

**STOLEN INNOCENCE:
STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF SEXUAL VIOLENCE AGAINST
FEMALE STUDENTS IN JAMAICAN HIGH SCHOOLS**

by

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this thesis is on a sample of Jamaican high school students and their perceptions of sexual exploitation of female students in Jamaican high schools. This exploratory study contributes to the developing literature on sexual violence in schools. The students' subjective construction of sexual violence and some major propositions of the macrosociological theory of rape were documented in this ethnographic study. Twenty Jamaican high school students responded to semi-structured questions in a pair personal in-depth interview and focus groups. The interviews were followed by a 5-point Likert scale questionnaire, which was based on some arguments of the macrosociological theory of rape. Findings were analysed using thematic coding concepts. Narrative structure is used to present the interpretation of participants' responses. It is concluded that students' definitions of sexual violence and also the impact of the socio-cultural and learning environments are essential in understanding the Jamaican society's response to female students at risk of sexual violation by teachers.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

- AAUW—American Association of University Women
CCPA—Child Care and Protection Act
EFA—Educational Foundation of America
JLP—Jamaica Labour Party
MP—Minister of Parliament
PE—Physical Education
PNP—People’s National Party
UNESCO—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

WORD MEANINGS AND TRANSLATIONS: PATOIS TO ENGLISH

- a-go; aggo (a-guh):** adv.—used to express intent, e.g. going to (p. 1 & 2)
areddi (a-re-di): adv.—already, so soon (p. 3)
bare (bar): adj.—only, nothing but (p. 9)
batty (ba-ti): n.—the buttocks (p.10)
bout (bowt): adv./prep.—regarding; approximately; about (p. 17)
bwai (bwa’I, boi): n/v.—a young male; boy; used to express resignation, e.g. oh, boy! (p. 23)
cyaa (k’a): v.—cannot; (informal) can’t (p. 24)
cho (chuh): int.—an exclamation used to indicate that one’s patience or tolerance is wearing thin; a sigh of frustration or irritation, e.g. damn it! (p. 28)
dat (dat): pron.—that (p. 38)
dancehall (-hal): n.—a venue, usually a hall or an otherwise enclosed area, in which gigantic sound systems play music (p.37)
deh (de): adv./adj.—used to mark a specific place or location, e.g. there; together, especially in an intimate relationship (p. 38)
dem (dem): pron.—they; them; used to pluralize nouns; (Note: plural nouns are uncommon in Patwa (patois). The pronoun dem is used immediately after a noun to pluralize it, e.g. De cup dem, the cups) (p. 39)
dem-a (de-ma, dem-ah): id.—they are (p. 39)
den (den): adv.—then (p.39)
di (di): adj.—the (p. 39); **de (di):** adj./adv.—the; (Note: as a definite article, de or di is used before a specific noun and certain adjectives. They are also used to qualify an adverb, as in de most, the most) (p. 38)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

didā—with the intention to do something
eh?—asking for repetition of a statement or, for agreement (p.169)

(from Cassidy & LePage, 1980)

feel-up (fel-up, fe-lup): v. to fondle intently; to caress (p. 49)
fi (fi): prep.—for; to; so as (p. 50)
fren (fren): n.—a friend; an associate (p.53)
ga (ga): adj.—go; go to (p. 55)
gal (p. 55); **gyal (g'al)**:n.—girl (p. 55 & 60)
gwaan (gwan): v.— to go away; to carry out or continue an act; to behave or perform (p. 60)
gi-har; gi har (gi-ar): adv.—used as an order to forward something, e.g. give her (p. 56)
gimi; gi-mi; gi mi (gi-mi): adv.—used as an order to forward something, e.g. give me (p. 56)
haffe; haffi (a-fi): v.—have to; had to; must (p. 61)
har (ar): pron.—her (p. 61)
inna (in-na): prep.—into; inside of; in (p.66)
kinda (kin-da): id.—used to express uncertainty; used to indicate the ability or possibility (p. 74)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

mad—to be astonish or infuriate (p.286)

(from Cassidy & LePage, 1980)

mek (mek): v./adv.—to make; used as an inquiry of reason, e.g. for what purpose (p. 85)
lick (lik): v.—to hit someone or something; to wipe something with the tongue (p. 79)
look (luk): v.—to initiate a conversation in an attempt to start a relationship, to court (p. 81)
mi (mi'): pron./adj.—used to replace I or me; mine; my (p. 85)
naa (na): adv.—no; not; do not; used to express an intent or a course of negative action, e.g. not going to; used to indicate a lack or absence of something, e.g. do not have (p. 89)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

nobody—no one

nuff (nuf): adj.—plenty; a lot; enough (p. 91)
nuh (nuh): adv.—no; not; do not; did not (p. 92)
nutting; nut'n, nutten (nut-n): n.—nothing (p. 92)
pan (pan): prep.—on; upon (p. 100)
pickinie; pickiny (pi-ki-ni)... picknie; pickney (pik-ni): n.—a young child, an endearing term for a child or young adult (p. 98)

punaany; punaunie; punauny (pu-na-ni): n.—(informal) female genitalia; vagina (p.101)
seh (se): v.—to speak; to convey; say (p.113)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

shi (shi): pron.—she. Used without distinction of case she, her (p. 405)

(from Cassidy & LePage, 1980).

sketel; skettel (ske-tel): n.—a female of little or no self-pride; a female who is looked down on and often disrespected (p. 116)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

somadi (somadi, smodi): dial—somebody (p. 416)

(from Cassidy & LePage, 1980)

tan (tan): v./int.—to stay put; to stand in a designated position; an exclamation of surprise, disbelief or contempt (p. 124)

tek (tek): v.—to take; to bring or carry (p.125)

tink (tink): adj.—stink; to ponder or figure; think (p.126)

tings (tingz): n.—items; one's personal belongings; the current happenings (p. 126)

waan (wan): v.—to warn; to want (p. 132)

wah (wah): int.—what; an inquiry of identification e.g. what? (p. 132)

weh (we): adv. — where; away (p. 134)

wi (wi): prep.—we; us; our (p. 135)

wid (wid): prep.—with; together (p. 135)

yu (yu): pron.—you, often used in the singular sense (p. 139)

(from Reynolds, 2006)

INTRODUCTION

If a man is presumptuous enough to touch another man then he will be beaten. If you touch a girl, you will be glorified and may be considered to be a ladies' man... I believe that the Jamaica people believe that sexual violence against females is something that happens daily, so they ignore it, they do not care (Tyrone & Simone).

Several studies conducted in the United States of America, Britain, and Africa show that the sexual victimization of female students by male teachers is a reality (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005; Klein, 2006; UNESCO, 2006). Some participants in my M.A. thesis study agreed with the sentiments in the lead quotation (above). It becomes clear that although sexual violence against females is not endemic to Jamaica, it is quite pervasive. The participants' expressions are taken from their knowledge of the attitudes of people in the Jamaican society and their own experiences.

As a former student in the Jamaican high school system, I often heard discussions among students and rumours about male teachers having what is euphemistically called "sexual relations" with students. Such situations could be critiqued as sexual violence, or sexual exploitation under the colour of authority, but students tended to deal with such issues casually and considered it as normative, as something that "just happens."

In this exploratory, ethnographic study, female and male high school students were interviewed about their perceptions of the causes of sexual violence committed by male teachers against female students in Jamaican high schools. Several issues are investigated: what sexual violence means to the participants, their perceptions of issues that lie beneath their attitudes towards sexual violence, perceptions of situations that lead to sexual violence, and overall perceptions of sexual violence in Jamaican high schools.

Jamaican high school students are normally between the ages of 10 and 19. As such, most of these school-aged youth are ostensibly protected by the Child Care and Protection Act (CCPA). The thesis also explores student's knowledge of the legislation in place to prevent violence against children. The objective of the *Child Care and Protection Act*, 2004 is to protect the rights of children 18 years and under. This national Act requires that all adults in the Jamaican society work together to eliminate violence, including sexual violence, against children (Child Development Agency, 2005). This Act does not speak specifically to sexual violence by male teachers against female students or sexual violence against students in the school environment in general.

This study is informed by the macrosociological¹ theory of rape. Baron and Straus (1993), seeking a more rigorous explanation for sexual violence, integrated theories (feminist critiques of gender inequality and pornography, and cultural spillover and social disorganization theories) and tested them in the United States. Positive relationships were found between rape and the often-subordinate position of females, and the variables of male-dominated cultures and pornography were positively correlated with rape (Baron & Straus, 1993; Holmes & Holmes, 2002). Testing social disorganization theory using the .05 level of significance, they found that rape was higher in sexist (high rate of gender inequality) societies. In other, less sexist societies, social disorganization may increase gender equality and reduce the incidence of rape (Baron & Straus, 1993).

¹ Macrosociology and microsociology are two major sociological approaches used in the study of society. Microsociology is concerned with the observation of individuals in a group setting and how one's values, beliefs and behaviour are affected by others. Macrosociology is a large-scale analysis of social systems and relationships among groups within the society (Johnson, 1995).

Inductive and deductive methods were used in this research. Through the use of interviews the participants' observations of particular patterns of sexual violence were investigated. These observations lead to their understanding of sexual violence in the Jamaican society. While obtaining their inductive or subjective construction of sexual violence in schools, deductive themes that validate the macrosociological theory of rape were discovered. Themes were also identified based on some assertions from the macrosociological theory of rape and the participants' relating of the extent to which these proposed situations exist in the Jamaican society. Other theories that evolve inductively through the construction of sexual violence are included. My intention is to raise consciousness about sexual violence in schools, give voice to students, contribute to the existing literature on sexual violence, and inform the current *Child Care and Protection Act, 2004*.

This thesis has five chapters:

- Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter that incorporates a selected literature review and preliminary conceptualization of my theoretical framework. The major arguments of the macrosociological theory of rape, definitions of sexual violence, history of servitude and sexual violence in Jamaica, and sexual violence in the general society and school system are discussed.
- Chapter 2 presents an elaboration of the study's research methods. This includes information about research subjects (e.g., demographic variables, how they were recruited), how the interviews were conducted, setting, and data collection. The types of interviews, audio recording, questionnaire, scoring, research and validity

and reliability of the research process, data analysis techniques such as methods of coding, and ethical issues are presented in this chapter.

- Chapter 3 is devoted to data analysis and findings. The construction of sexual violence in Jamaican high schools is interpreted using narration, and an evaluation of the Jamaican *Child Care and Protection Act, 2004*. Firstly, narrative is a part of our daily lives as we construct and understand our reality through the interpretation of our daily experiences. A primary source of narratives, interviews provide participants with the opportunity “to give a detailed narrative account of a particular experience” (Smith, 2003, p.117).

Secondly, There has been numerous media reports criticizing the effectiveness of the Child Care and Protection Act, 2004. After 4 years, the Children’s Registry remains inactive and not many Jamaicans are aware of the Act’s existence or are educated about its purposes. This thesis examines whether students are aware of its existence, and if so, what are their perceptions (Manning, 2007).

- Chapter 4, the concluding chapter, integrates findings from this thesis with the available literature on sexual violence. This chapter includes strengths, limitations, recommendations for future research and policy, and a reflection on the research process.

CHAPTER ONE:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sexual violence is not specific to any particular group or culture; it is a problem that cuts across borders, affecting all of the world's population directly or indirectly (Johnson, 2003; Quesada, 1998; as cited in Klein, 2006). The motivations behind sexual violence may be dramatically different in particular cultural settings. For instance, in many war-torn countries sexual violence is used as a war tactic, a method of 'deflowering' or conquering the opposing side. In the period of colonization and settlement, it was used to force slaves into submission and, in many instances, it is an extreme expression of sadistic fantasies of men who become dominant in the indigenous culture (Brownmiller, 1975). In spite of its varied motivations, common themes in sexual violence are misogynistic and the assumptions that the female is inferior and should therefore, submit to, or acknowledge the rightful power and authority of males.

Sexual violence is present in all societies, but sexual violence in Jamaica appears to be exceptionally widespread. Both males and females experience sexual violence, yet women and girls are more often victimized (Johnson, 2003; Quesada, 1998; as cited in Klein, 2006; Amnesty International, 2006; Geary et al., 2006; UNESCO, 2006). In Jamaica, the rate of sexual violence against females is high and seems to be increasing at an alarming rate; thousands of women and girls each year are sexually violated. There are many reports of sexual violence in Jamaica, but the actual figure may be immense as it is estimated that only 25 percent of sexual violence is reported to the police. Health services staff report a higher rate of sexual violence against women. Women who are sexually

victimized may seek necessary medical attention but are reluctant to report to the police. This under-reporting of sexual violence is a consequence of the trivialization and discrimination against women (Amnesty International, 2006).

Sexual violence against girls in Jamaica is now a major government and public concern (Ministry of Health, 2003; Carr & Ashley, 2004). In 2004, seventy percent of reported sexual violence was committed against teenage girls (Amnesty International, 2006). Studies have found that the first sexual encounter of half of sexually active females was coercive and 26 percent of females age 15 to 19 were “forced to have sex at some point” (Carr & Ashley, 2004, p.11). In Jamaican society, sexual violence against females is a daily experience and is present in all social settings including schools. Examples of female victims of sexual violence in Jamaica are Suzanne Ferguson who was attacked and raped while walking home and 15-year-old Enid Gordon who was raped by two men (Amnesty International, 2006). In arriving at a holistic understanding of sexual violence in our society it is important to first define sexual violence, to consider its historical context, and examine how children are socialised into a culture that tolerates sexual violence against females as normal (Gayle, 2002; Cunningham & Correia, 2003; McKenzie, 2006).

Definitions of sexual violence

In arriving at a definition that encompasses all dimensions of sexual violence in the Jamaican society, definitions of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse were reviewed. These included statements by the United Nations and feminist definitions of sexual violence against females. According to the United Nations,

“Sexual exploitation of children has recently been defined as use of children (under 18 years) for the sexual satisfaction of adults. The basis for this exploitation is the unequal power and economic relations between the child and the adult. The child is exploited for his or her youth and sexuality, frequently although not always, this exploitation is organized by a third party for profit” (Ireland, 1993, p.2 as cited in Muntarhorn, 1996, p.1).

A component of sexual exploitation is sexual abuse, particularly acts that involve children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully understand and where they “are unable to give informed consent, or that violate the social taboos of family roles” (Ireland, 1993, as cited in Muntarhorn, 1996, p. 1).

According to feminists, sexual violence against females is defined as including “any physical, visual, verbal or sexual act that is experienced by the woman or girl, at the time or later, as a threat, menace or assault that has the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or takes away her ability to control intimate contact” (Kelly, 1988, p.4; as cited in Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005, p. 299).

Historical mapping of servitude and sexual violence

Servitude: Europeans’ (Portuguese, Spanish, English, French, and Dutch) first encounter with West Africa was in the fifteenth century and sixteenth century (The Encyclopedia of Africa, 1976). At the time of their conquest of West Africa, the Europeans were colonizing and developing plantation societies in the Western World. The climate in the Caribbean and in West Africa were similar and West Africans were thought to be suitable labourers for the plantation societies (Scully & Patton, 2005).

As Christians needed to justify the enslavement of blacks, the Europeans turned to the Bible. Ambroisiaster, a Churchman, claimed that it was written in the Bible that Ham was cursed because he ridiculed the nakedness of his father, Noah. According to “Church people”, a part of the curse was that Ham’s descendants would be black-skinned and damned to slavery. This alleged account of a biblical curse against blacks became a valuable companion to “slaveholders and they never venture abroad without it” (*The Bible of Slavery*, p. 66; as cited in Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2007).

The Bible, according to Genesis 9, does not support the belief that blacks became a marked and accursed race: 21-25, “... Ham the father of Ca’naan saw his father’s nakedness and went telling it to his two brothers outside... Finally Noah awake from his wine and got to know what his youngest son had done to him. At this, he said, ‘Cursed be Ca’naan. Let him become the lowest slave to his brothers’—Shem and Japheth” (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 1984, p.15; Ryrie, 1978; Stow Hill Bible and Tract Depot, 1961). This Biblical account shows that Ca’naan was cursed, not Ham. The sons of Ham were Cush, Miz’raim, Put, and Ca’naan (Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 1984; Ryrie, 1978; Stow Hill Bible and Tract Depot, 1961). Blacks are not descendants of Ca’naan; instead, they are descendants of Cush and probably Put (Comay & Brownrigg, 1980).

