownership of the program components and its curriculum; they have promoted the PFP in other professional circles such as schools, churches, and government programs that have made the PFP more visibility within government agencies; and the monetary incentives that facilitators receive substantially helpful because of their relatively low salaries with their primary jobs.

Overall, LACC has been pleased with its selected facilitators but acknowledges that there are some challenges with a smaller pool of facilitators. Such challenges include: 1) It is harder to identify and retain male facilitators than
it is to keep female facilitators; 2) the smaller pool of facilitators requires more
contact outside of the PFP program, to keep informed about any personal and
professional changes in the facilitator’s lives that may affect their availability to
serve.

**PFP Model and Curriculum**

The PFP model focuses on life-skills development and training by
addressing the problem of domestic violence in the Caribbean from the point of
male perpetuation. The model is built into a sixteen-week curriculum and offered
in a closed-group setting, and each week two facilitators (one male and one
female) introduce a new topic to the group of about ten (10) to thirteen (13) PFP
male participants. The male participants are required to attend all of the weekly
sessions unless they have been excused. The PFP men cannot have more than
two inexcusable absences, or else they will be dismissed from the program.
Attendance is crucial, because the strategy of the model builds on each week’s
session. Table 3 summarizes the weekly topics covered within a cycle.
The PFP group model is derived from research on domestic violence programs, which indicates that a group approach is one of the most effective treatment methods of helping men to understand and process why they perpetuate violence (Edleson and Tolman 1992; Healy, Smith and O'Sullivan 1998). The group model is couched within a psycho-educational format that has been widely used in domestic abuse interventions, most notably the Duluth Model. The concept has also been used in other health interventions such as HIV education, youth empowerment and community development (Roffman, Edleson, Neighbors, Mbilinvi and Walker 2008). Although a commitment to change (on the part of participants) is the focus of a man’s decision to measure his success, the modeled group sessions help men to collectively learn how to achieve behavioral changes with skill-developments within a motivational structure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3: PFP Cycle Sessions</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Conflict Resolution</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Manhood</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Womanhood</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The PFP model is congruent with other domestic abuse programs that focus on the re-education of abusive men with respect to gender roles and anger management (Dutton 1986; Gondolf 2004). It draws upon some elements of the widely applied Duluth model of domestic abuse (Pence and Paymar 1993), but contains very specific Caribbean-oriented issues such as spirituality, family history and substance abuse to augment the unique conditions in the region. The model defines abuse broadly to include not only physical abuse, but also emotional and economic abuse and the use of intimidation, coercion, and threats.

The basic assumption of the PFP is that men primarily abuse women in order to maintain power and control. Thus, the facilitators are required to hold men accountable for their gendered bias assumptions about the need for men to use violence as a way to maintain control in a relationship. To do that, the group-discussion focused on issues of violence, abuse, and control in ways that ensure men will reflect on how their intentions and actions affect people’s lives and reduce the emphasis about his integrity. The facilitation strategy is very specific to the curriculum philosophy by instigating change through challenging discussions that fosters reflection, especially on issues of abusive belief and justification. After raising awareness, the facilitators move each weekly session into a space where they are taught to handle situations with new skills that are different and non-violent.

The PFP has proven alternative group-process activities that emphasize engagement and self-reflection (Caplan and Thomas 1995, 2002; Jennings 1987, 1990), in addition to attachment issues (Dutton and Golant 1995; Stosny 1995).
Those dimensions within the group intervention consist of process, inclusion, and centering in on the lives of the men and the consequences of using violence against women (Caplan and Thomas 1995). The group process anticipates resistance from the men, but the facilitators are trained to maneuver the group dynamics into ways that overcome any potential roadblocks to remain stalled on the issue of being in control. This approach is fostered in the cohesive group environment to hold each other accountable.

The overall framework of the PFP model is built on the “stages of change” theory that explains that the PFP model and program will help participants to move along a projection of behavioral change towards the end point of reinforcing a lifestyle of non-violence. The stages of change theory is also known as the Trans-theoretical model (TTM), developed by James Prochaska, and has since been modified for domestic violence interventions by Rooney and Chovanec (2004). According to the Rooney and Chovanec, the first stage is the Pre-contemplation stage, where men do not perceive themselves as abusive and thus do not take responsibility for their abusive behavior. In the Contemplation stage, men acknowledge being abusive but have not yet changed their behavior. Then, in the Preparation stage, men enter the process of making small behavioral adjustments to change their abusive behavior, such as seeking assistance with conflicts at home. The Action phase is when the men have made specific modifications in their lives to avoid being violent. Finally, in a Maintenance phase, the men maintain their changed behaviors by seeking re-enforcers to support their adjustment (Rooney and Chovanec 2004). The nature of the synchronized
processes is to help the men move through each stage with skills that replace their abusive tendencies and behavior. Overall, the process of change is individualistic and based on the participant’s desire to change (Daniels and Murphy 1997; Murphy and Baxter 1997).

**PFP Outcome Measures**

Few qualitative studies have examined the process of rehabilitation in domestic abuse treatment, especially those that have focused on participants’ meta cognition (i.e., the extent to which conscious thought regarding behavior change proves effective) (Brownlee and Chiebovec 2004; Gondolf and Hanneken 1987; Pandya and Gingerich 2002; Scott and Wolfe 2000; Silvergleid and Mankowski 2006). Among the five studies that have reviewed such practices, the strongest themes identified among those studies found that the process of recognizing abusive behavior and taking responsibility for one’s behavior was common. According to Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006), the emphasis of men's self-awareness and the importance of decision-making proved to be effecting in influencing behavioral changes that increased the likelihood that the skill such as anger management and constructive communication with partners and others resonated for the male participants. There is usually a moment of epiphany where men come to the brink of violence, yet exercise restraint followed by a formal recognition of this restraint. This experience marks a key turning point in the rehabilitation process for perpetrators of domestic violence (Silvergleid and Mankowski 2006). Of the five studies examined, three highlight the importance of the partners’ empathy as significant milestones that reinforce his behavioral
change (Brownlee and Chiebovec, 2004; Gondolf and Hanneken, 1987; Scott and Wolfe, 2000). This latter perspective justifies the inclusion of Grenadian women’s voices to explain how the behavioral changes affect the men they are associated with as well as their own lives.

In summary, the PFP measures its degree of success in the same ways of other program based on two outcome categories: proximal and distal outcomes that emphasize that the participants’ engagement within the program activities will cause behavioral changes. Table 4 presents a logic model that shows how LACC uses the PFP to help men achieve those goals within the PFP sixteen-week cycle.
Table 4: PFP Program log frame with outcome measure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inputs</th>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>Proximal Outcomes</th>
<th>Distal Outcomes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC)</td>
<td>Participants will achieve these program goals:</td>
<td>Participants will achieve these program goals:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Maintains recruitment mechanisms with the local court system</td>
<td>• To help participants stop violence in their lives.</td>
<td>• To empower participants to take steps towards improving their lives and their relationships.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Maintains a pool of program facilitators</td>
<td>• To help participants understand that violence is a choice.</td>
<td>• To create a network of men who will advocate for non-violent relationships.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>• Manages program operations</td>
<td>• To help participants accept responsibility for their behavior and to choose new behaviors that are free of violence.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Monitors implementation</td>
<td>• To help participants understand the cost of violence to them, partners, children, and society in general.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Ensures that all program components and assessment tools are systematically collected and analyzed</td>
<td>• To teach participants skills for addressing conflict and responding to stress.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholders</td>
<td><strong>Refers domestic violence offenders to attend PFP</strong></td>
<td>• To establish and model an atmosphere of respect within the group and to challenge disrespectful behavior.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PFP participants</td>
<td>• Enrolls into the PFP program</td>
<td>• To encourage participants’ examination of where their violent behavior began.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Completes the PFP protocols—intake, exit interviews, weekly assessments and personal development plan</td>
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</table>

**Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC)**

**Stakeholders**

**Participants**
Methods

Study Design

The purpose of this research was to evaluate the PFP program based on the evaluation criteria presented previously within Table 4. Likewise, the data were used to explore the intersection of Grenadian masculine practices that influence the use of violence. The research design included qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection. The data provided in-depth, context-sensitive comparison among the research subjects—PFP men, program stakeholders, and women associated with the PFP men. Since no other study has ever been done in this context and about the PFP, this study offered a baseline that could be used as a comparison with the five other PFP programs across the Caribbean (Patton 2002).

Qualitative and quantitative methods were used to ascertain evaluative, subjective perspectives of domestic violence as a cultural and social relational construct (Shedlin and Hollerbach 1981; Bawahetal 2002). The methods included the following: review of survey data, participant observations, and life-narratives sessions and follow-up semi-structured interviews. All of these methods adhered to the theoretical and methodological purposes to support a systematic way of conducting research that would illuminates the right data (Bernard 2000; Lincoln and Guba 1985).
Currently, domestic violence in the Caribbean is an area of study with little to no empirical research data, neither for female victims nor male perpetrators. This research addresses this paucity of data by measuring the extent to which the PFP model and program reduces the prevalence of domestic violence and changes Grenadian masculine perceptions about the use of domestic violence. Also, the research design allowed for an inductive examination of unique characteristics without a pre-determined expectation of results (Patton 2002). For example, the inductive nature of the construction and acquisition of masculine gender identities was set to investigate how domestic violence is used as a marker of masculinities and how the PFP program alters such connection as a means of improving the human rights of women. The absence of pre-determined expectations of the results makes this research exploratory guided by specific objectives that were augmented to the evaluative objective. The combination created a unique synergy that has never been conducted with research in the Caribbean that specifically focuses on gender identities and domestic violence.

**Research Objectives**

This research had three core objectives with questions that guided the methods to illuminate the data that were needed to prove the hypothesis.

The first objective exclusively focused on the evaluation of the program, *To explore the impact of the Caribbean-specific Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) model and curriculum*, and addressed by the review of the PFP intake and exit surveys, participant observations in two cycles and follow-up interviews with the PFP men and women associated with the men. The surveys were standard
procedures within the PFP program and collected vital demographic data such as age, employment status, family composition, and history of violence. Thirty-two surveys were reviewed at the beginning of each cycle with LACC permission to access the participant files on site at the LACC offices. The review process was part of an audit to ensure the interviews were completed, and then the data were extracted and entered into File Maker Pro software. Once all of the data were inserted, I used SPSS to generate patterns among the demographic data to build a portfolio of the PFP participants that reflected the socio-economic trends among the PFP men. After these steps, I began participating in the weekly PFP session for two cycles—(32 sessions in total). These observations were usually held on Wednesdays between 4PM to 7PM at the LACC’s offices. I sat among the PFP men, where I listened and audio-recorded the exchanges in the sessions. The observations centered on observing the discussions about masculine identity, use of violence, and behavioral changes that men reported within the cycle discussions. The data collected were transcribed and analyzed in Atlas.ti™ software. Finally, within six months after completing a cycle, eight PFP men and nine women associated with the PFP were contacted to participate in semi-structured follow-up interviews. These interviews focused on understanding their adjustments after completing the program, the impact of the changes that were adopted and the current status of their lives. These sessions were recorded, transcribed and analyzed in Atlas.ti™. It is important to note that a female interviewer (a Grenadian doctoral student with a background in social sciences and public health) conducted the interviews with the Women associated to the
PFP men. This strategy was adopted to reduce any potential gender bias between the interviewer and interviewee.

The second objective was one of two exploratory approaches of this research, To explore how the PFP sub-population of Grenadian/Caribbean men acquire and practice their gender and sexuality identities. This objective was achieved within PFP cycle participant observations and life narratives. As stated, the method focused on observing the PFP men’s discussions about masculinity among PFP sessions on family history, manhood, parenting, sexuality, etc. These sessions illuminated rich exchanges and reflections about gender and sexuality, both in terms of self-actualization and partner expectations. The strategies of the data collection were to observe and record the data and then transcribe and insert these data into Atlas.ti. In addition, I conducted five life narrative sessions with PFP men while they were participating in the PFP program. Four men participated in eight life narrative sessions that centered on garnering an in-depth look at his life from childhood to adulthood. The open-ended sessions focused on specific topics, such as early childhood exposure, family and household conditions, educational and professional aspirations, family and parenting experiences, and future goals and outlook. These sessions were also recorded, transcribed and inserted into Atlas.ti for analysis.

The third objective was the second exploratory objectives, To explore how social relations in Grenada influence masculinities and justify gender-based violence, and was achieved with participant observations conducted in the PFP sessions (as previously discussed), augmented with semi-structured key
informant interviews with the PFP stakeholders. Those PFP stakeholders were twelve Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers and Law Enforcement officials that have worked with the PFP program. These interviews were conducted at the interviewee’s job site throughout Grenada and covered issues such as trends and patterns among the Grenadian men and women especially as they relate to the prevalence of violence, causal factors, compounding factors and the messages that underscored the types of relationships that men and women pursued. Each hour and half interview was recorded, transcribed and analyzed in Atlas.ti™.

All of these objectives centered on the PFP program as a conduit for the first objective to focus on measuring the program impact, while two additional objectives explored the intersection of Caribbean masculinities and the use of domestic violence. The following section presents the methods and how data were collated, analyzed and determined to answer those study objectives.

Data Sampling and Collection

Study Sampling

At any stage of an anthropological fieldwork, a researcher must be able to employ informal and formal methods to collect data as a “big net” or “wide angle” approach to determining sampling of the study (Bernard 2000). As the fieldwork progressed, the initial phase of taking a broad perspective followed with processes of refining the study’s focus and narrowing the targeted sample of the study (Fetterman 1998:479-480). These guiding principles of data collection were important for this study, because they helped my approach to first identify the
focal “population” (meaning the largest group or unit of research interest, which was Grenadian society) (Singer 1997:127). Next, I moved on to identifying my target populations based on their affiliation to the PFP program. The primary group was PFP men, but I also included PFP Stakeholders—Magistrates, Law Enforcement, Social Workers and State Prosecutors, and women that are affiliated with the PFP men to enhance the exploratory nature of this research. The shared perspectives across these research sub-groups were connected to their knowledge and affiliation with the PFP program, as well as to people that have lived in Grenadian society for extended periods of their lives.

The use of non-probability sampling of the research subjects was best suited, because according to Judd, Smith and Kidder (1991), the incorporation of non-probability sampling is precipitated based on the focus of the research subject and the available population associated with that research subject as it relates to the topic—the PFP (Judd, Smith and Kidder 1991). PFP is not widely available in Grenada, and it specifically targets men who are accused of using violence against women. Therefore, non-probability could only be used and satisfied with groups such as PFP men, PFP stakeholders and women associated with the PFP men, because of their knowledge and association to the program. The following section explains how the sampling process was conducted for each of the methods of this study:

Survey review and participant observations—all of the men that agreed to participate in this study were asked to provide consent to access their survey responses; participant observations; life narratives and follow-up interviews. I
used non-probable sampling by asking all of the men entering into a cycle to agree to these conditions. If they did, their names were collated on a list that was submitted to LACC to access their files. In total, thirty-two men agreed and entered the sample.

*Life Narratives:* though thirty-two men gave consent to participate in all aspects of the research study, an open announcement was made to all thirty-two men among cycle sessions about participating in the life narrative sessions. At least three announcements and requests were made for scheduling the life narrative sessions, yet only five men agreed and followed through to participate in this segment of the study. These five men were accepted as a sample of this research method.

*Follow-up interviews:* The time lapse between a cycle ending and seeking out men made it more difficult to locate men, that were willing to participate in the follow-up interviews. All thirty-two men were contacted about the interview, but many could not be located due to changes in their contact information. Only eight men were successfully contacted and agreed to participate in the follow-up interview. As for the women, their contact information were extracted from the men’s consent form, where men indicated that they were involved with a female companion. Of the thirty-two men that provided consent, only twenty indicated that they had a female companion. Twenty women were contacted, but only nine agreed and participated in the follow-up interviews.

*PFP Stakeholder Interviews:* A list of stakeholders were collated by LACC to identify the Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers and Law
Enforcement officials that were affiliated with the PFP program. Twenty names were on that list, and they were all contacted. Of the twenty contacted, twelve agreed and completed the interview. These interviews were conducted at each of the stakeholder’s field site throughout Grenada.

The non-probability sample allowed better control of the selection process by ensuring that the key personnel that were required for this study would have an equal chance of being included in the data collection. My inclusion strategies focused on their demonstrated knowledge and experience with the PFP program, while the exclusion conditions centered on a lack of knowledge or exposure to the program. I recognize that these sampling strategies make it difficult to generalize the findings to the Grenadian population. However, it provides an excellent snapshot of those who know and understand the purpose of PFP/Grenada.

**Informed Consent for the Sampled Participants**

In order to ensure that each subject of this research provided their unique perspectives within the legal parameters of the institutional review boards, every individual was required to provide their consent to participate as required by USF IRB and St. George’s University’s IRB, on the basis that they understood what they were consenting to do in this study. The following synopsis details how each group of participants provided their consent to this research:

**PFP Participants**

The PFP participants were pre-selected based on the PFP criteria. The Grenadian Court Systems and the Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) offered this program only to men based on the following PFP screening criteria:
voluntary participation, no custodial conditions with the court, and reduced or no substance abuse problems. Upon their acceptance, I was granted permission to approach the PFP male participant to explain the purpose of the study and obtain their informed consents at the intake interview session. At every subsequent data collection point throughout the study, such as the life narratives and follow-up interviews, the PFP male participants were reminded of their rights and asked to provide verbal re-confirmation of their consent.

**PFP Stakeholders**

The stakeholders were identified by Grenada’s Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC) based on their affiliation and knowledge about the PFP program. Those individuals consisted of Magistrates, State Prosecutors, and Social Workers located at each parish district court that referred men to the program. They were approached after LACC formally announced that the PFP/Grenada was being evaluated. Each stakeholder was approached independently and asked to provide consent at the beginning of their interview.

**Women Associated with the PFP Men**

The women associated with the PFP men were first identified by the PFP men when they provided consent to participate in the program. As part of their agreement, the PFP men provided the name of their partner or wife, under the conditions that the researcher would approach these women independently of the men’s involvement in the PFP. With a female researcher, the women were contacted via telephone and asked to schedule an interview that was conducted in person at the discretion of the women. At the beginning of each interview
session, all women were asked to provide consent.

Table 5: Methods, Study Group and Sample Size

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Study Population</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intake and Exit Interviews</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observations</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder Interviews</td>
<td>Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers, Police Officers and LACC Staff</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Narratives</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up Interviews (Male)</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up Interviews (Female)</td>
<td>Women associated to the PFP Male participants</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, all of these subjects were recruited in collaboration with LACC and UNWomen. The following table illustrates the breakdown of the participants that provided consent and participated at each research interval:

**Conceptual Framework**

The methodologies for this research were based on Mandey’s premise that the integration of quantitative and qualitative methods within a single evaluation needs to have synergistic effects on the design, data collection, and analysis (Madey 1982). To conduct a thorough and comprehensive evaluation and explore the intersections of gender and violence, I built a framework that identified what information was needed and where that information could be captured from the pool of subjects. The Black Feminist Thought’ theoretical perspective of intersectionality presented in chapter three guided the process. Then, I streamlined the methodologies as part of building a conceptual framework based on the literature that linked to the data collection activity to produce the ideal
match to the three research objectives (Scriven 1974; Stenner 1974; Stufflebeam 1974).

Given the fact that this project uses both quantitative and qualitative methods, I ensured that those approaches were carefully integrated and justified. The following digest justifies the use of each method by explaining how it supported the precision and validity of the data collection of the research (Rothman and Greenland 1998):

1) **PFP Survey (Intake and Exit) Instruments produced demographic data about the PFP male participants.**

The interview processes for intervention programs are very important features of the PFP, because it collects vital information about the participants and measures any adjustments that occur between the intake and exit phase based on exposure to the PFP curriculum. I decided to use the existing intake and exit interviews, because they were approved surveys built within the PFP program (See Appendix B for templates). The surveys are certified as cognitive-behavioral interviews that would not harm the PFP men but also provide important statistical data about the PFP male participants. The PFP/Grenada Program Coordinator collected and stored the data at the LACC main office. The instruments (see appendix A) include segments on socio-economic indicators, current employment status, substance abuse, and family composition, history of violence and personal and professional goals that can be attained within the PFP program. Most survey responses were based on a Likert scale response with a few open-ended
response blocks. The data were collected from the files maintained by LACC, and I had permission to review thirty-two files.

2) Participant Observation of the PFP cycle sessions.

Participant observation was another method used to collect data from the PFP male participants. I used this method because the literature has shown that given the sensitive nature of gender and sexuality issues, participant observation is a well-suited method for documenting the complex natural phenomenon within a specific social setting, (Bourgeois 2000; MacGaffey and Bazenguissa-Ganga 2000; Marshall and Rossman 2006). The PFP format of the cycle session was best suited for the participant observation method, because it was an existing activity that offered a fertile space to collect data without any disruption to the cycle sessions (Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland 1998). The sessions were held with a closed focus group format with one female and male facilitator in a circular setting. The sessions were weekly, usually held on Wednesday from 4PM to 6PM. The facilitators began with a checking-in activity, where the men discussed their week after their last session by specifically highlighting their use of any of the new PFP knowledge. After that, the facilitators provided a short introduction about the day’s topic and facilitated a few interactive activities; the men were directed into participating in an open discussion for the remainder of the time. I sat quietly observing the discussions and interactions and recorded their exchanges about gender identities, social relations and behavioral changes.

This method not only allowed this research to observe the PFP men during the acquisition of the PFP curriculum, but also provided a chance to understand
the delivery of the program, which influenced the behavioral changes among the men (Spradley 1980). The scope of my involvement began with an introduction in the first cycle session by the facilitators, where the men were informed that my presence would be strictly non-participatory, meaning that I would not speak or influence the delivery of the program. Each week, I sat silently within the circle of men taking notes and audio recording the discussions in the group to garner the data (Patton 2002; Dewalt et al. 1998; Spradley 1980). In total, I conducted thirty-two participant observations.

3) *Follow-up interviews with PFP men and women associated with the PFP men, six months after completing a cycle.*

These follow-up interviews were semi-structured and were held confidentially between myself and the PFP men and a female researcher with the women. The scope of these follow-up interviews was framed to help the men and women reflect on the impact of their involvement or association with the PFP. Some questions sought to understand what their lives were like before and after as well as to gauge where they were in the behavioral change projection of living a life of non-violence. My approach was guided by previous studies that have used follow-up interviews as a way to measure a program impact that signified the importance of follow-up after an intervention as a true measure of determining impact (Borkan 1993; Babour 1999; Smith-Stover, Berkman, Desia and Maran 2010; Jones, Heckert, Godolf, Zhang, Ip 2010). Given the fact that the literature spoke about the affects of gender symmetry in interviews, I decided to employ a female research associate to take the lead on conducting the female follow up
These female interviews were not conducted in the presence of the PFP men to eliminate any prospect of intimidation. Furthermore, my goal was to limit any gender bias or discomfort that could have arisen if a male conducted the interviews with the women.

The follow-up interviews were conducted after all of the men that participated in the PFP cycle that provided consent were called and asked to meet. Of the thirty-two men that were observed in the participant observation, only eight were successfully connected and were willing to participate in this phase of data collection. The women were contact by the female researcher, and nine women agreed to participate with their own consent.

Overall, the follow-up interviews were useful to build upon the initial findings among the surveys, participant observations, and life narratives in a culminating way to see how much the PFP model has altered the intersection of masculinity with domestic violence. As certain patterns emerged in the surveys and participant observations, I was able to use the follow-up interviews to elaborate on the findings to confirm or dispute the emerging patterns.

4) Life history narratives—eight open ended sessions where PFP men could recollect their life’s experiences among various topics that were presented to them.

According to Miles and Crush (1993), life narratives have the considerable potential of recovering hidden histories and personal stories in a way that reinstates the subject’s ownership of their lived experiences (Miles and Crush...
A growing body of life narrative techniques in research (including Henige 1982; Miller 1980; Vansina 1985; Tonkin 1986; Cohen 1989; Personal Narratives Group 1989) and social scientists more generally (especially Langess 1965; Dexter 1970; Bertaux 1981; Langess and Frank 1981; Polanyi 1982; Plummer 1983; Thompson 1988) argue for the significance of life narratives because they are extremely unique in helping researchers understand their subjects by exploring their rites of passage and experimental moments of their lives.

I found this research method extremely powerful in uncovering and documenting oral archives with a chance for men to tell their side of the story about their lives. The method was spread out among eight sessions based on topic such as childhood experiences, education and vocational history, family life and life goals and aspirations in a self-reflexive way for the men to talk about their life history.

I concur with Vansina’s reflection that the life-story method can be “mother lode of resources out of which flow the data for all the genres of history” (Vansina 1980:265). After each session, I was inundated with how the experiences among the men’s lives showed how they navigated within society to prove their masculinity as well as justify their use of violence. The life narratives filled many gaps in the data from the surveys and observations.

The life narrative sessions were segmented into eight to ten topical areas (See Appendix C for template) that were addressed each week for about an hour at the man’s discretion to talk about the issue. The life narratives began at the
mid-point of the PFP program cycle and were conducted externally to the PFP session, usually at locations that were best suitable to the PFP male participants. Most sessions occurred in the men’s homes, which offered a glimpse into their personal environment. In total, of the thirty-men that were approached for this data collection, only five (5) men participated and completed this point of the research.

5) **Stakeholder interviews with PFP key informants such as Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers and Law Enforcement officials**—seeking their perspective and enhancing their role in the program.

Given the fact that stakeholders are individuals who have stakes in the program and evaluation, I believed that their position was crucial to understanding the programmatic impact by those who use the program. I chose to include stakeholders because they were key individuals in screening and making referrals to the PFP program and saw the men after they completed the program. Furthermore, the stakeholders’ involvement was also strategic from an evaluative standpoint, because research has shown that their involvement in evaluative studies tend to lead to a greater use of recommendations (Aubel 1999; Preskill 2009).

The process of this method began with LACC making an announcement to them that said PFP/Grenada was being evaluated and that stakeholders would be contacted. Then, I accepted the contact list from LACC and began scheduling interviews with the stakeholders at their field offices throughout Grenada. The initial contact was a telephone call to schedule a face-to-face interview. The
interviews were semi-structured and averaged about one and half hours in duration. Among the list of twenty names and contact information provided, thirteen (13) stakeholders completed the interviews.

To summarize these methods and correlate it to the study population and demonstrate how they supported the theoretical standpoint of intersectionality principles, Table six provides an overview of those three dimensions.

Table Six: Research Methods, Study Population and Intersectionality Principles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Methods</th>
<th>Study Population</th>
<th>Intersectionality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intake and Exit Interviews</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>Lived Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant Observations</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>Use of Dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder Interviews</td>
<td>Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers, and Police Officers</td>
<td>Ethic of Personal Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Life Narratives</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>Ethic of Caring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up Interviews (Male)</td>
<td>PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>Ethic of Personal Accountability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow-up Interviews (Female)</td>
<td>Women associated to the PFP Male Participants</td>
<td>Ethic of Personal Accountability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These methods were carefully selected based on the principles of intersectionality to provide an abundance of data that would offer insights and correlations about Grenadian gender identities and expressions among men and women. They also were intended to explain how violence is perceived as a gendered cultural perception among Grenadian men.

**Ethical Considerations of this study design**

Qualitative research that focuses vulnerable people such as those affected by violence will always have inherent risks that a researcher must balance to
ensure the safety and security of their subjects. When conducting research about violence, it is necessary to always recognize and respond to the multiple risks and elevated vulnerabilities of the participants based on core ethical values such as confidentiality, information disclosure, and the significance of having informed consent from every participant. Within this study, the risks and vulnerabilities of all of the participants were equally important despite being viewed as a victim or perpetrators of violence.