The so-called curse against blacks was used to vindicate slavery (Gould, 1996; Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2007). Many scientists, philosophers, politicians and influential people such as Josiah C. Nott (2007), Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson and Charles Lyell (Gould, 1996) failed to realize the origin of

the black race and enlisted pseudoscience to assert that blacks are beastlike and inferior (Gould, 1996; Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society of Pennsylvania, 2007). The claim was that the ancestors of blacks were savages, had no culture or civilization, ruled by customs rather than reason, and were located on the lower evolutionary plane (Gould, 1996). They thus believed that blacks were incapable of high intelligence and unable to rule themselves. From this mythologized viewpoint, colonization would be beneficial and in their best interest, a part of the natural order of things. These propositions have not been scientifically proven and both the Bible and secular scholars discredit these arguments.

History shows that, speaking broadly, African culture was different but it was not inferior, as there existed in Africa wealthy kings and nobles. Their capital cities were often the hub of culture and trade. In addition, between 1200 and 1600 there was a renowned Negro-Arabic University at Timbuktu in West Africa, this university was well known throughout Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East (Mazrui, 2004). Blacks were capable of forming civilized nations. It may be that the horrors of slavery had shocked their minds and senses forcing them to be non-responsive, resentful and rebellious against the status quo of the slave society and Western World.

Sexual violence: In addition to describing the novelty of their findings, European explorers reported on the nakedness and sexual freedom of black women. They commented on the “uninhibited sexuality of a lewd lascivious and wanton people” (Bush, 1990, p. 14). In their accounts of the physiques of West African women and men, they expressed that there was no difference in the physical posture and strength between the sexes. This cultural setting aroused the sexual curiosity of many Europeans (Bush, 1990).

Furthermore, in the conquest of West Africans and the development of the slave plantation society, sexual violence was used to colonize and conquer blacks.

Observations made of African women being equal in strength to African men, coupled with the lust of Europeans, may have made the Europeans fearful of strong revolts on the ship and plantation. Sexual violence was used to force slaves into 'Christian' submission (Bush, 1990), demoting African women to an inferior state similar to that of submissive European women under a patriarchal code.

Early misconceptions of the uninhibited sexuality and even animalistic nature of West Africans served to justify the use of sexual violence against them. However, investigations into the Jamaican slave society and West African culture authenticate the fact that African women valued chastity. Virginity was valued, but it was not a rigid requirement. As in other societies, including some European countries, pre-marital sex was acceptable if confined to committed relationships. The birth of the first child would consummate the marriage, and a formal declaration or celebration may follow the birth of the child (Bush, 1990).

The relational closeness between male and female slaves, the same amount of freedom they were allowed, and their lack of concern about their nakedness may have communicated to the Europeans that slaves lacked shame and modesty. Historians have found that this nakedness created a sense of equality among male slaves and female slaves. Richard Ligon (Bush, 1990) remarked that "chaste they are as many people under the sun; for when men and women are together naked they will never cast their eyes towards the parts that ought to be covered and... I never saw so much as a kiss, or embrace, or wanton glance with their eyes, between them" (p.96).

In their innocence, the nakedness of the slaves showed that they respected each other and considered themselves as equals (Bush, 1990). Female sexuality was controlled by parents and community members until they were at a suitable age. In Jamaican Maroon societies even after public declaration was made that a young female was at a suitable age for marriage, females often remained chaste for many years (Bush, 1990). In these cultural settings, it was evident that black women, in contrast to European women, were not valued based on their virginity or ability to withhold sex. They were evidently valued as being equal to their male counterparts in all respects. Redefinition of the sexuality and gender identity of male and female slaves began with sexual violence against female slaves. On Jamaican estates, female slaves had two key roles: being sexually available to the white elite, and contributing economically to the estate. This kind of sexual arrangement was accepted and considered normal (Barash, 1990; Bush, 1990) and sexual exploitation of female slaves by both black and white men was a daily occurrence. Gautier (as cited in Bush, 1990) argued that the much greater number of black male slaves compared to black female slaves may have “increased the risk of sexual violence to women from black men in general” (p.111). In addition, black men were valued—and feared—based on their putative sexual prowess and ability to father many children (Bush, 1990; Abel, 2004).

Female slaves were often very resistant to the ‘Christian’ religion. Accepting the Christian religion would result in the loss of their freedom and equality, as “Christianity emphasised female inferiority and subordination” (Bush, 1990, p. 156). Enslaved men were suitable candidates for conversion (Bush, 1990). They may have desired the power of having someone submit to them. During emancipation, blacks eventually accepted the

'Christian' religion while retaining some components of their African culture (Bush, 1990). Freedom meant:

- Being Christian and English
- Male-headed families: with the man being the breadwinner, sustaining and protecting his family both physically and financially. Females became possessions of men, and were to remain obedient and submissive to them.
- Recognition by the British Crown as being upstanding male English citizens
- The ability to defend their liberty and rights and the rights of their family by participating in politics (Scully & Paton, 2005).

This hybrid identity was termed "masculine individualism" (Scully & Paton, 2005). In Jamaica, "Afro-Jamaican men resorted to a Christian discourse of 'manhood' in order to insert themselves into British political discourses that emphasized a kind of active masculine citizenship" (P.82). Blacks' acceptance of Christianity meant the approval and continuation of sexual violence against females.

Socializing our youth into a culture that sanctions sexual violence

"A boy could not be soft—no mama's boy. He had to learn from early to fend for himself, to be a man and not a girl or a virgin—soft and delicate. How im going to protect him family if a man see him as gal? Yu woman would cheat and feisty with you and you can't even do nutting" (Gayle, 2002, p.100).

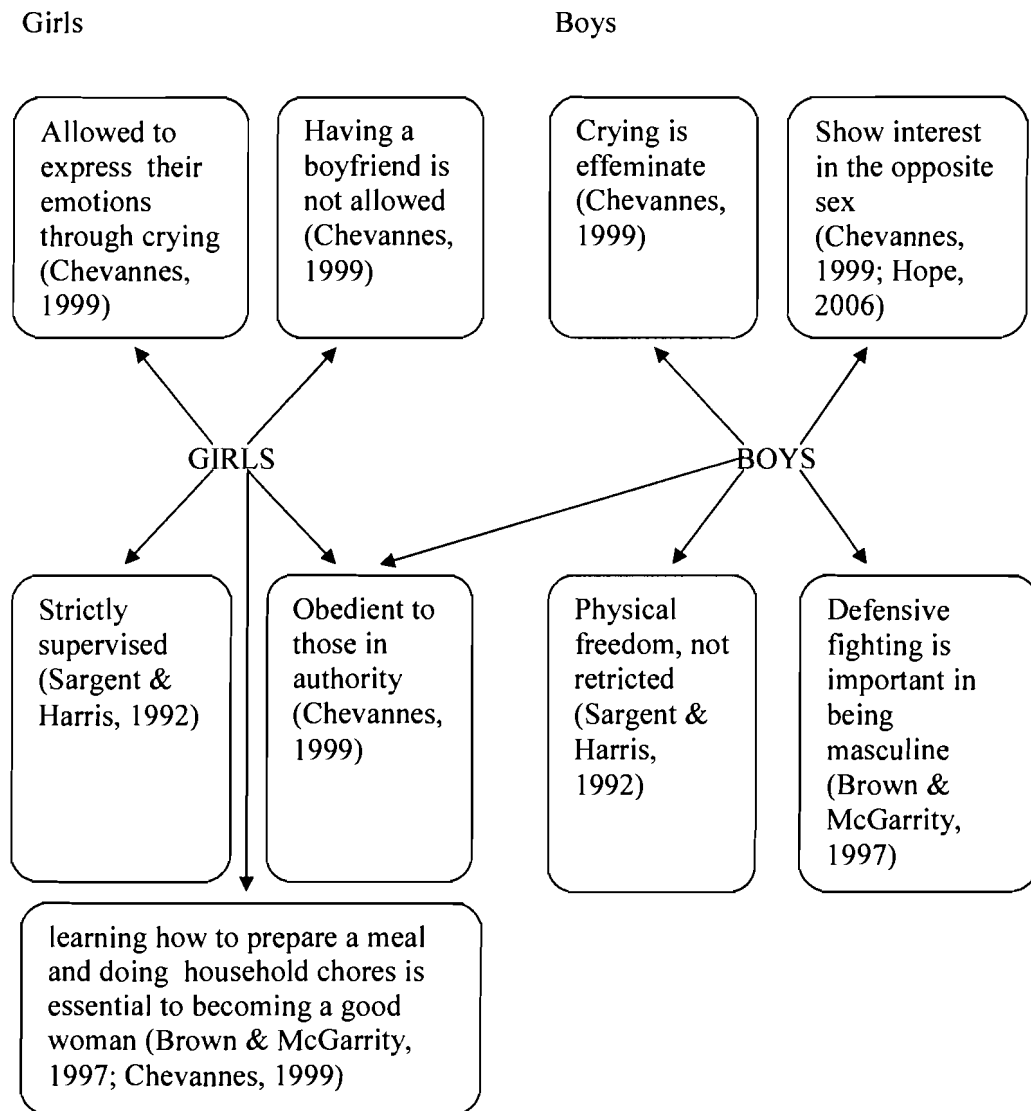
(Translation: A boy could not be feminine. He must learn to provide for himself, to be a man and not a girl or a virgin—soft and delicate. How is he going to protect his family if he behaves as a woman? His woman would cheat and feisty with him and he could do nothing about it) (Gayle, 2002).

Men who go against the heterosexual ideology may be ostracized. An example of what

would happen to such a young man is provided in Meshell Ndegeocello's 1996 lyrics "Leviticus faggot", which follows the life of a young homosexual male who was rejected by his parents and forced out of his home (Wallace, 2006). The development of a strong heterosexual code is a core feature of normative masculine identity. Black men often adopted this ideology of manhood as their own after emancipation. This ideology of manhood is strictly maintained and communicated to boys and girls as they are socialised by their family and society (Gayle, 2002; McKenzie, 2006).

Gender inequality persists in Jamaican society as there are many stereotypical beliefs about females that allow men to exert their power, even with violence (Amnesty International, 2006). Research on different cultures reveals that increased disparity between genders contributes to high rates of violence against women (Gelles, 1998; Rennison, 2001; as cited in Klein, 2006). From an early age, Jamaican children are taught about acceptable female and male behaviour (Gayle, 2002; McKenzie, 2006). The following diagrams describe what is expected of males and females.

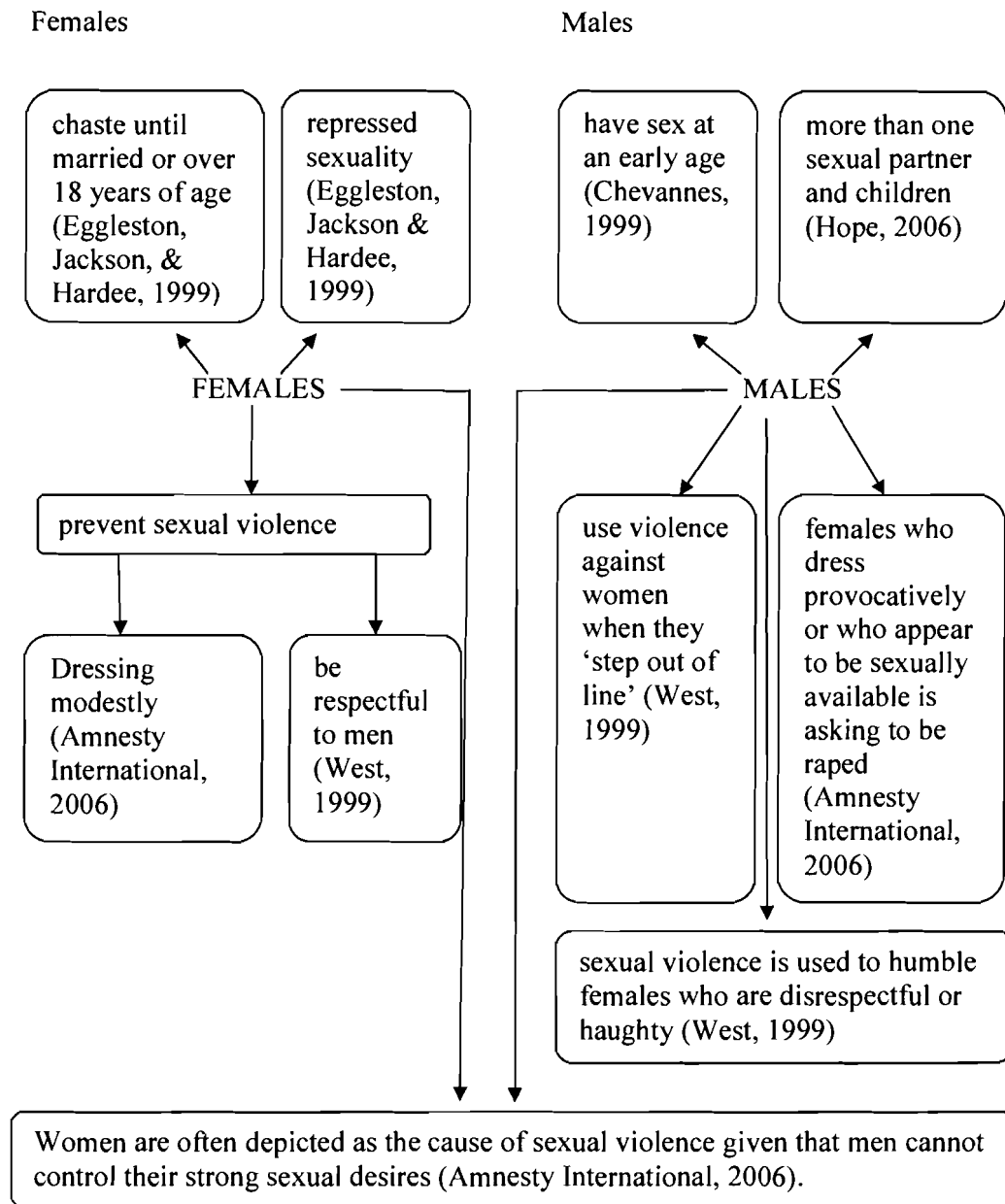
Diagram 1: Gender roles, under ten years old



These prescribed roles are typical of, but not restricted to, these particular age groups.

However, many individuals are expected to follow many of these behavioural codes, such as being subservient, throughout their life course.

Diagram 2: Gender roles, from ten years onwards



It is important to note that not all Jamaicans are socialised in this way; however, these are the dominant cultural beliefs that affect everyone in the society to some extent.

As demonstrated by the above diagrams and reinforced by scholars such as Connell (1995; as cited in Klein, 2006), for many people sexual violence against females is perceived as normal, and this perception fosters the development of

masculinity (Barash, 1990; Gayle, 2002; McKenzie, 2006; UNESCO, 2006). For this reason, acknowledging sexual violence against girls may be regarded as unimportant (Klein, 2006). “Social institutions including family, school, and religious institutions” perpetuate, reinforce and internally enforce sexual violence (Klein, 2006, p.153). Amnesty International (2006) in their report on sexual harassment in Jamaica found that the church and the public reinforced sexual violence. One church figure told females that scanty outfits were a sexual invitation and it is believed that females who dresses modestly are not sexually victimized. Fifty one percent of women interviewed in the Amnesty International (2006) study disagreed with the statement that women are responsible for rape because of their behaviour or clothing. Many believe that they should be able to express their individuality without threats of sexual violence. Rape Crisis Centres and a Police Rape Unit have been established in Jamaica to help protect the rights of Jamaican females. Also, the police and the judiciary are trained on how to support and care for female victims of violence (Byron & Thorburn, 1998).

Sexual violence in schools

Sexual relationships between teachers and high school students are not uncommon (Fibkins, 2006). The EFA (Educational Foundation of America) Global Monitoring Report found that sexual relationships between male teachers and female students have existed in South Africa from as early as the 1950’s (UNESCO, 2006).