The inherent issues of risk and vulnerability are a shared reality given the association to the PFP, a domestic violence intervention program. Though the PFP is considered a voluntary opt-into program for male perpetrators of violence, by default of their enrollment also elevated the risk and vulnerability of the women victims even if they were not directly linked to the PFP program. For example, being accused of domestic violence by a Magistrate court implies that an accused man has committed a crime. For women, having evidence to prove that a male perpetrator has violated them has enabled courts to view the circumstances as victims. Men are referred to the PFP program based on the assumptions such assumptions by the Magistrate Courts. Then, the PFP stakeholders agree that the PFP program is a solution for the crime. There are many innate risks and vulnerabilities of those assumptions that this study tried to reduce for those that have been associated the PFP program. First, this research study was an independent evaluative project of the PFP program even the program was the focus of the study. Men that were recruited for the study from the PFP voluntarily participated in the study knowing that their enrolment would not affect their status
in the program. They also were aware that they could opt out of any part of the study without any implications on their PFP status. Most of all, the data that they shared with the researchers was not use as assessment tools for his performance in the PFP program. There were numerous steps and procedures within the study that intentionally reinforced those distinctions to reduce any perceived association. The central ethical tenet in all study operations was to clearly ensure that the study participants were aware that they their involvement in the research was totally independent of the PFP program expectations.

Ethical considerations for this study were guided emerging patterns from other research studies about violence (e.g., J. C. Campbell and Dienemmann 2001; Ellseberg and Heise 2002). A review of those studies showed that there are several emerging themes to consider including discussions of specific issues such as safety (e.g., Parker and Ulrich 1990; Sullivan and Cain 2004) and cross-cultural experiences of violence (e.g., Fontes 1997, 1998), reports on empirical studies in which ethical issues are either mentioned in passing (e.g., Richie 1996) or featured centrally (e.g., Monahan, Appelbaum, Mulvey, Robbins, and Lidz 1993), and a very small number of empirical studies addressing re-traumatization, that is re-igniting feelings of guilt and vulnerability while participating in a study especially when asked to describe the violent nature of their problem (e.g., Walker, Newman, Koss, and Bernstein 1997) Related relevant literature has included discussions of general research ethics (e.g., Loue 1999), feminist research ethics (e.g., Lorde 1993; Thompson 1992), research on “sensitive topics” (e.g., Renzetti and Lee 1993), research on other vulnerable populations such as
children (Koocher and Keith-Spiegel 1990; Runyan 2000), and discussions of the
health implications of talking or writing about sensitive or traumatic events (e.g.,
Pennebaker 1993).

Based on such literature review, it was quite clear that this project was
within realm of sensitive topics research, as defined by Lee and Renzetti (1993),
“a topic that may pose a substantial threat to those involved in the research and
therefore makes the collection, holding, and/or dissemination of research data
problematic”(p. 512). Lee and Renzetti (1993) further described the “potential
threat” as including “psychic costs, such as guilt, shame, or embarrassment” as
well as “unwelcome consequences” (p. 511) that might be associated to the
subjects as is the case of the PFP male participants being known as perpetrators
of violence.

The sensitive nature of exploring violence required this research make sure
that its objectives incorporated ethical guidelines based on the Belmont Report
1978 as well as respecting the ethic codes of the disciplinary fields associated to
this study—Anthropology and Public Health. Among those ethical frameworks,
there were several shared perspectives such as: (1) respect for persons, (2)
beneficence, (3) justice for both the primary research subjects as well as
associated members that may be affected by their involvement in this study, and
(4) non-maleficence—a focus to reducing any harm (Council for International
Organizations of Medical Sciences [CIOMS], 2002; Loue 1999).

To ensure that this study balanced those ethical principles without drawing
any unwarranted attention for subjects that agreed to participate in the study and
reinforced the separate lines between the study and the PFP program obligations, a review of the ethical considerations for each participant group was conducted and applied in an ethical workup that measured their benefits and risks. Lets take a look at the ethical considerations that were used to measure the possible risks to the research subjects.

**Principles of Ethical considerations**

The first principle, respect for persons, implies that the choices of autonomous individuals must be voluntary and respected, and for those that are incapable of making their own choices would be barred and protected against unjust harm. This study achieved respect for persons by obtaining informed consent and maintaining confidentiality of participants’ participation during and after the study was completed. The purpose of the informed consent was to enforce the participant’s autonomy to decide on their level of participation in the study, but they were also reminded that they had the right to withdraw at any time without any implications for the study and PFP participation. To reinforce those measures, this research established a plan of action that first administered informed consent protocols immediately upon making contact with any potential participants. For example, informed consents were introduced during the PFP intake interview session and later followed with a question and answer session with the researcher before the PFP first cycle session. The researcher with the help of the PFP facilitators answered questions before the PFP men signed and returned the consent forms. To ensure confidentiality after the consent forms were collected, the PFP men’s identities were concealed and removed from all of the
research instruments and data to avoid any correlation between the data and the participants' enrollment status. Routine checks were conducted to ensure that such distinction was reinforced throughout the data collection, analyses and dissemination of results.

The second principle, beneficence implied that participants in this research were enrolling because they understood that there would be minimal risks and a favorable balance between potential benefits and harms during the course of this study. To ensure that balance for the participants, this study conducted a review of potential benefits and risks that anticipated and minimized any unforeseen risks that could emerge during the study duration. For example, the risk of the re-emergence thoughts or feelings about violence among the women associated with a PFP man would have endangered how participants felt about participating in this research. To address such probable risk, women has to demonstrate confidence in know that their enrollment was not connected to the PFP man's involvement in the program, the PFP was not awareness of her participation, and no information would ever be released to anyone. Furthermore, the research shared a list of potential resources that were available if the women felt in endangered after participating. During the course of their involvement, the research took pauses to check on the emotional well being of women and was prepared to stop if there were any elevated anxiety. The overall objective of this principle was to ensure that benefits within this study was primary to the participants in ways that it would reduce any potential risk to participants.
The third principle, justice, required an equitable distribution of the burdens and benefits throughout the study. Based on such principle, particular measures were in place to reduce any possible burden so that the study always protected participants from feeling exploited. At the same time, the participants had demonstrate that they understood that their benefits of involvement were primary as part of demonstrating their value of justice. To ensure justice, the methods deployed in this study centered on participants understanding their rights to participate in the research were totally separate from their enrollment in the PFP program. For example, though the men’s involvement in the PFP program could not be clearly defined as completely autonomous during the participant observations, they had the option of demonstrating their autonomy and value for justice in the subsequent data collection points that were external to the PFP cycle sessions. For example, fewer men agreed to participate in the life narratives and follow-up interviews demonstrating their desires to exercise their autonomy and understanding of justice. They did not report being coerced or pressured opt out of those segments of the study.

The final principle, non-malificience-focused on minimizing any harm that may have emerged as a result of participation in the study. The main ethical concern related to researching violence against women was the potential of inadvertently causing harm or distress. In the case of the women associated to the PFP men, these women were considered vulnerable to their partners because they may feel like they distressed to speak out against the their partners progress if the PFP has not worked. However, this study make sure that the women
understood that their comments were kept confidentially and not shared with the PFP program officials and the partners. If at anytime during and after the interview, the women were reminded of seeking help from the list of referrals that the researcher presented to them if they needed help. Furthermore, women were informed that the information shared in this study would not affect the status of their male partners in the program because no information will be shared. Additionally within this principle, the study was cognizant that subjects might become distress by insensitive practices or questions. To reduce that possible risk, a psychotherapist reviewed the methods and research tools of this study for any potential dimensions that would elevate such risks.

After carefully reviewing these parameters of the ethical consideration points, the following ethical work-up was conducted to consider how those principles would affect the participants of this study.

**Ethical Work-Up**

Respect for Persons principle focused on ensuring that all subjects within this PFP study were aware of their rights and gave consent to participate with the knowledge of their autonomy. The primary research participants-- PFP male, were enrolling into the PFP program as a substitute to prison or fine sentence. However, they were asked to voluntarily enroll into this research study based on the assumption that their enrollment into the study was independent of their performance within the PFP program and was not required as part of their obligation in the PFP program. To ensure that they understood those distinctions, they were informed that their decision would not be reported or shared with the
administrating agency LACC. This research took extra steps to make this separation clear to the PFP men by asking them to state that they understood in addition to signing and completing the consent form. The researcher answered any unanswered questions before accepting the consent forms. Then, to re-affirm their right to consent in this study, at each subsequent stage of data collection such as the life narrative sessions and follow-up interviews, PFP men were reminded and asked to re-confirm their consenting rights. Based on the multiple phases of this study, the researchers recognized that the PFP knew their rights to exercise their autonomy as few men agreed to participate in the sessions outside of the PFP cycle. For those that agreed to continue in the study with the knowledge of their consent, five participated in the life narratives and eight participated in the follow-up interview.

As for the women that were involved and associated to the PFP men, the first point of contact and consideration was with the PFP men to inform them that their partners would be recruited if they provided their names and contact information. When the men were asked, they were also informed that this would be the only discussion in which the researchers would ever allude to their partners and any subsequent interactions would be held in confidence of the women, to protect her confidentiality. During the informed consent process among the PFP man, the men were asked to provide the name and contact information of their partners if they agreed to have the researcher to contact his partner. If they agreed, a separate consent form was completed that distinctly different from the PFP man consent form that recorded the women’s name and contact information.
With that separate form, women associated with the PFP man were contacted by a female research to explain the purpose and objectives of the study before inviting the women to participate. The women were informed that any other discussions with the researcher would be kept confidential with no implications towards the man’s participation in the program. After establishing that distinction, women were asked to give their own consent with consent forms that were developed specifically for their involvement. Their participation was also kept confidential from the PFP administering agency.

Though the names and contact information of the stakeholders were shared by the PFP administering agency, each stakeholder was required to give their own consent to participate in the study without any reporting of their involvement back to the PFP administering agency. Consent forms were presented to the stakeholders prior to the interview and they were required to read and sign before the data collection began. Their autonomous involvement was re-affirmed at the end of the data collection.

Beneficence of this study focused on limiting the risks of involvement and elevating the benefits of participating in the study for the participants. First, the PFP men who were approached to participate in this study were made aware that the benefits of their involvement were centered on measuring the success of the program and provide a venue to share their thoughts and recommendations that would not affect their status within the PFP program. The study used a carefully built semi-structured-interview format to allow the processes of dialogue for the PFP men to share their thoughts without fears of coercion or obligation to
respond. To limit any harm, it was made clear that the researcher was acting autonomously of the PFP administering agency and would not link participants’ comments with their names. Other beneficence actions that were taken to support the PFP men allowed the men to decide the time and location of the activities outside of the PFP cycle session. Most men selected locations away from PFP offices and the researchers followed their suggestion. Finally, the researchers did not express any biased reactions to participants’ responses and comments. Instead, PFP men were encouraged to share their thoughts without expecting any affirmations for their comments.

The beneficence of the Women’s involvement focused on ensuring that they were sharing their perspectives and thoughts independent of their male partners and confidentially without fear of repercussions. First, a female researcher conducted the interviews as someone with competencies in Grenadian culture and technical expertise in the social sciences and public health. The female researcher established a connection with the women prior to starting the interview and asked if there were any unknown circumstances that should be stated. This method assumes that the women were consciously aware that they were participating independently of the PFP men and ensured that, their interviews were not conducted in the presence of their male participant. When the interview underway, the interviewer repeatedly stopped and checked the women’s emotional status. Finally, a psychotherapist confirmed that the interview template would limit any harm or damage to the women respondents.
The beneficence of the stakeholders was coached on the premise that this was a chance and opportunity to share their perspectives candidly and independently with someone external to the PFP administering agency. To increase their benefits, they were asked to make suggestions and recommendations about improving the program and to speak to the issues that affect Grenadian men and women without any specification to PFP agency officials or participants. To reduce any possible risk, their stakeholder's identities were not shared with the PFP agency as a potential way of identifies who was involved.

Justice principle focused on the equal benefits and burdens of participating in this research. Given the fact that the PFP program specifically targets male perpetrators of domestic violence, the PFP men were required to be involved in more aspects of this study, which meant that they would bear most of the benefits and possible burden of the study. Such benefits included a chance to participate in a study to share their perspectives about impact of the program. To balance the benefits and burden, participants’ involvement was staged in intervals that allowed breaks and times to reflect about the PFP program. The most notable burden among the PFP men was their commitment to meet outside of their PFP program cycle session. To alleviate the burden and focused on the benefit, the men to decide on when, where, and how they wanted to meet with the researcher. For those men that opted not to participate in the activities subsequent to the participant observations were no longer contacted to respect their justice and decision to exercise their autonomy.
As for the women associated to the PFP men, their benefit of justice in this study focused on promoting the idea that their involvement was as important as all other participants. They were aware that one of the few instances of which women were incorporated into the assessment of the PFP program. Women were reminded that this research was autonomous of PFP administering agency and their comments would be kept independently and confidentially of the agency and their male partners. Through guided discussions, the women were also given a chance to speak about the impact of the PFP program specifically upon their own lives. They gave recommendations and suggestions about improving their safety and security that could potentially be incorporated into the PFP. Their burden of justice was centered on how much of their suggestions and recommendations could be undertaken by the PFP because of its mandate to the men. To keep the value and significance of their thoughts, some recommendations that could not be fulfilled by PFP was coached as recommendations for collaboration to ensure that their thoughts would be consciously valued and respected as important. Finally, to ensure that the women were aware of available resources within the community, reminders and information about agencies and programs were given to them when they participated in the interview.

Non-maleficence principle was about reducing any harm that could have occurred as result of participating in this study. As for the PFP male participants, all data collection activities began with a reminder about their autonomy and consent of being independent of their obligation to the PFP program. Furthermore, each data collection session was initiated with a chance for men to share their
thoughts about anything in their lives that they needed to share prior to directly engaging into the session topics. The life narrative sessions and follow-up interview sessions were established and conducted at the discretion of the men regarding the location and time of each session. The researcher accommodated unexpected changes in the men’s lives and adjusted to alleviate any burden to the participant. No contact was made to men that refused to continue in the follow-up assessments of the evaluative study.

As for the women, the recruitment of a female interviewer was intended to reduce gender bias among the interviews. Women were asked to participate alone with the female researcher to build a rapport and limit any external bias. The women were explicitly informed that their participation and information would not be shared with the PFP administering agency or their partners. A semi-structured interview template was used to reduce the feelings of reporting and elevate the perspective of sharing during the data collection. A psychotherapist reviewed the semi-structured interview template to ensure that interview would minimize any risk and harm while talking to the researcher. Finally the researchers followed the lead of the women in what they were willing to share and reduce any coercive implications.

**Summary**

This ethical work-up was conducted to demonstrate how this project considered the risks and vulnerabilities of the sensitivity of this research. This discussion was intended to show how the researchers operationalized the ethical considerations through the study in ways that were balanced and focused on
respecting the autonomy of the participants. These activities were launched prior to the collection of data and followed through the data collection and analyses.

It is also important to note that the safety and ethical integrity of this research was guaranteed by the approvals of two Institutional Review Board at institutions such as St. George’s University School of Medicine in Grenada and the University of South Florida in the United States. Taking such actions reinforced ethical measures of protecting the participants and recognizing the sensitivity of this research about violence.

**Data Analysis**

**Coding for the Qualitative Methods**

I used the qualitative software Atlas.ti™ to organize and analyze the recorded data from the participant observations, life narratives, follow-up interviews and the stakeholder interviews (Muhr 2004; Nicolaidis, Timmons, Thomas, Waters, Wahab, Mejia, Mitchell 2010). Then, I took steps to separate text passages, code redundancy, and conceptual variation and consolidate codes into themes that pertain to the research objectives.

The first step was to load the generated transcripts into Atlas.ti™ to create hermeneutics (Hus). Once several of the Hus were created, I archived the rich text format (.rtf) transcript source files to prevent version conflicts and data corruption. I partitioned text passages within their respective HU and then grouped according to the research objectives responses by respondent type. I used an Atlas.ti™ memo to generate a list of thematic areas that were congruent
with the literature. I manually verified this list by employing the constant comparison method.

The second step focused on consolidating the code list to identify frequent response terms. I used the codes to identify places in the thematic categories that represented concepts related to each objective. For example, schools, churches and home environments were codes that represent the thematic nature of influential structures that men used to demonstrate their masculine identities. These categories were useful for iterative consolidation of learning the significance of those institutions for men in how they deciphered the boundaries of their masculine identities.

I worked with the female research that conducted an independent, uninfluenced activity of separately coding a sample of the individual interviews, participant observations and life narratives to ensure code reliability. Separate coding and inspection of the categories served as an important checkpoint of redundancy, relatedness and conceptual variation. This step was extremely useful to ensure the use of Creole lingual usages in the transcript were accurately depicted in the code labels.

Cohen’s Kappa was used to statistically ascertain the inter-rater reliability of coding these qualitative, categorical variables (Cohen 1960; Cunrandi, Bersamin and Ames 2009). This project understood that a range from zero (incidental agreement) to one (perfect agreement) yielded a non-parametric statistic that provided a conservative index that accounted for agreements that occur by chance for each coding category. Kappa values ranging from 0.41 to
0.60 indicate a moderate agreement, while values above 0.80 represent nearly perfect agreement (Burla, Knierim, Barth, Liewald, Duetz, and Abel 2008). To achieve validity to the findings, a 0.80 kappa threshold for the rater coding process was established.

The male and female researcher independently coded one stakeholder interview, a participant observation transcript, a life narrative transcript, and a follow-up interview transcript by using an a priori coding framework and then compared these codes. The first kappa calculation was 0.60, which indicated a moderate agreement. We reviewed and discussed the operational definitions of the codes and reviewed the specific areas of disagreement. For example, common sources of disagreement included justified vs. unjustified uses of violence or traditional vs. contemporary expectations of masculinity. These related but distinctive concepts were in need of delineation and refinement. In the end, the results of our actions produced a reflective coding matrix and Conditional Relationship Guide for each of the research objectives that will be explained in the triangulation segment of the analysis.

**Coding for the Quantitative Methods**

I used the qualitative software FileMaker Pro to extract and organize the data from the intake and exit surveys and insert them into a computerized database. The data were coded using the standardized codes from the instruments that were built into the questions and responses. Then, I used SPSS version 19 to conduct descriptive statistics to analyze the data. Frequency and percentages were generated for the categorical variables such employment or
marital status, and standard deviation were calculated for continuous variables such as age or number of children.

**Triangulation in Data Analysis**

According to Norman Denzin (1978), triangulation is “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon” (Denzin 1978: 291). Out of the four types of triangulation that Denzin defined, this project used the following two: 1) theory triangulation (i.e., use of multiple perspectives and theories to interpret the results of a study such as feminist anthropology, and (2) methodological triangulation (i.e., use of multiple methods to study a research problem—surveys, participant observations, life narratives and follow-up interviews) (Denzin 2006). The purpose of this triangulation focused on reducing the interactions between the sources of data at the point of collection but later combined the data in systematic way to produce the findings (Morse 1991).

The use of triangulation with qualitative and quantitative methods complemented the analyses, because it yielded a process of linking the data to the three objectives of this study. The first phase of the triangulation was taking an inductive approach with the survey instruments and participant observation to confirm the emerging concepts as stipulated by the literature. Then, the life narratives, stakeholder interviews and follow-up interviews were combined later to deduct the initial finding concepts with the perspectives of the stakeholders and women and after the men spent time in the PFP program to reflect on their behavior change. The intent of the analyses was to allow the findings to emerge with a grounded theory approach and establish the theoretical parameters of

With the deductive and inductive data, I used a reflective coding matrix (Scott 2004) and Conditional Relationship Guide (Scott 2004) to triangulate the data to compare the concepts, which led me to build possible explanations for interactions of masculinity and violence. The coding matrix and the relationship guide were presented to the members of LACC, PFP stakeholders and local social scientists to gather their input on the way I was approaching the data and the way the findings were emerging.

Chapter five provides text passages that contain rich examples of the relationship between the consolidated codes that pertain to the research observations across all of the methodologies.

**Challenges and Limitations**

Conducting qualitative evaluative research is not always linear or systematic because it is impossible to predict the totality of the phenomena within the timeframe of a study design (Bernard 2000). Therefore, I had to be very attentive to narrowing down the focus of the project to a manageable size and at times seeking additional help when my involvement would have influenced the outcome of the data. Furthermore, the focus of this project recognized that violence is a cultural issue that has many taboos of being talked about openly and candidly for victims or perpetrator of violence. So during each day of this project, I was required to weigh the pros and cons while ensuring to capture enough good data to conduct the analyses. For example, a PFP man in the early stages of the
program adamantly denied that he was wrong about being violent toward his wife, it was important to not influence his process towards the behavioral change paradigm until he embraced the changes he need to take in order to understand the significance. Therefore, at times this research required patience.

There were some challenges and limitations that I had to consider at several points throughout the research. First, I had to build up enough rapport and respect with the PFP men and women to speak openly about domestic violence in their lives. Given the cultural practices of avoiding public disclosure about domestic violence, my unique role as a researcher with previous experiences with LACC and knowledge about Grenadian culture since being on the ground in 2008, allowed me to be patient and demonstrate assurance that the participants would open up when they were comfortable enough around me. My knowledge about Grenadian culture and proficiency in the Creole language were added benefits to overcome these anticipated roadblocks.

Secondly, relying on the self-reporting discussions about domestic violence did pose some risks that the data would reflect desired responses rather than the actual realities among the participants. I adjusted for this potential bias by continuously interacting with the participants and documenting inconsistencies for further review. Then, when it was appropriate, the participants were asked to clarify as a means of determining if they meant what they presented earlier. Furthermore, the triangulation of methods and analysis supported my task of finding and extracting those contradictions.
Finally, I conducted this research with two different purposes: 1) for a program evaluation for the United Nations; and 2) for a dissertation for a PhD degree. Those different expectations sometimes pose contradictions in how to present the data for each entity. To get around this limitation, I had to establish different research objectives to limit contamination of each project's goals. This parsing required an enormous amount of skill of time management.

Conclusion

This chapter’s objectives were to present the setting of this research both in terms of the actual country and regional context as well as the programmatic nature of the program as domestic violence intervention. Through these discussions, I established the basis for the Partnership for Peace Program and showed how it was used to respond to the needs of the Grenadian population. With that, I then explained the methods that were used and the participants that were targeted for this project as part of the conceptual model of the data collection and analysis. Finally, I explained the processes of the data analysis including the triangulation activities to produce the findings that will now be presented in chapter five.
Chapter Five: Research Findings

Chapter five presents the findings of this research in four segments. The first segment includes profiles of the Partnership for Peace (PFP) male participants, stakeholders, and women associated with the PFP men. The subsequent three segments are findings presented in correlation to the three research objectives: (1) PFP impact; (2) Gendered knowledge and practices; and (3) Social relations that influence violence against women.

Research Participants’ Profiles

Since the inception of PFP/Grenada, UNWomen and LACC have never established a profile of the PFP male participants, stakeholders, or the women associated with the PFP men, all of whom are affiliated with the program. To fill this void and establish a baseline of who these individuals are in relation to the PFP, data from the PFP survey instruments were used to build a profile of the PFP male participants, while data about the PFP stakeholders and Women associated to the PFP men were collected from the semi-structured interviews.

PFP Male Participants

Table 7 provides a demographic profile of the thirty-two (32) Grenadian men who participated in the PFP program between July 2010 and June 2011.
Table 7: Demographic Profile of the PFP Male Participants (N = 32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>18-29</th>
<th>30-39</th>
<th>40-49</th>
<th>50-59</th>
<th>60-69</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish/Village Origin</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Rural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Childhood Family Make-up</th>
<th>Nuclear</th>
<th>Matriarchal</th>
<th>Patriarchal</th>
<th>Grandparents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Current Marital Status</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Common-Law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Currently Living with Partner</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1-4</th>
<th>5-8</th>
<th>9+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Attainment</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Employed</th>
<th>Unemployed</th>
<th>Did not specify</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Skilled (Construction, Technician, Auto-Mechanic, etc.)</th>
<th>Unskilled (Vendor, Agriculture Laborer, Tour Guide, etc.)</th>
<th>Technical/Vocational (Teacher, Accountant, Law Enforcement, etc.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Employment</th>
<th>Full-time</th>
<th>Part-time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poverty Status</th>
<th>Below Poverty</th>
<th>Above Poverty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>23.9%</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job Satisfaction</th>
<th>Somewhat Happy</th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th>Very Happy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 According to United Nations Development Fund, Grenada's Poverty like assessment in 2008 was estimated at EC$3,262/US$1,221 per year.
The age distribution varied among the male participants, with the highest proportion of men being between the ages of 18-29 and 40-49. Most of the men who were 18-29 described the nature of their relationship as dating, while men in the 40-49 age group, described their relationship as a married or common law arrangement. Most men originated from rural communities outside of the capital city, St. George’s or second most popular city, Grenville in the eastern part of the country. The majority (78%) of the men described their childhood family composition as matriarchal, meaning that it was a female-led household in contrast to the 6.5% that said they came from a nuclear family setting where both parents were in the home. Furthermore, 6.5% of the men were raised by their fathers and at least 9% of the men indicated that their grandparents raised them because their mother or father migrated to Trinidad and Tobago, the United States or the United Kingdom for better employment opportunities.

In other areas of their lives, at least 41% indicated that they were married, while 34% were single or just dating, and 25% said that they were in a common-law arrangement with their female partner. The average duration of these common-law relationships was at least 10 years. Concerning education, 50% of the men only had a primary school education, while 47% received some trade skills training after completing their primary school education. It was very rare to find men that completed a secondary education or more.

Regarding employment status, 50% indicated that they were employed, 31% indicated unemployed, and 19% did not specify their status but alluded to the fact that they are earning an income through some unknown means. Upon
further review with PFP stakeholders, it was suggested that the unknown status probably meant illegal activities such as drug or alcohol trafficking, which are both prohibited in Grenada. Fifty-six percent of men said that they earn an income through unskilled labor practices such as street vending (selling alcohol, produce, etc.), while 40% were employed in a skilled profession such as construction, electrical technician or auto-mechanic. However, 94% said that their employment status was part-time, meaning that they had no job security that guaranteed a steady income. Despite their job security status, 52.4% were very happy with their job, which can be explained by the fact that most (42.9%) were making enough money to be considered above the poverty line (US $1,221 according to the United Nations Development Fund 2008 economic assessment).

From these data reporting, I was able to contextualize the patterns of response with anecdotal accounts that provided explanations and implications of the data. First, even though 50% percent of the men reported being employed full-time during their involvement in the PFP program, when asked about their employment status during their follow-up interviews within six months after completing the program, 28 of the 32 (88%) reported they were unemployed. The sudden shift in their employment status was indicative of the insecure nature of their employment status, which seems to be more seasonal rather than steady. The seasonal employment patterns are a result of the seasonal industries, such as tourism, transportation, construction, or agriculture. Most of these industries do not guarantee full-time employment, but routinely hire short terms laborers for seasons (i.e., about four to eight months each year based on seasonal demand).
For example, the tourism season in Grenada is usually between November and May. Therefore, the tourism sector will hire individuals for that time period but release their employees after the season has ended. The implications of such employment patterns show that there was guarantee among employment. Instead, employment is based on an informal honor system, that if the economy is expected to be in good shape, the seasonal projects would be sufficient enough to higher short-term employees. During periods of unemployment, people will undertake subsistence farming to grow their own food to reduce the cost of food.

The consequences of such employment patterns are clearly tied to high levels of anxiety among the men who described their situations as living on the edge of poverty. These descriptions were especially prevalent during the follow-up interviews among the PFP men. Their anger and frustration were captured in the following comment by Jarrod, 32-year-old taxi bus conductor with four children, who usually obtains employment only during the November through May tourism season:

“Man, now that the tourism season is over, my boss called me this morning and told me to take a break (meaning there is no longer a need for him. I am concern ‘cause I have child support to pay, school fees, and work to do on my house. The next few months are going to be hard to make ends meet but I will find a way.”

According to the United Nations Development Program in 2008, Grenada’s threshold of poverty was estimated at EC $3,262/US $1,221 per year (UNDP 2010). However, during the study period, I observed an economic shift when the Government of Grenada introduced a value-added tax (VAT) of 15% on
all goods and services in 2009. The result of this policy included sharp cost
increases of more than 15% on the services and goods that were subject to VAT.
Though the government promised that it would monitor the implications of the
VAT among businesses, there were widespread reports that local businesses
were inflating cost beyond the 15% margin. The immediate effects were
especially challenging for poor individuals and families such as those within the
PFP program that were already living on the threshold of poverty. In particular
and during the follow-up interviews, Grenadian men complained that the
remarkable increase of basic expenses such as food, school supplies and
services have made it impossible to sustain a comfortable living. The
consequence of this economic shift clearly has forced families to desperate
situations without any safety nets such as government-subsidizes programs for
products or services for the poor.

The implications of the VAT taxes between the PFP men showed that it
casted heightened anxiety and frustrations that could potentially that could
potentially stall the PFP success as men become angry and frustrated about their
family conditions. For example, men were anxious about not being able to
provide for their families and being unemployed. The elevated concerns about
VAT were expressed by men for fears of being terrible fathers and/or husbands,
which clearly exacerbated their risk of feeling like a failure. It was being
interpreted as a challenge to their masculine identity as Grenadian men being
capable fathers to provide for their families.
In addition to the VAT conditions, there was a clear pattern of association between the men that were seasonally employed and their inability to obtain skilled jobs because of their limited educational skills. Most men associated with the PFP had limited reading and writing skills. Therefore, the only employment opportunities were the seasonal jobs in industries that did not require a large portfolio of interpretive skills with minimal salary options to provide for a family. Most PFP men supplemented their educational skills with a trade education to increase their employment opportunities. Currently, there are limited adult educational opportunities for enhance their opportunities. Therefore, most men are financially at a disadvantage.

Low literacy rates and limited education were not only evidently linked to employment patterns, but also emerged among the cycle sessions when some men had a difficult time comprehending the PFP curriculum. For example, PFP men were challenged during activities that required their ability to articulate their feelings in written exercises and group discussions. To reduce the effects of the deficient, PFP facilitators successfully handled most of these issues by redrafting the curriculum activities into ways that were accessible. But, the literacy challenges was not avoidable. The literacy challenges were commonly observed among men who were 18 to 29 and 60 to 69 years old. The literacy challenges are an extension of their childhood, as men described their circumstances where there was no family funds afford school fees or they were embarrassed about their poverty status, or there were greater family needs such as food and housing that replaced educational expectations. Most men have adapted to their deficits
by carefully navigating through places and jobs with people offering to help.

Some of those individuals were their partners, which always caused tension in their relationships because women tended to have educational status. Men felt inadequate and unequal when compared to their partners. Such feelings were entrenched in some of their issues that underscored violence.

PFP men were constantly preoccupied about their job security and their illiteracy and seasonal employment patterns. These challenges were causes of the men's frustration and fear that they were masculine. Though the PFP has taught the men to adjust with those stresses, the issues lingered among the follow-up interviews. The following statement by Alvin, a 44-year-old father of six children that is unemployed shares this perspective:

“Sometimes I wake up each day praying to God that he will lead me to be able to provide for my family. Times are tough now, especially since I have two daughters in secondary school. I get angry with myself because I want to provide more but I cannot because I cannot afford to do it.”

Alvin’s reflection is typical among most PFP men that felt at a disadvantage because of their limited education and economic status within society. While they remained optimistic about their futures, the challenges remain a major concern especially being able to take care of their families. More discussions about the significance of these circumstances will be presented later during gender acquisition to demonstrate its significance to masculinity. The following section examines the findings among the women associated with these men.
Women Associated with the PFP Men

Table 8 provides the demographic profile of nine women associated with the PFP men that participated in this study. Their profile feature offers some socio-economic insights about Grenadian women. For example, five of the nine women were between 18 and 29 years old, suggesting that most women are younger than their male partners.
According to this profile, the origin of these women is similar to the PFP men, where the majority 7(78%) was from rural communities in Grenada. A higher percentage (42.9%) of these women appear to have grown up in nuclear families where there was a mother and a father. A similar percentage grew up in matriarchal, female-headed households. Almost 42.8% reported they were single, while 28.6% equally reported they were married or in a common-law
relationship. When asked to define their common-law relationship, their responses were consistent with the PFP men. They explained that their common-law arrangements were based on at least ten years in their relationships. Most of the women did not live with the partner (66.7%); instead, their relationship was seen as visiting relationships where the man resides elsewhere. However, 33.3% did indicate that they lived with their partner.

The definition of partnership was fluid within men and women’s perspective, but more so for the women who acknowledged that they knew that their male partners had other girlfriends and relationships. In contrast, the men denied that their female partners did the same. More women (57.1%) appeared not to have any children, which is similar to the PFP men. This might be explained by the age differences among the gender groups. However, 28.6% had at least one to four children, 7.3% had five to eight children, and 7% had nine or more children.

Unlike the PFP men, 41.9% of the women had a primary education, with a higher percentage (14.3%) held a secondary education compared to the Grenadian men. Most importantly, 42.8% of women had some college and university education, which was totally non-existent among the PFP men. Noting this disparity is crucial for further discussions about the relationships between men and women and the significance of how education influences their social relations. The educational disparities between men and women are points of contention in several of the relationships that were observed. Most men found it harder to conceptualize being with a more educated woman, some of whom were
speaking from their experiences. Men preferred to be seen as the one with a better job and education and with a wife or partner that reinforces his position rather than the other way around.

In addition to expressing their desire to have a woman that is less educated, many men talked about having a woman who was not as educated as a way to ensure that she would stay committed to him. They viewed educated women as being easily persuaded into seeking other relationships with other men, even though men themselves were having relationships with other women. The fear is centered on the idea that an educated woman would not settle for an uneducated man. The following example from Horace, 55-year-old in a common-law relationship signifies the implications of the women’s educational patterns in their profile:

“You see, if I had a chance to do it again, I would have looked for that country girl, the ones that you find in the rural areas who is not as educated at these women here in town. These women in town are too smart for us me. We have to be careful not to say the wrong thing or else she will pick and leave.”

Despite the educational advantages that Grenadian women have over men, their educational exposures did not translate into better employment patterns or experiences that would help their social status. For example, despite Grenadian women having more educational exposure than men, only 28.6% of the participants were employed as skilled workers (i.e., secretaries or seamstresses); 42.9% were in the unskilled occupations such as market vendors, agricultural laborers or childcare workers. The remainder (14.3%) reported being employed in technical positions despite their higher rates of
college or university education. Furthermore, their employment status was similar to that of the men in terms of having full-time work without any job security. These women did not appear to be as anxious as the men were about having an income to provide for their families.

“Well, yeah things are hard and I live everyday not knowing how I will provide for my children. But the Lord, always provide and my family never goes hungry. We always seem to find a way to survive if it is not much.” — Letisha, 38 years old and unemployed with four children

Finally, a powerful impression that emerged from the female discussions while building this profile showed that many women measured their life’s satisfaction on their educational status, good health, and decent home with a husband and children. They strongly emphasized their feminine role and purpose by using cultural terms regarding being a good wife and partner with children, signifying how cultural norms about women are centered on being the nurturing gender responsible for caring for their husband and children. However, when asked if they had any future goals or aspirations later in life, many women said they had achieved all that they are capable of accomplishing within their current environment. Their perspective alludes to the fact that these women recognize their limited options in Grenada. Shermaine, a 37-year-old secretary and mother of three, describes her views about her own life with the following statement:

“I always wanted to study to be a nurse but my father could not afford to send me to nursing school. Then when I was nineteen, I already had to kids for my current husband. We decided to just settle down and get married. Instead I went to study to become a secretary. I think things would have been different if my family had sent me abroad to live with my aunt in Canada. I definitely would have studied hard and waited to have children or get married. But I just have to live with what I have now. I have to be grateful that I am alive, married and my children are doing well.”
These last few accounts and observations among the women demonstrate the power of social and cultural expectations that limit women into viewing their lives as subordinate to men. The issue of subordination is clearly evident which shows a disconnection between greater education success and employment patterns. Most women were not higher educated class groups of Grenadian society and comparable to the lower class group that the men are affiliated. It is clear that men and women are marrying or at least seeking relationships within the class and status group.

**PFP Stakeholders**

As discussed in chapter four, stakeholders interviewed for this study included four Magistrates that presided over domestic violence cases in parish district courts; three State Prosecutors that represent the Government with the mandate to enforce Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act by prosecuting male domestic violence offenders; three Ministry of Social Development Social Workers; and two Law Enforcement Officers. At each magistrate court district, one or more representatives of these groups are appointed to work together on domestic violence cases. This arrangement has been instituted because the there is no designated family court to handle all family-related cases. Instead, each district court handles family matters on a specific day of the week. On such a day, all of the stakeholders are required to be present to provide their technical perspectives on cases involving domestic abuse.

Among the twelve semi-structured stakeholder interviews, I was able to capture some of the shared professional characteristics and knowledge that
these individuals provide to inform domestic violence cases. Most stakeholders had at least four to fourteen years of professional experience. They held law degrees or an Associate's or Bachelor's degree in social work, social sciences, counseling, or behavioral sciences. Their educational experiences correlated to their scope of work in the disciplines of education, social services, legal and law enforcement. Finally, all stakeholders worked in more than one parish district, with 60% who held experiences in two to four districts. About 40% worked in more than four parish districts.

In summary, all of the stakeholders appeared to be very knowledgeable about the conditions that fuel the connection between violence against women and Grenadian masculine expressions. Collectively, they agreed that most domestic violence cases that have entered the court system are not because it was the first time but rather it is a situation in the home where the female partner can no longer tolerate the long-term violence. As they hinted in this early part of the study, despite the brutality of violence against women, many Grenadian women will defend their male partners especially to avoid his imprisonment. There are many social and cultural consequences if he is sent to prison that she is left to deal with from the community, which explains why domestic violence is such a taboo issue that is never talked about in the open.

**Objective One: Impact of the PFP Model and Program**

The premise of the first research objective was to explore the impact of the PFP model and program by observing raised awareness among the PFP men specifically related to understanding the consequences of using violence
against women as well as adopting behavioral changes as result of awareness. The desired outcomes were to identify and observe men that have embarked on new, non-violent activities in their lives.

In the following segment, I present findings that correlate to this objective from the PFP men; women associated with the PFP men and the PFP stakeholders. Their thoughts are segmented by their grouped categories.

**PFP Male Participants**

As stated earlier in this dissertation, thirty-two men were recruited and enrolled into this study to measure the impact of the PFP model and program upon their lives. Their perspectives were captured in several ways, including survey data, participant observations during their weekly sessions, life narrative sessions and follow-up interviews within six months after completing a cycle. Their accounts offered very insightful personal and community-based perspectives about the model and program, especially regarding the linkages between masculine gender expressions and violence against women. We begin with a very candid reflection piece by Martin whose discussion captures the essence of what was shared by most of the thirty-two men:

“This PFP program really helped me to re-negotiate some of my life challenges. I knew I had problems and did not know how to deal with those issues. I used to drink a lot and spend more time with men at the rum shop. Now, I do not drink as much and I try to avoid going to those places.”

— Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker married with four children

Martin’s reflection about his PFP involvement during our follow-up interview signaled how he tried to embark on a new life that is about forging a better relationship with his partner and children. His acknowledgement of
avoiding drinking and friends at the rum shop drew attention to the association of how alcohol influenced his use of violence in the past. Since the PFP, Martin has shown greater awareness about the triggers in his life that caused him to be violent, in addition to his alcohol consumption and association with friends that influence his drinking behavior. Now, Martin thinks that he has made considerable progress because he does not drink, not been violent and has better to control of his anger. These days, he spends more time with his family and works on his relationship with his wife to ensure that he can regain her trust. Here is what he says about that renewed focus:

“I know my wife and kids have suffered a lot because of my violent past. Most times when I was drunk, I was angry about not being able to provide for them. But now, I have learned that they mean the most to me. I am most concerned that my wife still does not believe me but I will do whatever it takes to convince her.”

— Martin

Martin’s reference to his wife’s apprehension about his behavioral changes was a common thread that appeared to affect many women. Overall, women associated with the PFP men were cautiously optimistic about the changes and showed some degree of apprehension that they would be sustainable. Their concerns signaled a need to cultivate a better understanding about the impact of the PFP on the lives of the women as Rene, Martin’s girlfriend’s comment explains with the following statement:

“Well, I am glad he did the program because I was getting fed up with his anger and that he would take out on us. I have seen some chances but time will only tell whether he can keep it up. I just don’t know if one day he will go back to them and start drinking again.”
Rene’s point proves to be valid and was later explored in depth through discussions with other females in similar situations. Another PFP participant, Theodore, a 20-year-old and unemployed father of one son, also explains how the PFP program has helped him control his anger:

“I am really glad I did this program, even though I was very upset in the beginning. Now, I have better control of my feelings especially my temper. I do not get offended easily and I have a calmer approach in life.”

Theodore’s reference to taking a "time out" and "walking away" shows that he learned the new skills from the PFP program and that they were applicable to his daily life experiences. Such reflection demonstrates raised awareness and behavioral change that the PFP helped Theodore to reach and maintain.

However, Theodore’s reflection still demonstrates his desire to be in control. Such emphasis of control the correlation of its meaning to his masculine identity as a man that needs to be responsible. The interpretation of his statement shows that he feels more complete with he is in control. Now, he is committed to building better relations with his partner and has not used violence since the PFP program. Theodore’s account demonstrates a strong impact of raised awareness and behavioral changes that appears to benefit Theodore’s life after the PFP. The next reflection about the PFP’s impact comes from John, a 35-year-old man of two children who completed the PFP in 2010:

“The program helped me to improve my self-confidence, so that I am not challenged in new situations. Since I decided to focus on myself, I am having better conversations with my children’s mother and my children.”

John decided to end the relationship with his abused partner during the PFP cycle. Since then, he has focused on regrouping himself rather than
pursuing a new relationship. John’s discussion signals how much he is willing to

go against the social expectation of having a girlfriend and children in his home
to leverage his masculinity. For example, he said the following:

“I know a lot of guys on the block realized that I have chanced. I learned a
lot in the program and I am taking the time to figure things out. I used to
have several women in addition to my girlfriend but I stopped doing that to
get myself together.”

— John

John has taken the time out to focus on regrouping and working on
himself. These days, the most important relationships are with his children and
maintaining a connection to the mother of his children. So far, John believes that
he has been able to handle himself better with better communication with these
individuals in his life. He has admitted to his faults in his past by taking
responsibility and has enacted behavioral change steps to enhance his current
situation. Now, he is focused on improving his relationships with his children
before pursuing a new relationship.

The following account by Edward, a 40-year-old father of six children,
illustrated how the PFP helped him to understand the significance of his
masculinity and use of violence to express himself:

“Each after each PFP session, I went home and tried to share the things
that I learned with my partner. She was not interested in knowing what I
did or learned, which made it difficult for me to practice some of the new
skills. I found it challenging to try to change because my partner was not
interested in knowing what I was doing.”

Edward’s experience with implementing his new skills draws attention to
the role of women and how men rely on them to assert their masculine identity.
Despite learning about taking responsibility and becoming self-resilient from the
PFP, Edward hopes salvaging his relationship with the abused partner with her affirmation about his PFP activities would help him. Unfortunately, her dismissals are viewed as challenge to him. Since, her unengaged approach makes Edward question whether his participation in the program has been made his situation worse rather than better. Now, he contemplates many things when his partner is not responsive, including his own identity as a man. The irony of Edward’s experience is that his partner is not aware of the PFP program principles enough to respond to the changes that he has made. As she states,

“Yeah, I know he has been in the PFP program, but I am not the one that was violent therefore I do not think I need to be aware. All I want him to do is to stop hitting me.”

—Debra, a 30-year-old woman and market vendor

Debra is not concerned about understanding what "time out" means and why Edward is using it when they need to talk about something. Therefore, she considers the changes he has made to be helpless in his attempts. Therefore, Edward has been contemplating ending the relationship because Debra is not willing to understand his adjustments. Again, this particular scenario shows the significance of the female partner’s level of engagement that can influences a man’s desire to behavioral change. Edward’s case is one that signals a need for follow-up after a PFP cycle.

In addition to those anecdotal accounts, the following data were extracted from the PFP survey instruments to assess PFP impact through pre and posttest interviews that were already built into the PFP model and program. The PFP Program Coordinator administers the interviews to every PFP men, and their responses were kept on file at LACC. Some of the questions within the survey
instruments were intentionally built in to gauge and measure awareness levels and behavioral changes that men have learned within the PFP program. The following figures illustrate such data, first beginning with the question of taking responsibility for one's action:

Figure 5: Comparative Assessment of Taking Responsibility among the PFP Male Participants

Within the framework of the PFP, one of the core emphases throughout the curriculum is teaching Grenadian men to take greater responsibility for their actions. This is a fundamental outcome measure, because many of the men rejected taking responsibility by arguing it was their right to be violent. Therefore, it was common to hear men explaining that it was not their fault. For example, consider the following statement by Charles, a 32-year-old married teacher and father of two children:
“Well, she started it. I came home an hour late and she is in my face accusing me of being with another woman. As a man, I could not stand there and take that. So, I cannot take responsibility for what she started.”

Charles’ account is symbolic of the accounts that the facilitators anticipate in the early stages of a cycle. Their task reduce discussions that would re-affirm such initial feelings for the men that validate their actions and eventually move the discussion toward a space where they consider how could they have handled the situation differently. Within that reflection process, most men realize that they are responsibility and could have dealt with the situation better. Such a change in perception demonstrates how the PFP model works to enhance men to take greater responsibility for their actions.

Taking responsibility relates to using the PFP skills. Based on the data, 32 men that participated in this study, at least 35% responded during their exit interviews that they have changed and would take greater responsibility for their actions. This increase demonstrates the impact of the PFP at least to the degree of raised awareness for their accountability.

The following section examined the second comparative question that was another impact measure. Figure seven ascertained what new PFP skills the men had used since learning about the program and how useful that skill had been in their daily lives. The results demonstrate the percentage of 32 men that reported adopting some behavioral changes as a result of the PFP program. The most popular was "Time out" at 57% among the thirty-two men that are now stopping and thinking before they got angry, followed by 37% who indicated that they have “Walked away” from potentially scenes where they could have become violent.
Finally, less than 10% indicated that they had a better handle on controlling their anger based on what they learned in the PFP program.

Figure 6: Acquired new knowledge from the PFP curriculum

Overall, the indicators "Time out" (57%) and "Walking away" (37%) show a remarkable shift and use of skills that enhanced the lives of the PFP men. These changes demonstrate the raised awareness and the application of those skills. However, it was a bit concerning that less than 10% of the men indicated that they had better control of their anger. The following statement from Eugene, a 45-year-old married construction worker with a wife and five children, best illustrated the issue of anger:

“I know that I am suppose to be able to handle myself better because the PFP has taught me that but there are times when things do not work out as planned at work and I come home so frustrated that I am angry. Yesterday, I realize that I was screaming at my 10-year-old daughter because she forgot to do something that I told her to do. I wish I could go back to the PFP just to get help with that one issue.”
Eugene’s account is symbolic of the anger concerns that reflected. The men have said that controlling anger is directly linked to the potential risk of relapsing into using violence again. Therefore, there is a need to examine more how to address this issue: 1) the PFP curriculum needs to reconsider expanding the discussion about anger management into more than just one session, and 2) the program can streamline anger control in ways that could help men know how to handle their emotions in different situations. The desired outcome is to have better connections with anger management skills that would reduce the feelings of anger and elevate the skills of how to deal with it. Eventually, men could be better positioned to help themselves and control their anger.

During the follow-up interviews, I incorporated an exercise to measure the stage of behavioral change that each former PFP male participant predicted regarding their stage of behavioral change along a continuum toward a life of non-violence. The exercise used the Transtheoretical model (TTM) of stages to assess how much of an impact that program had on the lives of its participants. I carefully used this instrument because it is not scientifically proven as an accurate way of determining behavioral change for the PFP. However, the exercise was insightful as it visualized the adjustment patterns among the PFP men.

Nine men participated in the TTM model exercise. Three (3) men indicated that they were at a point in their lives that is characteristic of the action stage, meaning that they have accepted that they have been violent in the past and
have taken responsibility for their actions. Along with their raised awareness, they have taken an active role in trying to avoid being violent by specifically avoiding conditions in their lives that made them violent in the past (i.e., alcohol abuse, improving their communication skills, or using the new life skills). The following discussion by Cedric, a 60-year-old father and grandfather, illustrates how he is in this action stage:

“I always thought I knew everything but the PFP showed new ways of improving myself. My wife had a restraining order against me; I have used the time away to focus on myself. I do not drink anymore. I returned to and stay away from friends.”

Among the nine men in the follow-up, two (2) identified as being in the maintenance stage of their behavioral changes because they clearly identified the problem that they were violent in the past and took action more than three months ago to reduce the risk of using violence. Now, they are at a comfortable space in their lives where they do not feel inhibited that they would be persuaded to go back to those ways because they believe their changes are genuine. The following account from James, a 45-year-old agricultural laborer with six children, explains:

“Well during the PFP, I focused a lot trying to save the relationship that I was in. But since I left the program I realize that it was better for us to go our separate ways because we have grown apart and she had different expectations that I no longer connected with. So, we decided to sit down and talk it out making sure that I would always have access to my two children that she have for me and so we cool now.”

Finally, four (4) of the nine men in the follow-up interviews indicated that they were still between the Preparation stage (taking steps to enact the behavioral changes they want to make within the last three months) and the
Action stage (consciously taking action to change their behavior in ways to avoid violence). The shared reality among these men is that other personal conditions have inhibited their chances to take the steps needed to make the behavioral changes. Some of those conditions include being unemployed, handling their substance abuse issues, or mitigating other court-related matters such as child support payments. They describe their lives as being in an in flux state since the PFP. Consider what Stephen, a 34-year-old, unemployed father with four children says about his situation:

“Well, I know that I need to improve my situation to avoid violence but I still have a drinking problem. I lost my job because of my drinking problem.”

The challenges among the four men that have not been able to take action to move further along the behavioral chance continuum highlights the confounding factors that play a large part of the lives of Grenadian men. The conditions among the four men are concerning, because they inhibit their ability to embrace the new skills that they have learned in the PFP. Their situation signals a need for extra follow-up and support that can be augmented after a PFP cycle has been completed.

The range of positions on the TTM scale shows that the PFP can impact behavior changes among Grenadian men, but the process toward change is very individualistic based on the man’s decision to enact change. It is also compounded by the social and cultural expectations of masculinity that are linked to degrees of comfort and security about their masculine expectations. The irony among these stories is that the five men that were in the Action and Maintenance
stages has greater support from their female partners, as Terrence, a 42-year-old bookkeeper, highlights in the following reflection:

“Taking the steps to change my behavior has been a lot easier because by girlfriend has been there for me. Each week, I came home after the PFP we talked about the lesson and I shared with her the skills that I wanted to use in our relationship.”

As a result of their experiences and thinking retrospectively during the follow-up interviews, several men pondered how much their lives would have been different after being exposed to the teachings of the PFP. They believed the PFP model strongly was relevant in their lives and wish that the program can be presented to young people to deter the use of violence. The following statement by James, a 45-year-old agricultural laborer, provides a synopsis of what most men said about the early exposure of PFP to young people:

“This program was powerful in helping me realize what I have done wrong. I just wish these teaching were in classrooms so that young boys and girls learn about these issues before they are adults.”

James’ reflection is symbolic of what several men expressed about expanding the impact of the PFP if it was modified into a preventative program for the youth to learn how to handle conflict resolution and gender awareness.

When they were asked if the PFP should only target men, the men strongly suggested that it should be taught to everyone. Stephen, a 34-year-old, unemployed father, provides the following statement:

“No, this program should be taught to both boys and girls. I think there is a lot women can learn because some are in fact violent in their relationships with men. But also, women can learn how to deal with violent men. I think this program should be integrated into the schools as early as primary school so that the little kids can begin to learn how to deal with conflicts.”
This suggestion was not exclusively among the men, as women also expressed similar sentiments about the potential impact the PFP could have if it was taught to young people in Grenada. Rene, a 28-year-old mother, explains:

“Based on what my partner shared with me, I think this program should be taught in secondary schools so that those young people can learn what to expect and what not to do in relationships.”

The shared perspective among the PFP men and women associated with the PFP men regarding is symbolic of how important they thought the PFP program was in raising awareness and deterring violence. Given the fact that these accounts symbolize the need to target young people, it demonstrates the relevance of the PFP to become a preventative mechanism that could enhance young people’s lives to raise awareness and teach alternative ways for them to deal with conflict resolution. This is worth noting and will be discussed in the recommendations of this study.

In summary, these and many more accounts of stories from these PFP men all shared perspectives that resonated how the PFP model and program imparted some knowledge upon their lives that will influence future interactions within and outside their family setting. It was a hard reality for the men to learn that violence was not the best way to express their masculinity and figure out how to use alternative skills to handle the stress of being masculine in Grenadian society. Joel, a 35-year-old auto-mechanic and father of three, expresses the best caption of such feelings:
“I cannot thank LACC enough for giving me this chance to do this program. In the beginning, I was very angry and frustrated that I was asked to do this because I did not realize that I did anything wrong. I even contemplated not coming after the first session. But when I realize that the only other option was prison, I decided to stick it out.”

Undoubtedly, the PFP program provided a space where Grenadian men came to realize that their violent actions have consequences, there are alternatives to using violence, and most importantly they are take greater responsibility. The PFP program has raised awareness among the men involved such that it has translated into improved family conditions. The following section will examine the perspectives of the women associated with the men.

**Women Associated with the PFP Men**

As the literature review indicated, masculine gender expressions are relational to the presence of other gendered groups such as women, especially where men exercise power and control to demonstrate their masculine identities. Based on that premise, this study recruited and interviewed nine women associated with several of the PFP men to measure the impact of the program upon their own lives as well as share their reactions about their partners' involvement in the PFP.

Their perspectives were captured from semi-structured follow-up interviews that were completed within six months after the men completed the program. A female interviewer interviewed the women separately, and their male partners were not informed about their participation or responses. The goal of their activity was to ensure that the women would be able to speak candidly and
openly in their own words about what the PFP has meant for their lives and that of their partners.

In total, nine women consented and participated by providing their own perspectives about the PFP. We begin with a few discussions on their reactions when they learned that their partner was joining the program rather than going to jail. It begins with Janis, a 34-year-old nurse who said the following:

“Well, I was always concerned that the courts were going to send him to jail. But I did not think it was jail he needed. I prefer that the Magistrate warned him since it was his first time in court.”

Janis’ story is representative of what many other women said when they learned about the PFP program. Since they did not know of the PFP until the partners were referred to the program, their reactions symbolize a need for greater community awareness about the PFP. Despite being unaware, most women responded favorably to the idea of their partner attending the program for sixteen weeks. Lucianda, a 22-year-old, unemployed woman with three children, shared such sentiments:

“I was scared the moment that they came and pick him up. I was worried that I would never see him again. You see, he is the one working and has been taking care of us. So, if he went to prison it would have been hard for us to survive.”

Stakeholders said that most PFP men were the primary breadwinners in the household, which creates a burden for women that are associated to them. The patterns of dependency emerges among the women discussions when they were welcomed the idea that their partners would be able to continue working and avoid going to prison, diminishing their fears of being left alone. However, it was not just about support, as some women genuinely felt the PFP was a better
fit because it reduced the risk of bringing shame to the family. Consider the following statement by Susan, a 28-year-old schoolteacher:

“When they told me that he was going into the PFP program, I was shocked because I never heard of the program. I was really concerned that people were going to blame me for putting him in jail. But the PFP set is much better because he has changed.”

Susan’s account signals that she felt the PFP was better option because it limited the social persecution from the community that they would blamed her for her boyfriend’s imprisonment. Her reflection signals the power of the community and social perceptions about women and violence in relationships. Thus, the approach of the PFP seems to work well for women and diminish the community perception that would imply on women. For example, it reduces the blame and shame of being involved with the law shifts more focus on women embracing the PFP model and program as a good intervention. The positive reaction is reflected in Annette, a 25-year-old primary schoolteacher statement:

“I immediately saw a change after the first session. He came home very calm and quietly which made me nervous in the beginning but I can tell he was thinking a lot about several things. Then by the fifth week, he began talking more about the things they were doing, which made me very happy to hear that he was learning.”

Annette’s anxiety at the beginning of the program session reflected the lingering fear that she was responsible for getting her husband in trouble. She was relieved that he did not go to prison, but unaware of what the PFP. She prepared for the worst, but was appreciative of the PFP approach. Debra, a 30-year-old market vendor, also expressed such fear:
“I remember the first day that he went to the PFP. I thought he was going to be so angry with me for what I did but I was surprised at how well he took the program. He really has tried to change based on some of the things PFP taught him.”