It is a common but naïve belief that away from home, school is the safest place for a child to be. Recent research has found that schools are far from safe. In fact, “schools are often sites of intolerance, discrimination and violence” (UNESCO, 2006, p. 143). Girls are more often victims as they experience sexual violence from both male students and teachers (UNESCO, 2006). A survey carried out by the American Association of University Women (AAUW, 2001; as cited in Shoop, 2004)

found that 83 percent of female students in grades 8 through 11 experienced physical and verbal sexual harassment at school, the offenders included male teachers. Research conducted in a coeducational institution in Britain found that young women often experienced sexual harassment from male teachers (Halson, 1989; as cited in Abbott, Wallace, & Tyler, 2005). In the United States it was reported that school employers, including teachers, committed 18 percent of reported school harassments (Quesada, 1998; as cited in Klein, 2006). Klein (2006) argues that the high incidence of sexual violence and particularly against female students—4 of 5 female students report being victimized by sexual violence—confirms that sexual violence is considered to be normal, making it difficult to address the problem. Failure to address the problem normalizes it and females may come to accept sexual violence as a part of their school experience (UNESCO, 2006).

Responsibilities of religious leaders and teachers: It is well documented that male religious leaders (from various denominations) in the U.S. committed sexual atrocities against thousands of children — mostly boys — in their care (Berry, 1985, 1992; Geyelin, 1993; Matchen, 1992; Ostling, 1993; Poe, 1992; Rohde, 1992; Clark, 1993; Curriden, 1992; Dyrud, 1993; Greely, 1993; Kennedy, 1993; Rossetti & Lowesten, 1990; Chander, 1990; as cited in Isely, 1997). Following accusations against Catholic priests, for example, it was found that 95 percent of the cases were held to be true (Stahel, 1993 as cited in Isely, 1997). These acts against children were a betrayal of the public's trust for the clergy. In the Catholic Church, parents often had great faith in the institution and would encourage their children to serve alongside priests for years as altar boys (Quinn, 1989; as cited in Isley, 1997). The amount of faith parents have in school teachers is similar to the faith they have in religious leaders.

Many parents believe that teachers are effective caretakers and as such, children are expected to obey their teachers. Studies on obedience have proved that humans will obey authority figures, and carry out activities that they believe is expected of or required of them even in the face of danger or even in cases where they are strongly against what they are being told to do. Popular studies such as *The Stanford Prison Study* (Musen & Zimbardo, 1991) and the Stanley Milgram's experiment on obedience (Helm & Morelli, 1979) conducted among adults shows that humans are inherently compliant. Additional support is provided by consistent correlation in the results of replications of Stanley Milgram's renowned obedience test conducted in United States, Italy, South Africa, West Germany, Australia, Jordan, Spain, and Austria (Blass, 2004); and studies of a similar nature conducted among young children in Africa and the United States (Munroe & Munroe, 1972; 1975). The fact that authority (male) figures have been awarded the trust of the public this will make it increasingly difficult for children to report or refuse sexual violence.

Effects of sexual violence

This stage (adolescent) in development is very challenging for many students. In this period, guidance and social support is needed to make a smooth transition from childhood to adulthood (Blank & Minowa, 2001). Abused children suffer emotional trauma; for example, "they are wounded in their self-esteem, they feel dirty and ashamed", and they often have difficulty trusting others (Piot, 1999; as cited in Johnson, 2003, p. 9). Other problems include "drug and alcohol abuse, early sexual initiation, multiple sexual partners, unprotected sex and prostitution" (Johnson, 2003, p. 9) and are in danger of becoming sexually abusive adults (Briggs & Hawkins, 1996; Dhawan & Marshall, 1996). A national consequence of sexual violence is the stagnation of Jamaica's economy. For instance, many young pregnant girls are not

equipped financially or emotionally for motherhood. Many are not in a position to obtain employment that will allow them to take care of themselves and family. They become dependent on men to provide for them; thus, in many cases, the cycle of sexual violence continues (Stolzoff, 2000) and women face many disadvantages in terms of their standard of living and social status.

Reporting sexual violence

Many parents entrust the safety of their children to school staff. When instances of sexual violence are brought to the fore, parents, the school population, and the wider public often find it hard to accept such transgressions. In such cases, blame is often placed on the female student. Even when sufficient evidence is brought against an offending teacher, the public might not be willing to accept it. For example, “in Santa Fe, New Mexico, supporters of a teacher continued to maintain his innocence even after he pleaded no contest to having sex with a 16-year-old student” (Shoop, 2004, p. 20).

When dealing with sexual relationships between male teachers and female students, individuals—including fellow students—often fail to acknowledge the power of authority that the teacher exerts over the student. Shoop (2004) argues that even if female students allow sexual activity, that does not mean they approve of it. In fact, female students may feel that the teacher has total control over class activities. According to the UNESCO (2006) report, “aggressive and intimidating behaviour, unsolicited physical contact such as touching and groping, assault, coercive sex and rape” are components of sexual violence, which is applicable to any sexual relationship formed between a teacher and student (p. 144).

Due to the secret deviance of underreporting, the actual extent of sexual violence against females in Jamaica is not known. Reports from rape crisis centres in the Caribbean demonstrate that only 1 in 8 women helped through the centre report the crime to the police (Clarke, 1998; as cited in Johnson, 2003). Similar reports were given by Jamaica's health facilities, when compared to the police they recorded higher rates of sexual violence (Amnesty International, 2006).

A common finding in research and publications about sexual violence is the array of challenges females face in reporting sexual violence. These challenges are often created and reinforced by society and the justice system (Gayle, 2002; Cunningham & Correia, 2003; World Youth Report, 2003; Shoop, 2004; Amnesty International, 2006; McKenzie, 2006), even when legal protections are in place, as many complaints do not result in a conviction. Although the laws of the society and legal formal equality provide for the defence and protection of victims of sexual violence, the actual legal process leading up to a conviction is left up to the discretion of officials and there can be substantive inequality (Burtch, 2003) of those responsible for the administration of justice. In Jamaica, women are blamed for sexual violence and this increases the likelihood that the offender will not be punished (Amnesty International, 2006). A judge commented as follows on the low rate of conviction for sexual violence: "I am here to tell you that any good defence attorney who wants to destroy a woman's credibility (in rape cases) tries to bring out how she was dressed, was she dressed in a tight pants or a tight skirt, and believe it or not things like those affect the jury" (Amnesty International, 2006, p. 41).

Shoop (2004) found that only five percent of female students who believed that they were victims of sexual violence reported it to their parents or school officials. It is common for sexual abuse against children to go unreported. In some

cases, the victim may feel responsible or they might empathize with the offender, especially if it is someone they know (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 312; as cited in Schneider, 1997). Others are fearful that their credibility will be questioned or they might not be believed. Not wanting to cause undue stress on the offender or on themselves and family, they may refrain from reporting the crime (Finkelhor, 1984, p. 312; as cited in Schneider, 1997).

Theoretical framework: Macrosociological theory of rape

The macrosociological theory of rape is an integrated approach to explaining sexual violence against women on a broader scale. Macrosociological theorists such as Baron and Straus (1993) argue that rape cannot be fully understood through the application of one theory or by focusing on individual cases. They combined feminist critiques of gender inequality and pornography with, theories of culture and social disorganization in an attempt to arrive at a more holistic explanation of rape. Baron and Straus tested these theories in the United States, using 1980 to 1982 sexual violence data available to the United States Federal Bureau of Investigations.

According to such feminist critiques of gender inequality, violence against women is a major characteristic of patriarchal societies. Women are at a systemic disadvantage because men are often in control of the opportunity and reward structure in the society (Baron & Straus, 1993). Gender inequality might be relative to individual cultures and countries, but at the core of this inequality is the limited access women have to resources in “the family, the economy, education and politics” (Stewart, 2002, p. 45; Burgess-Jackson, 1996; Tierney, 1999). This substantive inequality is maintained and communicated to the community through the culture (Stewart, 2002). This powerlessness makes women more vulnerable to rape (Baron & Straus, 1993; Stewart, 2002; Burgess-Jackson, 1996). The gender inequality index

was developed to determine the degree of male domination in society. This index measures the extent to which women are equal to men in the economic, political and legal sphere. The extent to which a male-dominated social structure increased the risk of rape was measured. Baron and Straus (1993) found that a high rate of male domination was consistent with high rates of rape in the community.

The feminist critique of pornography rests on the premise that “pornography is a form of sexual discrimination...that contributes to the violation of women’s rights” (O’Toole, Schiffman & Kiter Edwards, 2007, p. 369; Tierney, 1999). Moreover, critics believe that “pornography sexually objectifies women, eroticizes violence, and fosters male dominance”. Also, the viewing, availability and distribution of pornography increase the instances of rape (Baron & Straus, 1993; Tierney, 1999; O’Toole, Schiffman & Kiter Edwards, 2007). This theory was tested using a sex magazine circulation index, particularly *Playboy*, *Penthouse* and *Hustler*. The researchers examined how circulation (sales) was correlated to the incidence of rape. They found that high rates of pornography circulation were consistent with high rates of rape. However, Baron and Straus (1993) argue that this correlation cannot be taken at face value, because the putative causal relationship between pornography and rape might be a consequence of the relationships between rape, pornography and male-dominated culture. Male feminist critiques that support the antipornography initiative correspond to the findings of Baron and Straus, as they posit that aggressive pornography maintains gender inequality and is thus a tool of male supremacy (O’Toole, Schiffman & Kiter Edwards, 2007).

Much credit has been given to culture and socialization as sources of misogyny and ultimately sexual violence against women (Stewart, 2002). According to one such theory, cultural spillover theory, the incidence of sexual violence is higher

in societies where the use of violence is supported by the beliefs and attitudes of the people and is socially acceptable in the education system (e.g., corporal punishment), mass media (violent television programs and reports) and sports (see Baron & Straus, 1993). One of the main agents of socialization is the family; since this core institution can; reflect values, norms, beliefs and attitudes of the culture. Children are socialized to conform to these cultural standards which include behaviours that are acceptable and expected in relationships. In some cultures males are socialized to be dominant and controlling and females to be submissive and nurturing, roles that makes women susceptible to violence (Stewart, 2002). To measure and determine the relationship between society's support for the use of violence and rape, Baron and Straus created a legitimate violence index that included 12 indicators of non-criminal violence and one indicator with the use of violence as punishment. They found no direct relationship between society's approval of violence and rape (Baron & Straus, 1993).

In spite of these findings, women *are* organizing against violence perpetrated against them as they recognize violence as a part of a cultural system that reinforces male domination (Hackett & Haslanger, 2006). Philosophers Larry May and Robert Strikwerda (Burgess-Jackson, 1996) argue that "in contemporary America, men are socialized to ignore women's desires... this... creates a climate that encourages rape" (p. 153). Drawing on recent studies and media reports on sexual violence among members of college fraternities and male sports teams, O'Toole, and his colleagues (2007) concluded that these are good examples of how sexual violence against females is being institutionalized through socialization.

Social disorganization theorists believe that violence occurs when the normal functioning of society is disrupted by “migration, marital disruption, and cultural heterogeneity” (Baron & Straus, 1993, p.10). The social disorganization index tested the belief that socially disorganized societies had high rates of violence. Their findings were two-fold: first, they found that in socially disorganized sexist (high gender inequality) societies, “a low level of social integration and social control contributes to a high incidence of rape” (p.187); and second, in other less sexist societies, social disorganization may increase gender equality and reduce the occurrence of rape (Baron & Straus, 1993). Jennes & Grattet (1996) study² on hate crime legislations in the United States, investigated the relationship between social disorganization and sexual violence. Using the 0.5 level of significance, they found that urbanization and immigration were linked to the rates for murder, rape, robbery and assault.

² Jennes and Grattet (1996) relied upon a “complete inventory of hate crime statutes in the United States and social indicator data to investigate the social forces shaping the adoption of one particular type of hate crime legislation” (p. 129)

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH METHODS

Subjects

A Semi-structured pair personal in-depth interview and focus groups were used to probe perceptions of sexual violence in Jamaica in general and specifically in high schools. Purposive sampling—only Jamaican high school students—and snowballing techniques were used to select high school students in Jamaica to participate in this study. For the first three interviews the purposive sampling method was used; I went house to house in the Portmore, St. Catherine community recruiting participants. For the final group I used the snowballing method. I recruited participants with the help of one participant who referred to me to other potential participants who in turn suggested other people who take part in the research. The participants were from the parishes of Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine and were between the ages of 12 and 18. In all, there were 20 participants, ten boys and ten girls. There was one pair personal in-depth interview with two boys (group 2: Tyrone and Sajavia³) and three focus groups. Two groups had five boys (group 3: Nate, Kedron, Danny, Adrian and Ronnie) and five girls (group 4: Ayesha, Fiona, Kymry, Shomay and Anna) each and one group had eight participants five girls and three boys (group 1: Simone, Tristan, Trudy, Miena, Tina, Devin, Maine and Rex).

Recruiting for the interview was done one to two weeks ahead of the scheduled interviews. The interviews were carried out over the period of four weeks. Parents of the participants were approached to request their permission in allowing their children to participate in the study. Their questions about the study were answered on site. For the parents who agreed to allow their child/children to

³ Pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of participants.

participate it was requested that they speak with their child before making a final decision. I left the parents a copy of the consent form (appendix B) and took their contact information. They were called within two days to ask if they had decided if their child might participate in the study. Two parents in particular were forcing their children to participate; I tactfully suggested that they allow their child to decide, but they insisted that the child should participate.

Four potential participants turned me down. Two were sisters who changed their minds after they were contacted, while the third person was a male, shy in nature, who was being forced by his mother to participate. The guardian of the fourth potential participant expressed that the child in her care was her niece from out of town. The aunt had no prior knowledge of me and was apprehensive about allowing the care of her niece into my hands. The other parent who was forcing her sons to participate brought them to the interview location and told them they had no choice but to participate. I did not want to turn away potential participants unnecessarily and I was careful to adhere to the minimal risk standard required by SFU (Simon Fraser University) ethics; they agreed to participate and contributed to the discussion.

The participants were asked to bring the parent A copy of the consent form on the day of the interviews; all did so. They were given their copies of the consent form (appendix A) to read carefully before consenting. All agreed to take part in the study and no one withdrew. Participants were provided with pseudonym nametags and were asked to not reveal any identifying information during interviews or on the questionnaires. The participants agreed that the information could be used in future research. The anonymous interview transcripts are secured in my password-protected, personal computer.

Pilot study: A pilot study on the research instruments was conducted with two former high school students from the Caribbean. Experience in the education system is similar in all Caribbean islands. The participants (two females over the age of 18) were asked to make suggestions for the adjustment of the 5-point Likert scale. After consulting with my research supervisors the questions that were considered inappropriate for the participants were removed from the scale. Statements relating to availability and distribution of pornography were removed and statements were written so that they could be easily understood by the participants.

Establishing rapport: I took a keen interest in the participants, facilitating conversations asking questions about their recreational or other activities that they would like to discuss. In obtaining their trust, common interests were identified and elaborated on, and I maintained eye contact and allowed them to express themselves without interruptions. Having secured their trust, I smoothly progressed into the interviews by presenting a scenario connected to the discussion that could be related to sexual violence. Most participants were comfortable contributing to the discussion but others remained quiet. They did not raise any issues about the study or their safety in participating.

Setting

Arrangements were made for the participants to meet with me at the Portmore Junior centre, St. Catherine. Staff and a security guard supervise the Portmore Junior centre, which is a public recreational facility for children. At the time of the study no other activities were scheduled at the centre. A large, quiet room was secured for conducting the interviews. The initial location for the interviews was the University of the West Indies, Mona, Chapel gardens, but the location was changed because of security reasons. My research was conducted during the period of the general

elections, and the elections attracted much violence. I was concerned that parents might not cooperate in allowing their child/children to participate because of fear for their safety. For the final focus group, I arranged to conduct the group at my home.

The quiet, peaceful and secured setting of both the Junior Centre and my home allowed us to have discussions out of the view of others. Prior to conducting the interviews, electronic devices including cellular phones were turned off. A tape recorder was used to record the interviews. Lunch was provided prior to one interview and at the end of the other three interviews. The participants were compensated for the cost of travelling to and from the interview locations.

Data collection

Both qualitative and the quantitative approaches were used to collect data. One semi-structured pair personal in-depth interview and three focus groups were conducted, followed by a survey which included a 5-point Likert scale.