So far, these statements have signaled a programmatic issue that requires some degree of attention—women did not understand the PFP. The disconnection seems to cause anxiety because they do not understand the dynamics of the program. Furthermore, it inhibits some partners from being more engaged with the men in the program. However, it also appears that the issue stems with the men taking the initiative to share the information with their female partners. For example, Elizabeth, a 27-year-old law firm secretary, said the following:

“Well, I appreciated the fact that my boyfriend came home each week and shared the things that they were learning in the program. The topics they discussed were really important because they were the issues that we had problems about in our relationship.”

Elizabeth’s statement highlights observations about her partner (i.e., his own recognition about his problem and his willingness to share what he was learning). Elizabeth appreciated those changes, as it helped her to understand what the PFP meant for her partner but what it also did for own comfort level. This shows that the lives of women are clearly affected by the PFP when the men share their new knowledge and actively include the women as part of their behavioral changes. However, Letisha, a 40-year-old mother of four children, did not share Elizabeth’s positive outlook as she talked about a different scenario with the following statement:
“Well I am not sure if PFP program has improved our lives that much because he has been silent since he started the program. He never shared anything about what they were learning in the program and I don’t feel comfortable asking him.”

Letisha’s account signals a contrast to Elizabeth because her partner did not share the things he learnt in the program. The disconnect between a PFP man and his partner shows the impact women’s ability to gauge whether her life is in danger or it will improve. Instead, Letisha has been living in a state of flux because she has observed her partner changes (at least not being violent toward her), but he is less engaged with her, making it more difficult to decipher his thoughts and feelings. Clearly, there are other mitigating factors in this relationship that need to be addressed, but this scenario illustrates the value of men being open and honest with their partners. For example, Annette, a 25-year-old schoolteacher, said the following:

“He has been sharing and talking more about things, I have also seen him change his attitude especially when he is getting angry. He does not drink as much and began attending church with me, a couple of times. It makes me feel good that he is really making some effort to move on. But, time will only prove how much he is going to keep.”

The last line of Annette’s account is symbolic of the subliminal feeling expressed by numerous women about their hope that the men changed but are unsure that these changes would be sustainable. This signals that more time is needed to observe how much the PFP imparted a degree of change and whether it helps women in the long run. Annette shared such a sentiment; however, Jean, a 34-year-old nurse, expresses cautious optimism about what she is feeling:
“I am really glad he did the program and I can honestly say that he has turned into a completely new person. But there is this little voice in me that keep thinking that this is all a dream and one day he will snap like the way he did the first time he hit me.”

The concerns shared by Jean and other women demonstrates a need to have follow-up intervals after a PFP cycle completes to carefully measure the impact of the program. Though most women have seen immediate changes, they are cautious to draw any definitive conclusions that the men completely changed. Their concerns are valid, since they have a greater knowledge about their partner's history. Therefore, it is important that this observation is not ignored in the recommendations of this program.

Reflecting an overall perspective about the women’s reactions to the PFP's impact, Susan's statement provides the best analogy of what women felt about the program:

“I am pleasantly surprised by how much my husband has changed since the program. Our relationship has gotten better because he talks more and we are open and honest with each other. We have had some angry moments but he takes a step back and think through things before we talk about it again.”

— Susan, a 28-year-old primary schoolteacher

Overall, the women welcomed the formatting and strategies of the PFP to help their partners. For the most part, the men were willing to share what they learned in the program, which also raised awareness among the women. Women welcomed their partners sharing their skills but for those that did not it made it a bit more uncomfortable. They believed the length and timing of the model were excellent. They appreciated what it has done to help improve their lives.
In conclusion to this segment of the women’s accounts about the PFP impact, most women have seen adjustments in their partner’s lives and those changes made it easier for them to connect and understand the dynamics of their relationship. All women that participated in the follow-up interviews have seen a complete absence of violence since the men enrolled in the program and hoped that this trend would continue. Furthermore, the men appeared to have greater awareness and embarked on several of their behavioral changes with the support of their partners. Their women’s involvement does appear to make the PFP more relevant and realistic to achieve.

**PFP Stakeholders**

Stakeholders had an opportunity to share their thoughts and impressions about the PFP program during their key informant interviews. Twelve stakeholders, including Magistrates, State Prosecutors, Social Workers and Law Enforcement Officials, shared candid perspectives both as associates of the PFP program and as people that live within the communities where domestic violence occurs. Their thoughts showed their passion for the PFP and collectively supported the idea of reducing the prevalence of violence against women. Overall, stakeholders reported positive reactions about the PFP, especially regarding its timeliness during the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan. A Magistrate who has been a residing judge for the last ten years stated the following:

“We have always known and seen domestic abuse in our communities. However, it was one of those things that people did not talk about and turned away from because they believed it was a personal issue. Even though, we had the Domestic Violence Act implemented, I did not see any major increases in reported cases because most people did not think it was being enforced.”
This Magistrate's account demonstrates the common assumption among many individuals throughout Grenada who maintain that domestic violence has always existed and women have always been at risk as victims. Even though domestic violence is widely known and there has been very minimal impact with the Domestic Violence Act until the PFP was introduced as an intervention. Such community concerns lingered for years until LACC proposed the PFP to stakeholders as they tried to consider ways of responding to the number of domestic violence cases after Hurricane Ivan in 2004. Consider the following statement from a Police Officer with twenty years of service:

“I really welcomed the strategy of the PFP to target the men because they were the core problem that we were having in the communities. There are so many cases where we would capture someone and lock him up but then he would return back on the street doing the same time because he has not learned any better. I feel like the PFP model held them to a greater sense of accountability because it was over a period of time and they learned to do things different.”

This officer’s account highlights that the duration of the PFP and the curriculum was an ideal framework for dealing with domestic violence in Grenada, because it held the men to a higher level of accountability. He accepted the PFP because it focused on the male perpetrators as the fundamental cause of the problem. He also felt that the PFP strategies were better linked to a coordinated response. The officer’s account of this strategy augments several references that emerged among the stakeholders that discussed how the group format is a very powerful tool to help men realize that they have a problem. Consider the following statement from a state prosecutor who has been in his position for the last five years:
“The group session in the PFP program is an excellent idea because it shows the men in the group that they are not alone in dealing with this problem even though they do not want to take responsibility for their actions. But it is the group sessions that help them to change and begin to realize that they can make some adjustments especially if one or two guys talk about what they are doing in their lives.”

Additional dimensions of the PFP program that the stakeholders collectively supported were the check-in points and the associated reporting that occurs at the mid-point and end of a cycle. They felt it was satisfying to see the progress that the men were making at the mid-term and the end of a cycle to confirm that their referral decision was correct and that it would translate into helping Grenadian society. Such a sentiment is reflected by a Social Worker that has been in her position for at least twelve years who said the following:

“I like the idea of getting mid-term and end-term reports because I can almost predict whether the changes that each man has made will be long-term or short-term. Bring the men back into the courts at these intervals is good because it reminds them about the agreement that they have between LACC and the courts to complete the program.”

Some of these broad-based impressions led to reflection points during discussions about specific program sessions. The stakeholders felt there were influential turning points in the program for men. The following statement reflects what a Social Worker with eight years on the job had to say:

“I particularly like the sessions on manhood and womanhood because many of these men have grown up in homes where there was no male figure or father to understand what are the healthy ways of being a man.”

In a very relational way, the following Magistrate’s statement augment’s the Social Worker’s reflection about the manhood session by stating that the womanhood session is as beneficial because PFP men get to learn how to
understand women better. The female Magistrate with eight years as a judge said:

“Many times these guys just do not know how to communicate effectively with their female partners. They assume that violence is a way in which women have to listen to them but they do not understand that they have not taken the time to learn anything about women. The PFP session helps them to see otherwise, especially when there is a female facilitator in the cycle session.”

The Magistrate’s assertion of the role of the female facilitator demonstrates the power of having a woman in the room that can emulate the expectations that some women may have never had the chance to tell their male partners. According to the stakeholders, the female facilitator along with her male counterpart are very important because it illustrates to the PFP men how men and women can interact in ways that do not require violence.

Given this consideration, stakeholders were asked to rate the PFP program and its level of impact on a scale of one to five (one meaning that there has been no impact and five meaning very impactful). The following set of responses begins with a Police Officer who had been on the force for eleven years:

“I would give the PFP program a four because it does respond to the immediate needs of the men in way that changes their lives. However, I still think that there is more that can be done especially when it comes to substance abuse and controlling anger.”

The police officer’s recommendations to have more emphasis on substance abuse and controlling anger are valid points that have already emerged among the accounts of the men themselves and women associated with the PFP men. The officer’s assessment reaffirms that substance abuse and
anger management are linked to domestic violence and requires more attention within and outside the PFP program. Therefore, more resources and targeted work are required to help PFP men get a better handle on the core issues that are related to violence. The following rating is from a male Magistrate that has been a judge for the last 15 years:

“I would rate the PFP a five out of five because all of the men that have been referred to the program have never returned in my courtroom on the same charges. I believe the program does raise awareness about violence.”

This judge's statement is asserting a positive assessment of the program based on the condition that he has not dealt with any of the re-offenses from the men who completed the program. He also feels that the PFP model does a good job of covering many of the local issues within 16 weeks, which explains why men have been able to understand the consequences of their actions and try to use some of the new skills to change their behavior.

The following response reflects a different type of rating that was symbolic for other stakeholders. The following perspective comes from a field-based Social Worker that has dealt with domestic violence for the last nine years of her career:

“I certainly would give the PFP a three out of five for respond to the immediate needs of stopping violence. It has raised awareness among the men and women that have been involved. However, I think PFP is mission a crucial point of getting out there into the communities and on the ground on raising awareness in the community.”

This social worker’s statement signals that while the PFP has been impactful in raising awareness and changing the lives of men, there are some potential ways that it can continue to move this progress toward a community-
based impact strategy so that the PFP becomes more than a responsive program by transforming into a preventative measure that would help people realize that violence is not the best way to handle situations. A male magistrate that has served as a judge for fifteen years provides the following example of why this should be accomplished:

“Many of these guys do not realize that violence is wrong that is why they are angry and upset when they are standing in my court pleading to be release. Their arrest is the first time they are told about the Domestic Violence Act and what it means to them. This problem shows that more needs to be done by the government and other groups to tell people that domestic violence is against the law and that they can be prosecuted if they are caught.”

But as a female police officer indicates, the community awareness is not just for men; it is also required for women that believe that violence is normal and acceptable within a relationship, as the following female police officer on the force for 18 years describes:

“It is not unusual to meet women, especially the poor ones with children things it is OK to be slapped around. They justify and accept the violence because they believe he does it because he loves them.”

This statement signifies many cultural nuances that are at play regarding the social relations between men and women that will be discussed later within the findings of objective three, but it holds particular relevance in demonstrating the need to reach out to men and women in the community. The reflection of the police officers shows how women have legitimized domestic violence as almost a coping strategy that allows men to use violence. The police officer’s point is that the PFP program can be used to address such issues when it has been reframed
into a preventative measure to counter such perceptions and practices between men and women.

Therefore, State Prosecutors, Magistrates, Social Workers and Police Officers collectively call for additional elements that they would like to see the PFP address, such as augmenting the services with additional help in the areas of anger management, substance abuse and including the role of women in the program. However, given the nature of the 16-week mandate of the PFP mandate, it may require extending the framework of the cycle or having systems in place that can address those issues if they cannot be addressed by the PFP. For example, stakeholders believe that there are strong cultural and social correlations about the use of alcohol and handling stress and anger that cause many of these domestic problems. Therefore, there is a need to focus more attention on those elements as one police officer noted with the following statement:

“The problem with many of these men is that they do not know how to channel their anger. They are frustrated because they are not working and they have a family to take care and they don’t feel like a real man that is capable of handling his home.”

This Police Officer realizes that anger management cannot be addressed completely within 16 weeks, but there is a need to have additional intervention opportunities in place to support these men with their ongoing issues. He expressed particular concern that among the few cases where men did not complete the program, at least two of the men re-offended because they could not control their temperament. Juan’s point supports the earlier discussions about Figure Seven that showed that less than 10% of the men have been
successful at controlling their anger. Anger is still a lingering concern that may affect the outcomes among the PFP men. Therefore, stakeholders like Juan believe more time should be leveraged within the cycle and that additional resources should be in place to help the men who have not dealt with their anger.

In summary, the stakeholders believe that the impact of the PFP has been tremendously positive among those that have been involved in the program, especially in ways that have cultivated behavioral changes. Their perspectives are strongly affirmed by the fact that they have seen a reduction in repeat offenders and better outlooks among the men that have accepted greater responsibility for their actions and have taken steps to change their behaviors and relationships. They have highlighted ways that the PFP can expand to increase its impact, most notably by transforming the model and approach to include a preventative measure that can tackle the issue before it becomes a problem in the courts. Such a perspective will be elaborated upon in the recommendations of this study in chapter five.

**Objective Two: Gendered Knowledge and Practices**

The findings presented within this segment of this chapter focused on exploring the gendered knowledge and practices within Grenadian society. The following captions are segmented to show the common patterns that were discovered among Grenadian men and women. The features demonstrate how Grenadian men and women learn and practice their gender identities based on influential figures and institutions that reinforced those gendered messages. These perspectives were extracted from the participant observations, life
narratives and follow-up interviews with the PFP men, the follow-up interviews with the women associated with the PFP, and the PFP stakeholder interviews.

**Early Childhood Experiences among Grenadian Men**

The perspectives of early childhood exposure among the 32 PFP men were captured from the participant observations and life narratives of this study. Their experiences draw attention to the individual level of the socio-ecological model that stipulates that childhood experiences (such as family composition or parental presence) may influence the probability of violence later in life. In addition to understanding that possible risk, the purpose of this inquiry was to identify common household issues that influenced a gendered understanding of masculinity and the use of violence.

First, thirty of the thirty-two PFP men described their early family conditions as poor because their parents did not have a stable income or profession that provided enough funds to support the family. Most parents were employed as laborer on plantation estates, market vendors selling food or goods or various positions in industries such as tourism, agriculture, and fishing. The ironic nature of this discovery is that the parents’ patterns mimic the current circumstances of the PFP men. This reinforces the notion that the lower-economic class status was a generational pattern among these families, as described by Anthony, a 50-year-old married man who was a taxi driver:

“My parents had four kids and we all slept in the same room. There were no beds, so we use those empty bags that were once stored on the floor as we slept at night.”

On average, families consisted of several siblings ranging from two to nine additional siblings within a household. Some siblings shared the same father
and mother, and it was also common to share a connection to one parent as a point of association. However, people did not make the distinction of having half-sisters or half-brothers because of one parent association. Instead, all siblings, despite association, held equal status as those that only shared one parent. This was culturally normal and people did not delineate differences of association, as Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker, says about his family during his life narrative session:

“I grew up in a family with nine of us. My mother had nine children and even though we had different fathers, we all keep together as a family. None of us felt that one was better than the other. We shared everything because we were poor.”

Martin was very proud of the fact that his mother did the best she could, and she was considered successful because none of Martin’s siblings were in trouble with the law. They relied on each other and ensured and held each other accountable. Martin said he would do anything for his siblings, because he knew that they would do the same for him.

Another important correlation that was investigated to decipher the characteristics of families was captured in life narratives and PFP cycle observation regarding the role of parents among early years of child’s life. Among the captured responses, three common scenarios were typical for these PFP men: 1) two parents lived the home with the children; 2) a single-mother or single-father raised the children, or 3) they were raised by their grandparents because a parent had migrated to Trinidad, the United Kingdom, or the United States. Among those three common practices, the significance of migration seems to be the most compelling reality that influenced violence. Sean, a 49-
year-old fisherman, reflects one of those example as he describes his relationship with his father that migrated to Trinidad:

“My father went to Trinidad back in the 70’s when I was a young boy. He worked there for thirty years and I remember him coming home to visit us during the holiday season. He used to come often when I was younger but as I got older, my parents had an argument. Then he stopped coming. It was ten years later, when I saw him again then I was an adult.”

Sean had an emotional time describing who father in the PFP, because he never understood why his parents decided to end their relationship. He said there were speculations that his father started another family in Trinidad and his mother refused to accept it. Sean describes his early-childhood experience as one without a father because of his limited exposure to him.

The emerging significance of migration in Sean’s story were not limited for men leaving wives or mothers behind for other locations around the world. The patterns also emerged for women or mothers that migrating abroad that left the same feeling for men. However, most times children were usually left in the care of grandparents when a mother migrated. For example, Joe, a 49-year-old fisherman, talks about how he parted with his mother in the 1960s:

“Well, I grew up with my grandparents, so I consider them my actual parents. I do not know my mother well because she migrated to England when I was a little boy and I was left with her parents. The only connection that I have with her is that she would usually send a barrel of goods to us every Christmas.”

Joe’s experience about his migratory pattern symbolizes many other men’s experience that shows a very distinct gendered difference between what men did when they migrated as oppose to women that did the same thing.
Women seem to retain more connections with their children through remittances as oppose to men were only expected to visit once in a while.

Migration patterns in the early childhood experiences appear to have lingered effects among the PFP men as they described the anger of feeling neglected. The implications emerged in the PFP sessions as men began to make the connection of that loss to the domestic violent incidences especially when their partners threatened to walk away from their relationship. Travis, a 36-year-old auto-mechanic talks about his emotional breakdown during the PFP session on family history:

“Last week was the first time that I talked about feelings when my mother came home one day and said that we were moving in with our grandparents. She dropped my siblings and I at our grandparents one Saturday morning and left. We never saw her again for almost twenty years later. I always felt frustrated because I wish I had my mother to talk to when I was angry about stuff.”

Travis’s account reflects how men are gendered to deal with disappointment. Though his childhood experience occurred almost 20 years ago, Travis was able to correlate the same feelings of disappointment and anxiety when his girlfriend threatened to walk out on their relationship last year. It was an emotional connection when Travis discovered that he was equating his girlfriend’s desires to leave their relationship to the same feelings that he held about his mother’s departure. The consequence of his girlfriend’s decision led to the domestic violent incident that made Travis enroll into the PFP program. Realizing the correlation, Travis recognizes that he needs to deal with his childhood disappointments before he rekindling his relationship with his girlfriend.
Some men’s stories about childhood centered on being too embarrassed to share within the PFP cycle, so they opted to reveal more during the private life narrative sessions with the researcher. For example, Sherman, a 40-year-old construction worker, revealed a secret about his father:

“I never told anyone that my father left us as family. I was too embarrassed to acknowledge that he went to the United States and started a new family. I never could understand how a man could do that and leave behind my mother with five children.”

Sherman’s expression was captured after he began to talk about some of the things that he wished he could change about his early childhood years. He expressed a desire to go back in time and confront his father about what he did and tell him the impact it caused to his mother to sacrifice her life for him and his siblings.

Other early childhood practices within families included visiting relationships (meaning a man having a sexual relationship with a woman that was strictly based on a visitation practices rather than living with the woman) also appeared to affect some of the men in this group. For example, Jarrod said the following about the implications of his father’s visitation arrangement that he had with his mother:

“My mother worked two jobs to be the breadwinner and provider to support her 9 children, but her efforts were never enough. So there [were] many days that I worried about being able to continue in school.”

A single mother led Jared’s family with nine children, despite the fact that his father lived in the community. According to Jared’s accounts, his father never lived with his mother and kept a separate family in the same village. The father did not help his mother. Therefore, Jared’s mother worked alone to support the
entire family. Jared said that his childhood experience might have been financially poor, but he understood what his mother had to do to keep them together. In a similar experience, John talked about his uninvolved father with the following statement:

“There was no male mentorship. Therefore, my mother played the dual role of both parents. My father was never interested in my life and he still does not care what I have become.”

— John, a 35-year-old father of two and unemployed

John never met or knew of his father, and his mother never revealed the man’s identity. Instead, he saw his mother as both his parents because she devoted her entire life to filling that void. However, within the PFP, John acknowledged that his mother’s ability was limited in some aspects because there were things that he could not discuss with his mother as a man, which made him angry later in life:

“The fatherhood session during the PFP made me realize a lot about myself and why I tend to be so angry at times. Even though, I was always grateful for my mother’s efforts, there were things that I could not share with her because she did not understand how hard it was to become a man.”

John’s frustration centered on his obsession about his children could be raised in the similar experience of not know their father. Such fears infuriated him when his girlfriend to walk out on their relationship with their children. It became the cause of their domestic violence dispute. Again. John connected his emotions about being violent experience to his childhood feelings of neglect within the PFP program.

Another man, Peter, a 25-year-old construction worker with three children, related to John’s sentiment with the following statement:
“Today, I am still angry about [my] father and his absence in my life. He was known for having many women in the village and there are many children that he has fathered.”

Peter’s story is similar to John’s, because he is also angry about his father’s absence in his life. However, Peter knows who his father is because he numerous community discussions have talked badly about his father behavioral pattern. Throughout his childhood, he also saw his father in some of those relationships and is aware of the children. He was unaware of exactly how many siblings he has as result of his father’s behavior. However, there is one particular episode of his childhood he never forgot, when he saw his father visit his mother’s home and failed to acknowledge his existence. Peter vowed not to allow that experience to happen to his children and is grateful for the PFP for helping him process some of those concerns. Peter elaborated on his thoughts during his life narrative session when he said the following:

“I learned a lot about being a better father for my children. I thought I was doing enough by providing for my children and at least calling them once a month. But since the PFP, I am making more efforts to see them and talk to them so that they can hear me and I can hear them. I want them to be proud of me and because I do not want them to feel like I did about my father.”

Despite the many stories of neglect and frustration among these PFP men’s reflections, there were a few positive stories that signaled how early childhood experiences influenced their masculine identity. Consider the following example provided by Travis, a 44-year-old, married father of four children:

“My father and I used to have a very close relationship. Everywhere he was, I was there. Folks thought I was his sidekick because I was used to get involved in fixing cars with him since he was a mechanic. We used to talk about everything and I learn to become a man then.”
Travis’s statement demonstrates the influence of a father as individual that taught him about being a man in the home that works and provides for his family. He tried to mimic those practices, but somehow failed to control his anger when his wife came home late from work one day. Travis regrets hitting his wife, because he never saw his father being violent toward his mother.

In instances where fathers were not present, other men such as older brothers appeared to be as influential in channeling the messages of masculinity to younger generations of boys. Aslem, a 23-year-old auto-mechanic, talks about his role of his brother within his life:

“Well, since our father was not around it was my older brother that I learn the most about being a man. I remember how much he use to tell me to take good care of women and never hit them because it is the wrong thing to do.”

In addition to Aslem’s story, Joe, a 45-year-old fisherman, talked about the influence of his mother’s brother (his uncle Damon) who also played a significant role within his orientation to masculinity:

“It was my mother’s brother that was the one that influenced me the most about being a man. My father had migrated to Canada and so my uncle used to check in on us. He was the one that took me after I completed primary school and showed me how to become a fisherman.”

Among those who had positive role models in their early lives, there was a shared sense of disappointment for failing to keeping the gendered values that were taught to them. They acknowledge that they were taught to respect and honor women, but never before was it overtly stated that they could hit them. The concept of honor appears to be an extension of masculine identity of pride to have an honorable woman.
However, compounding factors such as a woman deciding to end a relationship seems to trigger men into feeling like they are losing control and resorting to violence, despite the fact that they were never overtly taught to use violence against women. The reality of these circumstances shows that there are other influential factors that imposed the idea that violence is a way to control women when men have not been taught or exposed to it within their childhood.

The relevance of these family accounts demonstrates from different angles how gender is acquired and learned among the early childhood experiences of PFP men. Despite the absence of parents in some accounts, influential replacements seem to have as much of an influence as having a father around, but the significance of a father or mother seems to have the greatest influence.

The emerging pattern of migration was a unique finding that was not anticipated to be important at this juncture of the men’s lives, but it did affect feelings of neglect or abandonment that lingered and re-emerged during their adult experiences of violence. The connection of the childhood experience to these adult feelings reflected their need to reclaim and have control of what could make them feel sad and angry. The following section will examine the early childhood experiences among Grenadian women.

**Early Childhood Experiences among Grenadian Women**

Nine women were asked to recount their childhood experiences during the follow-up interviews. The prevailing theme among their stories is the exposure to and experience of sexual violence as a remarkable diversion from the
experiences of the men. Most of their accounts of abuse went unnoticed, unreported or diminished within family circles before anything was done by the authorities. Their stories begin with a reflection from Jean, a 34-year-old nurse with two children who recounted a rape incident at the age of 11.

“When I was a teenager, I had a rape incident. It was very bad because the person pinned me down on the bed. Then I was raped again when I was fourteen, and fifteen.”

Jean’s story depicts how a family member raped her. In Jean’s case, the rape incidences occurred over three years and was never suspected or reported. The abuse only stopped after the individual had moved out of the family home. Jean never reported the incidents or revealed the perpetrator but she acknowledges that she deals with the lingering effects of the rape in her adult life. For example, her tendency to be in relationships with men that are violent such as being physical, verbal to financial abusive several relationships she has had for the last five to eight years. Jean has experienced violence since the age of 12 and has shown a pattern of being in similar situations since that first time back when she was raped. Jean made a startling point about her desires and wishes in relationships. She believed that if her partner did not hit or abuse her in some way, she did not feel loved.

“In my second relationship at nineteen and I was with this 40-year-old married man when I realized that I felt more comfortable and appreciated when my partner has been abusive because, his attention shows that he really cares and wants me.”

— Jean, a 34-year-old nurse

It was not until a violent near-death experience in her third relationship at the age of 25, she connected those expectations to her past childhood
experiences. Now, she describes those thoughts as being unhealthy. In a similar scenario, Debra, a 30-year-old market vendor, talks about her rape experience:

“I remember when I was 13 years I got raped. I remember he had sex with me and I didn’t tell my mother because I was scared of his reaction. But eventually, I told her and she reported it to the police. We went to Court but nothing happened. I think she settled for a cash payout from the man. These days when I seen the man, I get very scared and tense up. I also feel ashamed.”

Debra’s account showcases how her mother reacted to her rape that was committed by a community member. Though her mother was supportive and pursued charges against the accused, the case was unexpectedly dropped because Debra believes that her mother accepted a monetary payment. Given their impoverished situation Debra’s story shows the power of bribery and money among poor families who capable of settling for cash payments rather than pursue rape charges against their children. But the consequences have been enormous, as Debra still deals with the incident especially whenever she sees her perpetrator in the community. Now, Debra battled those feelings in her current relationships. Her latest boyfriend promised to protect her, but he has also been abusive to her:

“I know it is not good to have a man hit you but my boyfriend is the only person that I trust. He has been good to my children and me. I know at times he do not mean it when he slaps me around but he promised to protect me in ways that no one ever has said to me.”

Debra clearly understands the consequences of violence against women, but she has been unable to detach herself from being a victim because her boyfriend was the only consistent person in her life since she was raped as a child. Seeing the changes that her boyfriend has made in the program has also
made her realize that she needs help in dealing with the patterns of abuse that she tolerates from men that stems from her unresolved issues of rape. In another similar story by Elizabeth, a 27-year-old secretary at a law firm, she shared that her uncle raped her:

“Well it was my uncle. I was living with my grandmother because my mom had travelled to the United States and my uncle had returned from the military. He started beating me whenever he drank. So I left the house… most times on month ends because I knew that whenever he got paid he would get drunk.”

This account shows that the implications of migration also appear to affect the lives of women like Elizabeth who was raped by an uncle that lived with her family after her mother migrated to the United States. Furthermore, Elizabeth’s story draws attention to the role of alcohol, which helped her to predict when she was most vulnerable to her uncle’s violence. Though her grandmother was her guardian in the absence of her mother, the grandmother was unable to protect Elizabeth because she never knew that her son was raping her granddaughter. Elizabeth felt trapped and neglected, so she internalized the issue as her fault. Eventually, she decided to leave her grandmother’s house at the age of 15 and wandered from friend’s families and homes until she could figure things out on her own. The consequences have included gravitating toward several abusive relationships because of the lingering pain that she dealt with as a child. She has been unable to process the effects, and it re-emerges with the types of men that she is attracted to that promise to fill the void of her pain. The most discerning reality of Elizabeth's story is the absence of safety nets for children that are
abused in Grenadian society. The final childhood reflection story is from Letisha, a 40-year-old mother of four children and two grandchildren:

“When I was growing up my stepfather used to drink a lot of rum and when he drinks he come home and he beat up my mother. Sometimes she had to run and we had to run behind her… because I see what my mother go through and I learn and I come and I go through the same thing.”

Letisha’s exposure to violence because of her father’s violent relationship with her mother was again prompted by alcohol and the power imbalance between her parents. Although she did not admit to the fact that her father was abusive to her in the same way, she became a victim of violence in her relationships with men. Her account shows that even though she recognized the violence in her own childhood experiences, she could not escape her tendency to have abusive relationships with men because she has not dealt with what she experienced during her childhood.

“I never thought I would end up like my mother being abused by a man. I use to see what my father did to her and I vowed I would never allow a man to touch me like that. I feel ashamed that I have allowed myself to get that way.”

— Letisha

These short vignettes illustrate disturbing tales of how abuse against young girls was prevalent and linked to their tendency to gravitate toward abusive relationships. There were several common threads throughout these women’s stories that draw parallel ties to the men. These included neglect, migration patterns and the severity of poverty. Economic and social hardships plagued the early exposures of these children, where they equated a gendered sense of being to tolerance and the internalization of anger and frustration. The result is that men tend to act out their violence when they are triggered by other
related problems, while women gravitated toward men and settings that increased their risk for being in violent relationships. Most women have remained silent throughout their ordeal. These early childhood experiences clearly show that occurrences of violence in the early years of childhood are common and consequential in how they begin to define and express their gender. The common denominator throughout their ordeal is the association of violence.

Socio-Economic Disparities

PFP men were asked to describe their educational experiences to augment their stories of family and economic conditions during their childhood. The intention of this particular inquiry was to determine if education and schools influenced how men learn to define and exercise their masculinity. The patterns of experiences are startling that showed how education was de-emphasized among young boys but to the contrary re-emphasized among women. Clear gendered lines of educational disparities were evident.

The most prevailing finding is that every PFP man had at least a primary school education. A primary school education is equivalent to a fifth grade education in American school standards, which means that there will be some limited exposure to levels of reading, writing and numeric literacy to be considered functionally literate. Most men stopped at this level were channeled away from secondary schools into trade skills development. Among the thirty-two men that participated in this study, less than 3% had attended a secondary school, while 56% were transitioned into a trade skill setting.
Among the anecdotal accounts in the participant observations and life narratives, there appeared to be a clear cultural practice within families and society to impose subtle messages to young boys after primary school to seek trade skills rather than a secondary education. Such practices were augmented by the men’s descriptions of how they chose a trade skill, as Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker, shared:

“After passed common entrance exam [high school entry-level exam offered at the end of primary schooling], my mother could not afford to pay to send me to secondary school, so she ask my uncle to take me on and teach me how to do construction.”

In addition to Martin’s story, Sean’s experience highlights the relevance of economic pressure within the family that prompted him to leave school and help out his family as a fisherman:

“Well as I kid, I used to see my mother struggle real hard to make ends meet. So after I finish primary school, I told her wanted to become a fisherman and I asked to work with Mr. George. No one pushed me to change my mind and consider doing secondary school because they believe that a trade education would allow me to make some money to help out my mother.”

Upon further investigation, it was clear that the persuasion away from further education after primary school was heavily weighted based on an economic standpoint to be able to provide an income that could reduce the economic burden for a single mother or father. Trade skills training was strongly encouraged among boys, because after a few years of apprenticeship within the community a young boy would be able to venture out on his own to earn his income. Most trade skills training was performed via a mentorship agreement.
with an adult male who frequently took in young boys within the community to
teach them a skill. Anthony, a 50-year-old taxi driver described the following:

“Though I drive taxi today, I was actually trained in carpentry by a
neighborhood guy that was well known in my community. After I finished
primary school, my mother went to him and asked him to take me on
which he did. I started learning with six other guys for two years.”

Most trade skill options were limited to auto-mechanic services, fishing,
construction or carpentry based on an apprentice being available within in the
community. However the limited scope of those skills are not transferrable within
the current economic market situation in the country where most new job
opportunities are not in those trade skills areas. Therefore, many men have
switched their trade skills to find new jobs, supplemented their incomes by
becoming street vendors, working in the agricultural industry, or driving taxi
buses, all of which are limited and seasonal based on the demand at certain
times of the year. Men complained that the options to use their skills to earn an
income are very limited, as Sherman, a 49-year-old construction worker said:

“These days the demands for jobs are not these manual labor skills such
as construction, carpentry or landscaping. The type of work out there
requires people to have technical skills to use computers and electronic
devices where you have to be educated. I suspect at least a secondary
education but I am hearing that a college degree is what they asking for,
so we men are in serious trouble with these trade skills that we have.”

Though the economic demand for trade skills is no longer as significant as
it was in the past, the experience of training boys into a trade continues because
it has some relevance to how young boys learn about masculinity. For example,
young boys that lived without fathers or had a hard time relating to men that
could teach them about masculinity found that the mentorship experience
facilitated their ability to connect with other men that taught them about being a Grenadian man. For example, Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker, talked about learning about being a man as a tradesman’s boy on the job:

“I learn a lot about being a man from the older guys talking about their wife or girlfriend problems while learning a trade. Even though most of the time they were joking or teasing a man, I picked up from those exchanges what a man should be and how he should treat a woman.”

Martin’s point references the usual “old talk” that means the kind of conversation where men take jabs at each other if a man has what are understood as women’s issues. The issues usually centered on how women spends his money, she is not cook good food or refuses to wash his clothes. These influential exchanges create a very gendered image of expectations about what men are to be and the expectations among women. The underscore of these exchanges among men is to present oneself and capable of handling tough situation which infuses the suggestion of violence as way to control women. Eventually, young men emulate those discussions as part of becoming adult men within Grenadian society.

The contrast of men’s experiences regarding trade skills education and a de-emphasis of secondary education is startling when education is reviewed among Grenadian women. Young girls in Grenadian society appear to have an opposite experience where they are encouraged to continue their educational exposures in secondary schools or the local community college. Several Grenadian men talked about seeing how girls were treated differently. For example, Joe, a 49-year-old fisherman, talked about how his sister became a teacher:
“I left primary school to become a fisherman to help the family out. When my younger sister was coming up, they thought she was smart and they really encouraged her to go on to secondary school. I used to pay her school fees with the money I made fishing.”

There was also a similar pattern by Terrence, a 42-year-old, bookkeeper, who said the following:

I got into this profession after I decided I no longer wanted to work as vendor in the market. But I had a younger sister that use to follow me all the time into the market and she was good with numbers. When she finished primary school, she told our mother that she wanted to be a vendor like me and was not interested in secondary school. Our mother was so angry with her and made her realize that not going to secondary school was not an option.”

These two accounts show the concerted efforts to educate young girls by emphasizing secondary education. The outcome of those practices is the noticeable pattern among the profiles of the PFP men and the women associated with the PFP men, where women have more years of educational exposure than Grenadian men.

The result of this disparity seems to fuel some of the domestic violence incidences within relationships where men experience issues of low self-esteem or feel threatened by a girlfriend or wife that will have more education. PFP men described how women with more education are seen as threatening because they have a greater chance of having a better and stable job than a man would. Stephen, a 34-year-old, unemployed father, notes this scenario within the following statement:
“Today, I am unemployed and have not been able to find a job for at least a year. On the other hand, my wife has a secondary school education and went to nursing school and she got a promotion the other day. It is hard to feel like a real man when these women out there are outsmarting us because they have educational degrees. I wish I had the same opportunities when I was child growing up.”

Stephen got involved in the PFP program after his wife promotion, he got angry with her and became violence. He believed that since she had more education, there was more opportunities for her, making him feel insecure and ultimately violent. His feelings appeared to be typical reactions between men and women, as James, a 45-year-old agricultural laborer assessed,

“Women have surpassed men a long time ago when they started allowing them to finish secondary schooling. It is very rare these days to find a woman that does not have two or three degrees and men have only our primary school education. I feel shame to approach a woman these days because I could never be an equal to her when she has more education than me.”

The educational disparities between Grenadian men and women appear to fuel domestic violence, because men feel like they have lost the advantage of being able to control women with a sense of power and authority because education provides women with the advantage of not being subjugated. The following comments continue to reflect that types of feelings that PFP men have about women with more education. The following starts with Sherman, a 40-year-old father and seasonal construction worker:

“In terms of getting a education and making my own way, like going out on the job market, we [Grenadian men] have lost it. Trust me, a lot of young men have dropped out of school, quite young. But young women have been encouraged to go the extra mile. Women are finishing secondary schools and going to colleges, where they are getting their degree. As a result, they are working and making more money that I would make. Right now, women are ruling things. Right now, a woman is boss in society.”
Sherman’s account singles out the gender differences in women’s education and professional success that women earn because of their education. Sherman feels that he has lost out on being viewed as a respectable man because he is not educationally equivalent to his wife who has a university degree in accounting. His wife has been able to maintain a job and salary that supports the entire family, while Sherman has been unemployed.

“...The fact that my wife is the one working and providing for the family, I feel like I am useless in this family especially as man that can even provide for my children. It is those feelings that got me into trouble several months ago when I got so angry that my wife was doing more than me that it made me feel embarrassed. I took out my frustration on her and ended up with bruised lip. I feel really sorry for what I did but I can’t help it that we men are losing out.”

— Sherman

Sherman’s experience is symbolic of what happens when men feel demonized by the advantage of their wives’ education that affords them the option of having jobs and salaries that their male partners cannot achieve with their trade skills education. The outcome of the educational disparities is fueling the violent confrontations in relationships where men are threatened and trying to exercise their power and control over conditions they have lost due to their educational limitations.

It was evident among these accounts that men are really angry about the current economic conditions that do not afford employment opportunities. The connections between the employment and educational exposures and that of violence are significant and need to be addressed to alleviate domestic violence in relationships. The following section will continue to illustrate the relational gendered realities that emerge from these economic and educational disparities.
Gendered Expectations

So far, I reviewed how education and early family experiences have shaped some aspects of the lives of Grenadian men and women. However, another important segment about gender acquisition and practice that emerged was gender expectations. Throughout this study, I found very distinct gendered lines that allude to gender expectations such as men being the breadwinners, providers and protectors despite their socio-economic deficits; in contrast, women despite their success are still expected to be mothers, homemakers, and supporters of their partners with their education. The juxtaposed problem is that the traditional gendered expectation for Grenadian men to be in control with the power to provide for their families as a way of demonstrating men's success illustrates hegemonic masculinity is no longer translatable given the some of socio-economic changes. However, women are still expected to relinquish ideas of independence and self-sustainability by getting married or being in a relationship with a man that takes care of her by honoring her femininity and her ability to produce children with her education success.

Given the educational and employment disparities between men and women, the gendered expectations no longer match to the current realities, because women are more educated and employable than men who are expected to be the ones in control with the power to take care of their families. Therefore, Grenadian men are showing signs of frustration because they are not able to achieve what they consider to be their ideals of masculinity, while women have been able to fill their deficits.
The following accounts from men and women illustrate how men mitigate their gendered expectations and the realities of women being better positioned to be in control of a family situation. The first account is from Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker. Fortunately, he is employed (as is his wife) but he still expects her to maintain her duties as his wife although she goes out to work as he does:

“I am the man of the house. As the leader, I have to respect my woman, but she has to also respect me. When I wake early in the morning for work, I tell my wife that I want my clothes washed. She does it because it is a sign of respects and honors.”

Martin’s discussions about his household expectations are filled with strong statements that signify how important his masculine role is within his family. However, what is equally important is having a woman that compliment’s Martin as head of the household. Martin’s reference to “his woman” signifies that she is subordinate to him within the home. Martin justifies his masculinity based on his ability to be the breadwinner by earning an income for the household and to provide for his wife and children.

Grenadian men consciously appear to try to emulate an image that ensures that they are in control. Their selection of wives that can support their role as head of a household appears to be as equally important as their ability to be men. The following account by Sean, a 49-year-old fisherman in a common-law relationship with eight children, talks about what he has done to select a woman to be his wife:
"To make sure that I maintain a good image in this village, I did not go out there select any woman to be my wife. I needed a lady that will compliment my role as a man. I do not mind if she works on her own, but I must be the one to take care of the family."

Sean’s statement reinforces Martin’s ideas about masculine identity that specifies that having a woman, a home, and a family are the ideals of masculinity. These three entities were re-occurring measures of masculine success in how men described being perfectly masculine within Grenadian society.

By exploring this discussion about breadwinners, providers, and protectors, I found that even though it is not uncommon for Caribbean women to work (as discussed earlier that 71% of the interviewed Grenadian women were employed), the nature of their income in the family was not equally viewed especially when the man also works and supports the family. Grenadian men referred to "his woman’s salary" in the home as contributions to the household. The concept of her contributions is seen as reinforcing his role as breadwinner, provider, and protector, even when the woman may be making a higher financial contribution to the family than the man. The man still viewed her salary as a contribution, because he was the head of household. For example, James is a 45-year-old, agricultural laborer with a partner that is a teacher:

“I know I am not a traditionalist man because I allow my woman to go out there and work. But I know she likes her job and with her salary it helps me to provide a better home for our three children. I consider myself a modern man because my wife works and she helps me out rather than me taking full responsibility to provide for everyone."

Throughout these discussions about breadwinner, provider and protector, the Grenadian men appear to be adjusting to their association to the labels of
breadwinner and provider because several female partners have taken the lead on being able to do more than men within families. However, men were not considering making the same degree of adjustment as protectors of a household. During the process of unpacking their reasons, men stated that women were not built like men to physically protect a home and household; this stature would enable men to fight off any attacks of aggression. Such a description shows that the term "protector" is heavily attributed to the biological physique of men and the innate assumption that men are aggressors to fight off attacks. Grenadian men believed that men are better positioned to protectors and could not see women as able to do the same even if she attempted to take on that role. It is on that basis that men believed that they still had a vital role within homes to be in positions of power and control to protect, as Cedric, a 60-year-old father and grandfather illustrated with the following statement:

“Today’s women need to be realistic. They can be a provider and breadwinner in a home but they could never fight off a thief if he broke into their home. Women are not strong enough to fight back when someone wants something in your house. That is why it is always good to have man around.”

These and many more participants’ accounts show how rigid gender is perceived and reinforced between Grenadian men and women’s lives in the home. The unfortunate consequences are the overt assumptions about Grenadian women being in positions to compromise their lives for the sake of men. At the same time, the statements by these Grenadian men show how aware they are about power and control to their masculinity. They attribute the demand for respect based on their masculinity especially as breadwinner, provider and protector.
However, some men appear ready to negotiate some masculine expectations because of the economic vantage point that women have to be better breadwinners or providers. But, there was strong consensus that being a protector is still a masculine domain that women could never achieve because it requires being able to fight aggression that shows the leverages of power and control.

**Objective Three: Caribbean Gender and Domestic Violence**

The discussions relating to objective three demonstrated the connection between Caribbean gender and domestic violence. They referenced issues of class, family structure, and religious institutions that show connection between Caribbean masculinity and domestic violence. These discussions drew attention to the final two levels of the socio-ecological model-- community and society, proving that those entities are powerful reinforcers within a culture of violence in Grenadian society.

**Class Distinctions and Violence against Women**

PFP stakeholders highlighted obvious and predictable characteristics among Grenadian families that increased the chances of being prone to domestic violence based on patterns within court systems. Most of the shared characteristics included being poor, low educational achievement, economically challenged, and early exposure to violence during childhood. Stakeholders’ perceptions about those causal factors were reinforced among the data that was revealed among the profiles of the PFP men and women and early childhood discussions.
When those patterns were combined with the findings of MG Smith’s *Stratifications in Grenada* study (1965) it clearly shows that most of the people associated to the PFP would be classified as folk class. This class group consisted of individuals who were of lower-economic strata in Grenadian society and settled among the rural communities that once were the plantation sites during colonialism. These people were descendants of the enslaved and indentured servants that worked on the plantation sites mainly of African and Indian-descendants. This discovery was explained by the following, Magistrate who served as a judge for at least 15 years as they described the risk of violence as a function of family history.

“Many of the people in the court system for domestic violence are poor and rural with patterns of violence in their families. They have seen violence in their homes and in their communities, especially between adult partners. Eventually, they have come to realize that it is way life. It is a sad reality.”

Several other stakeholders cautioned against drawing conclusions that domestic violence is limited to that lower class group. As the following excerpt from a Social Worker notes, domestic violence also occurs within the higher socio-economic class groups. The patterns of difference are in how the people of the class group decides to deal with the issues,

“Violence is everywhere in most Grenadian families, especially sexual violence. It is not unheard of that people know some influential person that beats his wife or sleeps with young women outside of his marriage. But the difference is that the rich people are less like to go to the courts to get help. They rather avoid the system to avoid shaming the family’s name.”

When this distinction emerged among the discussions, stakeholders were asked to explain why are the responses different between the higher socio-
economic class members to those of the lower socio-economic class group, especially as it relates to access to justice. Stakeholders believed that women among the higher socio-economic group would avoid the courts in Grenada to so that they are not viewed as bring shame to their family. Instead, they are more likely to seek private counseling or traveling abroad to Trinidad or Barbados. If those options are not pursued, most of these women remain silent at all cost because of their class and status within Grenadian social relations. They remain silent while their male partners are allowed to continue their behavior, as the following female Police Officer for eight years explained:

“Men will always have women outside his relationship even when beating his wife. The wife is expected to be the stronger one with a good face within the community. Men will be ignored for their actions because it is viewed as natural. But women are held to a higher standard.”

This statement draws attention to the differences about gender expectations and scrutiny communities will project towards men and women. There appears to be more expectations among the higher socio-economic class women to upheld the family honor despite being victims of violence by their husbands. The men are not held to the same standard and in fact never really challenged for his behavior. In comparison to lower socio-economic class, the gender distinction does exist for men and women but the women in this group seems to have more autonomy to seek justice because they are not obsessed with the community’s perception as much as the other class group. Therefore, this explains their involvement in the PFP program.

Social Workers and State Prosecutors believe that violence is part of the larger framework of social expectations that is entrenched in the culture that
makes it acceptable for men to use violence against their wives or partners.

Consider the following statement from a Magistrate who served as a judge for the last ten years:

“Over all Grenada is a peaceful society where do not have many murders or shootings as would in some place like Trinidad. But there is a lot of family violence that people experience because it is just normal in how men and women interact and especially in how parents discipline their children. The lines between reprimanding and being violent is not clearly defined and people just don’t when it is too much.”

The magistrate’s discussion point highlights an important trend of disciplinary practices that emerges within childhood relationship between parents and children and continues into adulthood where men invoke the same practices with his wife/ partner as well as children in his household. The following segment about violence within the family structure speaks to those blurred lines that enable violence within Grenadian society.

**Implications of Class and Status within PFP**

The PFP program was never created on the assumption that violence occurs only among certain class and status groups of Grenada’s society. Instead, the program was conceptualized and launched on the presumption that any man that has been charged with domestic violence by the Magistrate court system and would be considered for the PFP program. However, patterns of disparities emerged in this study that clearly showed that lower socio-economic class and status groups of men and women in Grenada were over-represented in the PFP program. Upon further review, it was evident that the patterns were not targeted goals of the PFP program but symbolic of a cultural phenomenon that is clearly based on class and status that disparities in how higher socio-economic group
members of Grenadian society handles domestic violence outside the judicial system.

First, PFP stakeholders made it clear that domestic violence is not class or status specific issue within Grenada but rather a problem that all strata groups of society have incidences of violence. The distinction among the groups emerges in how its members identify and handle domestic violence, which is solely based on social image and having the financial means to purchase private care rather than using the government-supported services. Therefore, unlike the lower socio-economic group use the courts and the PFP program to handle their domestic violence disputes from a financial standpoint, the higher socio-economic group resort to alternative means of dealing with their problems that they can acquire through their financial means. Those means include: 1) Women remaining silent about the abuse to protect the honor and prestige of the family; or 2) If the abuse becomes extreme, or excessive, they would opt to seek private medical care treatment in neighboring islands of Trinidad or Barbados, to avoid public scrutiny within Grenada’s social circles. In both instances, the common rule among families and groups of the higher socio-economic class and status is to avoid any public display of their personal lives in the judicial system as means of protecting their social image. This is driven by a collective desire to retain the lines of class and status distinctions that these issues are not major problems in the higher socio-economic groups as it perceived among the lower-economic groups frequencies within the court systems. The higher socio-economic group members regard domestic abuse as derelict behaviors of the lower class and status group
and that domestic violence is not a common issue that would be considered a problem within their class and status group.

Contrary to what has been said and based on the accounts from PFP stakeholders, there are degrees of similarities within both groups that show that the burden of violence remains gendered in that women are responsible for dealing with the issue when they are victims of violence, and the male perpetrators are not held accountable for their actions. This emerging pattern is identical to the findings among the women in the PFP program who were of the lower socio-economic group. However, the point diversion emerges in among women within the higher socio-economic group appears are required to bear greater burden of violence because they can not access government’s social services as part of keeping their affiliation to their class and status group. Instead they appear to take greater risk to hide their problem or seek help in neighboring countries rather than taking advantage of the PFP program. Such patterns of behavior also illustrates that the PFP objectives have penetrate the higher socio-economic class and status groups because most male perpetrators of that group will never prosecuted or considered for the PFP program.

**Disciplinary Practices and Family Violence**

Within a male social worker’s reflection about his role dealing with violence in the community, he paraphrased that violence is still very much entrenched within Grenadian families especially in relation to disciplinary practices between parents and children. He described how many disciplinary
acts are corporal punishments where a father or mother physically beats their children to curtail bad behavior.

“Parents hit their children a lot more than having discussions about what is right and wrong. The problem stems from how parents learn to deal conflicts in their lives and they use the same tactic with their children.”

The consequences of such perception is viewed in how disciplining children. But as the following statement speaks to from a Social Worker’s perspective, there different gendered of discipline messages that emerges for men and women:

“Disciplining a boy invokes messages to him that violence can control someone, coercing them do things that you want them to do. Eventually, boys will grow up and use violence to control women.”

Such perceptions emerged in the PFP cycle observation clearly alluding to a strong cultural perception that violence is about domination and power. The following statement is from Martin, a 39-year-old construction worker who described the incident that got him into trouble with the law:

“I told my girlfriend that I wanted a shirt ironed when I got back from work. She was home all day and she did not do it. So, I had to reprimand her to teach her a lesson.”

Martin’s discussion about hitting is wife is almost symbolically similar to how parents maintain the same degree of expectations with their children. Therefore, men will begin to have the same expectations in how he views his partner and his role within the family and home.

The concept of discipline also appears to focus a lot on the use of physical violence such as beatings, lashes or slaps to reinforcing positions of authority and power. An authoritative person that can use violence reinforces his role
through fear tactics of disciplining enabling the lines of disciplining and violence to be blurred distinctions. For example, the following exchanges were captured in a PFP group sessions:

Facilitator: "Is there every a time when hitting is the way to teach a lesson to someone?"

PFP man: "Yes, because there are times when people just want to ignore who is in control and it could be a situation where the man wants the person to do something that he wants done a certain way."

Facilitator: "But, isn’t there another way of doing that without hitting?"

PFP Man: "Sometimes talking is not enough, you just have to give them a few lashes for them to realize that you serious because they will take for a joke."

Facilitator: "So you afraid they are not respect you because they ignoring?"

PFP Man: "Yes, the worse thing is to have someone make you look like a fool. Therefore, you must train them young so they know their boundaries."

These exchanges within the PFP cycle show how discipline actions embody messages between disciplinarian and the receiver of violence. The basis of the exchange and justification appears to center on invoking messages about power and control, which are core to the existence of masculinity. Thus making it very crucial and important for men to garner that degree of authority.

Discussions among stakeholders illustrate men within families really value the ability of being a disciplinarian as part of their role as protector. The concept of protection is not only about protecting family members but it is also about the family honor that must be well received within the community. Therefore, being a disciplinarian requires men to not only survey the image of the family in the
community but also within the family structure so that his wife and children are
not engage in activities that would discredit his masculine image. If there any
challenges, he can invoke his disciplinarian role to regulate those individuals, as
a male state prosecutor of 22 years describes:

“Men within families want their families to be a good example and
extension of his image in the community. The justify violence against
someone in the family to avoid embarrassment.”

This particular discussion draws an important discovery earlier finding
presented about the core elements of masculinity that appears to be centered on
home/household, children and wife/girlfriend. The value of masculinity seems to
be measured on those constructs and in order to garner and keep those
constructs in place to reinforce his masculinity, disciplining as a form of justified
violence sustains the power of men. Violence through disciplinary practices
essentially shows power and control as the following male social worker with 12
years of field experience explains:

“Parents do not realize that disciplining a child is a fine line of violence and
control. Young children are raised in fear of being disciplined but as they
become adults themselves, they will also use the same behaviors to
control other people. As a result, it is not uncommon to hear husbands
beating their wives because they view it as responsibility to them for his
image.”

Other social workers have insinuated that disciplinary actions between
parents and children serve similar purpose in how husbands view their
relationship to their wives. Such notion is best described by a female state
prosecutor of six years who highlighted how women within families are equally to
blame for orienting young boys to believe that violence is the way to control
women:
“When we hear that a man has been abusive, some will say well it is the way he learned to be a man because he has been taught by his Nanny [Grandmother] or Tanty [Aunt], or mother to become a disciplinarian to protect their family to show his power to be in control.”

— Police Officer D, who had fifteen years experience

This cyclical nature of violence begins with disciplining children and becomes masculine measure that boys learn to be masculine when they use the same tactics to control their girlfriends or wives in the same ways they were controlled as children. As a result, such acts of violence shows that it always has a deliberate message that begins in childhood and evolves into adulthood with the same focus of power and control.

**Community Perspectives of Domestic Violence**

Given the role of the community in informing how discipline is sanctioned by parents toward children and the clearly the starting point invoking that violence can be used to garner power and control, there was a need to take a closer look at social perceptions of domestic violence. To understand what domestic violence means and how it is interpreted within society, stakeholders were asked to define domestic violence and explain how the community reacts to domestic violence. Collectively, the responses signaled that domestic violence is only seen as physical abuse. Other forms of abuse such as verbal, emotional, and financial are not considered domestic violence because they are normative experiences within a relationship.

Taking that perspective about physical abuse, stakeholders were asked to contextualize the nature of physical abuse as domestic violence. From their discussions it becomes apparent that there are different degrees of physical
abuse. The degree of separation is centered on some actions that would be seen as domestic abuse and those that would not. The two patterns of separation were found in these categories: physical attacks that are not defined as domestic abuse and physical attacks that would be defined as domestic abuse.

Physical abuse that was defined as domestic abuse is perceived as an incident when a man has been violent towards a woman when she has provoked the cause of his reaction; provoking meaning that woman intentionally did something that angered or disrespected the man such that he reacted violently towards her. When that happens, his actions are justified as a form of violence against the woman to reprimand her. This concept of it being the woman’s fault is best described this Magistrate who has served as a judge for 15 years explains,

“Whenever you hear people talking about domestic abuse, one of the initial questions people will ask is what did she do to him that made him respond like that?”

There is an instant social presumption that woman are responsible for violence if they provoked their male partner, and thus the physical abuse would be deemed acceptable. The acceptance is centered on social and cultural expectations that the woman should be aware of her relationship parameters with her partner and should avoid overstepping those boundaries to avoid her partner's violent reaction.

The contrasting definition of physical abuse is when the violence is unprovoked, meaning there is no justification for the man’s reaction. Most times, these types of violence occur when a man is intoxicated and comes home to beat his wife. Other causes of unprovoked violence are being the subject of
community rumors of cheating on a husband. If the rumors were false, then it would be considered domestic violence because it was unprovoked for being baseless.

Emerging from these definitions of domestic abuse, the burden of defining violence and justification appears to be squarely on the role of women's actions in relation to how she must act and associate to her male partner. The community expects women to be responsible for their actions but also of their male partners to avoid the risk of violence. No degrees of accountability are ever placed upon men as perpetrators of violence showing that men are usually not held accountable for their actions.

The realization of these definitions of domestic abuse shows that domestic violence is viewed as a justified gendered practice within Grenadian society. There are strong imbalances about the burden of violence that imposes greater scrutiny on women for the cause and consequences against them. This idea is best described by the following observation made by a Magistrate:

"Grenadian men believe that violence is a natural masculine dimension of his existence. If he becomes violent, it is someone else's fault that caused him to react that way and not his doing."