Ethnographic semi-structured pair personal interview and focus groups:

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) consider interviews with more than one participants as valuable as it prompts the participants to be reflexive, interacting with others may allow them to consider points that they may not consider in a personal interview. The in-depth pair personal interview and focus groups lasted 20 to 50 minutes and the questionnaire required an additional 5 to 10 minutes.

To maintain naturalness and to introduce probing questions in the in-depth pair personal interviews and focus groups, the interview questions were asked in Mesolect English (a combination of Jamaican Standard English and Creole language Patois). The major questions I explored are:

- 1) What does sexual violence mean to you?
- 2) What are your perceptions of the issues that lie beneath your attitude towards sexual violence?
- 3) What are your perceptions of the situations that lead to sexual violence?
- 4) What are your perceptions of sexual violence in high schools?

Audio recording: Taping the interviews allowed me to focus more on the participants, assuring them that their responses are valuable. Particular attention was paid to their facial expressions and body language. In transcribing the data, it was possible to listen for details such as tone of voice, hesitations and language.

Questionnaire: The interviews were followed by a quantitative questionnaire that included a 5-point Likert scale that asked for the respondents' level of agreement to some major propositions of the macrosociological theory of rape. The 10 statements served to investigate how rape and the knowledge of rape affect females' relationships with men, and family situations that might lead to sexual violence. Instructions were provided for filling out the questionnaire (appendix D). The inclusion of a quantitative questionnaire indicated relationships that were not forthcoming in the qualitative interviews (Huberman & Miles, 2002).

Scoring: The agreement response format was chosen, the responses ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). All the items were directly scored; the agreement response were recoded from 1 and 2 into 1 (disagree) and 4 and 5 into 2 (agree) and 3 (neither).

Researcher: I was the sole researcher in this study. My personal history in the Jamaican school system, socio-cultural background, language and training influenced the direction and outcome of the interview and study. I understand the history of the

Jamaican society, have witnessed and personally experienced sexual violence in both the general society and school system. These allowed the effective interpretation of certain colloquial terms, expression and experiences.

At the end of one focus group discussion, a participant exclaimed that she was a tad bit intimidated that I was a University student. Her impression was that she would be required to speak in Standard Jamaican English. As the interviews were underway she realized however that the language (Mesolect English) I was using meant that Standard English was not required. This made her feel more comfortable in sharing her perceptions. Taking into consideration that perceptions vary, I remained open to alternative experiences and implications emerging from the research study and the available literature.

Validity and Reliability: In qualitative research, “validity and reliability are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor, and quality in qualitative paradigm” (Golafshani, 2003, p. 604). My personal experience and knowledge as a former Jamaican high school student and the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods increase the likelihood that my exploratory study can be trusted. The interpretation of the data is based on findings from the literature, my own subjective understanding of sexual violence in Jamaican high schools, and input from my supervisory committee. These triangulation methods help control for biases about sexual violence in schools, thus increasing the validity and reliability of the study (Denzin, 1978; as cited in Golafshani, 2003).

Analysis techniques

The data were analysed using thematic coding concepts. The method employed had five steps: transcribing, themes/open coding, theme titles/open coding, connecting themes, and theoretical ordering.

Step 1, Transcribing: Responses to the open-ended questions from the in-depth pair personal interviews, focus groups and questionnaires were transcribed verbatim using Microsoft Word. The responses were colour coded, separated into four cases. Steps two, three, and four (below) were prepared separately for each case.

Step 2, Themes/open coding: To arrange the data, a table with three columns were created in Microsoft Word. The data from the transcripts were placed in the centre column. To familiarize myself with the data the transcript was read several times and what I consider interesting in the responses was recorded in the left margin. In the interpretation of the data, I summarized the participants' responses and comment on the language that they used.

Step 3, Theme titles/open coding: Starting from the beginning of the transcript the right margin was used to document the emerging theme titles. Notes made in the left margin were transformed into phrases that capture the quality of what is found in the text. I used expressions that allow "theoretical connections within and across cases but which are still grounded in the particularity of the specific thing said" (Smith, 2003, p. 68).

Step 4, Connecting themes: Theme title transcripts were printed and the emerging themes listed using Microsoft Word. Themes that are related were listed in chronological order according to how they emerged from the transcript (see Smith, 2003).

Step 5, Theoretical ordering: In interpreting the data and making connections between themes, some related themes were clustered together while others remained independent. Six major recurring themes were selected (definitions of sexual violence, source of the definitions, risk factors for sexual violence, sexual violence in high schools, societal reactions to sexual violence, and students' solution for sexual violence). There was also support for the social displacement theory and the cultural victimization of women theory. In support of the macrosociological theory of rape, three major themes emerged (gender inequality theory, cultural spillover theory and the theory of social disorganization). Another Microsoft Word document was created; this document had four columns. The emerging themes that were similar in each case were placed in the left and the right column next to the participants' response.

Ethics

According to Berg (2004), in the social sciences the issue of ethics is somewhat subjective and is the responsibility of the researcher, peers and ethics review bodies to determine or define what is ethical. Any approach that intentionally deceives or harms human subjects is morally reprehensible. In protecting the rights of participants and ensuring that they were not exposed to any harm greater than that which they would experience in their daily lives, informed consent was sought, ensuring anonymity and confidentiality while minimizing harm.

To my knowledge, there is no law in Jamaica restricting access to children for the purpose of research. Taking into consideration the sexually sensitive nature of this study, and the fact that I am investigating teacher student sexual relationships it was appropriate to approach parents directly requesting their cooperation in allowing their children to participate in this study. In any case, the main caregiver of the child (guardian or parent) should approve research of a sensitive nature that requires the

participation of children. It was emphasized that this minimal risk research is asking for their child's opinion on sexual violence and not about their personal lives. Parents or guardians who are truly concerned about the welfare of their children had no problem in consenting to their participation. This research may benefit the Jamaican society on a whole as it might lead to further inquiries and investigations into sexual violence, not only at the high school level, but also in all educational institutions.

Formal written consent was granted from both parents/guardians and participants. The consent form provided parents/guardians and participants with the necessary information about the study, that allowed them to approve or decline participation (Berg, 2004). The consent form included information about the purpose of the research, what will be required of them as participants, that their participation is voluntary (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003), participation feedback and the contact information of persons they should contact if they want to make a complaint or if they have questions (appendices A, B and C).

In securing the confidentiality of my participants prior to the interviews they were provided with nametags and were not required to give any information about their area of residence or the school they attended. To maintain anonymity, they were asked to print the pseudonym that they were given on the questionnaires. Details of the setting or the participants were not discussed with anyone who has knowledge of the participants. The consent forms are kept separate from the transcripts (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Berg, 2004).

To reduce the psychological harm that this sensitive topic of sexual violence might cause, it was emphasized prior to the interviews and during the interviews that participants were not required to divulge any information pertaining to their personal

lives (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; Smith, 2003). For security reasons, it was brought to the attention of the participants that a security guard was present at the Portmore Junior Centre, and others have knowledge of our location (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). All interviews were completed without any problems. There were no conflicts and no need for debriefing as the participants showed no signs of discomfort and to my knowledge, they did not reveal any personal information other than their opinions and perceptions.

CHAPTER THREE:

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

In narrative form, I interpreted the participating students' constructions of sexual violence in Jamaican high schools. The major inductive themes that came out of this study are definitions of sexual violence, source of the definitions, risk factors for sexual violence, sexual violence in high schools, societal reactions to sexual violence, and students' solutions for sexual violence. Present in the participants' response was support for the social displacement theory, and the cultural victimization of women theory. The deductive themes of gender inequality theory and cultural spillover theory were present in the inductive themes. Support for some aspects of gender inequality and social disorganization theories were present in the quantitative investigation.

Participants' definitions of sexual violence

In defining sexual violence—the responses for the most part were similar—participants emphasized that sexual relationships between a child and adult, and any communication of a sexual nature (visual, verbal or physical) that is not solicited, coerced or forced equates to sexual violence.

Maine: ... to me sexual violence is when individuals abuse individuals. It would be touching them and doing things that people don't think is appropriate; like forcing them to do sexual activities.

Simone: ... when the boy dem⁴ touch you on yu bottom and yu vagina

(When the boys touch you on your bottom and vagina)

Tristan: Rape, molestation and assault

Simone: Big man having sex with little girl

⁴ Translations for patois quotes are provided in brackets, next to the words or below the quotes.

Kedron: hurting someone; doing it against their will

Other participants shared additional viewpoints on what they believe to be sexual violence. One particular response that I found astonishing was provided by Danny who said that love was sexual violence. He refused to elaborate, but when combined with other responses and available literature, some possible explanations for Danny's opinion evolved. Another participant—Fiona—referred to abuse ('violent sex') during sexual intercourse, as many young men fear being tagged by females as effeminate or weak if they are not aggressive during intercourse. For many young men, love is achieved through sexual intercourse with their partner. Another participant, Devin, said that when most young men ask a girl out on a date their main objective is to have sex with the girl. Many males in the convincing process often use the word love. Females are often asked to prove their love for their mate by engaging in sexual activity. So, in essence, Danny might have meant that 'violent sex' is often a factor in many loving intimate relationships, or even that so-called "rough sex", agreed to by sex partners, was acceptable.

Compared to the guiding definitions in the literature, the participants have a fair understanding of the nature of sexual violence. In interpreting sexuality and gender in the Jamaican dancehall culture, Hope (2006) argued that violent sex is a preference of men from the poorer strata of the Jamaican society. The feminist critique of the cultural victimization of women argues that women are socially defined as "rapeable" as being female is an invitation for sexual violence, and "forced sex constitutes the social meaning of gender" (Mackinnon, 1989; as cited in West, 1999, p.111).

Kelly (1988, p.4; as cited in Abbott, Wallace and Tyler, 2005) defines sexual violence as “any physical, visual verbal or sexual act that is experienced by the woman or girl, at the time or later, as a threat, menace or assault that has the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or takes away her ability to control intimate contact” (p. 299). In addition, the exploitation of children for the sexual gratification of adults and sexual activity that is not consensual is sexual violence (Muntarbhorn, 1996). The participants’ responses and these definitions show that any sexual act that violates individuals, forced or unsolicited may be components of all definitions of sexual violence.

Sources of the definitions

The media (television, newspapers), the Jamaican society and the school environment were seen as more influential and parents and teachers least influential in contributing to the participants’ conceptions of sexual violence.

Teachers and parents: Support for the influences of teachers and parents was minimal. Only one participant said that they were educated by their family or teacher about sexual violence. Participants identified adults as possible ‘perpetrators’ of sexual violence.

Nate: I would say family because when you’re growing up they always tell you not to talk to strangers because they might want to rape you.

Simone: My social studies teacher seh: some a di big man dem when dem have sex with the little girl dem, dem tink say the AIDS a-go go weh.

(My social studies teacher said: some of the older men when they have sex with the young girls, they think that the AIDS will go away).

The participants made no mention of sex education programs in their schools. Sajavia and Tyrone when asked if they did any course in school that taught them about sexual violence, both their replies were “no”. Tyrone referred to a program (personal development) that is compulsory for first year high school students, he could not recall the content of the course, but the content did not include education on sexual violence. It appears that the media, school environment and the general society are more effective in reaching and educating Jamaican children about sexual violence. But there is still considerable ignorance about sexually-transmitted diseases and sex in general.

Media: Teenagers are often the targeted audience for educational programs—‘Teen Seen’⁵—that deals with issues common to youths. The participants referred to television programs and news reports of actual rape cases where the wording of the news reports conveyed to the participants that an act of sexual violence was committed.

Tristan: ... dem bring all kinda programs on the TV ... that would give you an understanding of it.

(They broadcast different programs on the TV... that would give you an understanding of it).

Tyrone: ... well these are things you hear about all the time you hear about people that rape people, and on the TV you hear *bout* (about) this man raping somebody and killing them and then they term it as sexual violence ... so that’s how I come to that conclusion.

Kymry: ... the kind of things that they bring, or you read it in the paper, the way how they put it in the paper or the way they carry it on the news, you know that some violence was involved.

Ayesha: ... listen to the news and you hear *dem* (them) *a talk bout* (talk about) a young girl that was sexually assaulted, the way how they say it you know that something bad happened.

⁵ a television program for teenagers that occasionally focus on violence against children

Most Jamaican children are cared for by either single parents or guardians who may not be capable of providing these children with sufficient guidance and education about life issues (Ministry of Education, Youth and Culture, 2003). Thus, it is understandable why the media is one of the main socializing mediums.

School environment: When talking about the influence of the school environment, the participants stated that their school peers are a great influence. They related incidents where students were having sex or were being forced to have sex on school grounds; in some cases, these activities took place during school hours. During Physical Education (PE) sessions and after school hours were identified as the most convenient times for these activities to take place. For the Physical Education period the class is normally required to relocate to the physical activity field but some students remain in the classroom for the purposes of having sex.

Male students were also forcing female students into the male bathrooms to have sex as it was reported that students have been caught in compromising situations. Other students at risk would skip school. One participant expressed that school staff members who have knowledge of these activities have not attempted to put a stop to it. This is considered as something that happens regularly and students participate to improve their reputation (males), increase their popularity with their peers, or establish that they are adults.

Sajavia: A everyday ting dat, yu see if a class ga a PE yu haffe fine somadi iina di class ... a have sex... and di principal dem, mi nuh no a wah happen to dem.

(Things like that happen everyday, you see if a class goes to PE you will find someone in the class... having sex... and the principals, I don't know what is wrong with them).

Devin: In school, they have sex in the bathroom; they catch persons

doing that already.

Trudy & Simone: Some a di Bwai dem draw the girl dem iina di boy bathroom ..., or dem wait until school over and go in the bathroom.

(Some boys pull the girls into the boys' bathroom... or they wait until school has ended and go into the bathroom).

Ronnie: Some children *skull* (quit) class and go behind the school to have sex.

Nate: In school you always hear about students having sex... some... want to prove the fact that they are men.

The frequency of sexual activity in the school environment as an establishment of male heterosexual masculinity is a spillover from the general society where men are honoured for establishing a heterosexual identity at an early age. The participants related that female students who were victims or who consented to sexual activities on school grounds became victims of verbal abuse and much discrimination. They would inherit a negative, sexually—permissive reputation that would follow them throughout their academic careers. Findings from research into the sexuality of Jamaican students were similar in other jurisdictions where female respondents expressed that girls who were sexually active “risk acquiring a bad reputation” (Eggleston, Jackson & Hardee, 1999, p. 81).

However, sexual permissiveness among males is allowed and in some cases encouraged in the Jamaican society. Hope's (2006) investigation into one ghetto community in Jamaica found that promiscuity was a recreational activity for many young men, most of whom were unemployed. Every year, they had a competition where the “lucky male” who is able to “conquer” the most vaginas in a single year was considered the “*champion jockey*” for that year. They were also required to prove that sexual activity had taken place. It could be that students caught in compromising situations involved a deliberate act on the part of male students who want others to

know about their sexual prowess.

Jamaican society: The popular trend of sexual permissiveness among students, particularly males, is a factor in the general society. Jamaican youth advocate Lawman Lynch claimed that he has in his possession tapes of high school students having sex on school grounds. After viewing one of the tapes, he concluded that a female student was forced to have sex with a male student (Francis, 2008). Eggleston, Jackson and Hardee (1999) conducted research about Jamaican adolescents (490 girls and 455 boys) reproductive and sexual behaviours. They discovered that 64 percent of boys and 6 percent of girls said that they had been sexually active. In addition, males had a more permissive attitude towards sex as 24 percent of boys, compared to 4 percent of girls, believed that it was acceptable for a boy to be unfaithful, that is, to have sex with girls outside of a committed relationship. Nate described promiscuity as a trend or script that must be followed by young men. Participants in this study said that their knowledge of sexual violence is drawn from daily experiences in the general society and the experience of females who have been victims of sexual violence. Females also experience sexual violence because of the sexual transaction of bartering their bodies in exchange for some material benefit.

Fiona: ... society paint a picture right, through everyday encounters and everyday happenings in society. First of all you get a picture of what violence is, and you know what sex is of course and very often you hear people say that they were sexually assaulted or violated ... many people get abused, you may hear a woman speak of how she was raped ... and ahm (pause in thought) things like that you often hear that people get raped and they speak of it.