The linkage between masculinity and violence legitimizes domestic violence against women without any recourse for men. Men are raised to believe that they are naturally acting out their masculinity and that the responsibility of violence is that of women.
Religious Institutions

Expanding on the discussions of defining violence and the practices of discipline, the justification for violence was most commonly explained by the role of religion in Grenadian society. It is no secret that Grenada is a very religious country and people always reference God in their daily lives as justification for their purpose and basis of social relations. But it was startling to realize that it was also used as way to explain the fundamental reason for violence, especially the gendered position for men being able to use it to sustain their masculinity as husbands and heads of households. Given such an indication, such role of religious institutions among gender practices, including violence, was explored to how influential religious institutions supported violence within Grenadian society.

As noted in chapters one and two, churches have a long history within the colonial Caribbean that is concurrent with the establishment of plantations. They have retained a very prominent role with society that has justified the enslavement of people and the purpose of the colonizers to explore the lands of the Caribbean. Eventually, the teachings were manipulated to positioned hegemonic masculinity as the primary measure of leadership and guide for how social and cultural relations were predicated. It is no secret that it has been used to create divisive gendered and racial practices. It remains a dominant force and measure of social relations that justifies their position of power. For example, Travis, a 44-year-old, married farmer with five children stated the following:
“God made Adam and Eve and he gave Adam the right to establish a home as place in which he can bring his wife to into to take care and protect as way of showing that he is honoring the wishes of God.”

Another example that is symbolic of the how religion is invoked to justify and explain gender relations is captured in the following statement by Terrance, a 45-year-old bookkeeper, when he talked about the role of women:

“God has assigned specific roles that all of us are required to respect. Respect is important because if we do not respect God’s teachings then we are not Christian. A woman is not God-fearing when she thinks that she can be an equal to man in a house. She is supposed to know that she is subordinate and man is responsible for taking care of the family.”

Such discussions about gender are very unique in that more emphasis is spent on defining the subjugation of women and children, especially in reference to respecting rules of authority and honoring the men and it is culturally equated to mean being a good Christian. Those who venture away from those principles are described in demonic tones and cast as individuals that are evil and against the Christian foundations of the country.

Religion and the church are instilled early in life, especially among the older generations of Grenadian people. The same passion is not as recognizable among the younger generation, but it remains a dominant force and measure of someone being a good citizen. People view involvement in churches and following religious principles as a way of redeeming oneself. Such a position was commonly heard among the PFP men within the cycle as they talked about making changes in their lives based on what they learned in the program. The following statement by Simon, a 34-year-old father of three, describes how he plans to turn his life because of the PFP:
“My mother used to talk and encouraged me to go to church especially when I began having problems with my wife. For a long time, I did not go, but I eventually went back and it was there that I learn that a woman is to honor her husband.”

The value of churches and religion is major among men as a way of redeeming themselves, but also for regaining trust, respect and honor among the community and family. Men talked of losing focus in life because they ignored God. For example, James explains why he resorted to violence when he described his absence from church with the following statement:

“I never had any problems with my wife and family when I was going to church. Since I stop going, I started drinking and that got me into trouble. My biggest regret is hitting my wife. I need to set an example for my children and return to church.”

James’s statement reflected on many points reinforced the role of church and religion as way to redeem his image. He believes the church is the best way of measuring true value and purpose in life, which he said he lost when he stopped going to church. Now, he is scared that his children may adopt some of those bad habits of avoiding church. He thinks their failure would invoke a bad image about him being a bad parent.

In addition to establishing the basis of religion and church within the home as a guiding principle of how a man should be an example to his children, men quoted biblical verses to explain the role of women in society. The following features were captured among the group discussions in the PFP program:
"Let the women learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. For Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression."

— Timothy 2:11-14

"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church: and he is the savior of the body. Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything."

— Ephesians 5:22-24

"Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also faith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

— I Corinthians 14:34-35

These and many more statements are what men constantly referenced within the PFP discussions about the role of women according to what the Bible stated. Most were adamant and very convinced, that these are the rules of social relations. If a woman did not respect the biblical law as men stated, she is suppose to be corrected and disciplined. On such pretenses, violence emerges and is justified on the basis of religious doctrine.

Given the limited literacy exposures, men tended to listen and regurgitate what has been stated rather than critically analyze and consider in their own minds the meanings of this statement. Therefore, the fault of this perpetuation is not so much on the statements and the men that use them, as it is more so on how the church promotes this ideology of subordinating women and children and remaining silent about domestic violence. Since the church and its leaders have
not been advocates against violence, men continue to assume that it is normal, as a 40-year-old, female police officer states,

“The church and its teachings are very influential in the home. So men will use the bible even when they do not go to church to justify their actions including violence. The greater problem is that the church leaders have not been clear about their position in the church. So man will hear what is said in church or realize that the religion gives man the power to be a certain way and so he will use it to his advantage.”

That said, a female social worker with twenty years of field experience also signaled that Grenadian women are willing accept some church principles,

“It is easier to find more women in the church than it is to find man and so these women in the church sit and listen to the statements about being obedient to their husbands and they will believe that it is the way that God wanted it.”

They are significant emphasis of what is said and expected according the Bible. Though men talked about being away from church, they alluded to the role of the church helping them to get back to a balanced life. For example, Aslem, a 23-year-old auto mechanic, spoke about the role of the church in his life since the PFP program:

“My life began with problems when I got involved with a woman that did not go to church. As a kid, my mother and father used to take us all to church. I did not realize the importance of having a good Christian woman, but as I [was] hanging with the boys on the block, I got involved with one of those women that used to hang out there.”

In Anslem’s discussions, he suggested that much of the problems with his girlfriend are associated to the fact that he wanted her to be like a good Christian woman in the same ways that his mother was to his father. He ended that relationship and has moved on to a new partner that values religion in the same
ways that he has done. During his new girlfriend, Lucianda, a 22-year-old teacher, appreciates his religious belief as she states,

“It makes it easier to know where the person is coming from when we both believe in God. Whenever we have problems we both just stop and pray to God that things will work out. Our connection becomes stronger when we do that.”

The role of the church appears to have influenced drinking issues as men talked about reducing their consumption based on the teachings of the church. As Carlos, a 38-year-old married man with three children describes,

“Since I decided to give myself to God three weeks ago, I have not been drinking and I have no plans of doing again. I realize that the drinking was causing the problems.”

Despite the concerns among stakeholders that the church and its religious doctrine has been used to instigate the subjugation of women and the use of violence, there were numerous accounts of how it can be influential in changing the lives of PFP men, especially in realizing that they are not being good role models to their families and reducing harmful practices such as drinking. Such findings show the relevance of religious institutions if their message can be used to promote a better quality of life that helps to support the causes of women.

These accounts about church and religion show the significance of the institution in leveraging gendered, ranked perspectives and domestic violence. The most problematic aspect is how men manipulate the religious doctrine to support their dominance. These finding suggest that there is a need to incorporate the churches into the PFP beyond a single topical session in the cycle. There may be some added value in asking the church to become
stakeholders as a way to clarify its perspectives about domestic violence and promote gender equity and equality.

**Violence in Relationships**

Among the women’s accounts, the onset of violence was gradual, where incidences did not begin at the onset of the relationship but evolved into being routine. Most violence incidences were physical, but through periods of reflection in the follow-up interviews, several women came to realize that patterns of emotional, psychological and financial abuse were present at the onset of their relationships. For example, Susan, a 28-year-old teacher, talked about her relationship with her partner, a 40-year-old unemployed man:

“For a long time, he never threatened me to hit me in the beginning. But I remember him discouraging me from dressing certain ways and avoiding most friends. Eventually, I discovered that he changed into a different person whenever he drinks at the run shop. He returns home drunk after spending all of his money on alcohol.”

Susan’s story draws attention to the gradual nature in which many women come to realize that they were being abused. Susan, like many other women, did not see any signs in the beginning, even though her partner was abusive in subtle ways. However, things began to evolve when he was physically abusive after an evening at the rum shop where he interacted alcohol. Susan thinks his talks and discussions with other men reinforced some of the violent perceptions of masculine beliefs about masculinity, and he was proving himself with violence towards her. Susan’s experience was not isolated, but was typical of other women’s accounts such as the following from Annette, a 25-year-old
schoolteacher that also experienced violence when she was pregnant with the child of her current boyfriend.

“When I was pregnant with his child, he had other girlfriends that he would go out with, while I stayed at home. One day, I confronted him and told him to stop doing it for the sake of our child. When I did that, he slapped and began kicking me all over.”

Annette draws attention to the fact that her boyfriend had other sexual relationships and girlfriends in addition to their relationship. First, she does not appear to be phased by the fact that he is stepping out with other women. She was more concerned that he was being very open about it, and embarrassing her in the community. She wanted him to stop going out in public, but he got enraged about being told to limit the way that he viewed his masculine identity. In a similar case, Letisha shared the following story:

“When I was pregnant sixteen years ago, he went out to the road to have a drink at the rum shop. While he is there he began aggressively talking to some of the other guys and so the other guys began to talk back to him in a way that embarrassed him. Eventually, he left when he no longer could keep up and was completely drunk. When he got home, he began taking it out on me.”

Letisha is now a single mother and grandmother with a long history of violence and victimization at the hands of the father of her children. For years, she had endured abuse whenever he got drunk and came home in the same disposition as Susan’s boyfriend. Unfortunately, he was being so abusive that she suffered a miscarriage. Then, Letisha went to the police with the idea that they would warn him, but he was arrested under the new domestic violence law.

These accounts draw attention to violence in relationships, especially at points when women are most vulnerable: during pregnancy. Their stories further
demonstrate the impact of alcohol on domestic violence. But, as Susan noted, which was later confirmed by other women, it is not only alcohol that causes the problem but the environment of other men drinking provoking discussions of demonstrating power and control that create this tension that is linked to violence.

**Consequences of Domestic Violence**

Among the nine women interviewed in this study, several faced up to ten years of repeated physical, financial, and emotional abuse at the hands of their partners. Their partners succeeded in eroding their self-confidence and right to privacy, threatened the respondents and their children with further abuse such as withholding financial support to the home, and committed various acts of emotional blackmail. Many women believed that the abuse would end if they just took steps to appease their partners rather than seeking the help of the law. Once again, such perceptions shows the social perception of domestic violence that places the blame more on the women, instigating thoughts that they are responsible for the violence and required to make the change that is needed to stop the violence. Such a perspective is reflected in Susan’s statement, who was a 28-year-old Primary School teacher that had a live-in boyfriend for nine years,

“During the course of our 9 years and 6 months (relationship)... we constantly break up, make back, break up, make back. Our situation got to a point, where I went out with my friends and I returned home he would take his finger and shove up in my vagina and smell it and ask me, you have not be with another man? You know and these type of things.”

Susan’s disturbing recount about her nine year relationship illustrates the levels of mistrust between men and women and how men instigated problems on
the basis that women were not being faithful in their relationships. The consequence was not only physical abuse, but also very humiliating sexual abuse as Susan recounts at the hands of her boyfriend. Based on Susan’s accounts, it appears that the boyfriend had his own insecurities about their relationship and projected his fear upon her as a way of exerting his power and control. His ability to do this offered some satisfaction that he was being a man based on his ability to control her. After nine years, Susan decided to end the relationship and the departure was not without threats of further violence. But she is happy that she has moved on.

Unlike Susan, some other women have not experience violence-free breakups but rather more violent attacks when the boyfriend or husband suspected that the relationship was about to be over. Such conditions occurred in Janis’ example when she finally decided to file a complaint against her husband and placed a restraining order that blocked him from entering the home. The husband violated the order and threatened to kill her and her children in the home as she describes:

“After a two years (relationship), I decided to end it and his reaction was to threatened the children to burn them. At one point, he took the cylinder of gas and cut the hose. Then he told them that he was going blow them up inside the house too. Eventually we all ran away from the house because he was serious about doing it.”

— Janis, a 34-year-old woman

Janis’s account illustrates the extreme nature of how some Grenadian men can go to control their partner and children. Janis experienced threats burn her and their children in his home showing that her husband was obsessed with being able to control her and her children despite her desire to end the
relationship. His extreme actions show the degree to which men will take to express and show their masculinity even if it means imprisonment.

The onset of violence varied among the women’s accounts. As we have seen so far, with Susan it was nine years and with Janis it was two years. The following story by Debra, a 30-year-old mother of two, also reflects the experience of violence during the early years of her relationship:

"About 2 years (relationship), my children’s father hit me with a baseball bat and my hand was swollen. It all began when I was packing and washing by the road. At some point, I was on my cell phone talking and I felt the cell phone pulled away from my ears. Then, I realize he was dragging me. Then, he pulled me up and said that he would kill me. But I challenged him and said that I was not taking him on anymore. I ran to his sister’s house but he got to their kitchen and pulled a knife on us. Because his sister boyfriend was there to intervene, I was able to escape. If the other man was not there, I would be dead because when he pull the knife, he put the knife to me throat and his sister’s boyfriend took away front him.”

Jean’s depiction is one of the most extreme cases heard among these women’s accounts. However, her story demonstrates the impact of a woman deciding to walk out on her partner. Jean was adamant about ending her relationship with her abusive boyfriend after years of abuse and her decision to do that was a direct insult to the masculine identity of her partner. The extreme nature of the boyfriend’s reaction shows the degree to which men value power and control as well as feel disrespected when they lose it. The experience of walking away was empowering for Jean, but she was also ready to die because she had no more tolerance for her boyfriend’s abuse. Like Jean, the next account by Elizabeth also talks about the extreme nature of which her boyfriend also physically attacked her when she decided to end their relationship:
“After an eight years (relationship)... I packed my things and I was going in the door, when he pull me back... held my throat, pull me back in the room, lock the room, tear up all my plastic bags and even on one occasion he put a knife to my throat and tell me I am not going anywhere. He left mark on skin and said that no man can’t have me.”

— Elizabeth, a 27-year-old female secretary

Elizabeth’s account is almost identical to Jean’s story, as her partner also tried to keep the relationship when she wanted out. Elizabeth’s decision to walk away was a major blow and challenge to her partner, because he clearly saw that he was no longer the one in control. Elizabeth’s desire to end the relationship shows how she changed the power and control dynamics of the relationship in calling off the partnership. Her decision infuriated the man such that he responded violently as a means of intimidation. When asked why she did not back down, Elizabeth said the following:

“I realize that I need to have a better life for myself and my children and I was not going to take no for an answer. I know I was taking a very bold move especially going out there on my own but I had to do it or else I think I would be dead if I stayed with him.”

— Elizabeth

Elizabeth found the strength to confront her boyfriend and was ready to die if he took her life, but she felt that death was a better option than another day with her partner. Such a powerful analogy shows the pain and hurt that Grenadian women experience because of violence for which Elizabeth was willing to choose death as way out of her relationship.

These accounts illustrate that significance of having power and control over the lives of women that men cherish as part of their own ways of defining themselves. When they are challenged by their female partners and asked to end the relationship, the threat of losing that position of power is so great that it
causes a violent reaction. This shows that domestic violence emerges when those gendered scripts of power and control are altered. Men feel threatened and will use violence to maintain their control to assert their masculinity.

**Social Perceptions of Domestic Violence**

Given the fact that some women decided to end abusive relationships, I asked about the community’s reaction to their plea for help. In most instances, support came from friends, churches, elders, and even from the perpetrator’s family. However, in other instances the perpetrator’s family accused the victim as being the problem, as Debra, a 30-year-old market vendor stated:

“His family will call my work station and say that I don’t deserve to be working… I don’t deserve the work because I does be partying and … you know these type of things.”

Debra’s in-laws harassed her on the job because they knew that her employment status was the cause of most of the tension between her and her husband. They tried to break her down into believing that she did not deserve him because she did not respect and honor him. Her in-laws felt that she was taking advantage of her partner and made him look like a fool and weak man. They encouraged him to beat her and control her so that she would eventually leave the job. But, she continued working and called the police the moment he became abusive to her. After that, his family blamed her for getting him in trouble with the law. In another powerful account, Letisha, a 40-year-old mother of four children, had her husband incarcerated for a few nights after his attack and found help from a church, which again signals the role of religious institutions in dealing with domestic violence,
“I tried to get help from my friends and church. I also went to the neighborhood social worker but I didn’t really get any help because they say that the shelter was full.”

Letisha is referring to one of the only safety nets that is available for victimized women in Grenada, a shelter for battered women that can only accommodate approximately 20 to 30 women and children. Given the widespread problem of domestic violence and the absence of other interventions, the shelter cannot accommodate women like Letisha. The unfortunate consequence is that some women will return back to the abusive partners because there is nowhere else to go and their friends would not help them out. Fortunately for Letisha, she was able to obtain support from friends and church officials after she shared her problem with them. At first, she was apprehensive about talking to them for fear of social repercussions. However, they protected her integrity.

The role of the community among the cases of abuse was not consistent in how it dealt with domestic violence, illustrating the uneven levels of awareness and sensitivity to violence against women. At times, the perpetrator’s family chastised women for causing the abuse, while other women tapped into help from friends and church institutions. These accounts illustrate a need for greater community awareness and compassion for abused women. Along with the awareness, there appears to be a need to have safety nets and resources for women that are in need of getting help to leave and stay away from their abusive relationships.
Summary

These findings were presented by the research goals of (1) PFP Impact; (2) Gendered Knowledge and Practices; and (3) Social relations that influence violence against women, to show that Grenadian masculine gender expressions and violence against women were major elements within Grenadian social relations. Given that significance and the consequences that are associated to the men that are associated to that linkage, it justifies the significance of the Partnership for Peace Program.

First, the profiles of the participants showed points of similarities and deviations, which clearly mark the risk and vulnerability of being a perpetrator or victim of violence. One of the common points is that most of the individuals are of the lower socio-economic status group denoted as the folk class by MG Smith in 1965. They originate from rural communities with many only employed through seasonal patterns that increase the risk of poverty or close to being in poverty. The risk of poverty correlates to the risk of violence because Grenadian men and women are constantly living in fear of not being able to provide for their families, which cultivates anger and frustration that are clear probable risk for violence.

The profiles also showed disparities in educational attainment that are gendered. Women appeared to attained greater educational experiences compared to the men. Most men only had as much as primary school education in contrast to most women completed secondary schools and post-secondary education. However, higher degrees of educational s did not equate into greater autonomy of being completely free of violence, as other social and cultural
expectations about men and women seem to restrict women from benefiting fully from their educational success. Rather, it was more common for women to be employed in unrelated skilled groups that overtly gendered by the overrepresentation of women being concentrated in these professions. In contrast, the educational limitations of men were linked to the seasonal employment opportunities that they were able to garner to earn an income. The challenges of having a steady compromised the status of many men to be primary breadwinners, providers and protectors. This socio-economic disparity between men and women was a clear indicator of the causes of violence in relationships.

Moving beyond the profiles of the research participants and more into the exploration of the linkages between violence and gender expressions, numerous accounts about the PFP impact showed that the model seem to at least address some of these challenges especially in timely and carefully coordinated program that worked well for the enrolled men. UNWomen and LACC had a good sense of the circumstances within the communities and the prevalence of domestic violence, especially in the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan, which justified the launch and made it easier for stakeholders to accept PFP as an appropriate program for dealing with domestic violence. The PFP model and curriculum was appropriate for the men enrolled into the program and successfully raised awareness through measures that men need to take responsibility for their actions and adopt behavioral changes that were non-violent. Such adoptions seem appropriate for Grenadian men that it was some immediate observations of reducing or delaying
the risk of domestic violence in relationships that have been exposed to the PFP model. Through the inclusion of women’s perspectives in this research, their perspective was timely and important in showing that why they embraced the PFP model as an appropriate program for their partners, they were cautiously optimistic in how much that change was sustainable and long term. There perspectives solidify the need to have continuous follow-up for men that have completed the program.

Furthermore, these accounts illustrated that there are socio-ecological factors that influences the linkages between Grenadian masculinity and violence against women. The findings among the gendered knowledge and practices specifically demonstrated that there are individual and social expectations that mitigate how men become perpetrators of violence and women become victims. Early childhood exposures to feelings of neglect, family economic challenges and migratory patterns showed how violence was initiated among Grenadian men and women. The most disturbing of those experiences is the accounts of sexual abuse among Grenadian women. The consequences of those exposures influenced Grenadian men and women into emotional statuses where they have internalized their feelings and it is reflected in the relationship decisions.

It is also within this objective that it becomes clear that power leverages of violence were used as markers of gender expressions. There was a very strong consensus among Grenadian men about being breadwinners, providers and protectors that embody practices of resource control in ways that showed their need to have a home, with a social obligation being a provider. There was an
apparent ideological consensus that men were best positioned to be protectors because of the biological makeup of being defined as men that women did not have the ability to achieve on their own. Such assumptions reinforce the concept that women cannot exist without the presence and relationship of men.

The findings within the realm of the study’s third objective signal the relevance of the community and society in influencing the connection between masculinity and domestic violence. First, class appeared to influence the likely chance that certain aspects of Grenadian population would be reported to authorities and dealt with within the judicial system. However, stakeholders made clear that lower class group or poor is not the only ones that experience violence. Instead, violence does occur widely but people with resources among the upper class will use alternative channels such as private counseling practices or travelling to other countries for help. Therefore, women in both class groups experience violence but the difference in their experiences is that poor women are more likely to use the courts and the PFP for relief.

Besides women, violence is leverage early within family structures through disciplinary practices that embodies parental control of children through leverages of disciplinary power. Children are raised to be an example and extension of their families as part of the social obligation and consensus that man is head of a household and needs to set a good example for his family. It is from such practices that children (particularly young boys) learn how to use violence as a way to gain control of individuals. Eventually, they adopt those practices in their adulthood and use it as way to control Grenadian women.
Furthermore, the community and society played key roles in determining how domestic violence is defined based on the mitigating factor of whether it was an act provoked by what a woman did. Irrespective of the definitions, women were always held accountable and bear the burden of being consciously aware of how they interact with their partners. Thus, domestic violence is framed in social and cultural ways that projects more expectations on women, while men as perpetrators viewed as simply acting on his masculinity.

The community and society reaction to violence also influenced how women obtained help and support. Some women were able to find refuge among friends, families and churches. However, no one acknowledged receiving any support from government agencies or programs besides the PFP. This absence of resources shows a gap in the government’s responsibility to have programs and response mechanisms in place for women.

Collectively, these findings showed the socio-ecological factors of domestic violence within Grenadian society. The take home points among these findings are:

• Influential structures---The structures within the contemporary context that inform male gender and sexuality identity;

• Social and Cultural Expectations—Assumptions about gender and sexuality performances within daily activities;

• Childhood Exposure—Exposure to the conceptualization of gender relations based on parental influence; and
Gendered Expectations—Negotiating masculine identities between traditional, patriarchal expectations and the contemporary realities.

The experiences of gender expressions and violence converged within social relations that determined gender identities. There were clear patterns of association between Grenadian masculinities and violence against women that influence how men and women define their own identities and predicate their relationships with each.
Chapter Six: Discussion and Recommendations

This research had two overarching purpose to evaluate the Partnership for Peace Program and explore the linkages between the Grenadian masculine expressions and the prevalence of domestic violence against women. I used the United Nations’ Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) to investigate such relationship and presented my findings in chapter five. The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate the findings presented in Chapter Five as a way to move this discourse into an applied format that supports more efforts to reduce domestic violence against Grenadian women and draw attention to issues associated with Grenadian masculinities. Those points will be proposed in the study’s recommendations as practical ways of using the findings within a applied framework called Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean Violence that could support other research and program development initiatives. I will conclude this chapter with a dissemination plan on how this work will be distributed to relevant audiences in collaboration with my research partners United Nations Women (UNWomen) and Grenada’s Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC).

Summary of the Dissertation Findings

Objective One: To Explore the impact of the Caribbean-specific Partnership for Peace Program (PFP) model and curriculum.

In relation to other evaluative studies about domestic violence programs, all of which have been based on the Duluth model—that emphasize that male
perpetrators are held accountable for their actions and safeguarding the human rights of victims (Domestic Abuse Intervention program 2011), this study adopted the same evaluative approach to measure the PFP model and program. This project focused on the PFP model and curriculum’s ability to raise male perpetrator’s empathy and emotional expression of remorse along with introducing new life skills that helped Grenadian men adopt behavioral changes (Murphy and Baxter 1997; Prochaska, Norcross and DiClemente 1994; Scott and Wolfe 2000).

As discussed in chapter four, the PFP curriculum and program are based on a psycho-educational framework and offered as a group intervention where Grenadian men learn how to take greater responsibility for their actions and adopt skills that promote egalitarian relationship that supports women’s human rights (Schrock and Padevic 2007). To understand such dimensions of the PFP impact, I measured how the PFP intervention helped Grenadian men learn about their gendered responsibility and helped them to adopt of behavioral changes that translated into better relationships with their wives or partners, but more importantly improved their outlook in life. The data sources were PFP men, women associated with the men, and stakeholders as the basis of deciphering the PFP impact.

A systematic research approach was developed and used to understand the PFP program by first establishing a profile of the 32 PFP participants, nine of the women associated with PFP men, and the 12 stakeholders to understand the program’s constituencies as noted by other studies (Gondolf and Hanneken
The subject’s features in demographics profiles were connected to qualitative data from participant observations, life narratives, and follow-up interviews to triangulate the understanding of masculine gender and the use of violence among the social relations of Grenadians. The profiles illustrated that most of the men and women associated with the PFP program were of the lower socio-economic class distinction that MG Smith (1965) identified as the folk class. Both men and women came from impoverished homes that dealt with economic hardships of under and unemployment, insufficient educational training and early exposure to abuse. The identification of these patterns clearly denotes the individual level of the socio-ecological model that stipulates the exposure to such conditions increases the risk of violence.

There were points of gendered distinction between men and women such as educational status and employment rates that afforded women to be better positioned than men. However, the women’s advantage did not translate into reduced risk of domestic violence. In fact, it was identified as the cause of some violent disputes, especially when the male partner was unemployed and unable to provide for the family. The disparities between men and women instigated feelings of frustration and anger among men and translated into violent outburst towards women, where men articulated their actions as a need to leverage his power and control to demonstrate his masculinity, especially when he felt threatened by his female partner’s advantages.

In an attempt to map the historical nature of gender expressions about Grenadian men and women based on their association to PFP program, PFP
men and women associated with the PFP men were led through several reflexive components within their interviews and life narratives that illuminated their understanding about gender and social relations. From their accounts, it was clear that all social relations in Grenada were delineated by gendered expectations that positions men in spaces of power and control. In contrast, though women are empowered through education and professional exposures, they are constantly reminded that they are to be subordinate to men. Despite the economic hardships that men experience, they were constantly in pursuit of maintaining their superior position and use violence as way to monitor and enforce their gender position with society. The foundation of that masculine ideology was clearly grounded within historical, cultural and socially assumptions from the colonial past where men retained the position to be the breadwinners, providers and protectors of women, children and their homes.

The distinctions between genders created a gender ordering system that was reinforced by expectations that they social-ecological model delineated by individual, relationship, community and society layers. At each level, it became clear how men are exposed to violence in their childhood and eventually learn how to use violence as a way to leverage his position in society. Throughout each aspect of the model, there were always justification points and institutions that enable the position of men in the ordering. The way in which this ordering was sustained was the threat and use of violence, which has never been sanctioned as something wrong or inappropriate.

Within this study inquiry, it became clear that Grenadian masculinities
were not only about gender performance but held values for men to be able to control objects and human beings, as measures of his masculinity. It is through such an ideology that violence is legitimized as being an innate reaction that men pursue to demonstrate their gender identity. Discovering such a cultural principle made sense within the PFP program because at the initial sessions of the program, most men were adamant that their violent actions was not wrong. However, PFP was framed in ways that would address those initial reactions. Eventually, through the course of sixteen weeks, the program had a mechanism in place to counter those presumptions and guide Grenadian men into re-considering how much responsibility they have over their actions. The desired outcomes were taking greater responsibility and using alternative life skills that would replace violent actions.

The PFP curriculum and program was established in 2005 to help Grenadian men reconcile their masculine identities into behavioral practices that did not need violence to assert their masculinity. The first step of the PFP was to help Grenadian men to understand the connection between their masculine expression and use of violence. Through a program cycle, men were led to understand that they could learn how to take greater responsibility for the interactions within women without violence. They were also taught to use alternative life skills that reduced anger and frustration and learning to have amicable social relations with women that did not resort to violence. The results indicated that the greater awareness and adoption of new life skills improved the
outlooks of Grenadian men but also translated into impactful ways for Grenadian women.