Simone: ... mi know a taxi man and this young girl. Him carry the little girl go a beach, anything she want him gi-har. The man seh a my turn now fi yu gimi weh mi want... when the whole a we come out a di car shi still iina di car—because him usually pick up di whole a wi. den him carry har go somewhere else and gi-har nuff money fi shi have sex

wid him.

(I know a taxi driver and this young girl. He took the young girl to the beach. Anything she wanted he gave it to her. The man said “it is my turn now for you to give me what I want”... when all of us got out of the car she stayed in the car—because he usually transport all of us. Then he took her somewhere else and gave her a lot of money in exchange for sex).

Male participants gave justifications for the prevalence of physical (e.g. groping) and verbal sexual violence against women. They said that it would be inappropriate to grope or even be too physically close to males. It is a requirement that males develop a masculine identity, so touching females is generally considered appropriate but intimate contact with other males is taboo. Improper sexual behaviour, whether verbal or physical, towards females is allowed in the society, as males are required from an early age to establish a heterosexual persona.

Tyrone: If yu touch another man a way... den dem beat yu.... In today's society, it would not be inappropriate to touch a girl... if you touch a girl you get praise and yu know it mean seh yu no afraid fi touch girl and yu have girl and dem ting deh.

(If you touch another man inappropriately... then you would be beaten.... In today's society, it would not be inappropriate to touch a girl... if you touch a girl you would be praised and you know that means that you are not afraid to touch girls and you have a girl-friend).

Sajavia: if you touch a girl, you a girls' man... sometimes dem just lick di girl pan dem bottom... den waah get dem ratings.

(If you touch a girl you would be considered to be a ladies' man... sometimes they would hit the girls on their bottoms... they want to get their standing).

Fiona related one incident where a young boy groped her. To her, this behaviour was inappropriate and degrading. Other female participants agree with Fiona; they were disgusted that she was unable to do anything to discipline the boy. They explained his actions by saying that he was being socialized by individuals,

particularly parents, who share the same values. Fiona reassured them that the family should not receive all the blame because there are many examples in the general society where young men are praised for carrying out such actions.

Fiona: ... you know I was walking on the road one day and a little boy, a very little boy about eight... I was walking by and I saw him stop when I was coming and then I continue walking but I was looking at him though I just continue walking and as I pass him, him just slap me on my bottom... I just shake my head and walk away and *seh* (say) this is what society has degraded to... What they see the people around them doing, the *big man dem* (older men), you know you have some idlers who just sit on the road side the whole day... and then you have these girls—some are just easy.

Fiona's experience fits with the findings of Hope (2006) roadside street culture, where according to Fiona, boys are being trained by these young men who lurk on the street corners all day with the hope of possibly 'cashing in' on some sexual advances (Blank, & Minowa, 2001). Social displacement theorists Hampton and Richard (1994; as cited in West, 1999) believe that the "structural relationship" that "black family members" have with their surrounding community is a main predictor of crime against black women. Therefore, boys who are being socialized by young men who believe that the sexual exploitation of women is a "game" will endeavour to continue and reinforce these sexual tendencies.

Risk factors for sexual violence

Concerning the situations that influence sexual violence, some participants thought that everyone is at risk. Others thought that sexual permissiveness, unemployment, poverty, education, popular culture (music), clothing and societal toleration of sexual violence against women are risk factors for sexual violence.

Sexual permissiveness: Sajavia referred to sexually permissive girls as “top girls”⁶ and “sketels”⁷ who are more at risk. Tristan and Simone thought that girls who pretended to be adults and those whose main acquaintances were older men and women are more at risk of being sexually violated.

Tristan: some a dem gwaan like dem big areddi dem just pretend dat dem big, so dem force up themselves.

(Some behave as though they are older than they are they pretend to be older, so they are presumptuous).

Simone: some a dem true dem walk wid big woman so dem feel seh dem big and waan talk to big man.

(Some hang out with older women so they feel older and want to be involved with older men).

Unemployment: Shomay thought that unemployment was a major risk factor for sexual violence. Men who were unemployed had no meaningful way of spending their time so they would be more likely to commit sexual violations, and unemployed women will seek to provide for their financial needs by being sexually permissive. Kymry agreed with Shomay, but she coupled unemployment with poverty. She expressed that women who are poor cannot negotiate sexual activity with their partners; if they want some monetary benefit, for the most part they must comply with their partner’s demands.

Kymry: your background, where you come from... suppose you come from a poor background and you want something... and if I want something and the person who has it because I want it they can tell me what to do in order for me to get it.

Unemployment or poverty among females often results in a reliance on men (Stolzoff, 2000) and poverty makes women more vulnerable for experiencing sexual violence

⁶ Those who are considered as being lascivious

⁷ “a female of little or no self-pride; a female who is looked down on and often disrespected” (Reynolds, 2006, p. 116)

(Blank & Minowa, 2001). They would often participate in “transactional sex” (providing sexual favours in exchange for money) with the intent of relieving their economic situation (Cunningham & Correia, 2003). Research conducted in Jamaica by Amnesty International (2006; Cunningham & Correia, 2003) confirmed, that “transactional sex” was common among young girls from poor families.

Education: Ayesha and Tyrone thought that both males and females with little or no education were more at risk. The males were more likely to commit the offences and the females were more likely to be victims.

Tyrone: education... because you might go round and hear that that girl stupid you know so she will do anything, so you might try and have your own way with her. That is what most people would do.

Lack of education, combined with unemployment and poverty, presents a strong argument as risks for sexual violence. These individuals—mainly from the lower strata of society—do not have access to the resources that would allow them to provide for themselves. In addition, males might resort to sexual violence in the absence of being able to express their dominance over females using traditional economic means. The culture in Jamaica strongly supports this patriarchal ideology (Hope, 2006). Men are expected to be family heads. According to social displacement theory, men whose position as family heads have been dissolved and those who are unemployed might be violent towards women out of frustration of not being able to adequately fulfil their role (West, 1999). Robert Hampton (1991; as cited in West 1999) researched black families and the prevalence and risk factors for spousal abuse. Unemployment was one factor found to be influential in predicting spousal abuse.

The aggressive sexuality of males has been reinforced in many facets of the society (Hope, 2006; Hampton, 1991; as cited in West 1999; Blank, & Minowa,

2001). Sexuality is very important to Jamaican males, particularly those who are unemployed or those at the lower strata in the society. These men who do not have access to the traditional means of providing for themselves and their families, seek to establish their identity by maintaining that they are sexually superior to, or in control of women (Hope, 2006; Hampton, 1991; as cited in West 1999; Blank, & Minowa, 2001). Men believe that they are active partners and females are passive partners (Sharpe, 2003). Males see females who are assertive or financially independent as a threat to their masculinity. Hope (2006) gave an adequate description of the sexual attitude of many Jamaican males who feel that women pose a threat to their masculinity: “The male courtier or conqueror is frenetically concerned with subduing the punaany by any means and at all costs. It must be conquered before it becomes too powerful and results in the subjugation and submission of men and the corruption or elimination of their masculinity” (p.50).

There are, of course, some counterexamples where collective action is taken to promote safety for girls and women in Jamaica. There have been several attempts, in the form of coalitions and manifestos, aimed at combating sexual violence and discrimination against Jamaican women (Amnesty International, 2006; Byron & Thorburn, 1998). A gender Advisory Committee under the direction of the Jamaican government was instituted to advance a gender policy that would result in gender equality in all facets of the society (Bureau of Women’s Affairs, 2006; Amnesty International, 2006). Commonwealth and the Caribbean Secretariats are developing legislation that is intended to reduce all acts of violence against women (Johnson, 2004).

Popular culture: Fiona felt that the popular dancehall culture encourages sexual aggression and permissiveness. Fiona quoted a few words from a popular song “*shi want a man to... her hard*” (“Tell Me” by Beenie Man) to emphasize her point. This song argues that women welcome sexual aggression. Many youths hold dancehall artists in high esteem, consider them as having adequate sexual experience and knowledge about sex, and are capable of informing them about acceptable sexual behaviours. Thus, Jamaican popular culture is used as an education tool by Jamaican youths. This results in the reinforcement of such sexual values among youths and increases the risk of sexual violence against females, as it is a common belief that many females actually enjoy aggressive or violent sexual attention. For some participants in the study, this represented a distortion of females’ desire through mass media representations.

Fiona: I think that the media entertainment—the music—influences that a lot. First of all many of the young guys out there and girls, they idolize some of these entertainers. You hear some songs play... the lyrics... they embrace it... and people listen to these and some people, so giddy headed that they idolize the songs and so you would hear them with the popular slangs and they... become influenced... by what they hear and even by friends too.

The influence of the popular culture has a long history in Jamaica, music is a collective voice that is used by communities to express their values, attitudes and experiences. Support for the strength and influence of Reggae/dancehall music draws on examples of peoples from countries such New Zealand, Arizona, Britain, Australia, Nigeria and South Africa, who have utilized reggae music in their political and social pursuits (Chang & Chen, 1998). No member of the Jamaican public can escape the influence of the popular culture, as music satisfies the emotional needs of the people and educates many on various issues other than sex, for instance, history and politics (Chang & Chen, 1998; Stolzoff, 2000; Hope, 2006). “No one moving

through the island can avoid being struck by reggae's prevalence. From dancehall to street corner to bar, sound systems and tape players and radios blare out the rugged beat..." (Chang & Chen, 1998, p.3; Stolzoff, 2000). Reggae/dancehall music is often described as having an intoxicating effect for no one can avoid moving to its beat. The uninhibited sexual content of the popular culture is said to have a similar effect on sexual attitudes of the Jamaican populous that rely on the music to communicate acceptable sexual behaviours. This in turn may contribute to sexual violence against women as the music purports that women enjoy and welcome sexual aggression from males (Chang & Chen, 1998; Hope, 2006).

Clothing: There were mixed views about clothing as a risk factor for sexual violence. Sajavia and Tyrone spoke of female teachers and students who were targeted for sexual violence mainly because they were clad in tight-fitting clothes. Their claim is that for men, tight-fitting clothing is an attraction and a sexual invitation. Tyrone said that from his observation of sexual violence against female students only students who were wearing clinging uniforms were victims of sexual violence. Sajavia and Tyrone felt strongly that such females who are sexually victimized should be held responsible.

Sajavia: how they dress! like... iina September dem wear the uniform big and den dem tek it in and mek it suck on pan dem. Dis attract the male students.... Like all when di teacher them come a school dem have on some tight skirt and the skirt dem short, so like all the eleven grade youth dem all walk beside them and give them two talk.

(How they dress! Like in September, their uniform is loose fitting then they adjust the uniform so that it becomes tight fitting. This attracts the male students.... For example, when the teachers come to school they wear tight skirts and the skirts are short, so the eleven grade boys sometimes walk next to them and make advances).

Tyrone:...when mi see like the... girls dem, every single one a dem

uniform suck in, and most times out a road, yu see man a feel them up. All iina bus, yu can see dem have the girl and most times a di girl iina the tight clothes get feel up.

(Whenever I see the girls, they all wear tight uniforms, and most times on the road, I see men groping them. Even on the bus, you see the men with the girls, and most of the time it is the girls who are wearing the tight uniforms that are groped).

Some female participants support Sajavia and Tyrone's opinion. Fiona referred to a popular weekly street dance (this is an open dance that is attended by the public including children, these dances are normally taped and the videos made available to the public or on specific cable channels). She reported that some women wear no underwear, and perform obscene, very sensual dances. Women are devalued in this way and many men including young boys do not feel the need to show respect for women.

Fiona: no but look at it, what I told you about the eight year old... some things *weh* (that) *mi* (I) see some girls wear when you watch the 'Passa Passa' (popular dance party) video some girls don't have on no panties and they over the camera... The things that you wear society influence it... Him now see a girl like that, what is he going to think about women? *Him a-go* (he is going to) think *seh* (that) *woman a no* (women are) nothing and him can just go out and just touch them and treat them anyway... We as women need to watch the message we sending. How can you blame him, because if him look at someone and *seh* (say), *mi* (I) see that woman *iina* (in the) club and all *shi a do a* (she is doing is) *wine up* (dancing) with no panties... If him pass her on the road him going to *seh* (say) cho! she *naa go* (won't) mind if *mi* (I) touch *har* (her).

Ayesha and Kymry contested Fiona's point. They strongly felt that regardless of how a woman is dressed this does not give men the right to grope or rape them. Shomay supported Ayesha as she felt that women should be free to wear clothing that they feel comfortable wearing. Ayesha, after some consideration into the matter, thought that Fiona made a good point. Women who appear to be sexually available

are responsible for sexual violence committed against them because it is a fact that women will experience sexual violence depending on how they are dressed. Fiona felt that some men do not have access to a female partner and will use such situations as an opportunity to act on their sexual desires.

Shomay: ... everyone responsible for themselves. Anything you want to wear *a* (that is) your business *dat*. If you want to put on something short it's up to you. *It nuh* (it is not) up to other people *fi* (to) *seh* (say) look *weh* (at what) *shi* (she) *have on* (is wearing) *mi* (I) can go touch *har* (her)... No I don't agree with that because anything you feel comfortable in, I believe that is what your suppose to wear.

Ayesha: you responsible because if you live in a society where you know that if you walk go down the road in a short shorts man *a-go* (will) rape you, you going to walk go down the road in the short shorts?... It is already here what can we do but try and prevent it.

Scanty clothing may increase the risk of sexual violence, but women wearing revealing clothing are not the only likely victims. Ayesha referred to a newspaper article where a convicted sex offender was interviewed. He was not particularly interested in women who wore revealing clothing because such women left nothing to the imagination. Women who were fully clothed aroused his sexual interest and curiosity. Female participants also expressed that some men are nymphomaniacs who will take advantage of any sexual opportunity. In any case, they held that women should be aware of their surroundings and situations that put them at risk for being sexually victimized.

Ayesha: I saw a newspaper article... this rapist he was being interviewed in prison... he said, I don't rape people who wear short shorts and belly skin because I already see what I am going to rape. I rape people who are wearing long clothes because I don't see what is under there...

Fiona: some men are like that so that's why we as women have to be aware... men are men and will always be men... men are dogs!

Research conducted in Jamaica, and Guyana supports the view that women know that they will become possible victims of sexual violence if they wear revealing clothing, and if they choose to wear such clothing they are inviting sexual violence (Amnesty International, 2006; Cabral & Speek-Warnery, 2005).

It is commonly thought that revealing clothing might play a part in sexual violence; this is not always the case, but this widely spread view might lead to increased sexual violence against women. If many believe that women who wear revealing clothing are asking to be raped, it is only logical that men who are looking for possible targets to violate will most likely select women who are scantily clad because they know that they will likely not be held responsible for the offence. One judge in Jamaica told Amnesty International (2006) that any lawyer who wants to challenge the credibility of a victim of sexual violence would question the clothing she was wearing at the time of the attack. In addition, a renowned pastor was recorded as saying that scanty clothing is a sexual invitation. Such attitudes promote “victim-blaming” with attention directed to wayward or reckless decisions by individual women and certainly not to macrosocial issues of sexism and poverty.

Societal toleration of sexual violence against women: “stay a yu yard”: I related a recent incident where I experienced verbal sexual violence from a passer-by who commented on my figure and told me about his desire to have his way with me. I asked the participants what they thought would happen had I refused to reply. Shomay said that he would be vexed. Fiona said that he would possibly think that I believe that I am superior to him, and he would therefore be tempted to show me or tell me “who is boss” (Ayesha). Tyrone said that men are tempted to rape women who they believe is disrespectful or of a higher calibre to them.

I asked if they thought a woman could ever be so presumptuous. They exclaimed that women can be that bold, but they usually refuse to do so. According to Shomay, the reason being is that it is often thought that a woman cannot do what a man does and still be a woman. Fiona also thought that men are essentially more physical and more sexual beings and this is justified by the society as specific gender roles are attached to males and females. Ayesha and Fiona felt that these roles place women at a disadvantage as they are often encouraged to stay home and take care of the home and some women have no independence from their male partners, who determine what they can or cannot do.

Fiona: The roles that are attached to the female character and the male character are to be blamed. For example... I said to a friend, say your wife is working long hours and... on Saturdays and you don't work on Saturdays. I say to the person would you wash if your wife is not able to do it? *Him seh* (He said) no, who *fi* (must) wash? That a woman thing... *him friend dem caah* (his friends cannot) *si* (see) him *a wash* (washing), *yu mad* (are you crazy)? It is a woman thing so things like those influence the behaviour of the male and female. Society on a whole influences it that's why certain things are kept on a down low.

Ayesha: that degrades the female because everybody keeps saying stay *a yu yard* (at home) and wash and cook and clean. *Mek* (Allow) the man go work the money. They don't believe in independence.

I responded with a follow up question, I asked the girls where they thought all of this was coming from. They all quickly agreed that it was coming from our ancestors. These values are passed down from generation to generation and are common knowledge in the general society.

Kymry: everywhere you go you hear that

Fiona: it's a common thing

Ayesha: it is coming from *way back when* (long ago) certain things that our ancestors say that a lady should not do

Fiona: our fore-parents a *fi dem step wi* a follow.

(We are following the example of our fore-parents).

Sexual violence against females in Jamaica is not a unique occurrence specific to this country. However, sexual violence is widely tolerated by both males and females, and sexual innuendos are a part of our daily lives. Black men's development of an identity that characterizes them as "the player of women" and "the tough guy" has replaced the conventional position as a provider and head of the household. These men use violence against women who they believe are disrespectful, controlling or manipulative, in situations they believe pose a threat to their manhood and must be controlled with violence (Oliver, 1989; as cited in West, 1999).

Sexual violence in high schools

Participants' descriptions of their daily experiences and sexual violence in the school system show that this is a common occurrence in Jamaican high schools. Knowledge of these activities is often based from general discussions between students and observation of the suspicious behaviours between students and teachers. Not all participants were comfortable in relating an incident, but they all reassured me that they knew that sexual violence was a reality particularly between male teachers and female students.

Ayesha: ... I know it's there for sure... because I hear friends talk about it the way the teacher act towards the student... you know how they talk to them and how *dem* (they) *gwaan* (behave) you know that him like *har* (her)..., or something going on already.

Maine: *yu* (you) *nuh* (do not) *haffe* (have to) hear *tings* (things) it is based on observation, how the student approach the teacher and how they behave. They don't behave normal like how they should behave like certain teachers, *yu* (you) know like a girlfriend and boyfriend *dem* (they) *nuh* (do not) behave professional.

Sexual violence is not specific to any gender as it can manifest as student on student, female teacher on male student, and male teacher on female student. The older male

students tend to target both female teachers and female students.

Devin: I hear that the ten and eleven grade boys when they see the teachers coming... they *look* (approach) the teachers and if they can't *get* (have their way with) the teachers they go to the seven and eight grade girls and try and *look* (approach) the students, point out who they want from who they don't want.

Physical Education (PE) teachers and coaches were overrepresented in the related cases. This finding was not surprising. Wishnietsky and Felder (1989; as cited in Wishnietsky, 1991) conducted a survey research among superintendents "about why coaches fail." One-fifth of school superintendents cited immoral reasons as the rationale for dismissing sports coaches.

Female teachers were as aggressive as male teachers were, and used both verbal and physical sexual aggression in coercing male students to submit to their demands. Simone, Ayesha and Nate gave accounts where two female teachers approached male students and were very determined to be intimate with them. In both cases, the teachers commented on the boys' private parts and made sexual (physical) contact without the consent of the male students. The boys were invited to meet with the teachers either in their office or at their homes.

Simone: the PE teacher a look one little bwai iina nine grade, hear weh shi tell the little bwai "yu batty big eh?" And bout how shi like how him shape and him face just little and cute, and shi tell the little bwai seh him fi come iina har office. And shi tek off har blouse and di girl dem-a peep pan har... as shi tek off har blouse the little girl seh mi a-go talk.

(The PE teacher wants to have a relationship with a boy in grade nine. Listen to what she told the boy "you have a big bottom." And she likes the shape of his body and his face is little and cute, and she told the boy that he should come into her office. She removed her blouse and some girls were peeping on her... as she removes her blouse the girl said I am going to tell.)

Ayesha: ... I was hearing about a case between a male student and female teacher, this young man he was telling me about his teacher like him... *hear him* (he said), "*shi* (she) *all a feel mi up iina* (groped me in the) class...." When *shi* (she) call him to the desk and when *shi* (she) see him outside *shi* (she) hug him up and give him offers like for him to come to her house.... At one point I think it was at sports day the teacher call him and he went to the staff room the teacher was feeling his crutch and said to him, young man how you so little and have this big thing down here and how *shi* (she) want some and him must come to her house so that she can get some.

Nate: I know of a female teacher... it was sports day, they would pick out their favourite students, and they would pat them on the bottom or something like that.

There were of course reports of female students being victims of male teachers. Two teachers were reportedly fired after sexual relationships were brought to the attention of parents and school staff. The main objective of female students in such situations was to obtain some material benefit. One female student felt she had no choice because she did not have the resources to fund her education. After being in the relationship for some time, she decided that she wanted it to stop. This was not possible as the teacher told her that she must stay in a sexual relationship with him because he gave her his money.

Ayesha:... this girl was involved in some form of activities with the male teacher. She didn't have everything that she needed to come to school like her books and money.... In order for her to get what she wanted... the teacher was putting words to her and she decided that yes, she would go along with it because she didn't have the money.... Then she wanted to stop but could not stop it because it was too late, ... she didn't want to have sex with him but he was saying, hey look I give you my things (money) so you have to give me your thing (vagina).

Nate:... a girl... and this coach in the evenings when she is suppose to go home with her friends like she has two sets of friends some who stay back with the coach and do some sort of training and the others who go home early.... She would stay back with the other girls and they would like play and dem things there. She start going out with the

coach... one day her mom found out from the other set of girls that she was doing all sort of sexual acts it was reported and the teacher was fired.

Sajavia: A teacher did get fired fi dat areddi... him dida trouble the girl... mi hear dat every day him bring har ... either chocolate or money fi sex.

(A teacher was fired for that... he was troubling the girl.... I heard that every day he brings her... either chocolate or money for sex.)

Tristan: Dis girl pan di football team a mi school deh wid the PE teacher. When him a come a school di two a dem come a school the same time, when people deh bout dem no waan talk or anything.

(This girl on the football team at my school is involved with the PE teacher. Both of them arrive at school at the same time, when people are around they don't want to talk or anything).

Kymry: At this school a male teacher is responsible for short uniforms so like when the girls come in with their short uniform they have to go to this teacher for him to send them home.... This girl came into the school with her short uniform she went to the teacher and the teacher feel her bottom, so she continue coming in her short uniform and go to that teacher so that him can feel her up.

At times female students were aggressors, expressing their intentions and feelings for male teachers. It appears that these male teachers were actively entertaining the behaviour of such female students.

Kedron: *Mi* (I) know of a girl who approach the teacher, like the teacher *deh iina* (was inside) a room by himself, and she approach him and tell him what she wants to do with him... it look like *him did* (he was) up to it.

Tyrone: bare a dat gwaan, mi know girls who tell me say dem like dem teacher and dem teacher look good and dem go to him and tell him, most times it's them who approach the teachers, yeah so it seems.... Some girl mi know, like some a di girls weh mi tek bus wid dem tell mi how dem like dem teacher and ting and sometimes the teacher even on the bus with them and one time two girl a talk with them teacher and a flirt with dem teacher sometimes the teacher will flirt back.

(That happens a lot, I know girls who told me that they like their teacher and their teacher is attractive and they go to him and tell him,

most times it's they who approach the teacher, yes so it seems....
Some girls I know, like some of those who I take bus with they told me how they like their teacher and thing and sometimes the teacher even on the bus with them and once two girls were talking with their teacher and was flirting with their teacher sometimes the teacher will flirt back).

Teachers are generally held in high esteem and they have the responsibility to protect youth in their *in loco parentis* role. Ayesha, Fiona and Kymry understood that teachers, whether they are aggressors or propositioned, should be held responsible if they indulge in sexual activities with students. Even if a student makes a report against a teacher there is always the possibility that the student will not be believed, as they believe that students have no rights. They hear of many cases where female students were forced to enter into sexual relationships with male teachers but because of fear, many of these incidences go unreported.

Shomay felt that teachers are not automatically responsible as female students are sometimes very determined. In cases where the student is not the aggressor they can report the activity. Fiona was very upset by this as she felt that no matter what the situation is, the teacher should be mature enough to put a stop to the activity by speaking with the student or reporting it. Other participants agreed that teachers who do not live up to their obligations as responsible adults should be fired.

Ayesha: you know when they say that when you go to school it is like your next home and your teacher is your parent. If you go home and *seh* (say) a teacher assault you who going to believe you?

Shomay: some students *force on themselves* (are forceful); both parties should take the blame. The student has a right to report it.

Fiona: they have specific guidelines that they have to follow they should be professional enough to say no. If the teacher is the aggressor then the teachers know that he has the rights to inform the principal about it. In the student case, now you know that sometimes they don't have a right at school, so they would be afraid to report it. If I am the

adult, I should be able to stand and say listen to *mi* (me) this is wrong... Even if you cannot say this to the child, you go to bigger authority... and get something done about it but the mere fact that they enjoying it going on and on and prolonging it that means that you are not professional enough to remain as a teacher and you need to go that's what I think.

Societal reactions

The participants strongly believe that sexual violence in Jamaican schools has been going on for some time. They claim that it will continue because of the lack of care of the Jamaican populace, particularly those who are in a position to put changes into effect. They also believe that these individuals ignore the situation and they care more about politics than the health of students. They strongly believe that the members of society have the potential to stop this problem if even only one person was determined enough to do something about it. Reverend Pimpong presents an exemplary case in the power of one voice. He has demonstrated that through determination and commitment to a cause remarkable outcome can be achieved. For over 15 years Reverend Walter Pimpong⁸ and his organization have been able to raise awareness about the inhumanity of the cultural and religious practices of the Ewe tribe (trokosi⁹). He has also been successful in contributing to the freeing, training and educating of thousands of trokosis and their children (Ameh, 2001; 2004).

Ayesha: ... *dem* (they) don't care *dem* (they) don't really put a stand to it from the beginning. Like when it just started to happen nobody will say well I am going to take this to the ministry it must stop or I am going to take it to the school principal it must stop or else something worst can happen like it might continue over years. *Nobody* (no one) care enough to say I am going to take a stance against it so that it doesn't continue... if Jamaicans on a whole— even if one person—

⁸ Executive Director of International Needs, Ghana, described as a pioneer in eliminating Trokosi in Ghana.

⁹ Trokosi is a cultural and religious belief where a virgin girl is sent to a shrine in reparation for a crime committed by a relative. If this demand is refused then a curse of death is place upon the family. These girls are then committed to a lifetime of servitude to the gods and fetish priests (religious leaders), they are often forced to have sexual intercourse and/or to marry (Ameh, 2001).

start to say well, we have to stop this thing it would stop, so I think they are influential to the continuation or stopping of sexual violence.

Simone: mi feel seh dem tink seh a something weh happen everyday because dem ignore it... dem nuh care, true dem and dem politics dem nuh business weh waan happen to nobody.

(I feel that they think that it is something that happens everyday because they ignore it... they do not care. Their main concern is political affairs, they do not really care what happens to anyone).

Fiona was certain that the public do not understand the experiences of females who are sexually violated. The psychological effects of the very act make it difficult for students to report the offence. Coupled with the negative reaction from the public and parents who are reluctant to believe them, these cases might never be reported. Participants agreed that some students go along with the activity but on the other side there are genuine victims who are afraid to speak up because of fear that they will be blamed and will receive additional abuse from both parents and the wider society. Fiona said that when young teenage girls are involved with older men the accusation is always that it is the girl's fault because she has a desire for older men, and that this is the mentality of most young girls in such arrangements.

Fiona: I feel though that many cases occur yearly but very few are reported. Like in some cases... like a rape case you feel violated, you feel exposed, you feel uncomfortable to go out and say this happened to me so many students are afraid; and you have some parents that you just cannot talk to, you say it to them and they don't believe you. So all those things are factors that influence it being held on a down low and not being brought to people's attention. There are some who care but there are others who will say "*a di pickinie fault a so dem tan, dem waan man from them eye deh a dem knee*" ("it is the girls' fault that is how they are; they have always wanted to be involved with older men even from an early age"). You have ignorant people out there and you just hear that everyday, if they hear that it happened to a girl "*a shi want it a so shi tan*" ("she wants it, that's how she is"). You see you hear things like that all the time you will always have some people saying *a di* (it is the) student fault. There are some students who go ahead and uphold with it I agree but not everybody is like that some

will generalize and *seh a dem want it man* (say they are the ones who want it). So you will have some who will say *a waste a time dat* (that is a waste of time) the government *caah* (cannot) do nothing you understand so it's going to be like that it's always like that.

The society's toleration of sexual violence is filtered into the school environment where girls may find it difficult to deal with sexual advances against them, as they may believe that they have no other option. Men have unequal power over women in Jamaican society, and in the case of sexual violence, the female is usually at fault. Feminists argue that this gender inequality that contributes to physical and sexual violence against women are considered as the typical behaviour of men and is therefore their natural right as men (Stanko, 1985; as cited in West, 1999; Baron & Straus, 1993). The traumatic emotional consequences of the physical and sexual violence that females experience are often ignored, and the masculine identity is deeply infused into the society (Stanko, 1985; as cited in West, 1999; Burt, 1980; Check & Malamuth, 1983; Cherry, 1982; Curtis, 1975; Russell, 1975; Weis & Borges, 1977; Gagnon & Simon, 1973; as cited in Baron and Straus, 1993).

Students' solutions

Most participants had a fatalistic reaction to the possibilities of any solution. Some felt that such teachers should be fired or receive some form of counselling. Others felt that, this situation cannot be avoided and it is up to the teachers, who are not perpetrating violent sexual acts towards students, to uphold their position.

Maine: The teachers should get some form of counselling.

Tyrone: *caah* (cannot) really avoid it because nothing *caah do* (can be done) now. *A no like seh* (It is not as if say) you can *mek* (make) every boy school have only male teachers and every girls school have female teachers. It seems that not much can be done it seems like we have to just wait out and see the good ones *weh no do dem things deh* (that are not involved in such activities) will have to just try *dem* (their) best and

be a good teacher.

Some thought that the government have too many idle laws (that are “on the books” but not enforced) and that the laws should be enforced. They also expressed distrust for those who should be upholding such laws as the government is tarnished by corruption.

Fiona: the government makes a lot of laws but only few are enforced. They might enforce a law today but tomorrow it is a different thing, not only that but the legislation is corrupt, there are police men who are raping and doing the very things that they should be protecting us from, at one point if I got lost and I see a police car I would stop it. But now if I see a police car and mi (I am) lost mi a (I will) hide... we just don't know who to trust... I think the government should start to enforce some strict laws and really enforcing them and not just letting them sit there and go to waste.

Ayesha thought that despite official corruption there is some hope, as there are individuals in the system who can be trusted to protect victims of sexual violence. She also expressed that it is our responsibility to be determined in identifying such individuals and requesting their help to quell the situation.

Ayesha: and it all comes back to us because we are afraid to report things... although the force may be corrupt... there are some good ones inside... there must be someone you can talk to.

Participants' prognosis for the elimination of sexual violence in the school system is not promising. Fear of criticism prevents females from reporting sexual violence in schools; they might be ashamed and feel that, somehow, they had brought the situation onto themselves. Even if they report the act, nothing will be done, so it is not worth reporting. Discrimination against females who are victims of sexual violence is evident in the criminal justice system in many countries. The testimonies of men are often believed over females, as females are not considered credible witnesses (UNDPI, 1996; as cited in Johnson, 2003; Amnesty International, 2006;

Klein, 2006).

5-point Likert scale: participants' observations of sexual violence

Descriptive Statistics: frequency distributions and crosstabulations were used to analyse participants' responses. Frequency distributions were used to describe the extent to which the participants agreed with the statements and crosstabulations were used to show the relationships between gender (male and female) and responses. Responses from the questionnaire show that the participants are in agreement with some arguments from the Macrosociological theory.