The impact of the PFP showed that the model and program were effective in helping Grenadian men understand their role in perpetuating domestic violence. Such a realization is congruent with other studies that have shown that the group dynamics in domestic violence programs is one of the most powerful ways for men to understand that violence is not an acceptable way of defining their masculinity (Rhodes, Kothari, Ditcher, Cerulli, Wiley and Marcus 2011).

From accounts gathered from PFP men and stakeholders, it was evident that the scope of the program group setup, where men huddled in a room as a group and learn that their anger and frustration are not isolated realities, made a difference. The group process also helped men to learn collectively how to deal with their new knowledge and make the adjustments in their lives to embark on their behavioral changes. It was from such a standpoint of the PFP process that the program imparted the most influence in ways that men recognized their need to change and they helped each other to make those changes.

Beyond the group framework, the findings suggested that men who had female partners or girlfriends and were interested in understanding what the men were experiencing in the PFP, influenced the likelihood chance of behavioral changes as oppose to those who did not. The active presence of women showed that they can be mitigating factors for the PFP in ways that can translate into being a catalyst for Grenadian men to change. The evidence emerged when men described the value of the women’s awareness and willingness to support his
changes, which men interpreted as positive affirmations. In contrast, men that did not have those positive re-enforcement or dealt with unengaged women in their lives appeared to have a harder time, justifying their changes and re-affirming that their actions will be beneficial to them and their families.

In other areas of assessing the PFP impact, using existing survey instruments within the PFP program was validating experience for UNWomen and LACC to show that they have been collecting data that could be used to measure some aspects of the program impact. One of those assessment tools drew attention was pre and post testing of men taking responsibility for their actions in the form of a question. The results of that question among the 32 men responses showed that at least 35% of the men said that they were taking greater responsibility for their actions after completing the PFP intervention. This result suggests that the PFP did impart some knowledge that influenced men to reflect and reconsider their actions, especially with respect to women. In fact, several men acknowledged that taking greater responsibility made it easier to use the PFP life skills, such as “Time Out” and “Walking Away” in situations within their homes as well as instances that occurred on their jobs. This observation showed that the PFP helped men to understand the connection of their gender identity to that of their actions and use alternative ways of expressing their masculinity that would not harm women.

That said, there is one finding that requires further investigating—the ability of men to control their anger. According to the evaluation, less than 10% of the 32 PFP men acknowledge that they have better control of their anger. This
raised concerns, especially in light of the fact that the reflections and accounts from women associated with the men indicate that anger was the culprit for their violence. Anger is clearly linked to the frustration of Grenadian masculine performance that fuels the violent disputes. PFP stakeholders and the women associated with the PFP men confirm that anger continues to be a lingering issue among the men that has not be fully dealt with within the PFP program. Such concerns can also explain why some Grenadian women were cautiously optimistic that the changes that the men said they have done or the actions they have taken would in fact be sustainable. When women were asked to elaborate their accounts, they believe that time will be the factor that will convince them into believing that the PFP was completely successful. That said, they did welcome and agreed that the immediate changes were positive and helped their relationships with their partners. The issue of anger management requires further investigation and review that will be discussed later in this chapter.

In an effort to measure how much behavioral changes have been adopted because of the PFP, I applied a modified version of the Transtheoretical Model of Behavioral Change (TTM) among the nine men that were being followed after the PFP program. The results show that four men were between Preparation and Action stages meaning that there are potential risks of retracting back into the violent practices. When those risk were explored mitigating issues such as unemployment status, housing problems and unresolved problems with partners inhibited a move towards sustainable behavioral changes. This finding highlights the need for PFP to augment their services with programs or interventions that
could address those issues that cannot be done within the program cycle. In contrast, five other men at least achieved the action stage and with minimal concerns that they would retract back into their previous violent practices. The common denominator in these men’s experience was the support and presence of their female partner.

In summary, the evaluation of the PFP suggested that there are many socio-economic factors that are linked to gender expression that exacerbate domestic violence, but the PFP model is culturally relevant and responsive to helping men recognize a need to take responsibility and adopt behavioral changes about their masculinity. Despite the overwhelming success documented within this evaluation of two cycles, along with the perspectives of the stakeholders and women associated with the PFP, there were points within and outside the program that requires careful consideration to improve the existing PFP success.

First, PFP needs to carefully consider how to ensure that it can help men to sustain their behavioral chances after they have completed the program. The behavioral changes are part of a continuum that begins within the program but extends throughout the rest of a man’s life. Therefore, follow-up points after a cycle can be developed as check points in ways that reinforce the PFP message and help UNWomen and LACC to measure the adjustment that men are making on their own.
Objective Two: To Explore how the PFP sub-population of Grenadian/Caribbean men acquire and practice their gender and sexuality identities.

The focus of objective-two was to broaden the inquiries about Grenadian gender and domestic violence into contextual structures that enable and influence how gender is acquired and practiced among Grenadian men. Recall that the literature review of the preceding chapters presented the concept of “gendered performance” in order to situate masculinity within the context of Grenadian cultural and social relations, where the unequal gender distribution enabled domestic violence to be a “gendered performance” through which men and women relate to each (Yllo and Bogard 1998; Benoit 2007; Straus and Smith 1990). The study findings clearly indicate that Grenadian society is indeed a highly structured and plural society that predicates on consensual ideologies of power and control among Grenadian men that imposes gendered burdens upon Grenadian women.

According to the data presented under objective one and confirmed in the life stories and perspectives of stakeholders of objective two, the perpetrators and victims of domestic violence in the PFP program were usually the lower class and status group members that have limited resource control to enact their power without the use of violence. Such circumstances are embedded in society because of structural limitations of access to education and vocational options that showed that men are channeled into trade skills patterns while women were encouraged to pursue secondary education. The results were startling in that the trade skills among the PFP men did not translate into economic stability or the
power leverage that masculinity wants men to be able to breadwinners and providers.

In contrast, women were likely to be better educated than their male partners but their employment status did not equate to their educational credentials. These patterns among the results shows that many fundamental aspects of learning and acquiring gender were predicted by society and community norms about education and employment.

The result of the gendered disparities between men and women is they are not positioned well within society to consider alternative ways of improving their economic or employment status. Their limitations are led by the role of class, status, race and ethnicity that have underscored the historical, cultural and social relations of Grenadian society. The Black Feminist Thought perspective of this study guided the analysis to show that the convergence of these influential factors created a volatile situation where men were angry and frustrated by his compromised status. Men viewed women in his class group as a threat because she was better positioned with education and employment. This created the basis for some domestic violence situations in Grenadian society.

Faced with a limited ability to exercise and explore the tenets of masculinity (such power and control) through professional work, opportunities that are available to Grenadian men of higher social classes, folk men resort to domestic violence to leverage their masculine status of being able to invoke force and have control over resources upon women within their class and status. In other words, domestic violence has become a common outlet for the expression
of male identity because of the limitations and challenges of proving masculinity among the folk class. The results that pinpoint to this finding reinforces the argument of the Black Feminist Thought standpoint that gender is interconnected to race, ethnicity, class and status. The uniqueness of this discovery showed that the pursuit of hegemonic masculinity also affected the lives of men as they are being held accountable by a new law that has made domestic violence illegal. In a serendipitous way, the sixteen-week cycle of the PFP provided a space for Grenadian men to engage in candid reflections about their own lives articulating the deficits within their own lives that were fueled anger and frustration with the result being violence. Their realizations were symbolic of the (pro) feminism purpose to help men realize that they are victims of their quest for hegemonic masculinity. As a result, this study established credible evidence that the linkages between Grenadian masculinity and violence against women were not only damaging to women but it also affected the lives of lower class men.

The findings within this objective suggest that most appropriate way to begin addressing the connection between gender and violence has to be improving the circumstances among the lower class members of Grenadian society, to alleviate poverty, educational and economic disparities, changes in the breadwinner, provider and protector expectations that builds the frustration that fuels violence. While focusing on improving the socio-economic outlook, family-based interventions will be needed to adjust perceptions of parenting, early childhood development and conflict resolutions away from power and control and with alternative skills that are similar to the PFP model. A discussion
about these suggestions will be presented after this review of the objectives findings. The scope of such works has to be centered on prevention in contrast to the PFP model that is a responsive program to existing problems. Eventually, both efforts will converge and begin to collaborate on sustaining the chances that they have introduced through their separate initiatives.

*Objective Three: Explore how the social relations in Grenada influence masculinities and justify gender-based violence.*

The focus of objective three was to illuminate gender relations that fostered domestic violence within Grenadian society. This research found many points of synergy within the life narratives, follow up interviews, participant observations, and survey that revealed the power leverages within Grenadian cultural tapestry that have made violence a normative reality of gender expression.

The strategy of locating the link between social relations and violence began with a feminist assertion that gender relations are about power and control. Then, I narrowed the analysis with Black Feminist Thought to ascertain how gender within a plural society such as Grenada, was further influenced by the significance of class, status, ethnicity and race. The results showed that those units were compounding at many levels of social relations as best shown the socio-ecological model of violence.

That said, the embodiment of masculinities among Grenadian men appeared to be focused on sustaining power and control to ensure the superior position of Grenadian men. Grenadian men were obsessed with having that
power and control to show their masculinity. Even though men acknowledge their superior position, the influence of being of a lower class group always seem to fuel suspicious of threat, which caused many men to use violence to prove their masculinity. The consequence is that women within the same class group were the victims.

As noted by the stakeholders, violence was endemic to all aspects of Grenadian society irrespective of class, status, race or ethnicity. Therefore, it was revealing to discover that violence existed among elite class women as it did for the folk class women associated to the PFP according to the PFP stakeholder’s accounts.

However, class and status influence the points of diversion between these groups of women in how they respond and deal with violence. The research found that disadvantaged women among the folk class group was that they lacked the agency to deal with domestic violence outside of the court system in the same way that elite class women. Therefore, their inability to get private help or travel abroad reduced their chances of using the PFP program.

It was clear among the stories of women associated with the PFP men that they did not have safety nets or resources to avoid the violence until they became affiliated with the PFP program. They credit the PFP program with reducing the prevalence of violence within their relationships and helping their partners adopt behavioral changes that were positive. However, it is unclear whether the elite class of women that sought alternative resources would observe the same outcomes. This may require a future comparative analysis.
Other emerging results that illuminated the experiences of gender with units of class, status, race and ethnicity, pinpointed the vulnerability of women in their early childhood experiences as victims of sexual abuse. The disturbing commonality among these women’s childhood exposure to sexual violence was the failure of the community and society to protect and support women from abuse by a known perpetrator. Families were silenced by bribes and intimidation that the perpetrator could cause harm to the families. As consequence, women with these early exposure to violence have internalized their experiences and have continued to deal with the consequences with their involvement in abusive relationships in their adult life.

Women as well as community members seemed to have found ways of coping with violence by having conditional definitions about when violence is considered to be domestic violence. According to numerous accounts, the pretense of provoking was the mitigating factor. Violence was usually measured based on whether it was provoked by a woman’s position toward a man. The result of her provoking position was later used to delineate whether the act of violence acceptable or unacceptable behavior of a man to respond to the situation. The irony of this result is that very little community and social leverages were placed on Grenadian men as perpetrators of violence, to take responsibility for their violent actions. Instead, violence was assessed based on the actions or non-actions of women. Such a collective understanding about violence showed that was a very gendered measure of women and her position to men in
relationships. It shows that women being constantly aware of how they interact or say things to their male partners in ways that would reduce the risk of violence.

The community and social presumptions about violence against women were reinforced by institutions such as churches and their religious doctrine of imposing cultural justification for men to be in positions of power. Though most Grenadian men in this study did not actively attended churches, they used the religious doctrines to validate their gendered practices as mandates from God. The religious rhetoric was extremely gendered, thereby propagating a masculine message that men are to be head of the household, with a wife/girlfriend and children. Men have been able to justify their position with religion because the church is part of the major player within cultural practices that regulates the consensus ideologies of how men and women define themselves and how does they relate to each other.

The religious doctrine states that men are to be breadwinner, provider, and protector and women are to be supporters of these masculine expectations. As a result, it was clear that men saw their wives and partners as extensions of his identity. Churches have played a crucial role in reinforcing such power leverages that have disadvantaged women. It has also been used to justify violence even though there was no proof that it has intentionally instigated such thought. However, the silence among the church leaders and its failure to denounce violence has enabled men to continue with their presumptions. This emerging result shows that the church and its leaders need to be included into the PFP discourse of reducing violence against women.
Discovering the connection between social relations and violence in Grenadian society shows that the PFP program has been addressing some of the entangled socio-ecological levels in which violence is learned and used as well as speaking to the messages that violence embodies through its power leverages. The PFP has done a great job of raising awareness about the interconnection of historical, social, economical, and cultural circumstances within Grenadian society that have linked violence to Grenadian masculine expressions. Its approach not only draws attention to the connections and the influences of that linkage but it teaches Grenadian men to first acknowledge their position and use of violence, and replace those actions with new life skills that are non-violent in support of helping Grenadian women. These focuses draw attention to the need for a discourse of gender equality and equity on the basis that these discussions are intended to help both Grenadian men and women learn to relate and respect each other without the obsession of garnering power and control. This need will require political, cultural, and social will to address domestic violence for the sustainability of Grenadian society. Until that happens, the PFP will only be responding to a very small portion of the linkage between gender and violence.

**Theoretical Implications**

This study analyzed the impact of the PFP model and program as well as the intersection of gender and violence within Grenadian society. Upon investigating those two dimensions, the findings provided useful information to propose a theoretical understanding about Caribbean violence that could
potentially be applied towards other effects to address violence and gendered biased actions that men use against women. The following discussions present how I envision that this work could be applied to other areas of research and program development.

**Justifying Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean Violence**

The feminist perspective of this evaluation focused on the ways that gender—social constructions of masculinity and femininity—was organized historically, culturally, and socially as it related to domestic violence. Of particular importance, Black Feminist Thought guided this research through a detailed systematic analysis to reveal the position of masculinity and its gendered practices and assumptions that were entrenched in discriminatory practices of a plural society. Given the pluralist practices within Grenadian society, it became clear that gender could not be understood without realizing the significance of class, status, race and ethnicity as influential units of gender performance. By focusing on gender with a Black Feminist Thought perspective, I was able to recognize the inequalities that created a gendered ranked order embedded within a cultural consciousness, social interactions, and cyclical nature of violence, all of which equated masculinities with power and control.

This research’s purpose was focused on the notion that gender matters in the everyday lives of Grenadians and sought to document how those gendered experiences cultivated practices of violence against women. To do that, I established a research paradigm that used feminism as critical theory to
challenge universal assumptions that violence was innate among Grenadian men and that women were intentionally causing their victimization.

This study revealed that violence was common to all Grenadian women despite of their class and status. Within the same realm, men who were perpetrators of domestic violence, were also of the lower class status in Grenadian society. Most of these men have had limited access to education which reduced their job opportunities for seasonal employment. As a result, the anger and frustration of not being able to prove their masculine gender instigated many violent confrontations with their wives and girlfriends.

To retain the integrity of this research I used a feminist open ideological form of inquiry to illuminate the historical (plantation paradigm); structural (family, churches and education); and values designated for men and women (gender) to reveal that the Grenadian gendered order situates masculinity as superior. The result of such practices clearly denotes the link between gender and violence in Grenadian society. I believe this work has established a baseline for social and cultural changes that could become a call to action for greater justice and equity that would reduce domestic violence within Grenadian society.

The evaluation of the PFP program postulated the use of a variety of methods in order to generate multi-faceted information (Klein, Karchner, O’Connell 2002). I triangulated qualitative and quantitative methods to ensure (1) commitment to thoroughness, (2) integration of personal, social and cultural ideologies, (3) conducted this research over an extended period (two years), and
(4) maintenance of focus and attention to the people being studied (Reinharz 1992).

The result of this amalgamated approach in this research illuminated the fact that Grenadian women dealt with the enormous cost of violence because of their gendered subjugation with society. At the same time, the male perpetrators, mainly of the lower class, were victims of Caribbean masculinities because of their limited educational skills and seasonal employment patterns that foster anger and frustration. The results show that domestic violence has always been present and has had major consequences on the outlook of the lower class members of Grenadian society.

From these standpoints, I decided to begin to develop theoretical understandings of Caribbean violence as guiding points for additional research inquiries and applications to expand this initial work. The guiding principles of the proposed understandings will be presented in the subsequent section—Theoretical Understanding about Caribbean Violence—as a call to action for further exploration and response.

**Establishing Theoretical Understandings of Caribbean Violence**

This study was established to explore the relationships between gender and violence as causes of domestic violence in Grenadian society. Using that framework of inquiry, I was able to decipher the social and cultural factors within Grenadian society that predicate the use of violence by men towards women, as a gendered social problem. The investigation of domestic violence in Grenada shows that women were most likely to be victims and men to be perpetrator.
However, violence does not occur without gender influences of power and control.

With such reasoning, I used the research findings to establish a framework of theoretical understanding of Caribbean violence that contextualizes the connection between gender and violence. To establish those understandings, I drew upon Hiese’s socio-ecological model of violence (2002) to map the socio-ecological factors of Grenada’s domestic violence from this study’s findings. I began with this model to show the significance of Grenadian social relations that predicated on power and control by men toward women. Table 7 presents the way in which I deciphered the socio-ecological factors of Caribbean domestic violence.

The socio-ecological factors were augmented with Black Feminist Thought’s intersectionality principles to show Pratto and Walker’s (2004) power-levels of violence that are based on race, ethnicity, class, and status that predicts access to resource control—where Grenadian men were obsessed with accumulating as much power and control to solidify their gender identity; Social obligation—fulfilling a cultural expectation that men ought to be in control as breadwinners, providers, and protectors; and the Consensual ideology—through established institutions and cultural reasoning, women are oriented to accept that domestic violence is partly their fault as women; all of which makes power and control so important to Grenadian gender identities. These degrees of power and control are all visibly relevant especially for men and their masculinities that cultivate the use of domestic violence against women.
Table 9: Socio-Ecological Factors of Caribbean Domestic Violence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Socio-Ecological Factors</th>
<th>Intersectionality</th>
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| Objective Two--To explore how the PFP sub-population of Grenadian/Caribbean men acquire and practice their gender and sexuality identities | Individual              | • Early childhood Exposures  
• Poverty  
• Absent parents  
• Migration  
• Sexual abuse  
• Alcohol abuse  
• Lack of Mentorship |
| Relationship                                                               |                          | • Socio-economic disparities  
• Limited Schooling  
• Literacy Challenges  
• Unemployment  
• Underemployment |
| Objective Three--To explore how social relations in Grenada influence masculinities and justify gender-based violence. | Community                | • Justified Violence  
• Unchallenged masculine behavioral practices  
• Violence is a natural masculine reaction  
• Burden of Violence  
• Provoked vs. Unprovoked Definitions of Violence  
• Women are held accountable for men’s violent reactions |
| Society                                                                    |                          | • Religion/Churches  
• Religious Doctrine is used to justify masculine superiority and the use of violence  
• Designate women to be submissive to men  
• Religious leaders and officials have not renounce the use of violence in relationships |

The Partnership for Peace Program is one of the first and only programs to begin addressing domestic violence with a strong focus on Caribbean men as the primary point of the problem. Given the vantage point of this evaluation to collect multiple perspectives about domestic violence in Grenada, I decided to use Paul Heelas’ (1982) critiques of Anthropology of Violent Interactions with the socio-ecological factors, Pratto and Walker’s Power-Levels of violence (2004) and Patricia Collins’ Intersectionality (2000) to propose the following theoretical
understandings that can guide future research about gender and violence in the Caribbean. These understandings should be framed as crucial questions that must be addressed in any inquiries that shares any similarities of this research project:

*Is violence deliberate?* The social and cultural expectations within Grenadian social relations are a result of the historical cultivation of creating a gendered ranked society that situates men as superior to that of any other gendered group. The result is that violence is deliberately used to sustain the boundaries and position of men.

*Is violence intended for someone or something in particular?* The unfortunate consequence of violence in Grenada is that violence is usually intended toward women and children. The feminist perspective of this research found that Grenadian masculinity is about power and control; and Grenadian men use violence as a way to acquire and project their masculine identities in relation to women and children through the means of violence.

*Does violence impart a particular gendered message?* The proliferation of domestic violence upon women is clearly grounded in Caribbean gendered norms dictating that men control women. Consistently throughout this research, Grenadian men referred to religious doctrine to validate the masculine dominance as means to establish a home with wife and children. In that home, the man is expected to be the leader and enforcer,
which projects a certain gendered message that men are to be in control, while women are to be controlled by men.

Is violence understood as part of a socially established code for social relations? The literature review for this study illustrated that the ranked gender order in Grenadian society is part of the social establishment that began during the time of the plantation economy. Since then, the gender specificity of social relations has governed how men perceive themselves as superior in a quest to garner power and to control women, who believe that they must be submissive to the men in their lives. Over the years, although women are more likely to be educated, which embodies some level of power and control, they are still more likely to be unemployed or underemployed due in part the cultural expectations of men being the breadwinner and provider of the home.

Are the practices of domestic violence concealed, and assumed to be normative within Caribbean society? There was no distinct attempt to hide violence as a gendered practice in Grenadian society but at the same time, it was a practice that was prominent within the cultural discourse. Rather, I found that violence was an assumed reality casted within the ideals of what are normal social relations. Such assumption is justified through history, culture and social assumptions that men are superior to women. The distinction enables a gender ordering process that allows
violence to be equated to masculinity, as a way for men to regulate at women and children.

These questions are the proposed theoretical understandings of violence that should be used as questions to ensure other inquires and programs address these mitigating factors of violence and gender. The most practical way of using these insights is always to assume that gender and violence are relational and predicated on the socio-ecological factors of domestic violence, which are reinforced by leverages of power.

The reason for establishing this theoretical understanding of violence is to encourage more research initiatives that tackle domestic violence based on its association to gender and how it is defined, reinforced, and sustained with a central standpoint of gender ordering. As the scholarship grows with new perspectives and recommendations, we will be able to re-configure gender relations that reduce the use of violence and continue to protect the human rights of both men and women. To convey one final thought about these understandings, my premise of this new framework is to never blame or judge the perpetrator or victim. This work must remain equally important to helping men and women because as this research has shown the interconnection of gender to class, status, race, and ethnicity, imposes unrealistic expectations for men and women that instigate volatile situations. From the standpoint of men as perpetrators, they have been using violence as markers of their masculinity because they do not have alternative ways of demonstrating their gender. Thus,
they can be seen as victims of elements of the socio-ecological nature of violence just because they are a certain class and status.

On the other hand, women are pre-disposed to being victims because of their early exposure to being sexually abused that will increase their risk of seeking protection from abusive men that express their love through violence. The absence of safety nets and powerful cultural institutions that instigate principles of subordination towards men, makes women vulnerable to more violence.

**Dissemination of Results**

As a result of this research’s association to UNWomen and LACC, the first point of disseminating of these results is to them because they funded the study and were affiliated agencies. The researcher will present an evaluation report with recommendations as next-step-measures that the agencies can consider to enhance the PFP program delivery. Due to the public interest of these agencies in Grenada and the Caribbean, the agencies will be obliged to share the results with the Government of Grenada and the population after acceptance and approval. There have been discussions of convening a public forum to gather stakeholder’s thoughts about the findings and recommendations.

In addition to those measures, in my capacity as a researcher with academic interests in Medical Anthropology, Public Health, and Program Evaluation, I retained the rights to publish the findings in academic journals and make conference presentations. I plan to publish these findings in research domains that discuss a reflection of domestic violence and gender within the
Caribbean; investigating Caribbean gender and violence as program evaluation project and public health implications of domestic violence in gender performances. I anticipate targeting specific academic scholastic areas such as international program evaluation, Gender Studies, Caribbean Studies, Global Public Health Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, and Applied Anthropology as initial venues to distribute these findings.

**Study Limitations**

The limitations of this study include the cultural taboos of the research topic, domestic violence. Though violence is widely known and perceived as a common occurrence, there were major taboos that curtailed talking openly about it, especially admitting to being perpetrator or victim. In order to alleviate any anxiety and maintain the integrity of this study and the PFP program, I carefully ensure the privacy of the subjects by following their lead as to where, when, and how they wanted to talk about violence and the PFP program.

Prior to approaching the PFP men with the life narrative meetings, I spent a month and half conducting participant observation within the group sessions to assure them that I was integral to the program but the same time respected their privacy. For the women associated with the PFP men, I retained a female researcher that was carefully screened and trained to protect the confidentiality of the women. Both the female researcher and I were sensitive to the needs of the PFP men and Women assuring the participants that they could speak about anything. However, it did take a considerable amount of time to build that rapport with the participants. Given the time frame of this study, we noticed that their
level of comfort was at its peak during the follow-up interviews—the final data collection.

Furthermore, as researchers (myself and the female researcher), we anticipated that some of initial reactions and responses would be guarded and tempered in ways such that the subjects would only provide the most desirable responses that they thought we wanted to hear. To address such circumstances, we prefaced each data collection session with a few questions and activities that would reduce anxieties and reassure the subjects that there were no right or wrong answers. For the most part, most participants responded well and eventually shared their true feelings in our encounters.

Finally, measuring behavioral change requires a much longer period of observation than the 16-weeks and six month follow-up interview after a cycle. There were some limitations in trying to garner the most accurate accounts because of the research time constraints. As way to limit consequences of time, as researchers, we tried to capitalize on the follow-up interviews with a careful flow of questions and open discussions to capture true feelings and perspectives between the PFP men and the women. I am sure there would be more rich data if after at least one year after the cycle completion. But we could accommodate

**Recommendations**

To accurately address domestic violence in Grenada with the PFP model as an intervention, additional programmatic elements are needed to maximize its potential impact. According to the study findings, there are several opportunities for the PFP to be better aligned with realities of the linkage between gender and
violence that would increase awareness and reduce violence. The study findings confirmed that Grenadian men could reduce the prevalence of domestic violence if they are aware of alternative skills to manage their anger and deal appropriately with the consequences of their masculinity. I believe that the PFP has major potential if it re-examines some of its programmatic operations, consider expanding the PFP mandate, and collaborate with other local entities to provide support and services beyond the PFP sixteen-week cycle. Here are few recommendation points to consider:

*Role of Women:* Although the PFP has a specific mandate to work with Grenadian men, this project has shown that gender is very much a relational identity that functions with the presence of other gendered groups. Therefore, the PFP tried to help men change their behavior, it would be beneficial to include women as way to help men change their behavior. This recommendation emerges from this study’s own finding, where men who had good relationships with a partner or female associate were more likely to adopt and make behavioral changes than men who did not have a supportive female partner. Therefore, I recommend that the PFP consider establishing segments within the cycle delivery to bring those female partners on board at the request of the PFP men and with the consent of the women. The framework of such practices should not be focused on relationship reconciliation but more so on affirming the changes that the men are incorporating within their lives and responding to any anxiety concerns that may inhibit changes. I envision this practice being done as private counseling sessions with a trained psychosocial expert that could answers their
questions and clearly state that the discussions in those sessions will have no implications to the man’s role in the group cycle. I believe there are several positive implications to incorporating women into the PFP program: 1) A woman’s knowledge about the curriculum and skills can contribute positively to a man’s process through the behavioral chance cycle; 2) The woman’s knowledge about PFP would increase her awareness about domestic violence, especially the new criminal angle of the act and her own human rights; 3) the inclusion of women would create a safe space for the individuals to clearly articulate their anger and feelings; and 4) linking it back to the PFP program and life skills. This recommendation also offers UNWomen and LACC another layer of monitoring and evaluating the PFP program especially during the application of cycle.

Alcohol: One of the most common catalysts for domestic violent disputes was the abuse of alcohol. At present, PFP program has one session devoted to substance abuse that includes discussions about the severity of alcohol abuse and its association with domestic violence. However, this study revealed that more is needed to address alcohol abuse among Grenadian men. The gravity of this problem requires more than just one session to really foster behavioral changes about alcohol abuse. For example, discussions about alcohol should emphasize consumption limits as another way that men can take responsibility for their actions. Secondly, teachings about alcohol abuse should articulate that alcohol is not the best way for men to deal with their anger and frustrations. Third, the environment (rum shops) where alcohol abuse occurs offer an ideal space to have awareness campaigns with specific messages that link the
excessive use of alcohol to domestic abuse. Furthermore, the rum shop owners and vendors should be trained as facilitators to convey the message to men. Fourth, the PFP should be able to identify and refer men with alcohol abuse problems to appropriate services. In this capacity, I envision the PFP referring men to an alcohol rehabilitation center or unit that knows and understands the PFP program. Furthermore, those alcohol abuse services can become PFP facilitators for the substance abuse sessions and be available to talk to men that need their help.