Descriptive statistics, frequency distribution and cross tabulations: The feminist critique of gender inequality argues that sexual violence is used against women to maintain the superiority of the masculine gender, and rape and the fear of rape will force women into submission. Women are considered sexual possessions of men and men will use sexual violence or the threat of violence to reinforce their sexual rights (Brownmiller, 1975; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Adamec & Adamec, 1981; Barry, 1979; Russel, 1984; Sanday, 1981; Clark & Lewis, 1977; as cited in Baron and Straus , 1993). The first two statements accord with some aspects of the feminist critique of gender inequality. Statement 3 is in contradiction to the feminist critique. According to the responses, rape and the fear of rape will cause women to be fearful of men, but this fear will not automatically result in the controlling of women by men.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: females who are afraid of men are afraid of being raped

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	2	40	8	57	10	53
Females	3	60	6	43	9	47
Total	5	100	14	100	19	100

Most of those who agreed with the statement were males (57 percent) and most of those who disagreed were females (60 percent). On average the participants were in agreement with the statement (mean=74%, $sd=.45$).

Table 2

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: If a female was raped, or if she had knowledge of someone who was raped, this would cause her to be afraid of men

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	7	70	2	25	9	50
Females	3	30	6	75	9	50
Total	10	100	8	100	18	100

Seventy percent of those who disagreed were males, and most of those who agreed with the statement were females (75 percent). On average there was not much difference between participants who agreed or disagreed with the statement (mean= 44%, sd=.51).

Table 3

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: Rape and the fear of rape would cause women to allow men to control them

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	4	40	5	56	9	48
Females	6	60	4	44	10	52
Total	10	100	9	100	19	100

Sixty percent of those who disagreed were females, and most those who agreed with the statement were males (57 percent). On average the participants disagreed with the statement (mean= 47%, sd=.51).

The results of the following statements pose a challenge to some feminist approaches as many participants did not feel that women are the sexual possessions of men and women are in a position to negotiate sexual activities.

Table 4

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: men own women

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	5	36	1	100	6	40
Females	9	64	0	.0	9	60
Total	14	100	14	100	15	100

Sixty four percent of those who disagreed were females. One male agreed with the statement. On average most participants disagreed with the statement (mean= 7%, sd=.26).

Table 5

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: a woman who is in a relationship with a man must agree to have sex with her partner when he wants to have sex

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	6	40	3	100	9	50
Females	9	60	0	.0	9	50
Total	15	100	3	100	18	100

Sixty percent of those who disagreed were females. On average the participants disagreed with the statement (mean=17%, sd=.38).

Table 6

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: a woman can refuse to have sex with a man she knows

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	1	100	7	41	8	44
Females	0	.0	10	59	10	56
Total	1	100	17	100	18	100

Fifty nine percent of those who agreed were females. Most participants were in agreement with the statement (mean= 94%, sd=.24).

Table 7

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: a woman can refuse to have sex with a man she does not know

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	2	100	8	44	10	50
Females	0	.0	10	56	10	50
Total	2	100	18	100	20	100

Fifty six percent of those who agreed were females. On average the participants were in agreement with the statement (mean=90%, sd=.31).

Table 8

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: A man is allowed to force his wife or girlfriend to have sex

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	6	46	2	40	8	44
Females	7	54	3	60	10	56
Total	13	100	5	100	18	100

Sixty percent of those who disagreed (54 percent) with the statement were females.

On average the participants disagreed with the statement (mean= 28%, sd=.46).

According to social disorganization theory, disruptions in family and community arrangements have been linked to sexual violence (Blau & Golden, 1986; Faris, 1955; Kornhauser, 1978; Shaw & McKay, 1942; Stark et al, 1983; Baron & Straus, 1987; Blau & Blau, 1982; Simpson, 1985; Smith & Bennett, 1985; Crutchfield et al., 1982; as cited in Baron & Straus, 1993). The following findings are consistent with the views of the social disorganization theory.

Table 9

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: Females in households with no males are more likely to be raped

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	4	57	5	50	9	53
Females	3	43	5	50	8	47
Total	7	100	10	100	17	100

Generally, the participants were in agreement with the statement (mean= 59%, sd=.51).

Table 10

Descriptive statistics and Crosstabulations of the statement: Children who do not live with their parents are more at risk of being raped

Gender	Disagree		Agree		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Males	1	100	5	42	6	46
Females	0	.0	7	58	7	54
Total	1	100	12	100	13	100

Fifty eight percent of those who were in agreement with this statement were females.

On average, the participants agreed with the statement (mean= 92%, sd=.28).

Sexual violence and the threat of sexual violence on their own will not result in the controlling of females by males. The threat of sexual violence will affect females' routine and how they behave in their surroundings in this sense, they are being controlled. As is present from the inductive themes, sexual violence, coupled with the ideologies of the society that tolerates sexual violence against females and the financial dependence of females on males will result in them being controlled by males. In addition, there was agreement with the theory of social disorganization as household without males and children who do not live with their parents will be at risk for sexual victimization, as they lack the protection of a male partner or parents.

Evaluation of *Child Care and Protection Act, 2004*

The Child Care and Protection Act (CCPA) was approved in March 2004. The objective of the Act corresponds to the standards of the International Convention of the Rights of the Child. The CCPA requires that the entire Jamaican society 'including school teachers' participate in protecting the rights and well being of Jamaican children. Children 18 years and under are protected under the CCPA. Through the Act, the government promises to create an environment conducive to the development of children into citizens that will contribute constructively to Jamaica's advancement (Child Development Agency, 2005).

Some major achievements in the development of the CCPA include:

- "The formulation of a National Policy for Children (1997) with financial and technical assistance from the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)";
- "The establishment of a taskforce and monitoring committee, headed by the Ministry of Health's Child Support Unit now subsumed under

the Child Development Agency (CDA)”; and,

- “The development of public education efforts that significantly heightened the awareness of child rights among the Jamaican population”.

(see Child Development Agency, 2005, p.1)

The CCPA also provides protection for children who have been or who are currently in danger of being sexually abused. Organizations such as the Office of Children’s Advocate and the Children’s Registry are responsible for supervising and providing help for children who need care and protection. Specialized government agencies such as the police force, are responsible for investigating “reports referred by the Children’s Registry, and if necessary arrange for the child in question to be brought before a Court as a Child in Need of Care and Protection” (p.1). The Office of Children’s Advocate, with the objective of acting in the best interest of the child, deals with all of the legal proceedings involving children. The Children’s Registry is responsible for collecting information and reporting child abuse. It is a requirement that all information reported to the registry be assessed, failure to do so will attract a minimum penalty of J\$250,000 or three months imprisonment and a maximum penalty of J\$500,000 or three months in prison or both and J\$250,000 for knowingly making false reports (Child Development Agency, 2005).

The participants in my study are from three of the major areas in the country (Kingston, St. Andrew and St. Catherine). Kingston, the capital city of Jamaica, is the centre of communication to the Jamaican population and the world. These parishes are highly residential areas with hundreds or possibly thousands of schools and hundreds of thousands of school students. One of the major achievements of the

CCPA is “public education efforts that significantly heightened the awareness of child rights among the Jamaican population” (Child Development Agency, 2005, p.1). One would think that they would seek to reach people in these areas of the country first. It is unclear what active approaches are being adopted by the CCPA to educate the public in these areas and this could be explored through future research studies.

Asked if they had knowledge of any program that deals with violence against children, one participant remembered the airing of a television program that featured the investigation of sexual violence against children, but she had no knowledge of the effectiveness of the investigations or if the procedures were corrupted.

Ayesha: Yes, I heard one on *Teen Seen* one day, but I never heard of it like a case was reported and some judgment is being passed. I hear about the program I don't know if it is good or if any corruption is involved.

When questioned about their knowledge of the CCPA, Fiona recognized the name but had no knowledge about its purpose. For the most part the participants did not recognise the name of the Act nor did they know that there are laws that should protect their rights as children. As Fiona and Ayesha expressed, before the introduction of the question about the Act, there are too many idle laws in Jamaica. The *Child Care and Protection Act, 2004*, appears to be one of those laws. I informed the participants that the investigating of sexual violence against children was one of the responsibilities of the CCPA. On hearing this, the participants became very upset and reiterated how the government cared little about them. In fact, one participant ‘belted’ out this question with much anger “why it is that nothing is been done?”

Fiona: they need to make themselves be known. I guess many people don't know about it they need to make themselves known to the public. I think that many people are suffering and they just have to bottle it in.

This revelation reinforced the lack of trust they had for the justice system. They all felt that in the recent general election both political parties were effective in reaching if not all, most of the Jamaican populous mostly by use of the media, and they believed that the government should use similar methods in informing Jamaican youths about their rights and the possible legal help they could receive.

Ayesha: just like how if you are a MP, JLP¹⁰ or PNP you do everything to make yourself be known to the people come to the schools or come on television or do something.

Some members of the Jamaican public share the participants' frustration with the lack of a hard-line approach in fully establishing the CCPA. The CCPA has been criticized for its 'toothless' position, as the most important component of the CCPA (the registry) that would result in the reporting and investigation of violence against children is inactive (Francis, 2007; Samuels, 2006; Macaulay, 2006; Rose, 2006; McGregor, 2006). It is almost four years since the passing of the CCPA, and it appears that the childcare registry is still dormant. Health Minister Horace Dalley informed the *Jamaica Gleaner* that the registry would be ready by the end of December 2006 (Francis, 2007). Attorney general A. J. Nicholson said that he was informed by credible sources that the registry would be in effect by January 2007 (Rose, 2006). The project to establish the registry was dated to start on 1 January 2007 and was expected to be completed by April 1 2007 (Francis, 2007). As at April 2008, the Registry remains inactive. Jamaicans who have the power to make this registry a reality seems to be 'dragging their feet in the mud', it is no wonder why they have won little confidence among many Jamaicans and my participants.

¹⁰ The Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) and the People's National Party (PNP) are the two leading political parties in Jamaica.

Website

I introduced the possibility of a public website where young victims of sexual violence (students) could express themselves, make reports, receive some form of support and reassurance that they are not at fault and other students may have similar experiences. Through this website, both teachers and students could confidentially report acts of sexual violence against them or other students. I asked the participants if they thought that such an arrangement could work. One participant alluded to programs, such as crime stop, that was responsible for the investigating of crimes, but has not been successful in controlling crime rates. Another participant said that he would report the crime if he found the time. This shows the lack of care and empathy, an attitude that others in the society might have. Jamaicans are preoccupied with their own interests and would be unwilling to report acts of sexual violence that did not affect them or someone close to them (Nate).

Nate: the thing is that... if it don't happen to us we don't really care, unless it really happen to us we wouldn't like report it, everyman *fi* (for) *demself* (themselves).

Others thought that if both parties who are involved in the sexual activity are benefiting, they would be unwilling to report it. In addition, students might not want to make reports about their friends. People might be motivated to report sexual violence if their conscience come into play.

Tyrone:... maybe yu no, but they might not report it because both of them might be getting benefits because both of them might like each other and them things deh. So they might not want to report it.... Most times nobody naa go waan say nothing... dem no really waan say what nobody else doing and dem really no waan nobody call them idiot and dem ting deh, dem just waan fit in. ... They know that what the person doing is wrong so they might obey their conscience and report it.

(Maybe you know, but they might not report it because both of them

might be benefiting because they both might like each other. So they might not want to report it.... Most times no one will want to say anything... they don't really want to say what nobody else doing and they really don't want anyone to call them idiot and things like that, they just want to fit in.... They know that what the person is doing is wrong so they might obey their conscience and report it).

Kedron: It depends because if a dem fren dem naa go waan talk.

(It depends because if it is their friend then they will not say anything).

This website would be helpful to students who were victims and who desire help but are unsure of where to go and who to approach. Ayesha and Simone felt that school guidance counsellors are ineffective and cannot be trusted to protect the integrity of students who approach them with similar problems. Therefore, there should be a unit separate from the school environment where students can confidentially receive help. Ayesha also said she would report acts of sexual violence committed against her or other students.

Fiona: that would help because I guess many times you know there are people who are abuse and are victims of this they need somebody to talk to its just that they can't find the right person or they don't feel confident enough. If they had someone they could talk to you would hear of a lot more cases...

Ayesha: because no matter how you feel like you can go to the guidance counsellor she is not going to sort it out.... If it is for the best of my friend, I would do it because I see that my friend don't really want it but the teacher is forcing it.

As was brought out in the data analysis section students generally feel that they have no rights, and that the Jamaican populous care little about their welfare, and that children who are victims might be fearful of reporting sexual crimes committed against them. The participants have little trust in the authorities, and fear that if students make reports of acts committed against them they might become victims of further abuse.

CHAPTER FOUR:

CONCLUSION

Sexual violence can be described as any sexual communication that violates others (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005). Sexual violence was one method used in the establishment of the Jamaican slave and colonial societies. Unfortunately, the cycle of sexual violence has continued at a high rate and is perceived to be a major concern (Cunningham & Correia, 2003). Tracking the history of sexual violence in Jamaica was done not with the intention of identifying a single race or gender that is the cause of the problem. In fact, sexual violence may have existed in West African societies prior to slavery. Compared to slave societies, the difference might have been related to the magnitude of sexual violence and the inhumane categorization and treatment of African women. My objective is to understand the ideologies that might have been influential in determining males' perceptions of females. Certain features of the slave society are currently present in the Jamaican society, such as men being valued for their sexual prowess, their ability to father many children (Bush, 1990; Abel, 2004) and the private ownership of females (Scully & Paton, 2005). I contend that slavery is not the cause of sexual violence in modern Jamaican society; instead, the ideologies, many of which were introduced during slavery and maintain in the society, are part of the wide scale of sexual violence against Jamaican females.

Sexual violence has become normalized and is a reality in the school environment. Studies conducted in other countries such as the United States of America, Britain, and Africa reveal that female students do experience sexual violence from male teachers (Abbott, Wallace & Tyler, 2005; Klein, 2006; UNESCO, 2006). In my research, I came across no published document that spoke of sexual violence in Jamaican schools. This shows that the Jamaican society is slow in

acknowledging that sexual violence is a reality in schools.

The main ideologies of the Jamaican society, such as females being the cause of sexual violence, pose a threat to the elimination of sexual violence (Amnesty International, 2006). Researchers have found that sexual violence is used by men to conquer or force women into submission. In some instances, sexual violence is a consequence of lust, used to establish male masculinity, heterosexual identity, and is reinforced in the society (West, 1999; Blank & Minowa, 2001; Hope, 2006; Klein, 2006; Amnesty International, 2006). According to my participants and the literature, in Jamaica these are some of the beliefs that are reinforced by the popular culture, family, church, schools and the wider society. Societal toleration of sexual violence contributes to the legitimating of male use of force or threats in soliciting sex from females. This is also evident in Jamaican high schools where some teachers use their position of authority in soliciting sex from students, often without being called into account or disciplined for such transgressions. Female students accepting or willingly participating in sexual activities with male teachers does not mean that it is welcomed. Students may be of the understanding that teachers have total control over their academic career. This power struggle makes it difficult for females to refuse sexual advances (Shoop, 2004). This normalization of sexual violence in the society might become expected and accepted by females as part of their school experience (UNESCO, 2006).

In interpreting the students' perceptions of sexual violence, relating to the deductive themes there was support for gender inequality and social disorganization. Rape and the fear of rape cause women to be fearful of men and it might affect their reaction to their surroundings but it will not lead to the overall physical control of women. Additionally, disruptions in the family (female-headed households and

children who do not live with their parents) will increase the risk of sexual violence. Concerning the inductive themes, the macrosociological theories (gender inequality and cultural spillover) of rape, social displacement and cultural victimization theories were present throughout the analysis.

According to the results and as supported by the literature, both males and females are victims of sexual violence, but girls are more often victims (Johnson, 2003; Quesada, 1998; as cited in Klein, 2006). In addition, females will engage in “transactional sex” when they are in dire need (Cunningham & Correia, 2003). Gender inequality and cultural spillover (Baron & Straus, 1993) contribute to the apparent toleration and approval of sexual violence against females in Jamaica.

Although sexual violence is widespread in Jamaica it appears that the two main sources of socialisation (parents and teachers) are doing little to educate youths about sexual violence. The media and the wider society seem to be doing a better job. This situation—of educating children about sexual violence—is daunting as with respect to the media, sexual education is mainly based from reports of one aspect of sexual violence (rape) and the society (including peers and the popular culture) seems to be reinforcing the sexual inferiority of females (participants).