Churches/Religion: Another major finding in this study was the role of churches and religion in Grenadian society. The research findings have shown that religious doctrines are used to reinforce the gendered perspectives of domestic violence. PFP should consider the role of churches and religion as relevant entities in the reduction of domestic violence in Grenada by fostering a relationship with religious leaders through a forum about domestic violence and gender expectations. In these discussions, the PFP could help the churches clearly articulate their stance on domestic violence. Additionally, I also believe that UNWomen and LACC should cultivate a working relationship with the churches that could incorporate the leaders as stakeholders to the PFP program. The church leaders are as much a part of the communities as are the other PFP stakeholders with knowledge about violence and could have the ability to identify men that are potentially at risk. The church may become another venue that refers men to the PFP program in addition to the judicial system.
Literacy: Undoubtedly, educational limitations among the PFP men contributed to domestic violence. In addition this deficiency also becomes a problem within the PFP program given the inability to grasp the information without the aid of the facilitators. I recognize that there is no quick fix to solving this issue among Grenadian men but the PFP could potentially adapt some of its resources within the curriculum so that the information would be better accessible to the men and transferrable to other Grenadian men outside of the program with similar literacy limitations. I believe enhancing the literacy skills among the PFP men will improve the self-esteem and comprehension skills and in turn impact their behavior change. Furthermore, improving literacy skills could translate into more employment opportunities for the men that rely on seasonal employment. However, this recommendation should be carefully considered, as it will require resources and time that go beyond the PFP mandate.

Post-Care: PFP stakeholders and PFP men repeatedly said throughout this evaluation study that there is a need for support services for men after the sixteen-week cycle. Both groups envisioned that the post care services being centered on helping the men reintegrate into their homes and communities as a way of reinforcing their behavioral changes. I believe their appeal is valid especially considering the findings that suggest that some men’s lives are still in an influx at the end of the program especially with issues such as substance abuse and anger management. The post care services should be conducted in the homes and communities of the men, being specific to the needs of individual
man. These services can also be another layer for UNWomen and LACC to monitor and evaluate the changes among the men and their families.

Preventative Curriculum: Among the many accolades that men shared about the program, one of their strongest desires was to make the PFP model and program into a life skills and conflict resolution preventative program for adolescents. Such discussions emerged in this study’s reflection on what could have been done different and how can this PFP program be used to expand its potential impact beyond the PFP men. Stakeholders, PFP men and Women associated to the PFP men said that the framework of the PFP model and curriculum should be modified into a curriculum that is introduced within upper primary (5-8 grades) and secondary schools (9-12 grades). They were also adamant that it should be available to both gendered groups as ways of de-mystifying misconceptions about gender that influence domestic violence.

Conclusion

To respond to domestic violence in Grenadian society as it relates to gender performance, this research concludes with a few final thoughts about the PFP model and its findings. The current PFP model and program have established some behavioral changes and social consciousness among Grenadian men and women. However, the linkages between gender and violence require more coordinated efforts beyond the works of the PFP to increase community-wide changes. Those new ventures should be guided by the theoretical understandings of violence has been proposed.
Therefore, opportunities for the application of these findings and proposed recommendations should begin with the following:

1. Expanding the PFP mandate beyond the sixteen week cycle to provide more comprehensive care and services about gender and violence within Grenadian society;

2. Establishing linkages with other community entities and programs that could facilitate services for causal factors of domestic violence such as alcohol, education, and religion;

3. Developing evaluative measures that can monitor the progress of the PFP men beyond the sixteen-week cycle;

4. Considering the involvement of women in the PFP program to enhance the impact of behavioral change and raise awareness about domestic violence; and

5. Disseminating widely the new knowledge found in this study about the links between gender and domestic violence and consider launching a social and cultural discourse about domestic violence that raises awareness about Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act.

**Researcher Reflections**

This research was conducted between 2009 and 2011 when I join the Public Health and Preventive Medicine faculty at St. George’s University School of Medicine in Grenada 2008. This experience was serendipitous in many ways, but the most unique factor was my family association to the island nation of Grenada. I am a product of Grenadian parents, who migrated to the United
States in 1960s. In 2008, I returned to their country as in the faculty role with the skills to conduct this research.

During my time in Grenada, I discovered many family members and friends, and reconnected with my grandfather who became pivotal in my ability to connect with the research participants. In hindsight, my role as faculty member of the medical school, family ties to the island, and knowledge about the culture and language clearly allowed me to become a native anthropologist. Being a native anthropologist, invoked my positions with many leverages of power that enabled this research to be executed in ways that gave me access into the lives of Grenadians that were associated to the focus of this work. The following discussions are reflection points of how my identity influenced the execution of this study.

As stated before, I arrived in Grenada as a faculty of St. George’s University School of Medicine, a prominent regional medical institution and major employer in the country. Most faculty and students are originally from the United States, Canada, and the United Kingdom, adding a unique cultural blend to the local population and a major economic resource for many Grenadians. The larger pool of Grenadians can be found in university support staff roles. A very small percentage of Grenadians were enrolled at the university, but were mainly socially and economically privilege students that can afford the tuition. For the most part, that majority of Grenadians have very little access and contact within the university campuses. Despite such limited integration within Grenadian society, the university is regarded as influential and powerful within communities.
and always spark intriguing conversations about what the university can do to improve the living conditions of Grenada. Many believe that the university should do more to help develop the country, but understand its philosophy to cater almost exclusively to a student population that are mainly from abroad.

To help bridge that gap between the university and the community, I was asked to lead several community-based public health courses that would link public health students to communities as a way to address some local public health issues. Though my primary role was to facilitate and manage that connection, the community experience was my initial introduction into Grenadian culture subsequent to my arrival in 2008 and facilitated my own personal and professional relationships with Grenadians.

During the university experiences, I immersed myself in the community and learned about their history and circumstances among community members through weekly dialogue and discussions. The process also helped me to improve my Creole language comprehension skills that eventually opened up more opportunities for more depth inquiries that were specific to this research. Eventually, my weekly community visits with the public health students became more than classroom exercises and into bonding experiences that created friendships and partnerships that I would use for this research. Those community interactions established the foundation of this project by building rapport and trust that showed that having the patience and ability to listen to local perspectives are dimensions of respect and trust.
As the friendships and partnerships evolved, Grenadians discovered my unique association to the country. They appreciated that I returned at a time in my life in which I could reconnect with my grandfather, a man who is respected and honored for his own contributions to the community. People viewed my presence as an honor because my actions embodied the same principles of what my grandfather did in the community. Now, as public health faculty member, they even valued my skills and credentials along with the family traditions. Such levels of respect and trust translated into greater access into the personal stories and homes where people spoke candidly about the impact of the revolution, Hurricanes Ivan and Emily, relationship issues, economic challenges and domestic violence which was the focus of this research. I believe these insights would have not materialized without stating my identity and careful approach this community work with respect and understanding of the people that were involved. I discovered the more than I listen and showed compassion, our connections expanded into bonds where candid experiences were shared.

Such perspective about my ability to connect with communities should not overshadow by the fact that there was some hesitation to share personal stories with a university official like myself. I realize that in order to achieve respect and build a rapport our initial conversations need to center on diffusing some of their concerns by situating myself as someone that understands their predicament because of my family’s association. Being open and honest about my association clearly diminished some of their anxieties. At the same time, recognizing my affinity towards the country and the community elevated my consciousness of
responsibility to not intentionally or unintentionally take advantage of the situation as it may have implications to my family members that still reside in those communities. My first step was not to commit or make promises that were beyond the scope of this research as well as what my role as university official. I maintain that position by explicitly explaining my intentions both as faculty member with students and subsequently as a researcher.

Much of this research success was based on my linguistic ability to switch between my American English and the local Creole language. I translated issues and problems that were not articulated in formative English, without asking the participants to reconsider their statements. Rather, I allowed them to talk about their concerns in their expressions expressing themselves. This language advantage also allowed me to travel alone and throughout country into remote rural communities where some PFP men resided, to learn first hand their lives in their communities. During those excursions, I captured personal perspectives and stories that augmented the research data. I found that research participants were less anxious or stressed when I understood their points in the local language and engage in discussions in their communities. For example, the skills was most useful while conducting the PFP observations, as local men engaged in depth discussions without the need to adjust or interrupt their dialogues for the researcher to understand. Rather, they knew that I understood their points and continued to be very candid about their expressions. I believe having such level of respect and value for the language and cultural and personal expressions
allowed me to observe their perspectives and stories without stripping away the significance and meaning of their points.

In summary, as a native anthropologist, my identity and association to the university were major assets that garnered respect and openness of Grenadians to talk about such sensitive issues as violence among their lives. Along with the association, having a pretty good understanding of the language reduced anxieties levels and allowed more access into the Grenadian life that most researchers without the Grenadian connections could not have been able to access. One of the fundamental advantages of this project was investing time to build community connections prior to this study translated into an easier transition when the study was launched. My levels of community engagement for fifteen months prior to the study established trust that was essential for conducting this sensitive research. My attributes of being a native anthropologist certainly raised my consciousness to balance the significance of my power to connect and relate that equated into respect levels between the community members and myself. The shared principles of my family’s history and my commitment to work in communities complimented this research that I was able to garner insights Grenadian culture that would have never been offered to an outside anthropologist.
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Appendices

Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act

Appendix B: PFP Intake and Exit Interview Templates

Appendix C: Life Narrative Template
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act 2001
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada's Domestic continued
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada's Domestic continued

Introduction

The Domestic Violence Act 2001, (herein referred to as the DVA) Domestic Violence is a very common and destructive problem in our societies and it is necessary that simplified information be available.

The DVA is a law to provide protection for victims of domestic violence. This law is not intended merely for punishing the abuser, but also to maintain a state of peace and stability within the home and society. It should be noted that the DVA is for the protection of everyone, including men.
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic continued

Husband or wife, 

harassment of the jealous former lover, or estranged 

husband or wife, therefore offers protection to persons from the 

would not excuse such behaviour in Court The DVA 

more or reasons such as jealousy and 'love', 

It should be noted that 

the breach committed on the person, 

person: 

interfering with or damaging the property or the 

property without lawful excuse: 

depriving the person of the use of his or her 

person: 

contact with a child of elderly relative: of the 

making unwelcome and repeated or intimidating 

person, person's place of residence or work: 

person’s residence or place of the person at the 

business or happens to be: 

person’s residence: carts on 

person persistently watching or besetting the place of 

person persistently following the person from place to
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic Violence Act

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What remedies are available under the DVA?</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family (supportive) orders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporary order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection order</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wherever Domestic Violence is alleged to have

When Court will deal with matters under the DVA?

Legally married to that person?

Does the DVA recognize common-law

Relationships?

The opposite sex or husband and wife, though not

which is defined as a person living with someone of

Yes. The DVA refers to the term de facto spouse

money of financial support

continuously and voluntarily devotes the victim necessary

Keeping him or her financially dependent,

Spouse for the purpose of controlling the victim and

Financial abuse could include the situation where the

Deal with

the Court where all matters under the DVA will be
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic continued

If a victim of Domestic Violence wishes to get an order from the Court, he or she should apply to the Court for the order. The application may be made either with or without notice to the alleged abuser.

However, because of the urgency for protection in cases of Domestic Violence, most applications are likely to be made without notice to the alleged abuser.

An order may be made without notice, if the Court is satisfied that delay would be caused by giving notice to the alleged abuser, and that such delay would or might cause risk of physical injury or undue hardship to the alleged victim.

How can a victim get an order from the Court?

This speedy hearing is often necessary, particularly in case of physical abuse.

As soon as an order is made without notice to the alleged abuser, it must be served on that person so that he or she knows what he or she is prohibited from doing or has to do, according to the order.

Whenever an order is made without notice to the alleged abuser, the order may apply immediately for the alleged abuser to be discharged or varied.

All orders made without notice to the alleged abuser are interim orders that is temporary orders.
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic continued
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic Violence Protection Act

Who can apply for Protection Order?

a) the victim
b) a parent or guardian of a victim or likely victim, who is under 18 years
c) a Police Officer on behalf of a victim
d) a person appointed by the Minister responsible for Gender and Family Affairs.

When would the Court make a Protection Order?

The Court will make a Protection Order when it is satisfied that the alleged abuser has used or threatened to use Domestic Violence against the alleged victim and the alleged abuser is likely to do so again; and that in all the circumstances, the order is necessary for the protection of the alleged victim.

Breach of a Protection Order

If a Protection Order has been personally served on a person and he or she does not obey the order, he or she commits an offence which is punishable on summary conviction to a maximum fine of $20,000.00 and to imprisonment for a maximum term of 12 months.

If a person has been personally served with a Protection Order prohibiting him or her from certain behaviour and he or she violates the Court order, then a Police Officer may arrest that person without a warrant.

The Police Officer must have reasonable cause to believe that the person has violated the Protection Order. The Police Officer must also believe that the arrest of the person is reasonably necessary for the protection of the victim.
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada's Domestic continued

What does a Tenancy Order do?

An Occupation Order gives the victim the right to live in a certain household. If an Occupation Order is in the best interests of the victim, the victim would be entitled to occupy the household in the exclusion of the abuser.

The Court may make a Tenancy Order if it is satisfied that such an order is necessary for the protection of the alleged victim, or is in the best interests of a child.

An Occupation Order is tenancy tenancy temporarily or permanently, depending on the circumstances.

What does a Tenancy Order do?

In relation to both the Occupation Order and the Tenancy Order, the DV Act provides for notice to be given to landlords and other persons interested in the tenancy to ensure that the provisions of the DV Act are complied with.

An Occupation Order is a court order, and a person who fails to comply with it can be held in contempt of court.

The application for an Occupation Order is a party to the application for an Occupation Order, and the person can appear at the hearing of the application for an Occupation Order.

A Tenancy Order restricts a tenant's tenancy (rented or owner-occupier) by presuming the alleged abuse to the alleged victim. 

In relation to both the Occupation Order and the Tenancy Order, the DV Act provides for notice to be given to landlords and other persons interested in the tenancy to ensure that the provisions of the DV Act are complied with.

The Court may make a Tenancy Order if it is satisfied that such an order is necessary for the protection of the alleged victim, or is in the best interests of a child.

An Occupation Order gives the victim the right to live in a certain household. If an Occupation Order is in the best interests of the victim, the victim would be entitled to occupy the household in the exclusion of the abuser.

The Court may make a Tenancy Order if it is satisfied that such an order is necessary for the protection of the alleged victim, or is in the best interests of a child.
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic Violence Laws

Can the Court make any other Orders?

The Court may make an Occupation Order.

Who can apply for a Tenancy Order?

Application for a Tenancy Order may be made only by the alleged abuser, his spouse, or by the parent of a child or dependent who is an alleged victim, or by the guardian of a child who is an alleged victim. The Court may consider whether the alleged abuser, his spouse, or the parent of a child should be given notice of the application and should attend court if it is in the best interests of the child. A Tenancy Order may only be made if it is necessary for the protection of the victim or if it is in the best interests of the child.

Tenancy Orders are intended mainly to prevent the abuser from putting the victim, children or dependants at risk. The Court may make a Tenancy Order to prevent the abuser from living with the victim or from having contact with her or him.

Further, if the Court is satisfied that the victim was a maximum term of three months or less.

If the abuser fails to comply with the order, he or she may be committed to a community an offence and will be liable to pay a minimum fine of $5,000.00 and is imprisoned.

The Court may order the abuser to pay a

The abuser must comply with the order or the

housing orders. The Court may order the victim to live for a specified period, or others by the victim.

The Court may order the victim to live for a specified period.
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada's Domestic

Can a person appeal from a decision of the Court?

Except with the permission of the Court which heard the matter, except for criminal proceedings, no person may appeal against any decision of the Court which heard the matter.

The Public hearing and the Magistrate can exclude members of the public.

Yes. Except in criminal proceedings, the DVA

WILL the hearing of matters under the DVA be heard in private?

Is proof beyond a reasonable doubt required in criminal proceedings referable to the DVA?

Every question of fact (other than in criminal proceedings) may be proven on a balance of probabilities, that is, that the allegation is probably true.

Insinuations.

The Court may determine the amount to be paid and by
Appendix A: Copy of Grenada’s Domestic continued

Family Affairs

Published By:

The Division of Gender & Women’s Affairs

This is for all those who are affected by this topic. This book contains information about Domestic Violence, including the rights and responsibilities of those involved. It is important to understand that Domestic Violence is a serious issue that affects many individuals. This book provides information on how to protect yourself and others from Domestic Violence. Special thanks to all those who have contributed to this book.

Chapter 1: Domestic Violence

Chapter 2: Rights and Responsibilities

Chapter 3: Protection Orders

Chapter 4: Support Services

Chapter 5: Prevention

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Is there provision for counseling?
Appendix B: PFP Intake and Exit Interview Templates
**Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template**

**PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE**  
A Violence Prevention Programme  
- Intake Information Form -

**Name of Client:**

**Employment, Income and Education**

Name the last 5 jobs you have held, starting with your current job

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place you worked there</th>
<th>What you did</th>
<th>Start date</th>
<th>End date</th>
<th>Why did you leave?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How happy are you with your job? (Circle)

1. Not at all  
2. Somewhat  
3. Pretty much  
4. Very happy  
5. Extremely happy

How often did you get paid?

1. Once per week  
2. Every 2 weeks  
3. Once a month  
4. Other _______

What is your income? $_______ per ______

If unemployed, who helps you with your expenses?

**Court Information:**

Are you currently on probation? 1-No 2-Yes  
Probation Officer:

Any other criminal charges against you? 1-No 2-Yes

If yes, explain:

Are you involved in a family/civil court case? 1-No 2-Yes

If yes, explain:

**Household relationships:**

Name all the people who live with you

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Relationship to you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.  
2.  
3.  
4.  
5.  
6.  
7.  
8.  
9.  
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Lives with you?</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Lives with you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Name all your current partner’s children (if not listed above), their ages, and if they live with you.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Lives with you?</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Lives with you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1. No 2. Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Your marital status: 1-Never married 2-Common-Law 3-Married 4-Separated 5-Divorced 6-Remarried

List the names of your spouse(s) and date of your marriage(s):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date married (month/year)</th>
<th>Date relationship ended (month/year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Have you ever lived with a girlfriend? 1-No 2-Yes

List the names of girlfriends you have ever lived with the start and end dates of each relationship.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date Relationship Started (month/year)</th>
<th>Date relationship Ended (month/year)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medical and Treatment History:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you have any current medical conditions?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-No 2-Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you currently taking any medications?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have you ever...</th>
<th>Why and When?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Been in hospital for any illness or injury? 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Been treated for alcohol or drug abuse? 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Been in any 12-step recovery programme (AA, NA)? 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seen a psychologist, counselor, or therapist? 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Received medications from a psychiatrist? 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Been in hospital for emotional or mental health problems (attempted suicide, nervous breakdown) 1-No 2-Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Contact Information**
Please provide contact information for 2 people who could reach you in an emergency

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emergency Contact #1</th>
<th>Emergency Contact #2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
<td>Name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address:</td>
<td>Address:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone: H: _______ Cell: _______ W _______</td>
<td>Phone: H: _______ Cell: _______ W _______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to you:</td>
<td>Relationship to you:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please provide contact information for the victim, and your current partner (if different from victim)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victim Information</th>
<th>Current Partner Information (if different)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name:</td>
<td>Name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Address:</td>
<td>Address:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phone: H: _______ Cell: _______ W _______</td>
<td>Phone: H: _______ Cell: _______ W _______</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship to you:</td>
<td>Relationship to you:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are you living together?</td>
<td>Are you living together?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date/Time you last saw her:</td>
<td>Date/Time you last saw her:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signature:</td>
<td>Date:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE
A Violence Prevention Programme
- Intake Interview Form -

Client Name: __________________________ Date of Birth: __________________________

Client Race: __________________________ Religious Background: __________________________

Date of Intake Interview: ________________ Interviewer’s Name: __________________________

Partner Questions:
Is your partner the victim? 1-No 2-Yes
How did you meet your partner?

What did you like about her at first?

What do you like about her now?

What do you not like about her?

What kind of disagreements or arguments do you have with your partner?

What do you argue about the most?

How do these disagreements or arguments usually go? What usually happens?
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Have you ever really upset her?</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>What things do you do that upset her the most?</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Have you ever been drunk or high during an argument with your partner?</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Violence History

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Have the following ever occurred between you and your current or most recent partner?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partner toward you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Push, shove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slap, hit, spank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claw, scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestle, twist arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throw object at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hit with objects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throw bodily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restrain by holding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempt to drown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of gun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of motor vehicle to harm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced sex</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What injuries, if any, have you or your partner ever received during an incident of violence?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO INJURY</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No visible injury but pain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No injury, but torn clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No injury but broken eyeglasses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(if above are marked, the following items do not apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hair pulled out</th>
<th>Bruises</th>
<th>Cut or burn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

Severe bruises
Severe cut or burn
Black eye
Lost teeth
Broken eardrum
Joint or spinal injury
Broken jaw or nose
Other broken bones (fractures)
Concussion
Internal injury
Permanent injury
Required medical treatment

When was the first time any physical violence occurred in your current or most recent relationship?

Has your partner ever been pregnant when an episode of violence has occurred? ______ No ______ Yes

Mental Status

Do you ever see or hear things that others say they do not see or hear? ______ No ______ Yes

If yes, please explain

Serial Sevens   Instructions: Begin at 100 and count backwards by sevens (Correct sequence: 100...93...86...79...72...65...58...)

Indicate client's answers

ORIENTATION X 3   Instructions: Ask the client if he knows where he is, his name and the date.
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

Referral Incident:

What happened that brought you here?

What were the charges brought against you?

What were her injuries?

Were any children present during the incident for which you were arrested? Your children? Her Children?

Were any of them injured?

Was anyone else present?

Who do you think is responsible for what happened?

Do you think that your actions were justified then?

Do you feel any different about your actions since your arrest? Explain

It looks like the incident happened more than ________ months ago. How are you getting along with ________________ now?
Victim’s name

How much contact do you have with her now?
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

Substance Abuse Status/History

Do you drink alcohol? ______ No ______ Yes ______ Not anymore

If yes (or “not any more”), how old were you when you started drinking? ______________

Did you drink any alcohol today?
If yes, what did you drink and how much?

If No, when was the last day that you drank?

Of the 30 days in the past month how many days did you drink alcohol?

In the past month on the days that you drank, how many drinks did you usually have per day especially on weekends?

How does alcohol affect you? (mood, arguments, relaxation, impaired judgment, etc)

Did you ever use street drugs? ______ No ______ Yes

If yes, name the drug(s).

If yes, at what age did you start using street drugs?

Did you use any street drugs today?
If yes, what did you use and how much?

If no, when was the last time that you used, what did you use and how much?

Of the 30 days in the last month, how many days did you use street drugs?

Which drugs did you use and how much on the days that you used?

How do street drugs affect you? (mood, arguments, relaxation, impaired judgment, etc)

Have you ever abused prescription drugs or drugs or “over the counter” drugs? ______ No ______ Yes

If yes, which drug and how long have you been doing this?
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

Personal History
Can you tell me something about what it was like growing up for you?

Can you tell me something about your family? (Describe mother, father or primary caregivers and others who lived in your home while you were growing up)

Did you ever experience or witness any kind of violence in your home when you were growing up?
	____ No ______ Yes

If yes, can you describe an incident that stands out in your memory?

Did you experience or witness any violence outside your home when you were growing up?
	____ No ____ Yes

If yes, can you describe an incident that stands out in your memory?

Have you experience or witnessed any kind of violence as an adult? ______ No ______ Yes

If yes, can you describe an incident that stands out in your memory?
Appendix B: PFP Intake Interview Template continued

**Life Satisfaction and Strengths**
What is going well for you in your life right now?

What are the activities in your life that give you pleasure and satisfaction?

What relationships in your life are going well? Can you tell me what is good about those relationships?

What are the goals and dreams for your life?

Are there any goals and dreams that being in the Man to Man programme can help you accomplish?
Appendix B: PFP Exit Interview Template

Man to Man Programme
Legal Aid and Counseling Clinic (LACC), St. Georges, Grenada
Exit Interview Form (Revised for Evaluation)

Name of Client ____________________________________________________________________________

Date of Interview ___________ Interviewer’s Name ____________________________________________

I. About Your Partner

1. Have you been with your “original” partner throughout the whole program? If not, explain.
   (Note: original = victim of the abuse that resulted in arrest)

2. Are you living with your partner at this time?
   YES
   NO (If NO, how much time do you spend with your partner, per week? _____)

3. What do you like about your partner?

4. What do you NOT like about her?

5. What kind of disagreements or arguments do you currently have with your partner?

6. What do you argue about the most?

7. How do these arguments usually go? What usually happens?

8. What things do you do that upset her most?

9. What things does she do that upset you most?
Appendix B: PFP Exit Interview Template continued

II. Violence History

10. Have the following occurred between you and your partner since you have been in the program?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Partner toward you</th>
<th>You toward partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Push, shove</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Slap, hit, spank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Claw, scratch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Wrestle, twist arm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Throw object at</td>
<td>(what object?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Punch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Kick</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hit with object</td>
<td>(what object?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Strangle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Throw bodily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Restrain by holding</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Burn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Hold head under water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Threaten with knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Cut with knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Threaten with gun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Fire gun at or toward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Use motor vehicle to harm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Forced sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. What injuries, if any, have you or your partner received during an argument or fight with each other, since you have been in the program?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO INJURY</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No visible injury, but pain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No injury, but torn clothing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No injury, but broken eyeglasses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INJURY (describe type)</th>
<th>Self</th>
<th>Partner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

III. Referral Incident

Think back to the incident that caused your arrest and your referral to this program.

12. Do you remember clearly what happened?
Appendix B: PFP Exit Interview Template continued


14. Thinking about the incident now, do you think that your actions were justified? Explain.

IV. New Knowledge/Skills

15. What new ways have you learned to deal with conflicts in your relationship with your partner?
   (1)
   (2)
   (3)

16. Have you actually used any of these new strategies? Which ones? Explain.

17. Have you shared anything that you learned in this program with anyone else? What have you shared? With whom?

18. What is the most important thing that you learned in this program?
Appendix B: PFP Exit Interview Template continued

V. Life Satisfaction and Strengths

19. What is going well for you in your life right now?

20. What are the activities in your life that give you pleasure and satisfaction?

21. What relationships in your life are going well? Can you tell me what is good about those relationships?

22. What are your goals and dreams for your life?

23. Has the Man to Man Programme helped you with any of your goals and dreams?

Interviewer Overall Comments and/or Observations

Adapted from Intake Interview Form
ZAM, January 2006
Appendix C: Life Narratives Template
Appendix C: Life Narratives Template

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<th>Spiritual/Religious Values and Practices</th>
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<th>Gender Roles and Expectations</th>
<th>History of Violence</th>
<th>Turning Points in Life</th>
<th>Health Congruency Practices</th>
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About the Author

Rohan D. Jeremiah is an Anthropologist and Global Public Health Specialist pursuing a Ph.D. in Applied Anthropologist from the University of South Florida College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Anthropology. He has a Master's in Public Health Degree and Bachelor's of Science Degree in Medical Anthropology. Since 2008, he has been a faculty member in the Department of Public Health and Preventive Medicine at St. George’s University School of Medicine in Grenada, West Indies. Concurrently, he serves as a technical advisor to regional and international organizations such as United Nations Women (UNWomen); United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR); United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Organization of American States (OAS). His professional experiences include international program development and management; monitoring and evaluation; advance qualitative research; translational research; health behavior and health education; and disaster preparedness and response management. Much of his experiences have focused on topical issues such as global health disparities, gender and sexuality issues within developing countries; men’s health; at-risk youth; reproductive health and family planning; research and ethical considerations among Most-At-Risk Populations (MARPS); and international health systems.