In considering risk factors for sexual violence, all females might be at risk of experiencing sexual violence, but certain social factors (lack of education, poverty and unemployment) might increase the likelihood of sexual violence. Other factors cited were the popular culture, clothing, and societal toleration of sexual violence against women (participants). In the school environment, females were more likely to be victims of sexual violence. Acts of sexual violence in schools and the wider society often go unreported because of fear and lack of trust for the authorities. Our Jamaican

society ridicules female students who are sexually victimized by male teachers.

Children spend most of their time in school, while the social stratification of the Jamaican society will not allow for immediate changes. Attacking the problem in the school environment is a start in alleviating the problem. Sexual violence particularly in schools not only undermines the humanity of female students, it poses a problem to the mental and social development of female students who may find it difficult to report such activities. Research in the area of sexual violence against girls in Jamaica should be conducted to raise consciousness about sexual violence in schools and to inform policy, ultimately eliminating the cycle of sexual violence.

Reflections on the research process

After doing extensive research on school violence in Jamaica, I realized that sexual violence in Jamaican high schools has been neglected as a research topic. Several years ago, I was singled out by a male teacher in high school. After sharing the experience with a friend she thought nothing of it; her attitude was casual, that it is something that “just happens”. I did not consider myself to be in any direct danger, but I kept out of direct contact with him. His advances confirmed the rumours I heard of him and other male teachers having sexual relationships with female students. My experience with sexual violence was not limited to the school environment, as I had heard similar experiences in the general society. I often thought to myself that there was nothing special about me and I often wondered why Jamaica had embedded sexual violence as part of “everyday violence” against women.

This experience and my subjective understanding of sexual violence influenced what I was expecting to find in this study. When approaching this study I thought that mainly girls were victims of sexual violence and those who experience sexual violence from teachers were coerced. At the same time, I had to be open to

contrary perceptions and evidence that would qualify my expectations. The study supported my view, but it brought out the fact that sexual violence in schools is experienced by both sexes (male and female). In addition, we all experience sexual violence in our lives at some point. Jamaica as a society must “emancipate themselves from mental slavery” one aspect of this slavery is blaming females (or victims including males) for sexual violence and failing to realize that we are all human beings with a conscience that dictates to us that sexual violence is morally wrong.

I came upon this topic while doing research on violence in Jamaican schools, so this research was not an active effort on my part to provide some redress to my psyche. I cannot deny that this research has been therapeutic because now I have a better understanding of sexual violence and I realize that sexual violence is a worldwide problem—it is not restricted to Jamaica and certainly not a singular experience on my part. Additionally, I contend that sexual violence although it cannot be eliminated it can be controlled if people have the right attitude.

In the last stages of my research I constantly thought of this monument unveiled in the summer of 2003, at the Emancipation Park in Jamaica. This explicit sculpture, done by Laura Facey-Cooper, was met with much criticism from the public (Martin, 2003) and especially the church, dismissed as distasteful pornography. The sculpture was of a well-endowed man and woman facing each other; appearing to have risen out of a pool of water¹¹. I was an avid history student for most of my childhood and I did not understand the motivation behind this sculpture, I was not against it; in fact, I thought it was very amusing. At the foot of this monument were inscribed the words “emancipate yourself from mental slavery” a lyric from Bob

¹¹ This is a link to a photograph of the sculpture
<http://arts.guardian.co.uk/news/story/0,11711,1018563,00.html>

Marley's Redemption song. This research has helped me to appreciate a point that Laura may have been trying to bring across. Many Jamaicans remain enslaved by a distorted view of nakedness. Prior to slavery, our ancestors were somewhat innocent in their nakedness and were not infatuated with their physical state. That has changed not only in Jamaica, but also in West Africa where many of our ancestors came from. One must agree that we cannot return to this physical state of innocence, but this can be achieved in our minds. Through education, Jamaicans can come to realize that revealing clothing and nakedness does not automatically equal sex. If this can be achieved, this would be a stepping-stone to returning to a state of physical equality and respect and this could possibly help to reduce sexual violence in our Jamaican society.

Strengths

I investigated perceptions of sexual violence. This focus diminished the likelihood of dishonesty. Asking about students' construction of sexual violence allowed participants to communicate without worrying about having to talk about their own encounters. In addition, if they spoke of personal encounters, it was not evident as they were speaking in the third person and showed no signs of discomfort. Speaking in third person allowed them to relay their experience without being worried, feeling without regretful or experiencing despair after the research has ended (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

This study, conducted during the general elections, my participants' observations of the elections allowed them to form their own opinions on the government and the Jamaican populous. They referred to the priorities of the government several times throughout the study, with their main claim that the government was more interested in winning seats rather than protecting the welfare of

Jamaica's children.

Limitations

- The possibility exists that participants felt that I was requesting information about their personal lives.
- Some may have fabricated information to show how knowledgeable they are about the situation of sexual violence in schools.
- No direct observations of sexually-violent situations were made, and there may have been memory decay since this was somewhat retrospective.

Recommendations

- 1) Confidential evaluation of the performance of teachers to be filled out by students, including questions about sexual violence. Administered and supervised by members from the Ministry of Education and Child Development Agency.
- 2) Redirect resources to facilitate the investigation of sexual violence in schools.
- 3) Provide intervention with the intention of returning students (female) to the state they were before they were sexually victimized.
- 4) Reduce discrimination in schools by communicating to students that they are not responsible for uninvited sexual attention they receive from teachers or other students.
- 5) Encourage other students and school staff to report instances where students are, were, and suspected of being sexually victimized by teachers or other students.
- 6) For future research in this area it would be beneficial to have more than one researcher.

7) Conduct further research on sexual violence:

- The likelihood of false reports and what can be done to reduce these.
- How prevalent sexual violence is in Jamaican schools
- The social and psychological effects of sexual violence on victims
- Investigate programs used by other countries to control sexual violence in schools.
- Place the issue into a historical and cultural context to see how best to deal with the problem.
- The Child Development Agency could look into the possibilities of designing and creating of a website similar to the one I proposed.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Consent Form for Participants

**SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
8888 UNIVERSITY DRIVE
BURNABY, B.C. CANADA V5A 1S6**

Consent Form

The University and those conducting this research study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This research is being conducted under permission of the Simon Fraser Research Ethics Board. The chief concern of the Board is for the health, safety and psychological well-being of research participants.

Should you wish to obtain information about your rights as a participant in research, or about the responsibilities of researchers, or if you have any questions, concerns or complaints about the manner in which you were treated in this study, please contact the Director, Office of Research Ethics by email at hweinber@sfu.ca or phone at 778-782-6593.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, whether there are possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the documents describing the study, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Title: Stolen innocence: students' perceptions of sexual violence against female students in Jamaican high schools

Investigator Name: Theresa Allen

Investigator Department: School of Criminology

Having been asked to participate in the research study named above, I certify that I have read the procedures specified in the Study Information Document describing the study. I understand the procedures to be used in this study and the personal risks to me in taking part in the study as described below:

Purpose and goals of this study:

We would like to explore high school students' understanding of the causes of sexual violence in Jamaican high schools.

What the participants will be required to do:

You will be asked to take part in an interview where you will give your understanding of sexual violence. This session will be audio taped and will be followed by a brief questionnaire. Participation in this study should take approximately 1 to 1 1/2 hours of your time. Participation in this research is voluntary. You can choose at any time,

without any penalty, to withdraw from the study.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:

We do not anticipate that you will experience any distress because of participating in this study. During the interview if I see any signs of discomfort or conflict leading to you not being able to continue your participation, the interviews will be paused or stopped. For security reasons, a friend will be present on the interview site and others, including security guards at the centre, have knowledge of our location. If the interview must be discontinued or if you or other participants become upset, debriefing to address any anxiety or issues relating your participation will be facilitated. If the issue includes you revealing information about sexual violence committed against you, I am required by law to report any information of sexual violence committed against you. Contact information for the relevant social services that can help you through your situation will be made available. If I discern that you are unable to seek help or if required I will make the initial contact. Also, your parents/guardians will be contacted by the researcher and notified about the situation.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:

Research in other nations suggests that sexual violence committed against female students by male teachers is not a rare occurrence. Little or no research about sexual violence against female students in Jamaica has been done. This study may make Jamaicans more aware about sexual violence in Jamaican schools, and might lead to further investigations into sexual violence in Jamaican schools.

Statement of confidentiality: The data of this study will maintain confidentiality of your name and the contributions you have made to the extent allowed by the law.

You are not required to give your name or home address, you will be provided with nametags prior to the interviews. All information that we collect will be kept strictly private and will not be disclosed to anyone.

Interview of employees about their company or agency:

You are not required to reveal the identity of an offending teacher.

Inclusion of names of participants in reports of the study:

You are not required to give your name or home address.

Contact of participants at a future time or use of the data in other studies:

The information you have contributed may be used in future studies that may be similar and may require future contact with you. Do you agree to future contact? If so please initial the box on the signature form.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation at any time. I also understand that I may register any complaint with the Director of the Office of Research Ethics.

Director, Office of Research Ethics
8888 University Drive
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, British Columbia

Canada V5A 1S6
+1 778 782 3447
email: dore@sfu.ca

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting:

Theresa Allen

I understand the risks and contributions of my participation in this study and agree to participate:

The participant and witness shall fill in this area.

Participants Last Name:

Participants first name

Participants contact information:

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY)

**Contact at a future time/ use of data in
other studies**

Appendix B: Consent Form for Parents/Guardians

**SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
8888 UNIVERSITY DRIVE
BURNABY, B.C. CANADA V5A 1S6**

INFORMED CONSENT FOR MINORS (under age of 19) or CAPTIVE AND DEPENDENT POPULATIONS

Consent by Parent or Guardian to allow participation of their Ward in a research study.

Title: Stolen innocence: students' perceptions of sexual violence against female students in Jamaican high schools
Investigator Name: Theresa Allen
Investigator Department: School of Criminology

The University and those conducting this study subscribe to the ethical conduct of research and to the protection at all times of the interests, comfort, and safety of participants. This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and to ensure your full understanding of the procedures, risks, and benefits described below.

Risks to the participant, third parties or society:

We do not anticipate that your child will experience any distress because of participating in this study. During the interview if I see any signs of discomfort or conflict leading to your child not being able to continue their participation, the interviews will be paused or stopped. For security reasons, a friend will be present on the interview site and it will be brought to the attention of your child that others, including security guards at the centre, have knowledge of our location. If the interview must be discontinued or if your child or other participants become upset, debriefing to address any anxiety or issues relating their participation will be facilitated. If the issue includes them revealing information about sexual violence committed against them, I will inform them that I am required by law to report any information of sexual violence committed against children. Contact information for the relevant social services or organizations that can provide participants with the necessary legal defence and psychological counselling will be made available. If I discern that your child is incapable of contacting the social services or if required I will make the initial contact. Also, you will be contacted by the researcher and notified about the situation.

Benefits of study to the development of new knowledge:

Research in other nations suggests that the targeting of female students by male teachers for sexual abuse is not a rare occurrence. Little or no culturally relevant research in Jamaica has been conducted on this issue. This study may raise

consciousness about sexual violence in Jamaican schools, and might lead to further inquiries and investigations into sexual violence not only at the high school level but also in all educational institutions; it will also contribute to the existing literature on sexual violence committed against girls.

Procedures:

We seek your permission to allow your child to participate in this study. They will be asked to take part in an in-depth interview based on a semi-structured questionnaire. This session will be audio taped and will be followed by a brief questionnaire. All information that we collect will be kept strictly private and will not be disclosed to anyone. For the purpose of this study, their name will be substituted with a pseudonym. Participation in this study should take approximately 1 to 1 1/2 hours of their time. Participation in this research is voluntary. Your child can choose at any time, without any penalty, to withdraw from the study.

Your signature on this form will signify that you have received a document which describes the procedures, possible risks, and benefits of this research study, that you have received an adequate opportunity to consider the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to allow the minor named below to participate in the study.

Name of Parent or Guardian (PRINT): _____

Name of Minor or Ward: (PRINT): _____

who is the (*relationship to minor*) (PRINT): _____

I certify that I understand the procedures to be used and have fully explained them to:

Name of minor participant: _____

and the participant knows that I, or he or she has the right to withdraw from the study at any time, and that any complaints about the study may be brought to the chief researcher named above or to:

Name of Chair, Director or Dean _____

Department, School or Faculty _____

8888 University Way, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia, V5A 1S6, Canada

I may obtain copies of the results of this study, upon its completion by contacting the researcher named above or: I certify that I understand the procedures to be used and that I understand the Study Information Document, and that I have been able to receive clarification of any aspects of this study about which I have had questions.

Print Name Parent or Guardian: _____

Signature of Parent or Guardian: _____

Date (use format MM/DD/YYYY) : _____

Appendix C: Participants' Feedback Form

Completion of this form is OPTIONAL. However, if you have served as a participant in a project and would care to comment on the procedures involved, you may complete the following form and send it to the Director, Office of Research Ethics, 8888 University Drive, Multi-Tenant Facility, Burnaby BC V5A 1S6, Canada. All information received will be strictly anonymous, unless you indicate below that you wish your name to be known.

Title: Stolen innocence: students' perceptions of sexual violence against female students in Jamaican high schools.

Principal Investigator Name: Theresa Allen
Principal Investigator Department: School of Criminology

Supervisor's Name (if P.I. is a student):
Supervisor's Department:

Did you sign an Informed Consent Form before participating in the? Yes No

Were there significant deviations from the originally stated procedures? Yes No

Please make any comments you may have:

Participant Last Name:

First Name:

Participant Contact Information/ Address: _____

Home Telephone: _____

Work Telephone: _____

Email: _____

Do you wish your feedback to be anonymous? Yes No

Appendix D: Questionnaire

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

Dear Participant,

We are kindly seeking your cooperation in completing the attached questionnaire. Participation in this study is voluntary. You are free to stop taking part in this project at any time, without any penalty. All information that you may provide will be kept in the strictest of confidence. We do not anticipate that taking part in this research project will cause you any distress. I hope that you will participate in this study.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!!

Appendix E: 5-point Likert Scale

The following questions are based on the arguments presented by the macrosociological theory of rape (Baron & Straus, 1993). To what extent do you think that these situations exist in Jamaica?

Read each carefully and decide the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Indicate your responses by circling the number corresponding with your answer.

1= Strongly Disagree (SD) 2= Disagree (D) 3= Neither (N) 4= Agree (A)

5= Strongly Agree (SA)

	SD	D	N	A	SA
1) Females who are afraid of men are afraid of being raped.....	1	2	3	4	5
2) If a female was raped or if she had knowledge of someone who was raped this would cause her to be afraid of men.....	1	2	3	4	5
3) Rape and the fear of rape would cause women to allow men to control them.....	1	2	3	4	5
4) Men own women.....	1	2	3	4	5
5) A woman who is in a relationship with a man must agree to have sex with her partner if and when he wants to have sex.....	1	2	3	4	5
6) A woman can refuse to have sex with a man she knows.....	1	2	3	4	5
7) A woman can refuse to have sex with a man she does not know.....	1	2	3	4	5
8) A man is allowed to force his wife or girlfriend to have sex.....	1	2	3	4	5
9) Females in households with no males are more likely to be raped.....	1	2	3	4	5
10) Children who do not live with their parents are more at risk of being raped.....	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix F: Descriptive Statistics and Frequency Distribution

	Ag	Dis	Mean	Std Dev	Cases
1) Females who are afraid of men are afraid of being raped	14	5	1.74	.45	19
2) If a female was raped, or if she had knowledge of someone who was raped this would cause her to be afraid of men	9	10	1.44	.51	18
3) Rape and the fear of rape would cause women to allow men to control them	8	10	1.47	.51	19
4) Men own women	1	14	1.07	.26	15
5) A woman who is in a relationship with a man must agree to have sex with her partner if and when he wants to have sex	3	15	1.17	.38	18
6) A woman can refuse to have sex with a man she knows	17	1	1.94	.24	18
7) A woman can refuse to have sex with a man she does not know	18	2	1.90	.31	20
8) A man is allowed to force his wife or girlfriend to have sex	5	13	1.28	.46	18
9) Females in households with no males are more likely to be raped	10	7	1.59	.51	17
10) Children who do not live with their parents are more at risk of being raped	12	1	1.92	.28	13